THE LIFE AND DEATH OF TEXAS GERMAN

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Für Claire und Lena

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Before my drive from Berkeley to Austin during the summer of 2001, I had never thought that I would ever conduct research on German dialects. However, this quickly changed when stopping in Fredericksburg, about two hours west of Austin, in the beautiful Texas Hill Country, where I heard Texas German spoken for the first time. I was hooked. Once I started my position at the University of Texas at Austin, I began to devote a substantial amount of time and energy to documenting and researching Texas German. The present book is one of the major results of this effort so far. The other is the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP), which I founded in September 2001 and which has interviewed more than 300 speakers of Texas German over the past seven years. The recordings, together with their transcriptions and translations, are stored in the Texas German Dialect Archive (TGDA) and are freely available online at http://www.tgdp.org. I could not have written this book without the wealth of data contained in the archive. Although Texas German will almost certainly become extinct within the next three decades, these recordings will be accessible to future generations. The interviews will document Texas German history, culture, and heritage and will serve as a permanent record of the many contributions made by German immigrants to Texas. I am deeply indebted to all the speakers of Texas German who volunteered their time to be interviewed by members of the TGDP. Their voices will be heard by future generations, illustrating how lively German culture and heritage once were in the Lone Star State.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. OVERVIEW

In this book I investigate the dynamics and mechanisms underlying language change and language death in the Texas German community. Language death has emerged in the past two decades as one of the most significant phenomena for linguistic study. Anything but an esoteric event, the issue of rapidly disappearing languages has global social and cultural implications that go beyond the concerns of linguists alone. Crystal (2000, 19) suggests that as many as 3,000 of the world's more than 6,000 languages will have disappeared by the end of the twenty-first century (see also Krauss 1992; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Wolfram 2002).

Perhaps the most clear-cut example of language death involves cases in which all speakers of a language pass away within a short period of time. In classifying different types of language death, Campbell and Muntzel (1989, 182–86) cite Tasmanian, which died out because virtually all of its speakers were killed, as an example of "sudden language death." Similarly, "radical language death" involves cases in which speakers stop using their native language because of fears of political oppression and genocide (e.g., indigenous languages in El Salvador). Because the language is not being passed on to younger generations, it is "dead" or "extinct" by the time the last speaker dies. In cases involving "gradual language death," the process is typically triggered by language contact situations and may take several generations, with bilingualism and language shift as intermediate stages. Examples include Cornish and Scots Gaelic (Dorian 1981), where a dominant language (in these cases, English) is used in more and more domains previously held by the subordinate language (see also Batibo 1992). Finally, "bottom-to-top death" describes situations in which a language is virtually forgotten, used only in a limited fashion as a ceremonial language by a few members of the community. Specific varieties of Tzeltal, a language spoken in Mexico, are examples of a language experiencing "bottom-to-top death."

As Crystal (2000) observes, few longitudinal studies exist from which linguists can develop a comprehensive picture of what happens to languages and their dialects in the course of language death or to the expressive capabilities of their users. My study overcomes a number of gaps in research on gradual language death by analyzing the development and current state of Texas German, established as the regional dominant language with upwards of 100,000 speakers at its peak in the early 1900s. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Texas German is spoken by the fifth and final generation of fluent speakers, whose number is estimated to be between 8,000 and 10,000. Since the late 1940s, intergenerational transmission of Texas German has ceased, which means that unless a massive revitalization program is begun soon (which is highly unlikely), Texas German will become extinct within the next 30–40 years.

Texas German, which is the result of New World dialect formation (see Trudgill 2004) that began in the 1840s, is (virtually) mutually intelligible with standard German. My study addresses crucial issues of language death as the result of language shift. One might object that its status as a German dialect precludes applying insights from the study of Texas German to other dying languages. However, this does not hold because Texas German still functions as a separate language variety vis-à-vis English in Texas, in isolation from other German language varieties. In support of this position, Dorian (1981, 156) notes that "an immigrant language may be quite intact in the country of origin, and yet in effect be a dying language in its overseas context." For this reason I will throughout this book refer to Texas German as a language when discussing its functional and distributional properties vis-à-vis English and as a dialect when discussing its linguistic properties vis-à-vis other varieties of German.

This study is unique because of the Texas German speech community's special sociolinguistic situation, which sets it apart from most other endangered language communities. First, present-day Texas German is the outcome of new-dialect formation that took as its input various donor dialects brought to Texas by German immigrants beginning in the 1840s (see chapter 3). The result of this process is a type of koiné (Siegel 1985; Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 2002) that has integrated linguistic features of the original donor dialects to different degrees. Second, unlike many obsolescent speech communities where language death as a result of language contact is a more gradual process, Texas German exhibits a rather abrupt path toward extinction. Whereas one typically finds a graded generational pattern with dying language varieties, this is not the case with Texas German, as intergenerational transmission virtually stopped between 1920 and 1950. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there remain almost no fluent speakers under the age of 60; semifluent speakers are extremely difficult to find. Third, the Texas German community underwent some drastic sociopolitical changes within a period of only 30 years. Once considered an important group with its own German-language newspapers, schools, social organizations, and churches throughout central Texas, Texas Germans enjoyed a relatively high prestige before World War I. Anti-German sentiments caused by two world wars as well as ensuing demographic changes eventually put an end to this era. Finally, as I discuss in chapter 3, there exists widespread linguistic variation in Texas German, which makes it difficult to arrive at a coherent analysis of all linguistic properties of this variety. It is for this reason that my investigation of language contact and language death in the Texas German community focuses on the area surrounding New Braunfels in Comal County, Texas (halfway between Austin and San Antonio). Another reason for choosing New Braunfels, which was founded in 1845, is that it is one of the oldest settlements in Texas founded exclusively by German settlers. Furthermore, it preserved its primarily German character until well after World War I, and it is in the heart of the so-called German Belt, which encompasses the area between Gillespie and Medina Counties in the west, Bell and Williamson counties in the north, Burleson, Washington, Austin, and Fort Bend counties in the east, and DeWitt, Karnes, and Wilson counties in the south.

Also setting this investigation apart from other studies concerned with language contact and language death are the size and types of data used for analysis. Previous accounts of Texas German provide phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical inventories of Texas German in the 1940s up to the 1960s. For example, Eikel's

(1954) study of New Braunfels German is based on data collected from 24 informants from three different generations, with the oldest speaker born in the 1860s and the youngest speakers born between 1920 and 1930. Similarly, Gilbert's (1972) excellent *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* provides a wealth of information on the distribution of different linguistic features in New Braunfels as well as across the entire German Belt of central Texas (see section 1.3). Throughout this work, I use Eikel's and Gilbert's data to assess the state of Texas German over a 100-year time span, specifically between the 1860s and the 1960s. I then take their data and compare them with Texas German data I collected between 2001 and 2006 to determine the changes that have taken place in the Texas German community. Although this study is primarily concerned with the data I collected from 52 fluent speakers of New Braunfels German, I also offer brief comparisons with data collected from 140 additional Texas German speakers across the German Belt, where appropriate.

1.2. THE SCOPE OF THIS WORK

The primary focus of this work is an analysis of the dynamics underlying language contact and language death in the Texas German community. In particular, I discuss the Texas German data in the context of the three types of outcomes of intensive language contact identified by Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 100): (1) language maintenance with heavy borrowing in all areas; (2) rapid shift to the dominant language; and (3) language attrition or death. I begin with an anaylsis of the structural changes that Texas German has undergone over the past century, the results of which are important, because some studies have shown that obsolescent languages exhibit "(a) structural (and stylistic) simplifications and (b) dramatic increase of variability due to incongruent and idiosyncratic 'change'" (Cook 1989, 235; see also Dorian 1981; Dressler 1988; Maher 1991; Campbell 1992; Holloway 1997). In contrast, other researchers have argued that in certain contexts moribund language varieties do not exhibit any structural loss, but instead preserve (and in some cases even intensify) certain language structures (Swadesh 1948; Hill 1973; Schilling-Estes 1997; Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999). Based on my analysis of the Texas German data, I offer new evidence that contributes to a more complete picture of possible structural developments in obsolescent languages. In particular, I will argue that obsolescent languages may simultaneously exhibit both simplifications (e.g., case syncretism, gender loss, phonemic inventory) and preservation (e.g., word order, lexicon, tense marking) of linguistic structures.

Based on the structural developments of Texas German, this work also addresses the causes leading to language death. Previous studies (e.g., Gal 1979; Dorian 1981; Brenzinger and Dimmendaal 1992; Sasse 1992) identified a number of important social factors that lead minority groups to assimilate to the dominant culture and language. Perhaps one of the most important social factors triggering language shift and eventual language death is language policies that deny a language variety its place in education, administration, and other spheres of public life. Often, changing demographics caused by increased mobility, urbanization, and economic changes accelerate the pressures imposed by the dominant language (see, e.g., Edwards 1992; Campbell 1994; Grenoble and Whaley 1998). Based on census data, newspaper articles, legal and other administrative texts, and official school and church records, I identify the macrolevel social factors that have triggered language shift to English. A wealth of writing on the influence of social factors on language death already exists, but to my knowledge none of these accounts describe a speech community whose language once served as the prestige variety vis-à-vis the language with which it was in contact and which eventually would develop into the dominant language. This work presents such a case study and also puts it into context by discussing the microlevel social factors leading to language shift and language death. Based on data from the written questionnaire administered by the Texas German Dialect Project (Boas 2003) (see section 1.3), I will analyze the sociolinguistic structures of the Texas German community (social networks), its patterns of language use between 1920 and 2000, and its attitudes and loyalty toward using Texas German and English in different

domains. These data explain why currently the Texas German community exhibits a low degree of vitality as an ethnolinguistic group. According to Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977, 308), group vitality is "what makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the inter-group setting." Analyzing the decline of Texas German use in different domains and the (often) negative or apathetic attitudes toward Texas German help us understand why Texas German is decaying so quickly. These data, in turn, also shed light on what social factors are involved in successful language maintenance over longer periods of time. By analyzing extensive data on both macro-level and micro-level social factors, this study presents an integrated model of social factors leading to language death in the Texas German community. As such, this work is of significance to the field of language obsolescence because it offers different types of sociolinguistic data on the community.

The secondary focus of this work is the dynamics underlying the formation of Texas German between 1845 and 1920. We first need to have an adequate understanding of the linguistic properties of Texas German before we can analyze its decay between 1920 and 2000. A great deal of research has looked at the different mechanisms that are involved in the accommodation of linguistic features of various donor dialects in contact, also known as koinéization (Sandve 1976; Siegel 1985, 1987; Hinskens 1996; Kerswill 2002), which eventually results in a new variety that differs significantly from any of the original varieties (e.g., Omdal 1977; Trudgill 1986, 2004; Bauer 1994; Sudbury 2000; Schreier 2003; Gordon et al. 2004). Based on a comparison of Eikel's (1954) and Gilbert's (1972) Texas German data with my own data, I will determine the outcome of the mixing of different German donor dialects brought to Texas from the late 1840s until the early 1920s (see also Wilson 1977a). This step not only leads to a better understanding of the linguistic properties of Texas German in the early twentieth century—a prerequisite for our study of language death in the Texas German community—but also offers new insights into new-dialect formation that takes place in language-contact situations as opposed to formation that takes place in geographic isolation without (or with very little) influence from other languages, as in

the Falkland Islands (Sudbury 2000), Tristan da Cunha (Schreier 2003), or New Zealand (Gordon et al. 2004; Trudgill 2004).

Determining the outcome of new-dialect formation in the Texas German community is also of interest to comparative research on *Sprachinseln* 'language islands'. Of particular interest are the dynamics underlying the formation and the development of German *Sprachinseln* surrounded by English speakers. Consider, for example, the German language enclaves in Pennsylvania (Louden 1988; Huffines 1989; Kopp 2003; Raith 2003), Kansas (Keel 1989; Johnson 1993; Berend 2003), Wisconsin (B. Lewis 1968; Donnelly 1969; McGraw 1973; Wagener 2003), Michigan (R. Born 1994, 2003), Iowa (Kehlenbeck 1934; Webber 2003), Missouri (Ballew 1997; Albers 1999), Canada (Eichhoff 1976, 1985; Moelleken 1987), and Australia (Clyne 1991; Kipp 2002), among others. The German varieties found in these communities have undergone some of the same developments that we find in Texas (language shift, case loss, lexical borrowing, etc.), yet at the same time they are different in a number of respects (including preservation of word order, length of contact, types of donor dialects, and geographic isolation). Because the analysis of Texas German presented in this book is based on a broad spectrum of both diachronic and synchronic data, it is not only of interest to researchers concerned with German dialectology and *Sprachinseln* but also to researchers interested in new-dialect formation and language death. Because the German donor dialects forming the base for what we call Texas German include at least four distinct varieties, this study also offers an ideal test for different theories of new-dialect formation as applied to German dialects that are in contact with English.

Finally, this book also addresses the issue of language maintenance. Various researchers have pointed out the importance of community attitudes in guiding the directionality of language contact and its outcomes (Andersen 1982; Gal 1984). By incorporating interview data as well as data from written questionnaires, I show that Texas German speakers as well as their parents and grandparents differ widely in their subjective attitudes toward their language. While many Texas Germans do not see a need for maintaining their language or exhibit an open dislike for it

because they think that English should be the only language in the United States, others lament the loss of Texas German and wish for broader community support for maintaining it. Besides other macrolevel social factors, I argue that it is ultimately the language attitudes that determine whether languages are maintained or not. As Grinevald (1998, 142) puts it: "Language loss is ... mostly a matter of shift in language loyalty." In comparing the case of Texas German with other immigrant languages in North America, such as Quebec French or Pennsylvania German, I identify a number of macrolevel and microlevel social factors that support language maintenance among immigrant languages beyond the fourth or fifth generation.

1.3. METHODOLOGY

As Dorian's (1981) study of East Sutherland Gaelic demonstrates, speech communities where endangered languages are spoken primarily by members of the oldest generation are ideal for examining the dynamics underlying language contact and language death. Although each endangered language has a distinct history, it is clear that significant generalizations governing language contact and language death can be made from each such situation. This was one of the main reasons I began studying Texas German after I moved to Texas.

Nothing prepared me for my first contact with Texas German in the summer of 2001. Driving by car from Berkeley to Austin, I stopped in Fredericksburg, Texas, which is situated in Gillespie County in the western-most part of the German Belt, about two hours west of Austin. After having ordered lunch in a local restaurant, I overheard a conversation at the neighboring table. Three elderly gentlemen were discussing what types of hunting gear they should purchase for the upcoming hunting season. At first, I did not take much notice of their conversation until I realized suddenly that they were speaking a variety of German that I had never heard before. After listening to the conversation for about five more minutes, I started talking to them in German and learned more about

the formerly widespread use of German in central Texas and that only the "old-timers" still knew how to speak German. Once in Austin, I spent a few months reviewing the relevant literature on Texas German in order to learn more about the dialect's history and its linguistic features and to familiarize myself with research on *Sprachinseln* in North America. In the following section, I present short summaries of the relevant literature.

1.3.1. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON TEXAS GERMAN. Eikel (1954) is the first major work describing the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Texas German.[1] Based on interviews conducted in New Braunfels (Comal County) in the 1930s and 1940s, Eikel compares the linguistic properties of Texas German with those of standard German. His interviews are based on the translation method of elicitation: 24 informants from three different generations were asked to translate 191 sentences from English into Texas German. As the results of Eikel's study are too numerous to be summarized here, I review his findings on different linguistic properties in detail in chapters 3 (new-dialect formation), 4 (phonology), and 5 (morphosyntax). While Eikel's data are informative and give a good overview of some of the core properties of New Braunfels German, he does not give an account of the different donor dialects that coalesced into this new variety of German. Moreover, Eikel attributes the increasing differences between standard German and Texas German in each successive generation to influences from English as well as careless language use by younger generations. No systematic analysis is carried out to support his claims. As we will see in chapters 3–5, some of the developments observed in Texas German may indeed be attributed to external factors (contact with English, e.g., lexical and constructional borrowings), while others suggest an explanation in terms of internal factors (e.g., case syncretism). However, as we see in chapters 3–6, it is simply not possible to give a clear answer in a number of cases, as the evidence is inconclusive.

Gilbert's (1963) pioneering work on Texas German spoken in Gillespie and Kendall counties provides a detailed description of the dialect's morphological and phonological properties. For his

study, Gilbert used data that he elicited with two different questionnaires based on modified word lists found in Reed and Seifert (1954) and Atwood (1962) (see Gilbert 1963, 28–63). He not only gives a detailed description of the linguistic properties along with maps laying out different dialectal features (morphological and lexical leveling), but he also provides the informants' responses to biographical and background questions. One chapter also consists of transcribed texts from tape-recorded interviews with his informants, allowing for a more complete description of the dialect that complements the results of the elicitation task. Gilbert's (1963) work is much more detailed than Eikel's in that it lists, for example, the complete inventory of Texas German phonemes, including their distribution patterns, possible consonant clusters combinations, and relevant phonological rules (e.g., for assimilation). More importantly, for some of the non-German sound inventory, Gilbert provides explanations showing the contexts in which English sounds have been borrowed into Texas German (see chapter 4).

Gilbert's (1972) *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* uses a methodology similar to that of his 1963 study. Based on the questionnaires of his earlier study, he asked his informants to translate sentences from English into Texas German. Thirty-five hours of interviews were recorded and transcribed, before focusing on the short questionnaire: "In order to increase the number of informants greatly but at the same time to minimize the expense of fieldwork, it was decided to compile those items that seemed most promising..." (Gilbert 1972, 3). Working with two revised versions of the short questionnaire, seven field-workers transcribed the informant's translations "as were consistent with a fairly speedy interview" (3–4). This method was used because "it was thought highly important to obtain extensive, if superficial, samples of speech from many closely spaced interview points, the only procedure which would produce a net of coverage dense enough to be correlative with the complicated settlement pattern of the thirty-one-county area" (6). The field-workers' records were augmented with mail checklists to be filled out by laymen: "Mail correspondents were instructed either to circle a response or to write it in, depending on their normal, everyday usage" (6).

The data in Gilbert's (1972) atlas represent the speech of 286 informants across a 31-county area of central Texas. The 148 maps list in the top right "an English title identical to the English word, phrase, or sentence posed by the field workers to the informants for translation into German. Directly underneath the English is a High German translation with the portion under study underlined" (7). Each of Gilbert's maps includes numbered interview points and linguistic symbols. Responses are marked by "signs placed at their respective interview points. The symbols were selected to give an overall visual impression of similarities and differences, depending on the nature of the informants' responses" (7). Each map has a legend that lists lead-forms with individual symbols identifying the geographical distribution. Gilbert not only lists the geographical distribution of phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features, but he also provides summaries of the distributions of these features that make it easier to understand and interpret the full scope of the data. To date, Gilbert's atlas is the most comprehensive description of Texas German as spoken during the 1960s.

Other studies over the past four decades have focused on selected linguistic features and specific developments in Texas German.[2] For example, discussing the different types of loanwords in the German spoken in Fredericksburg, Gilbert (1965b, 102) points out that "many times it is very difficult to distinguish between pure borrowings and German dialectal features secondarily reinforced by English." After reviewing the different types of grammatical and semantic interferences, Gilbert offers a typology and list of Texas German borrowings, loan translations, and loan extensions. Wilson (1977a, 47), in discussing the varieties of Texas German spoken around Giddings and LaGrange, claims that "most of the Texas Germans do not speak a dialect, but modified standard German." Based on newspaper excerpts from the *Giddings Deutsches Volksblatt* from the 1930s, he briefly reviews some of the most notable characteristics of Texas German: unrounding of front rounded vowels (see chapter 4), loss of genitive and dative cases (see chapter 5), and different types of loanwords.

Investigating the origins of Texas German speakers in the nineteenth century with the help of census data, Gilbert (1977) gives

a detailed account of the different regions from which Germans immigrated to Texas. His review of the censuses from 1850 to 1880 shows that it is not always possible to arrive at definite conclusions about the geographic origins, because each census includes different types of information about place of origin. Based on the limited census information as well as linguistic data from his 1972 atlas, Gilbert suggests Texas German is "formed from a Middle-Northern base, which in the course of time assimilated the minority South German dialects" (30).

Moore's (1980) sociolinguistic longitudinal study presents a number of interesting insights into the sociolinguistic dynamics of Fredericksburg (Gillespie County). Based on sociolinguistic surveys conducted in 1969 and 1979 with high school students and the adult population (as well as their extended families), Moore finds that the predominant language of the community has changed from German to English. This development is particularly surprising since "the community values its language and cultural heritages," and it "is concerned with and values education for its young, and supports educational intervention to impede the loss of one of its languages, German" (199). Moore explains the reason for this apparent contradiction in terms of the "impact of the English-only laws for public school instruction enacted in 1909 and 1918, and by the national decline of interest in second language study" (199). Based on her data, Moore suggests a number of curricular changes in local schools in order to maintain German as a viable community language: "The curricular modifications which appear to be the most productive ... are those which promote active use of the language and which provide for community/school interaction and support of classroom and extracurricular activities using the language to study the cultural heritage" (200). Despite Moore's detailed curricular recommendations to the Fredericksburg schools (and some initial interest among school administrators), German has lost further ground in the past 25 years.

Salmons (1983) provides a detailed discussion of the sociopolitical factors leading to language shift in Texas German, as well as some of its linguistic consequences. According to Salmons, the Texas German community underwent a number of changes from

general bilingualism in the late nineteenth century to little diglossia at the end of the twentieth century, with intermediate stages of bilingualism with diglossia (pre-1917) and language shift (in the 1960s). An overview of some of the internal linguistic factors complements Salmons's review of the external linguistic developments. Among these are the results of a field study conducted with 16 informants in Gillespie County in 1980. His study shows a higher percentage of loanwords used by younger informants, loss of dative case, and the loss of front rounded vowels in certain environments, among other developments. Salmons (1983, 195) concludes, "The problems are great for Texas German ... But just as German dialects which seemed to be dying after the Second World War have lately been able to strengthen their positions, perhaps Texas German can secure itself a future." As I show throughout the rest of this book, Salmons's optimistic outlook has unfortunately not come true. Instead, Texas German has come much closer to extinction than it was 20 years ago.

Guion's (1996) study on Gillespie County Texas German builds on the data reported by Gilbert (1963, 1972) and Salmons (1983). Based on interviews with 16 speakers, Guion describes the development of a number of selected linguistic features, such as lexical and morphological loans. A particularly interesting aspect reported by Guion concerns the apparent transfer of the progressive marker *-ing* from Texas English into Texas German among "younger" fluent speakers, that is, between the ages of 50 and 70 (e.g., *Der ist rauss vor Armadillos jachtin mit den Vernon sein Schrodflint* 'He is out hunting Armadillos with Vernon's shotgun' [1996, 451]). At the phonological level, Guion shows that younger Texas German speakers increasingly employ an American English retroflex continuant for the /r/ allophone, which is typically realized as either an apical trilled tap [r] in the syllable onset or as an unstressed [ə] in the coda of syllables (1996, 452). At the morphosyntactic level, Guion observes a reduction in the plural marking of nouns, a reduction of cases to a two-case system (nominative/oblique), and an increased use of compound tense forms among younger fluent speakers.

Among younger fluent speakers, Guion (1996, 460–61) finds that the analytical construction equivalent to standard German past

perfect (*war ... gewesen* 'had ... been') is used to mark the preterite "in 58% of the occurrences in the same environment, effectively marking the post object position of the verb S Aux O V" as opposed to only 6% among older fluent speakers. One of the examples provided by Guion is *Das war alle in Deutsch gewesen* 'That was all in German been' or 'Everything was in German', which would be rendered in standard German in the regular preterite form as *Alles war auf Deutsch.* The fact that "S Aux O V word order is not shared by the dominant language (English)" leads her to the conclusion that "it can not be due to English influence." Instead, she suggests that "the younger fluent speakers are exaggerating this feature of German in order to assert their 'German' identity." The relatively few occasions on which Texas German is still heard in and around Fredericksburg leads Guion to the conclusion that "presently, the only surviving register is an informal, familial one" (447).

Guion's account of Gillespie County Texas German as well as the results by other researchers ultimately convinced me that Texas German was not only an exciting research topic, but also that Texas German was well on its way to extinction and that if it were not broadly recorded before its death we would be losing a special dialect central to the culture and history of Texas. Consequently, I set out to record some of the remaining speakers of Texas German to preserve it in a digital archive for future generations. The results of these efforts are not only useful for teaching and research in linguistics, but they also provide the Texas German community with access to oral history interviews about life in the community.

Finding Texas German speakers at the beginning of the twenty-first century is no easy task. Initially, I was able to locate only four speakers through students in one of my classes at the University of Texas at Austin. I developed four different questionnaires to be used for interviews and secured start-up funding from the University of Texas to buy recording equipment.[3] The activities described in the following sections are part of the efforts of the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP; see http://www.tgdp.org), which I founded in the fall of 2001 to facilitate the recording and archiving of interviews with some of the remaining speakers of Texas German.

1.3.2. TYPES OF DATA. The first questionnaire consists of English word lists and sentences taken from the 148 maps of the *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (Gilbert 1972). The second questionnaire consists of 191 English sentences from Eikel's (1954) worksheets. Interviewers read out English words, phrases, and sentences from both lists and asked informants to translate them into Texas German. Although direct elicitation methods are sometimes regarded as being of limited usefulness, they have the advantage of allowing "the investigator to probe the boundaries of the skills of less fluent speakers" (Mithun 1990, 3). In addition, they allow researchers to compare the speech of different speakers in a controlled environment, thereby enabling across-the-board analyses based on identical source data.

The third questionnaire seeks to capture the informants' daily use of Texas German. The eight-page questionnaire was drafted to serve as a basis for sociolinguistic interviews to be conducted in German. The first section of the questionnaire, which is comparable in structure to the outlines for spontaneous interviewing proposed by Wolfram and Fasold (1997), contains questions about the informant's personal history (date and place of birth, place of origin of informants' ancestors, etc.). The second section consists of about 140 questions in German about topics including childhood activities, the community, religion, education, living conditions, tourism, government, language, and current activities. The goal is to produce casual, relaxed conversation, giving informants the chance to respond freely in Texas German without being asked to produce specific linguistic structures, as with the word and sentence translation task.[4] By allowing informants to speak freely, it is possible to discover linguistic features of Texas German that have gone unnoticed because elicitation methods for them were not included in the research methodology of previous studies.

The fourth questionnaire used for fieldwork elicits biographical information in English. It is in written format (very few Texas Germans write German) and covers age, date of birth, level of education, domains of language use (Texas German and English), and language attitudes (subjective reactions), among other things.

Interviewers typically sit across from the informants and discuss the individual questions in English in case there were any comprehension difficulties. Moreover, whenever informants cannot read or write well, interviewers write down the information for them. The biographical data compiled from these forms are used to create metadata records for each informant and interview that is included in the Texas German Dialect Archive (see section 1.3.3).

1.3.3. FIELDWORK. I chose New Braunfels as a field site because it is among the oldest German settlements in Texas and because it received settlers from different regions across the German-speaking areas of central Europe (see chapter 2). Another reason for selecting New Braunfels is the fact that there are three previous studies describing the variety of Texas German spoken there (Clardy 1954; Eikel 1954; Gilbert 1972). The comparison of such historical data with present-day resampled data from more than four decades later offers valuable insights into the mechanisms of language contact and language change. As such, the real-time evidence discussed in chapters 3–5 provides an interesting addition to the apparent-time data, which is somewhat limited because Texas German is spoken almost exclusively by people 60 years of age and older (see Bailey 2002 for advantages and disadvantages of real-time and apparent-time data).

The interviews for this book were recorded at informants' homes or at local museums and churches in the New Braunfels area between January 2002 and March 2006. Besides the author, several undergraduate and graduate students in the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Texas at Austin were involved in recording the interviews. All interviewers were either native speakers of standard German or spoke it with near-native fluency. All interviews were conducted individually except for two. For the recordings, we used MiniDisc players as well as DAT recorders and digital video cameras. The fieldwork was largely based on the network model (L. Milroy 1987). I started interviewing a few Texas German speakers in New Braunfels, and once I became acquainted with them, they referred me to other family members, friends, neighbors, or church members who also spoke Texas German. Presenting talks with local genealogical societies on the activities of the TGDP was another way of "recruiting" informants. At the end of each talk, I had potential informants write down their names and contact information.

Informants should be treated with respect and their anonymity maintained when conducting fieldwork (Wolfram and Fasold 1997, 98–107). To this end, informants were first told about the activities and goals of the TGDP. We told the informants about the different types of interview data we were interested in collecting and why we wanted to record interviews. We also informed participants that in order to protect their anonymity their names would not be revealed to the public. Then they signed the consent forms and the interviews could begin, using the four different questionnaires (for details, see Boas 2006). After the interview, each recording was assigned a unique number, and the names of living people were deleted (see section 1.3.5).

Besides recording and archiving interviews, community outreach has played a significant role for the TGDP since it started in 2001. The importance of sharing the insights of linguistic fieldwork with the community was first raised by Labov (1982) and has more recently been emphasized by Wolfram (1998) and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998). To give back to the community, I have given presentations on the TGDP at meetings of various historical preservation and genealogical societies throughout central Texas. In general, I found the members of these groups extremely interested in my research on Texas German. Perhaps one of the most interesting outcomes of my presentations has been that community members have come to appreciate Texas German for what it is, namely a special variety (or varieties) of German worthy of scientific investigation. Before, many Texas Germans thought that the dialect was a simplified, improper, mixed, or worthless variety of German, inadequate and full of errors. As a result of my presentations, community members have not only become more interested in the history and development of Texas German, but for many the dialect has gained prestige as something unique to the Texas Germans.

1.3.4. THE SPEAKERS IN THIS STUDY. Given the goals of this study, it is important to address the amount of data and the number of informants selected for analysis. Moreover, quantitative sociolinguistic studies (Labov et al. 1968; Wolfram 1969; Trudgill 1974) demonstrate the relevance of a number of extralinguistic independent variables, such as ethnicity, social class, age, sex, and gender, which necessitates a short discussion in the context of this study.

For the research presented in this book, I interviewed 52 fluent Texas German speakers from the New Braunfels area, between 62 and 96 years of age. Of these speakers, 28 were between 60 and 70 years old, 11 between 70 and 80 years, 10 between 80 and 90 years old, and 3 between 90 and 100 years. All of the 30 male and 22 female speakers were either born in the New Braunfels area or moved there before they started school. Many informants I interviewed trace their family's heritage in Texas back to the German villages and towns from which their ancestors immigrated. Texas German was their first language; about a third of the informants had some knowledge of English before entering elementary school. Many informants grew up on farms, attending rural country schools before transferring to the New Braunfels High School to complete their education. While some informants attended only 7 or 9 years of school before beginning full-time work on the family farm, 73% of informants completed high school. Five speakers (10%) completed a college education, three of whom went on to graduate school. Only 26% of the high school graduates and four of the five college graduates studied German formally in school. The informants had a variety of occupational backgrounds: semiskilled workmen, technicians, teachers, business owners, farmers and ranchers, and professionals.

Besides age, gender, education, and occupation, ethnicity is another important social variable studied extensively (e.g., Fought 2003). In asking individual informants about how they identify themselves, I have found a surprisingly wide range of opinions. The vast majority of the New Braunfels Texas German speakers (68%) primarily identify themselves as Texas Germans, while 22% view themselves as Texans. Six percent call themselves Americans, while 4% identify themselves primarily as German Americans. Very few

informants felt that the term "Texas German" could refer to people of any German background living in Texas, while the majority thought that it referred primarily to people who are descendants of German immigrants who came to Texas before the end of the nineteenth century. Most informants regarded the ability to speak Texas German as an important part of Texas German identity, but not a necessary one. Instead, in the opinion of many of my informants, one can be classified as a Texas German when one exhibits a positive identification with one's cultural heritage and local customs such as singing German songs, polka dancing, knowing how to make sausage, and keeping one's house and yard in an orderly shape. This type of group identification became evident not only when interviewing Texas German speakers for this study, but also when I tried to convince potential informants to be interviewed, only to find out that they did not speak any German. When talking to both groups of people, they referred to people of Anglo heritage as *Amerikaners* 'Americans'. Although almost all of the informants interviewed for this study go to church regularly, their religious denominations (Protestants, Catholics) do not have any significant influence on their social networks or their linguistic behavior. Having established that all of my informants are of Texas German background, I will continue to use the term Texas German to refer both to the ethnicity of my informants as well as to the particular variety of German they speak.

Before moving on to the next section, it is important to address the overall fluency of the New Braunfels informants. One of the defining characteristics of dying languages pointed out by Dorian (1981) is a continuum of fluency and competence, which correlates to the age profile of the community. Fluent speakers are primarily found among the older generations. In contrast, semifluent speakers are usually younger people who understand the language and can speak it to a limited extent, yet in a much-reduced form. In her research on East Sutherland Gaelic, Dorian found that semispeakers had too little exposure to the language to learn it perfectly. As such, they speak it more slowly than fluent speakers and they "deviate from local lexical and grammatical norms at a level conspicuous enough to attract unfavorable comment from

fluent speakers" (1997, 212). The classification of speakers has been refined by further studies, such as Campbell and Muntzel (1989, 181), who propose the following fluency scale: at the top of the scale are strong speakers ("S"), followed by imperfect speakers ("I"), who are reasonably fluent, weak semispeakers ("W"), and rememberers ("R"), who only know a few words or isolated phrases. Similarly, Dorian (1999, 114) classifies semispeakers according to a scale that includes "high," "mid," and "low" proficiency. While such scales have proven to work with selected linguistic features, it is difficult to use them for assessing the overall language competence of a speaker. This issue becomes obvious when one tries to arrive at an integrated description of a speaker's abilities that vary according to different aspects of the language. For example, if a speaker remembers a large percentage of the words of a language including their proper pronunciation but fails to combine them appropriately at the syntactic level, it is not entirely clear where he or she would rank on such a scale. Another problem is that often it is impossible to determine whether speakers cannot control a certain aspect of the language because they have not acquired it in the first place or because they have forgotten it ("formerly fluent speakers" [Dorian 1994]) (see also Andersen 1982; Menn 1989). These issues show that in practice it may often not be possible to adequately characterize a speaker's language abilities according to such scales.

During my fieldwork in New Braunfels, I encountered a particularly interesting situation when trying to classify the linguistic capabilities of my informants. I expected to find different levels of proficiency in various linguistic domains such as morphosyntax, phonology, and the lexicon. However, this turned out not to be the case. Instead, I came across roughly two different classes of speakers. The first class comprised people 60 years of age and older who grew up learning Texas German as their first language. Throughout their lives they continued to use Texas German in various domains (public and private) at different levels of intensity. Almost all of these informants exhibited a strong command of Texas German and would be classified as strong speakers according to Campbell and Muntzel (1989). A few informants had problems with remembering certain words but otherwise exhibited fluent and comprehensible speech. They would fall somewhere in between Campbell and Muntzel's (1989) strong speakers and imperfect speakers.

The second class of speakers consisted of two subgroups. The first subgroup includes speakers 60 years of age and older who would at best be classified as rememberers. Fluent speakers recommended them to me because they thought that they were "people who know how to talk German." However, once I started interviewing them it became obvious that they could not understand any of the questions that I asked them in German. Moreover, they were unable to understand interviews with other Texas German informants and could only translate a very limited number of English words into Texas German. These words would cover only about 5% of the words and phrases elicited by the Gilbert and Eikel questionnaires and included everyday vocabulary such as greetings, exclamations, weather terms, and numbers. After being asked about their abilities to speak Texas German, they told me that although both their parents would talk German to each other on a daily basis they decided not to raise their children speaking German. By using English these parents hoped that their children would have better opportunities in life. The second subgroup consisted of speakers 60 years of age and older who were capable of following questions and conversations in German but who were unable to put together any sentences. Their formulaic speech was limited to short one- or two-word answers. In the elicitation tasks using the Gilbert and Eikel questionnaires, members of this group were able to translate less than 10% of the words and phrases, but no complete sentences. In Campbell and Muntzel's (1989) classification, these speakers would be categorized as rememberers. Unfortunately, these speakers would break interviews off after about 10 minutes, because they realized that they did not "know" enough Texas German to be interviewed.

In addition to the rememberers who ended interviews after a short time, it was extremely difficult to find people who were willing to participate. In a few instances I had overheard longer conversations between various Texas Germans at large social gatherings. After informants who were familiar with the interview pro-

cess introduced me to them because they thought they might be interested, I found out that they did not want to be interviewed. This means that although I would have liked a more representative sample of the population, this was not always possible. As such, the New Braunfels informants interviewed for this study were all fluent speakers, or strong speakers in the sense of Campbell and Muntzel (1989).

1.3.5. THE TEXAS GERMAN DIALECT ARCHIVE. Interviews were recorded on Mini Disc or DAT and subsequently disseminated for inclusion in the Texas German Dialect Archive, which holds all the data that form the basis for this book. This section gives a short overview of the workflow for depositing the recorded interviews into the digital archive, which is at http://www.tgdp.org.

First, the digital files were transferred to the project's main computer workstation, where they were saved in WAV format. To protect the informants' anonymity, I decided to cut out their names and to edit out sections of interviews in which informants refer to specific titles and names of places or events that could identify them. Each audio master file was assigned a unique combination of numbers referring to the interviewer, the informant, and the number of the interview conducted with that informant. Further information includes a number identifying the file as a master file and a letter showing whether the file is audio or combined audio and video.

Next, copies of each audio master file of an open-ended interview were segmented into smaller sections, or "media sessions," which vary in length between about 30 seconds and 6 minutes. Each media session was then transcribed, translated, and stored in the online Texas German Dialect Archive. Throughout this book I refer to specific files contained in the online Texas German Digital Archive by citing the file number(s).[5] Each audio master file was assigned a unique combination of numbers referring first to the interviewer, then to the informant and the number of the interview conducted with that informant.[6] Further information includes the number identifying the section of the interview, as well as a letter showing whether the file is audio or combined audio and video.[7]

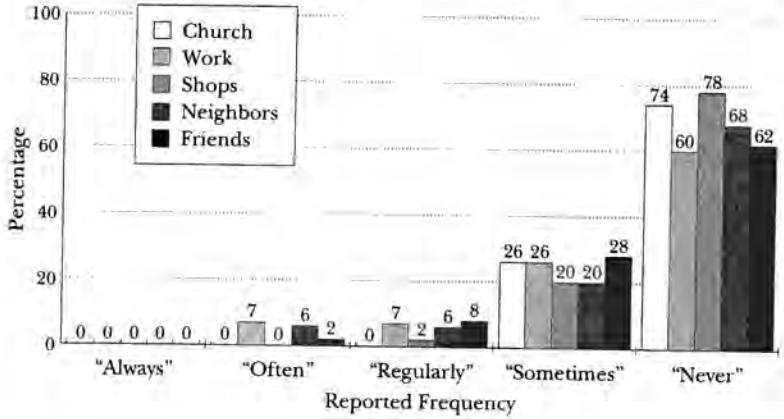
For details on the processing of recordings and the archiving guidelines followed by the Texas German Dialect Archive, please see Boas (2006). With this overview of the fieldwork and methodology underlying the analysis of Texas German in this book, I now turn to a discussion of language use in the Texas German community.

1.4. LANGUAGE USE TODAY

An important question underlying my study is how and where Texas German is still used today. To this end, I briefly summarize the results of data obtained from the written questionnaire about current language use among New Braunfels Texas Germans. Note that the sample discussed here represents only a small percentage of the speech community (52 informants). This means that my results may not necessarily be generalized to the speech community as a whole but should instead be regarded as indicators of the present use of Texas German in New Braunfels instead of exact statistics.

Each informant was asked to indicate how often he or she spoke German and English in five domains—"at church," "at work," "at local shops," "with neighbors," and "with friends"—using a five-point scale ranging from "always" to "never" with "often," "regularly," and "sometimes" in between. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, very few informants still use German in public domains such as churches, the workplace, or local shops.[8] We find a similar situation among neighbors and friends. Figure 1.1 illustrates that the majority of Texas Germans "never" use German at church (74%), at work (60%), at local shops (78%), with neighbors (68%), or with friends (62%) anymore. Only 26% reported that they sometimes use German at church, whereas only 20% speak it sometimes at local shops and 20% at work. We find a similar distribution among neighbors (20%) and friends (28%). Of particular interest here is the use of Texas German at work. More than 20 years ago, Salmons (1983, 190) observed for Fredericksburg (a community comparable to New Braunfels) that "workplaces and shops seem to fare best in the use of Texas German. Texas German is regularly spoken at some workplaces and informants report

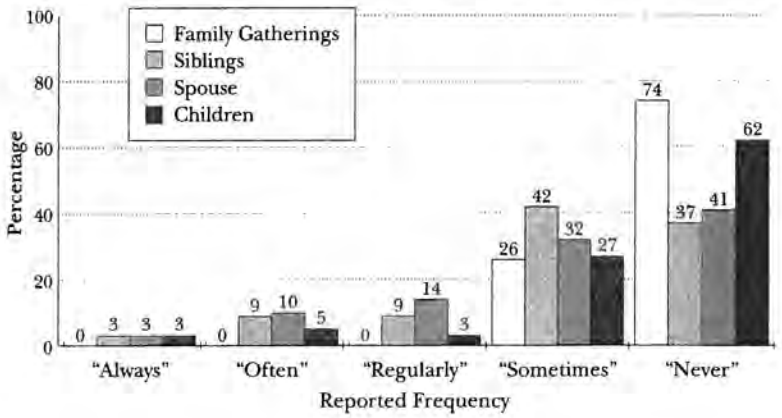
FIGURE 1.1
Reports of Texas German Spoken in 2006



that non-German speaking coworkers are sometimes assimilated linguistically, even if few become fluent." The current data demonstrate a drastic decline of Texas German spoken at work. As figure 1.1 shows, the percentages for "regular" use of Texas German are significantly lower. Only 7% of the New Braunfels informants report regular use of Texas German at work, none at church, 2% at local shops, 6% with neighbors, and 8% with friends. Comparing these percentages with those for higher frequencies of language use, we see that hardly any of the informants speak Texas German "often" at church and local shops or with neighbors and friends; none of the informants speak it "always" in these domains.

Figure 1.2 shows that the use of Texas German is comparatively more widespread among families. It is based on a different part of the written questionnaire that asked informants about how much German and English they speak at family gatherings, with siblings, spouses, and children. Like the previous sets of questions, informants responded on a five-point scale that included "always" and "never" on opposite ends, with "often," "regularly," and "sometimes" in between. None of the informants always speaks Texas German at family gatherings. Only 3% speak Texas German always with their siblings, spouses, or children. The responses for "often" illustrate

FIGURE 1.2
Reports of Texas German Spoken in 2006



that only 10% speak Texas German "often" with their spouses, 9% with their siblings, and none at family gatherings. These numbers reflect the fact that the linguistic abilities of a speaker's spouse are often critical in maintaining a language (see Mougeon and Beniak 1989, 292). Sixty percent of informants are married to partners who do not speak Texas German, which means that they have less opportunity to use it at home.

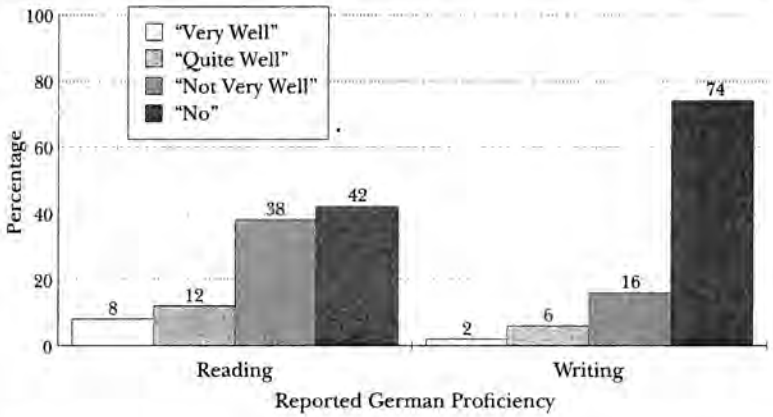
This situation, in turn, makes it difficult to pass the language to younger generations. Among couples in which one partner is an English-only speaker, it frequently became more convenient to raise children exclusively in English, according to the informants. But even in the homes of many bilingual Texas German couples, it was fashionable to speak only English to the children. Various informants noted on the questionnaire that it was simply easier to speak English at home, because they lived in an English-only speaking neighborhood with very little opportunity to speak Texas German. In addition, many informants pointed out that they wanted to spare their children the "embarrassment" of not speaking proper English when entering school. Reflecting on their experiences of only speaking Texas German when starting the first grade between the 1920s and the 1940s, these informants wanted their children

to fit into Texan mainstream culture. Speaking Texas German was not part of this, in particular because of the low prestige associated with being German as a result of the two world wars (see chapter 2). Consequently, very few of the informants' children are currently capable of interacting in Texas German. This situation is reflected by the 5% of informants who reported speaking Texas German "often" with their children. All of these informants noted on their questionnaires that "speaking" should be interpreted in a limited sense. That is, the informants would attempt to speak Texas German to their children, who would respond with only a word or two in Texas German (e.g., *ja* 'yes' or *nein* 'no') but subsequently switch to English only.

The responses indicating higher frequencies of language use ("always," "often") are complemented by the responses for the other three categories. While none speak Texas German "regularly" at family gatherings, the percentages are significantly higher for spouses (14%) and siblings (9%). Only 3% of respondents speak Texas German "regularly" with their children. The overall percentages for the less frequent uses of Texas German show an increase: about a third of informants speak Texas German "sometimes" at family gatherings (26%), with siblings (42%), spouses (32%), and children (27%). Finally, figure 1.2 shows that the overall percentages are the highest in the last category "never." Here, we find that 74% never speak Texas German at family gatherings, with 37% reporting to use Texas German "never" with siblings. Numbers are significantly higher for spouses (41%) and children (62%). Examining the empirical data in figures 1.1 and 1.2, we find that at the beginning of the twenty-first century the use of Texas German in New Braunfels is strongest among siblings and spouses.

In order to shed light on the full spectrum of language use, informants were also asked about their current reading and writing skills in German. For the two questions "Can you read German?" and "Can you write German?" they were given a four-point scale, ranging from "very well" to "can't read/write any," with "quite well" and "not very well" in between. As figure 1.3 illustrates, only a small number of the 52 New Braunfels Texas German speakers interviewed for this study are capable of reading and writing German.

FIGURE 1.3
"Can You Read/Write German?"



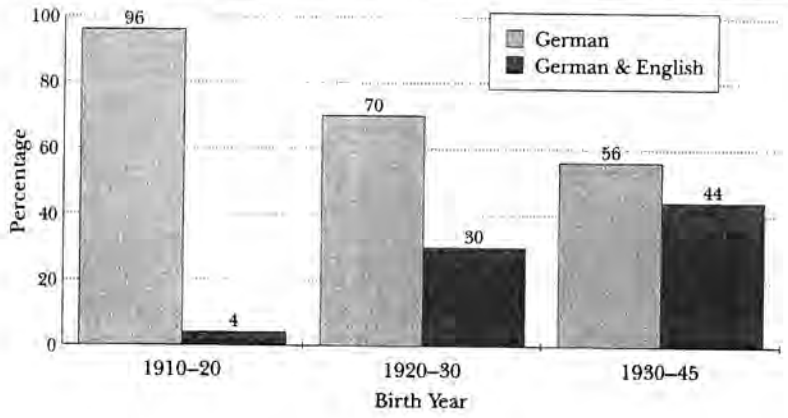
While most informants learned German reading and writing in school or college, some taught themselves in later years, because they wanted to communicate with relatives and friends in Germany. Whereas 8% of informants read German "very well," 12% read it "quite well," 38% "not very well," and 42% don't read German at all. As one might expect, the percentages representing writing capabilities are even lower than those for reading: 2% claim to be able to write German "very well," followed by 6% with "quite well," 16% with "not very well," and 74% who do not know how to write German.

The results reflecting the current reading and writing proficiencies are not surprising since, in contrast to earlier generations of Texas Germans, most informants in this study did not receive any elementary schooling in German. Unlike their parents and grandparents, who learned how to read and write in standard German from the first grade on, these speakers acquired oral skills in Texas German at home but were educated entirely in English because of English-only laws passed in 1918 requiring the mandatory use of English as instructional language. In fact, for most of the informants born before 1920, German monolingualism was the rule when entering elementary school, not the exception. To determine our informants' language capabilities when entering

elementary school, a different section of the questionnaire asked informants, "When you started school, which language(s) could you speak?"

Figure 1.4 shows an interesting difference in the informants' knowledge of languages when starting school. Almost all informants (96%) born between 1910 and 1920 knew only German when they entered elementary school. This number is smaller (70%) for the speakers born between 1920 and 1930 and smallest (56%) for our informants born between 1930 and 1945. This age gradation is evidence that in the years following World War I Texas German parents put more emphasis on teaching their children English also, with the consequence that more and more children achieved bilingual fluency in English and Texas German by the time they started elementary school. Due to the low prestige associated with German in the years following World War I, many other Texas German parents decided not to pass their native language on to their children at all. For this group, language transmission virtually stopped during this period. For most of our New Braunfels informants (90%), the intergenerational chain of language transmission was broken a generation later when they began raising their own children. The extent to which Texas German has been lost is evident by the fact

FIGURE 1.4
"When You Started School, Which Language(s) Could You Speak?"



that I have not been able to locate any fluent Texas German speakers in New Braunfels younger than 60 years of age. In addition, as pointed out in section 1.3.4, I have not been able to find among this age group any Texas German speakers whose expressive capabilities reach beyond those of rememberers in the sense of Campbell and Muntzel (1989).

In summary, then, we see that the current use of Texas German among our elderly New Braunfels informants is extremely restricted. It is strongest in some areas of the familial domain (spouses and siblings) and weakest in the public domain (workplace, shops). The results of the written questionnaire illustrate the somewhat abrupt and near total interruption of intergenerational transmission between 1920 and 1945. The absence of fluent speakers younger than 60 years of age and the widespread lack of interest in language maintenance and revitalization means that Texas German is most certainly going to be extinct before the middle of the twenty-first century. Unlike other German-speaking communities in North America, such as many traditional Amish or Mennonite communities (Huffines 1989; Keiser 2001; Kaufmann 2003; Kopp 2003), who have been able to maintain their varieties of German for centuries, the Texas Germans do not have any religious motivation for keeping their ancestral language alive. As one Texas German informant put it: "Yes, it's sad that Texas German is being lost, but you know, that's O.K. You don't need it anymore. We can do everything in English."

1.5. OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

This book represents the first broad-scale longitudinal analysis of Texas German, one designed to serve as a model and basis for further longitudinal studies of other endangered languages and dialects. It models the unusual case in dialect research of a formerly high-status dialect that was given up for sociopolitical rather than for traditional reasons, such as lack of cultural and socioeconomic status.

Chapter 2 provides essential background information about the sociohistorical setting of the Texas German speech community

in New Braunfels. Based on data about the use of standard German in schools, churches, newspapers, and public administration, I argue that until the early 1920s there was a diglossic relationship between standard German, which was the high variety (Ferguson 1959), and Texas German, which served as the low variety. This situation changed in large part because of English-only laws passed during World War I, which established English as the new high variety. Next, I show how this stable diglossic situation eventually led to language shift beginning in the late 1950s. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the New Braunfels informants' use of Texas German in various public and private domains throughout their lives.

Chapter 3 investigates the mechanisms underlying the formation of Texas German from the time of arrival of the first settlers until the early twentieth century. Based on data from Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972), I employ Trudgill's (1986, 2004) model of New World dialect formation to explain the large linguistic variation found among Texas German speakers in the 1940s and 1960s. I argue that demographic changes and the effects of World War I English-only laws were instrumental in eventually breaking the intergenerational chain of language transmission. As such, the development of Texas German is unique in that it had not yet completely evolved into a coherent New World dialect or koiné (see Omdal 1977; Kerswill 1996; Britain 1997; Sudbury 2000; Schreier 2003; Gordon et al. 2004) when significant historical events, which ultimately led to its becoming an endangered dialect, took place.

Chapter 4 examines the development of a number of phonological features from the early 1900s (when some of Eikel's 1954 informants were born) until today. First, I discuss how the variation in pronunciation of rounded front vowels recorded by Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972) has evolved over the past six decades. Comparing Eikel's and Gilbert's original data with comparable data collected between 2001 and 2006, I show that front rounded vowels in Texas German have become less common, a trend observed by Gilbert (1965b, 107–8). The Eikel and Gilbert data are supplemented with data from the open-ended interviews in order to shed light

on the question of whether unrounding takes place only in certain contexts or across the board. Second, I analyze the development of long vowels, which have become diphthongized in certain contexts but not in others. Third, I discuss other trends toward greater variability in a number of other sounds. Finally, I address the question of how these changes came about and whether they can be attributed to language contact with English (external factors; see Boas et al. 2004), to normal phonological developments parallel to those found in other German dialects (internal factors; see Keel 1994, 2003), or to factors related to language shift and language death (cf. Dorian 1981, Cook 1989).

Chapter 5 analyzes a set of morphosyntactic developments that have taken place in Texas German over the past century in order to determine which of these should be attributed to language death. Identifying such cases is of particular interest because languages undergoing obsolescence often exhibit "a reduction of morphologically marked categories and in the number of allomorphs, along with increased variability in morphological marking" (Wolfram 2002, 774). More specifically, I examine data on plural marking of nouns, case reduction and loss, and word order.

Chapter 6 examines language attitudes in the Texas German community to determine their importance in maintaining the dialect. Previous research has shown that speakers have specific beliefs about language varieties and that these beliefs directly influence how they use them (Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1972; Preston 1989, 1996; Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh 1999). In language death situations, attitudes of language loyalty play a significant role in a speaker's decision to give up his or her ancestral language (Holloway 1997). Such decisions are often dependent on how far language and culture are interconnected for members of a speech community (Hymes 1974). The data from the open-ended interviews and the written questionnaires suggest that the great majority of New Braunfels informants exhibit strong language loyalty toward Texas German. For these speakers, loyalty toward Texas German is an indicator of pride in their cultural heritage and an indicator of social status: they view Texas German as an integral part of

their identity, they regard the dialect as a tool for identifying with other Texas Germans, and they have very strong opinions in favor of maintaining the dialect.

This positive identification with Texas German, however, is in strong contrast with practical considerations and frequent indifference toward Texas German. As in other speech communities where the ancestral language is not being passed on to younger generations (e.g., Gal 1979; Edwards 1985; Dorian 1986; Kuter 1989; Mithun 1990), many Texas Germans still regard their language as a hindrance to socioeconomic advancement or as an indication of educational and cultural backwardness. These feelings appear to be caused primarily by two factors. First, many speakers believe that Texas German is somehow an inferior variety vis-à-vis standard German. Second, the negative attitudes that the dominant English-speaking majority had toward Texas Germans during and after World War I played an important role: the use of German in the public domain declined drastically in part as a result of anti-German sentiments and English-only laws (see chapter 2). This negative prestige is often given as one of the prime reasons why Texas Germans did not pass their language on to their children. The most important reason for not raising their children with Texas German, however, is the same that keeps the informants themselves from frequently using their ancestral language nowadays: for most informants, it is not practical anymore to use Texas German, as English serves all communicative purposes in their daily lives. Chapter 7 presents a summary of the book and gives an outlook on further research on Texas German and other German American dialects.

2. SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses some of the important cultural, political, and linguistic developments of the New Braunfels community between 1845 and 2000 in order to lay the foundation for an in-depth discussion of the formation of Texas German in chapter 3. I begin with an overview of German immigration to Texas to demonstrate the differences and similarities in settlement patterns between New Braunfels and other German-speaking communities outside of Texas.[1] Next, I look at the different domains in which English and German were spoken in the New Braunfels community until World War I. Of particular interest is the use of standard German vis-à-vis Texas German in the public and private domains. I then discuss the sociolinguistic dynamics of English and German (i.e., the establishment of a stable diglossic situation in the sense of Fishman 1967) between the two world wars. Finally, I describe the developments leading from a stable diglossic situation to an unstable diglossic situation and eventual language shift in the years following World War II.

2.2. GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO TEXAS

Large-scale German immigration to Texas did not begin until the 1840s, when the Mainzer Adelsverein (Society of German Noblemen in Mainz) purchased land tracts in Texas, on which its leaders planned to settle German emigrants (see Biesele 1930 and Auspurg-Hackert 1984 for details, including Ernst's settlement in the 1830s, the first permanent German settlement in Texas). Between 1845 and 1847, the Adelsverein managed to transport German immigrants to Galveston and Carlshafen (renamed Indianola in 1849). It is estimated that more than 7,000 Germans reached Texas during this period, mainly from Hessen-Nassau, southern Hannover, Brunswick, Hesse, and western Thuringia (see figure 2.1). However, it is not exactly clear how many immigrants perished be-

their identity, they regard the dialect as a tool for identifying with other Texas Germans, and they have very strong opinions in favor of maintaining the dialect.

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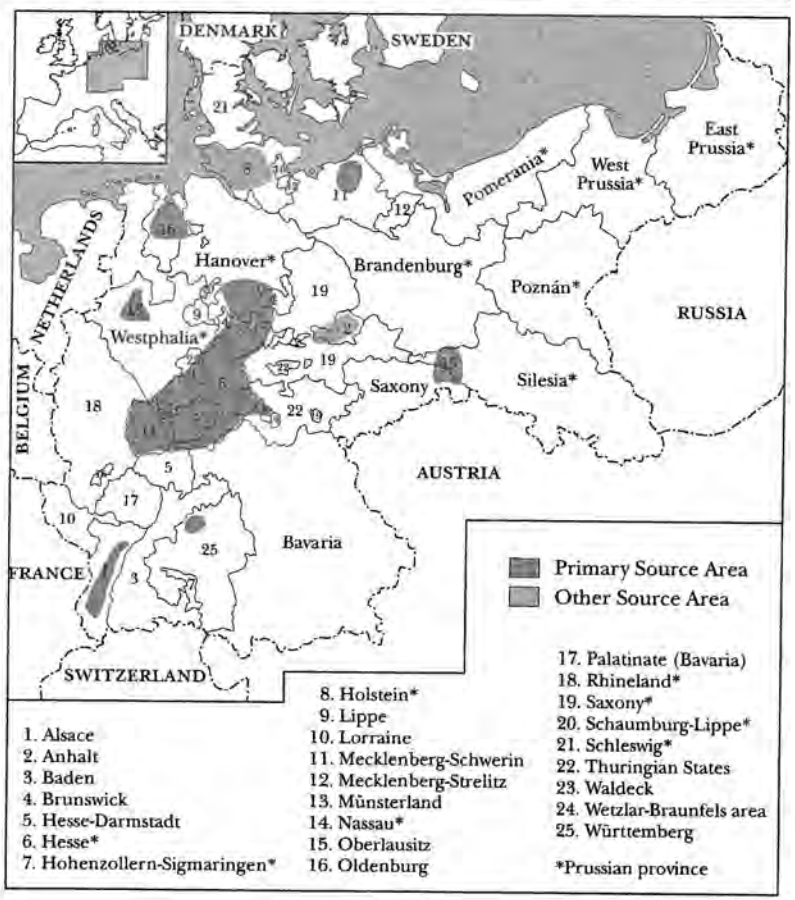
cause of hunger and epidemics before they managed to reach the land purchased by the Adelsverein, inland at the confluence of the Comal and Guadalupe rivers 30 miles northwest of San Antonio. Eventually, the first group of settlers reached the banks of the Comal River by wagon in March 1845 and founded New Braunfels. By 1850 there were 8,266 German-born immigrants in Texas, and by 1860 that number surpassed 20,000 (T. Jordan 1977, 8). The

FIGURE 2.1
Areas of Origin of the German Settlers in Texas
(1871 borders; based on T. Jordan 2004, 32)



total number of German-speaking Texans (including the children of recent immigrants) during that time is estimated at 30,000 (T. Jordan 2004, 48, 54), roughly 5% of the total population.

Because Union ships blockaded Texan ports, immigration came to a virtual standstill during the Civil War. After the Civil War, immigration picked up again, leading to a new influx of German settlers. According to T. Jordan (1977, 8), more Germans arrived in Texas from 1865 until the early 1890s than during the 30 years before the war. In fact, the number probably reached 40,000, according to T. Jordan. The result of this large-scale immigration to different areas across central Texas was the establishment of the German Belt, which encompasses the area between Gillespie and Medina counties in the west, Bell and Williamson counties in the north, Burleson, Washington, Austin, and Fort Bend counties in the east, and DeWitt, Karnes, and Wilson counties in the south (see Boas 2005a, 79).[2] When the steady influx of German immigrants to Texas began to decline by the 1890s, German-speaking settlements were found throughout Texas, with the highest concentration in the German Belt of south-central Texas.

German immigration to Texas differed from that of other states. First, broad-scale immigration organized by the Adelsverein began only in 1845. In contrast, German settlers had come to other areas in North America more than 150 years earlier. This means that by the time German immigration gained a stronghold in Texas, the descendants of German immigrants in other parts of the United States were already in their fourth or fifth generation.

Another major difference in settlement patterns is that from the very beginning the majority of German immigrants in rural areas lived in relative isolation from other groups, in particular in the Hill Country. Before the arrival of settlers of European background in the 1830s, Texas "was a very sparsely inhabited land, with a total population of about 3,000" (T. Jordan 2004, 21–22). According to T. Jordan, immigration continued during the period of the Republic, mainly concentrating on east Texas and "the older settled areas in south-central and southeastern Texas, where they expanded the settled areas up the river valleys" (26). By 1847, the total population of Texas was around 142,000 and, from 1850 to

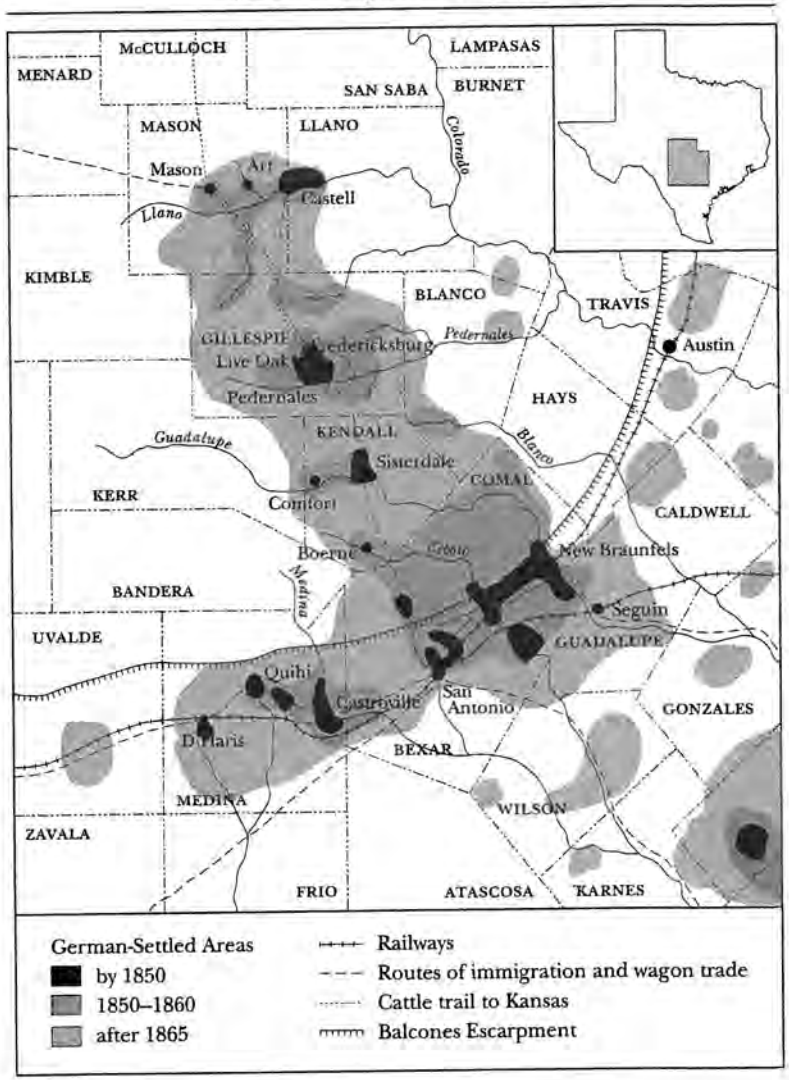
1860, almost tripled, reaching over 600,000 by the outbreak of the Civil War (T. Jordan 2004, 27).

As new settlements were founded in areas that had previously been inhabited by Native Americans, the frontier was constantly pushed westward. Most of these settlements existed in relative isolation from each other until the 1920s (see figure 2.2). As such, many Hill Country German speakers and their families lived on their ranches and farms in the countryside, having very little contact with the outside world except for going to town on weekends to attend church, to sell their goods on the market, or to participate in other social activities such as dancing, bowling, or singing.

Whereas the western area of the German Belt exhibits a relatively coherent stretch of German-dominated settlements, this is not the case with the eastern settlement areas. Except for a continuous stretch from DeWitt County to Washington County, the majority of German settlements in this area of Texas were surrounded by non-German-speaking settlements. The western and eastern sections of the German Belt varied in at least two additional points. First, the settlers were of different geographic origins. As pointed out above, the settlers who came to the Hill Country through the efforts of the Adelsverein mainly came from west-central Germany (see above and T. Jordan 1977, 6). For example, the 1870 Census for Gillespie County lists 78.8% of the population as being from north and middle Germany and only 5.4% being from Southern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria (Gilbert 1977, 25).[3] In contrast, the eastern part of the German Belt was settled by immigrants who mainly came from northwestern Germany (including the Münsterland, Oldenburg, and Holstein) as well as northeastern Germany (Mecklenburg, East Prussia, Brandenburg, Posen, Silesia, West Prussia, and Pomerania) (T. Jordan 2004, 41).

The proportion of German-born as a percentage of the total population not born in Texas is the second point in which the eastern and western sections of the German Belt differed from each other. That is, in several counties in the Hill Country, the German-born settlers outnumbered the non-German settlers: in 1880, the German-born percentage in Comal County numbered more than 80%; in Gillespie County, 65–80%; and in Kendall and Medina

FIGURE 2.2
The Western German Settlements
(based on T. Jordan 2004, 46)



counties, 50–65%. In contrast, the concentration of German-born settlers among the general population not born in Texas was significantly lower in the eastern parts of the German Belt: in 1880, the percentage was only 10–20% in the counties of Bastrop, Lavaca, and Harris; 20–30% in Washington and Fayette counties; and 30–40% in DeWitt County.

More important, though, is the fact that by 1880 the majority of German settlements were still located on the western frontier, where settlers had to travel long distances to see neighbors or go to town to conduct business.[4] This geographic isolation, which continued well into the early 1900s, sets many of the German settlements in Texas apart from those in other states.[5] This was particularly the case in the Texas Hill Country at the western edge of the German Belt, which was settled first through the efforts of the Adelsverein beginning in the 1840s.[6]

Another important way in which German settlement patterns in Texas differed from those in other states is that Texas did not belong to the United States when the first German immigrants settled there. This situation had a direct impact on the intensity of contact with speakers of English. Whereas the first waves of immigrants arriving in Pennsylvania during colonial times found a preestablished society where English was the de facto official language, this was not the case in Texas. When Ernst and other settlers arrived in Texas before its independence from Mexico, Spanish was the official language of Mexico (Kloss 1998, 222–23). As such, there was no direct reason for the first German immigrants and their immediate descendants to learn English during this time. Another cause was that geographic isolation of the early German settlements (both Ernst's colony and the Adelsverein settlements in the Hill Country) did not promote continuous interaction with non-German speakers.

After Texas gained independence from Mexico in 1836, English became the primary language for trade and administration. Spanish continued to be spoken throughout Texas, in particular in the southwestern part. Also, the significant presence of German immigrants began to be recognized at the official level. In 1843, the legislature of the Republic of Texas passed a law mandating

that its laws should also be published in German (Struve 1983, 42). In 1844, German was recognized as an important instructional language when the legislature of the Republic of Texas "granted a charter for a German university," evidence that the Texas Germans were a vital ethnic group "at a time when Texas was not yet part of the Union." As such, they "entered the Union with a strong spirit of equal participation," because they belonged to "the old established settlers" (Kloss 1998, 221, 247). The identification as Texas Germans was also reflected by "a particularly strong desire to ensure the continued use of the German language at the time of the founding of the earliest German-Texan settlements" (222).

2.3. NEW BRAUNFELS 1845–2000

I now turn to a very brief overview of the history of New Braunfels and the concept of diglossia (Ferguson 1959). This is followed by a discussion of the different public and private domains in which Texas German has been used over the past 150 years. The discussion is structured chronologically by subperiods (1845–50, 1850–90, 1890–1920, 1920–60, and 1960–2000), and looks at the different language domains in the same order: schools, churches, newspapers, and other public and private domains.

After its founding in 1845, New Braunfels grew to become the fourth largest city in Texas, with a population of 1,298 by 1850.[7] Of the 480 farmers listed by the 1860 Census, all but 23 were Germans (Biesele 1930, 130–37). While large portions of the New Braunfels population were farmers and craftsmen, others worked as tradesmen or farm laborers. A number of factories were built that made use of waterpower provided by the Comal River, eventually leading New Braunfels to be regarded as the first manufacturing town of Texas (Benjamin 1910, 69–70). Between 1912 and the onset of the Great Depression, the town doubled its population from 3,165 to 6,242. New Braunfels witnessed another era of growth in the years following World War II, when it annexed eight suburbs in 1947 and grew to approximately 12,200 residents by 1952 and to 17,859 by 1970. With the construction of Interstate 35 in the 1950s and

the easier accessibility of New Braunfels by car, a tourist industry developed in the 1960s and 1970s around such attractions as Natural Bridge Caverns, the Guadalupe River, Canyon Lake, and Wurstfest (a yearly German-heritage celebration) (Greene 2005). In the decades after World War II, the city grew consistently, not only because of its textile, construction-material, and tourism industries, but also because of its proximity to San Antonio and its military bases. In 1980, New Braunfels had a population of 22,402; by 1990 that number reached 27,334 (Greene 2005). With this brief overview of the development of New Braunfels, I now turn to the main part of this chapter, namely the use of Texas German and English in different public and private domains throughout the years.

2.4. DIGLOSSIA

Any work dealing with language contact and the use of various languages or language varieties in different domains necessitates a discussion of diglossia, which was proposed in Ferguson's (1959) seminal paper and subsequently developed by other researchers over the past four decades (for more details, see A. Hudson 2002). Diglossic language situations are usually described as consisting of two (or more) language varieties that coexist in a speech community. The domains of linguistic behavior are parceled out in a type of complementary distribution (Schiffman 1997, 205). Winford (2003, 112) characterizes diglossia as a situation where "one of the varieties, designated the H(igh) language, is employed in more official, public domains such as government, education, literature, etc., while the other, designated L(ow) language, is used in more private and informal domains such as the family, friendship, neighborhood, etc." Some examples originally discussed by Ferguson (1959) include the alternation of classical and vernacular Arabic in Middle Eastern countries, standard German and Swiss German in (German-speaking) Switzerland, and French and Creole in Haiti. Besides the functional differentiation of discrepant varieties, prestige is one of the defining factors of diglossia. Typically, "great" literature and canonical religious texts are written in the high variety but not in the low variety, which is often regarded as

being less worthy, corrupt, or vulgar. Similarly, the high variety is strictly standardized in terms of grammars and dictionaries written by native scholars. In diglossic situations, children usually acquire the low variety first at home, whereas the high variety is acquired later at school (Schiffman 1997, 207–8).

In a diglossic situation of the type described by Ferguson, no person typically speaks the high variety as a mother tongue, but only the low variety. This sets diglossia apart from situations where we find a standard language with dialects where some speakers speak high as a mother tongue. Others acquire the low variety as their first language and subsequently learn high as a second variety (Schiffman 1997, 207).

Besides differences in their social status, diglossic language varieties are also structurally different. For example, Schiffman (1997, 207) points out that "the grammars of H are more complex than the grammars of the L variety.... The lexicon is somewhat shared, but generally there is differentiation; H has vocabulary that L lacks, and vice versa." At the phonological level, two types of situations may exist in diglossic situations. The first is "where H and L share the same phonological elements, but H may have more complicated morphophonemics. Or H is a special subset of the L-variety inventory." The second is "where H has contrasts that L lacks, systematically substituting some other phoneme for the missing contrasts."

Ferguson's (1959) classic definition of diglossia was subsequently modified by Fishman (1967), who argued for a broader definition that includes bilingual situations with a similar compartmentalization of languages or language varieties across public and private domains (see also Keller 1982, 3; Fasold 1984, 53). In this view, diglossia can be extended to situations "where forms of two genetically unrelated (or at least historically distant) languages occupy the H and L niches, such that one of the languages ... is used for religion, education, literacy, and other prestigious domains" (Schiffman 1997, 208). In contrast, "another language is rarely used for such purposes, being employed only for more informal, primarily spoken domains." Fishman's broader definition of diglossia also includes bilingualism (i.e., control of both high and low varieties throughout the society), while the narrow definition refers

only to the functional distribution of high and low varieties. Table 2.1 illustrates Fishman's typology.

An example of situations with both bilingualism and diglossia is Paraguay, where almost everyone knows both Spanish (high) and Guaraní (low), with the varieties being distributed in a manner typical of diglossia. A similar situation can be found in Switzerland, where "due to a highly efficient education system, almost all school-age or older German Swiss citizens alternate between Swiss German and standard German, and distribute their usage in a typically diglossic manner" (Fasold 1984, 41). Diglossia without bilingualism is found in societies with two disjunctive groups where the ruling class speaks only the high variety, whereas the ruled class speaks only the low variety. An example of this was Czarist Russia, where during a certain period the nobles preferred to speak only French, whereas the general population spoke Russian. In contrast, bilingualism without diglossia characterizes situations in which bilingual speakers do not restrict a specific language to only a specific circumstance, according to Fishman. This condition is usually found when diglossia "leaks," that is, during major changes in diglossic relationships that are extremely unstable or transitional (Fishman 1972, 54; Fasold 1984, 41). An example is the German-speaking part of Belgium, where German (low) is rapidly receding before French (high) but where both French and German are used interchangeably before the shift to French is complete (Fasold 1984, 42). According to Fasold (1984, 41), bilingualism without diglossia may evolve in two distinct ways: either a new variety will emerge out of two structurally similar original high and low varieties, or one variety is replaced by another, which is more likely to occur with two dissimilar varieties. The fourth logical possibility, neither diglossia nor bilingualism, is extremely unlikely to exist. Fasold (1984, 42) points out that "for such a situation to exist, a very small, isolated, and egalitarian speech community is required.... The double negative quadrant ... is, according to Fishman, 'self liquidating'" (Fishman 1972, 54).

TABLE 2.1
Bilingualism and Diglossia
(Fishman 1972, 75)

		Diglossia +	*Diglossia* −
Bilingualism	+	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
	−	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

2.5 THE FOUNDING PERIOD 1845–50: DIGLOSSIA OR STANDARD-WITH-DIALECT?

I now turn to classifying the linguistic situation among the German immigrants during the first ten years after their arrival in the New World. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the functional domains of diglossia.

One of the major problems encountered when determining the linguistic situation of the early German settlers is that the settlement patterns differ from location to location. As shown in section 2.3, we need to distinguish not only between rural and urban population, but also between the locations of settlement. In order to arrive at a somewhat coherent sample population, I focus on the population of New Braunfels and Comal County as an example of German immigrants who had populated previously unsettled and relatively isolated areas.

Another complication is that diglossia is a gradient, variable phenomenon, which cannot be easily boxed into an either-or binary system of categorization (see Schiffman 1997, 208). One of the main differences between diglossia and a standard-with-dialect situation is whether or not any "segment of the community uses H in ordinary conversation" (Fasold 1984, 43). To determine whether the German immigrants used standard German (the high variety) in ordinary conversation, we need to take a closer look at the different language varieties brought to Texas by the German immigrants. Based on the 1850 Census as well as the list of immigrants settled in New Braunfels, we know that (1) most of the German settlers

were farmers, laborers, or craftsmen (tailors, blacksmiths, wagon makers, etc.); (2) a very small number of the German settlers were university-educated doctors or teachers;[8] (3) the German settlers came from different locations in Germany, most notably from the provinces of Nassau, Darmstadt, Hessen, Hannover, Württemberg, and Bavaria;[9] (4) the settlers spoke their local dialects; and (5) these local dialects differed from each other quite significantly in their phonology, morphology, and syntax (for details, see chapters 3–5).

In order to determine whether we are dealing with a diglossic or a standard-with-dialect situation, it is also necessary to clarify whether any of the settlers spoke the high variety and whether the standard acquired natively by a section of the population was subsequently used in ordinary conversation. Answering these questions requires a look at the development of standard German.

The codification of a written and spoken standard of German took much longer than that of other major European languages, such as English or French. Since Germany was not a united political entity with strong central powers until 1871, most major cities developed their own written standard styles in their chanceries. Of these, the *Kanzleisprache* 'language of the chancery' of Saxony, which has its roots in the East Middle German dialect area, gained "general acceptance as a written standard for the whole of the German-speaking area" by the end of the seventeenth century (Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 47).

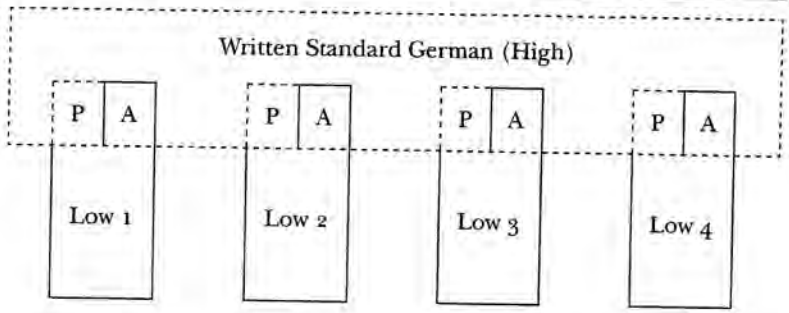
However, in contrast to the written standard, a uniform spoken standard did not emerge until much later. Barbour and Stevenson (1990, 50) point out that spoken standard German has traditionally been defined "narrowly, and has often meant a form of language which is fairly uniform in both grammar and pronunciation, adhering to the norms of the *deutsche Hochlautung* (DH) prestige pronunciation." As such, the standard had become the spoken medium "of the middle classes in north and central German" only by the end of the nineteenth century, with "phonetic diversity" based on local dialects still present. The standard spread more rapidly in the north than in the south. Moreover, it was associated with "the rise of a middle class, which wished to distinguish itself in language, as in other areas of behavior, from the dialect-speaking peasantry

and working class." The point is that although a written standard existed by the end of the seventeenth century, it took the spoken standard until the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century to evolve into a variety that was accepted and used throughout Germany. As such, the first broad-scale work aimed at codifying a spoken standard of German, Viëtor's *Die Aussprache des Schriftdeutschen* (The Pronunciation of Written German), was not published until 1885.

It is therefore safe to assume that the establishment of a spoken standard was underway in Germany, but by no means nearing its completion when the settlers first immigrated to New Braunfels in the second half of the nineteenth century. Also calling into question the prominent role of spoken standard German among the settlers is that the majority of settlers came from rural areas and at that time had not been widely exposed to any spoken standard (although possibly to the written standard due to limited schooling). Instead, they spoke their local German dialects. Their active knowledge of the written standard acquired during their four to six years in school most likely faded after graduation (see, e.g., Elspaß 2002, 50, 60–61). These facts suggest that the majority of early New Braunfels settlers had only a passive command of the written standard. Based on all available information, the few educated doctors, teachers, pastors, and noblemen were the only group proficient in the written standard. In the case of the early New Braunfels settlers, this means that groups of dialect speakers originating from the same region formed their own "subcommunity" of low-variety speakers (often families or groups from the same village), with different subcommunities living in close proximity in New Braunfels. Members of each of the subcommunities had—depending on their prior exposure to standard German—different degrees of competence of the high variety. Figure 2.3 illustrates the distribution of high (written standard German) and the different low varieties (German donor dialects) in early New Braunfels. Note that this is simply a schematic representation as we have no exact information about how many low varieties there were.

As figure 2.3 shows, the situation in early New Braunfels was characterized by linguistic variation of different types. Immigrants coming from Germany to Texas spoke different regional dialects

FIGURE 2.3
Diglossia in Early New Braunfels: Speakers Having Various Degrees of Access to the Same (Written) H, but Distinguished by Different Ls (P = passive knowledge; A = active knowledge)



(marked as Low 1–Low 4). Depending on their social and educational status, they had varying degrees of knowledge of written standard German. Those who had had limited schooling in German before coming to Texas had passive knowledge of the written standard, marked by "P" in figure 2.3. This means that they were probably aware of the written standard, but since they had not used it frequently after graduating from school, their active command of it was very limited. In contrast, the more educated immigrants, such as doctors, teachers, and clergy, had most likely an active control of the written standard, marked by "A" in figure 2.3. However, this does not automatically mean that they spoke standard German, because no uniform pronunciation existed at the time of immigration. Instead, this group of people probably had control of different varieties of German that were close to the written standard in morphosyntax and lexicon, but were still strongly influenced by the different regional accents of the different donor dialects (L1–L4). It is important to note here that there was no uniform spoken standard at the time and that only a limited number of early settlers had an active control of the written standard. Since at that point there existed only a codified written version, standard German can be considered only to a certain degree a high language vis-à-vis the different donor dialects at that time.

2.6. GERMAN LANGUAGE DOMAINS 1850–90

We now turn to the establishment and development of different public institutions between 1850 and 1890. Of particular interest here is the use of German and English in schools, churches, newspapers, and other public domains.

2.6.1. SCHOOLS. Education was one of the most important cultural values brought to Texas by the German immigrants. From the beginning, school was taught in German (Haas 1968, 108), and in 1857, an effort was made to enlarge the school library, resulting in about 2,400 German books by 1860 (Dabney 1927, 98–99). The importance of education for the German immigrants became even clearer that same year, when the Sängerfest (a meeting of singing clubs) was held in New Braunfels with delegates of all the counties in Texas settled by German immigrants. They passed a resolution asking their representatives in the Texas legislature "(1) to oppose all laws that sought to prevent the teaching of the German language in the public schools, (2) to secure a charter to establish a German-English High School (meaning a university) in West Texas, and (3) to get aid from the state to establish primary or elementary schools and night schools for adults" (Dabney 1927, 47–48). This resolution shows not only that German settlers were concerned about the preservation of their native language, but also that they were intent on promoting an educational system that was similar to that in their old homeland.

With respect to the continuity of being educated in German, an interesting trend emerged during the 1850s. On the one hand, German immigrants saw the stability of education in German threatened by the passing of state laws (hence the resolution calling on German representatives to oppose such legislation). On the other hand, it appears as if they were keenly aware of the necessity of teaching English to their children, even though they constituted an overwhelming linguistic majority in a relatively isolated area. In 1855, New Braunfels had a population of approximately 1,500, with only 8 American families (Biesele 1930, 136). Despite this situation, "American as well as German teachers were employed" (Benjamin 1910, 113). "The German trustees were to elect the

German teachers and the American trustees were to employ the teachers who taught the English language" (Dabney 1927, 49). The teaching of both languages was also practiced by the New Braunfels Academy (Eby 1925, 134–35), which was the first public school in Texas supported by taxation beginning in 1858.[10] During the 1860s, German appears to have been the principal language of the Academy (Dabney 1927, 74).

Starting in 1858, an amendment to the state school law of 1854 required that English be the primary language of instruction in schools that received state funding. Despite this amendment, German continued to be the dominant language in New Braunfels schools (see Haas 1968, 109). German continued to dominate as a language of school instruction in New Braunfels as well as throughout the German Belt well into the 1900s, especially in the more rural areas (Heinen 1982, 11–14). According to Kloss (1998, 108), lack of enforcement was in part because "even after central authorities ... had been established in the states, their influence remained restricted by the principle of educational home rule." By 1883, there were 18 schools in Comal County, 2 of which were in New Braunfels proper. The remaining schools were rural country schools, which were founded as New Braunfels grew beyond its original town limits (Haas 1968, 113–14).

2.6.2. CHURCHES. Religion played an integral part in the lives of the German immigrants in Texas. The majority of the German settlements were Protestant, although there were also many German Catholics in Texas (Benjamin 1910, 122).[11] The 1860 Census lists for Comal County three Lutheran churches and one Baptist and Catholic church each. In most German communities in Texas, both Protestant and Catholic church services and Sunday schools were held in (mostly standard) German from the very beginning until the 1910s.

German played an important role in the religious lives of the immigrants. Nicolini (2004, 68) points out that the influence of German-speaking congregations on language use in the general community was strongest in rural areas and thus served as a "symbol of quiet, honest religiosity as against the Yankee's alleged noisy superficiality" (Kloss 1966, 227), as well as a "shield against assimilation" (T. Jordan, Bean, and Holmes 1984, 126).[12]

2.6.3. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS. In addition to schools and churches, the press played a vital role in supporting the German language in Texas. K. Arndt and Olson's (1961) catalog contains a total of 137 individual German publications from the 1840s through the 1950s, but Salmons and Lucht (2006) note "their list can be supplemented with at least a dozen more titles not included in their survey." The different publications covered a diverse range of subjects, including news, religious topics, cultural matters, and literature, while at the same time presenting varying political views, from the abolitionist *San Antonio Zeitung* to the proslavery *Demokrat* (see Salmons and Lucht 2006).

The German language press had a number of different functions. Nicolini (2004, 50–51) argues that it helped immigrants adjust to their new homeland by providing them with regional news as well as explanations about American customs and the political system. The U.S. government used the German-language press to publish new rules and regulations relevant to immigrants (Schwartzkopff 1987, 53; Nicolini 2004, 52). Large companies as well as local merchants advertised in both German and English to reach the German-speaking population. However, newspapers were not only used to provide information about current events, but also to promote German cultural values and identity vis-à-vis their Anglo-American neighbors.

In 1852 Ferdinand Lindheimer began publication of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, the town's first German newspaper (Ragsdale 2005). The newspaper was typeset in the German Fraktur font, except for English advertisements, which used the Roman type (Engelhardt 1969, 10–11). The newspaper continued to be printed during the Civil War, but not without controversy—Lindheimer openly endorsed the Confederacy (Comal County was the only Texas German community to vote for secession from the Union). By 1875, its circulation had reached 680, and by 1880 the number was 700.

2.6.4. OTHER DOMAINS. The use of the German language also played a significant role in the daily lives of local organizations and clubs. Throughout Texas, German immigrants founded singing clubs, shooting clubs, athletic clubs, theater and literary societies, and agricultural organizations, which helped maintain the cultural and linguistic identity of the original settlers for later generations.[13] As such, the different organizations not only provided entertainment for their members and the local communities, but they also helped counterbalance any assimilatory efforts by the Anglo-American culture (see Auspurg-Hackert 1984, 212). In March 1850, the singing club Germania was founded in New Braunfels, and a special singing hall was erected for its members. It was there that the first German-Texan Singing Fest was held for two days in August 1853 with out-of-town choirs from San Antonio, Austin, and Sisterdale participating (Nicolini 2004, 47). By 1861 two other singing societies were founded in New Braunfels, namely the Liedertafel and the Concordia. Members of the singing clubs would usually meet once a week to rehearse and would sing during local festivities or at official events. The first New Braunfels athletic club (Turnverein) was organized in 1855; the second in 1870. The popularity of singing, shooting, and athletic clubs in New Braunfels shows that the immigrants were able to transplant these important German institutions to Texas. Once established, they served the same cultural and societal functions as in Germany, namely for people to engage in leisurely activities with other like-minded people and to provide entertainment for others at public events.

In both public and private domains, German was the exclusive language used among the German settlers. One exception to this situation was the area of municipal government, where from very early on there was a need to communicate in English with officials from other counties and at the state level. For example, Bracht (1848) points out that in 1846, when Comal County was established by a legislative act, two Americanized Pennsylvania Germans were elected county clerk and chief justice, "since among the immigrated Germans very few had the necessary knowledge of the English language and even less of the laws and order of business" (17). The Pennsylvania Germans kept the majority of the court records

in English. In contrast to court proceedings, the meetings of the New Braunfels City Council were conducted in German until 1890 (Eikel 1954, 16–17). As such, in the New Braunfels City Council, German enjoyed a status similar to that of other immigrant languages in the United States at that time: "The authorities almost without exception used only the languages of those groups which enjoyed the prestige of original settlers and which perhaps even lived in compact areas of settlement" (Kloss 1998, 124).

2.6.5. THE DISTRIBUTION OF TEXAS GERMAN, STANDARD GERMAN, AND ENGLISH. Salmons and Lucht (2006, 183) suggest that "as long as German was a common medium of instruction and part of the most rudimentary education, active control of Standard German was commonplace, and a full range of styles existed, from standard to dialect." This leads Salmons and Lucht to claim that "speakers had more knowledge of standard varieties than is appreciated." While their observations regarding the important role of standard German in the schools, newspapers, and churches are certainly correct, I would like to propose that the use of standard German in Texas is overestimated. In particular, I suggest that the level of active control of Standard German was far less among the New Braunfels settlers than claimed by Salmons and Lucht. Consider the following:

First, as pointed out above, the spread of standard German at the expense of local dialects in Germany took a period of about 500 years. Commenting on this development, Elspaß (2002, 50) shows that there were still "more non-standard norms of usage (Milroy and Milroy 1985, 352) rather than just the norm of the standard variety." From his analysis of the private correspondence, he concluded that the "existence of unofficially 'non-standard' forms" is to be attributed to "the persistence of regional norms of usage" among the letter writers. In his view, written standardization was "still in full swing in the mid 19th century" (2002, 60–61). Elspaß's analysis explains why it was not until the early twentieth century that a unified German orthography was adopted: it was not until 1902 that Konrad Duden's orthography (first published in 1880) was adopted as a uniform standard throughout Germany, Austria,

and Switzerland (C. J. Wells 1985, 351–53)—"and even then inconsistencies and alternatives persisted, as they did in morphology and syntax" (348).

While the early twentieth century saw the emergence of a coherent written standard, it took even longer for a spoken standard to evolve into a variety that was used throughout Germany (largely among the urban, well-educated middle and upper classes). As argued above, it was no earlier than the mid-twentieth century that a form of standard German became the mother tongue of greater parts of the German population (see also Durrell 1999; Elspaß 2002). Similarly, it was not until the advances of radio and television in the 1950s and 1960s that Germans themselves were constantly exposed to the spoken standard. W. König (1989) shows that even in the latter part of the twentieth century there existed among Germans with a high school degree a wide spectrum of pronunciation that deviated significantly from the pronunciation advocated by Siebs (1969).[14] This leads Besch (2003, 24) to conclude that even at the end of the twentieth century there was widespread variation in spoken standard German. These facts make it very unlikely that those who knew written standard German in Texas pronounced it in a uniform way before the end of the nineteenth century (as was certainly the case for Germany).

Second, the fact that only a few German settlers in New Braunfels had an active control of standard German in the late 1880s calls into question the importance of standard German in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Texas.[15] Based on all available information, only the educated middle and upper classes had an active command of standard German because they either acquired it natively (their parents coming from a similar background) or they learned it in school and subsequently attended university, where an active command of the standard was an integral part of education. In New Braunfels, members of the educated middle and upper class held a variety of prominant positions in the community and could use them to promote the use of standard German. The clergy preaching in the churches of New Braunfels also went through educational programs in Germany or the United States that incorporated standard German (the language of the Bibles and songbooks used in church) (Nicolini 2004, 79–81).

Third, the settlers' limited exposure to standard German, both in terms of time and domain, suggests that Salmons and Lucht (2006) might have overstated its role. Recall that the majority of New Braunfels settlers were farmers and craftsmen with limited education in Germany (usually 4–6 years of schooling). This suggests that most had at best a passive knowledge of the written standard when coming to Texas. Up until the beginning of the twentieth century, most children received only an elementary education, attending about 20 rural one-room schoolhouses established throughout Comal County by the settlers spreading out from New Braunfels (Rahe 1999, 46).[16] Many of these one-room schoolhouses hosted four to eight grades, with a single teacher for all the children. Also, it was often neither feasible nor practical for students to attend classes year-round. Portraying school life in rural Comal County toward the end of the nineteenth century, Rahe (1999, 47) provides us with the following explanations for why children missed school frequently:

> When the crops needed to be harvested, every member of the family went to work and the children were too busy for book learning. While the teacher was highly respected, school attendance was in many cases impractical.... The children in the rural areas grew up as hard-working responsible individuals with years of on-the-job training in farming and ranching; however, they had limited formal education and exposure to the outside world.

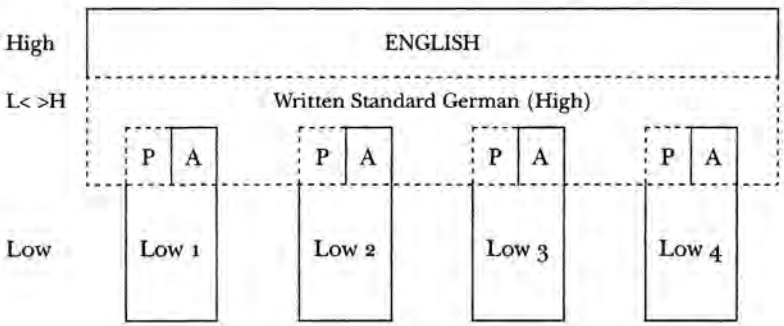
The limited attendance at rural schools suggests that most children acquired an active knowledge of standard German only to a certain degree. That is, they may well have understood the standard and were able to produce it at some level during their school years.[17] However, once they left school, it is likely that they lost most active control of the standard after a few years and were only exposed to it at church and by reading newspapers, thereby maintaining passive knowledge of the standard. As such, I question Salmons and Lucht's (2006) claim that "active control of Standard German was commonplace." Instead, it is more likely that the majority of the New Braunfels population continued to actively use some form of nonstandard German dialects in their daily lives (see also chapter 3). In other words, it was only the educated middle

and upper classes that had active control of some version of standardized written German.

Returning to our discussion about the status of English vis-à-vis German, it is interesting to note its increased significance in the legal and administrative domains between 1850 and 1890. That is, in dealings at the county level from the late 1840s on, English played an increasingly important role as an official language for record keeping. Although the New Braunfels City Council meetings were conducted exclusively in German in the early years, more and more English began to be used until the meetings were conducted entirely in English beginning in 1890. This suggests that from 1850 to 1890 the distribution of language varieties expanded from using different German dialects (family, friends) and standard German (selected public domains) to also include English as the high variety in domains such as administration and commerce. The endpoint of this gradual development, which begins in New Braunfels in the 1850s (compare figure 2.3 above) and finds its end around 1890, is illustrated in figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4 shows the overlapping diglossic relationship between English (high) and written standard German (low) on the one hand, and written standard German (high) and the different immigrant dialects (low) on the other hand. In other words, written standard German was the high variety across the board with respects to the local German dialects and in certain domains the low variety with respect to English.

FIGURE 2.4
Double Overlapping Diglossia in New Braunfels around 1890



2.7. GERMAN LANGUAGE DOMAINS 1890–1920

German immigration to the United States reached its peak during the 1880s and 1890s. After this period, the numbers of German newcomers dropped significantly, while the number of first- and second-generation native-borns increased considerably. As a result, many descendants of German immigrants began identifying themselves primarily as Texans and Americans (Auspurg-Hackert 1984, 220).

2.7.1. SCHOOLS. Between 1890 and the entry of the United States into World War I, the use of German (alongside with English) in local schools varied across the German Belt. In areas with smaller concentrations of German speakers, German instruction was gradually replaced with instruction in English (see also Heinen 1982, 18). In the western part of the German Belt, German continued to be taught at all grade levels. For example, in New Braunfels, German still played an important role in the schools at the turn of the century. Kloss (1998, 228) notes that "in the year 1900, all 360 students in New Braunfels had German instruction, 240 in public and 120 in private schools. This 100% participation put New Braunfels at the top of all communities in the United States."

The impact of two Texas school laws on this situation is difficult to determine. One school law from 1904 (superseding earlier laws regulating the use of languages in schools from 1870 and 1896) stated that "nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the teaching of German, Bohemian, Spanish, French, Latin or Greek in any of the public schools as a branch of study, but the teaching of one or more of these languages shall not interfere with the use of the textbooks herein prescribed" (Kloss 1998, 227). Another law passed in 1905 "prescribed that, except for the teaching of foreign languages, all instructions in public schools had to be given in English (Texas Laws 1905, sec. 102)" (227). Since at that time school laws were not always strictly enforced (members of the local authorities were often Texas Germans), it is not exactly clear whether these laws immediately changed the status of German in the New Braunfels schools. For example, Blanton (2004, 76) claims that local authorities often "simply ignored the English-only directives, secure in their knowledge that the state had neither

the will nor the bureaucratic machinery to fulfill its English-only desires." With respect to New Braunfels, Engelhardt (1969, 4) suggests that "until the First World War German remained the principle language of instruction in the schools, and report cards were written in German Fraktur."

World War I brought a definite end to German instruction in the schools. The entry of the United States into the war in 1917 triggered an enormous wave of xenophobia against German Americans (Tolzmann 1995, 121). One of the main results was the banning of all public displays evoking German culture (for details, see Nicolini 2004, 110–21). For example, Dabney (1927, 99) reports that "during the World War hundreds of these German books belonging to the New Braunfels school Library were stored for some time in an outbuilding where they were exposed to the ravages of mice and weather. Many valuable volumes were so badly damaged that they were burned in order to get rid of them." Another result was a law passed on April 3, 1918, that "introduced the regulation that all teachers in public free schools should teach in English only and should use only English textbooks" (Kloss 1998, 228). This law effectively ended German instruction in the schools, which before had enjoyed great popularity as a language of great international prestige. In 1915 German was the most popular foreign language taken in U.S. high schools (Nicolini 2004, 121).[18]

The effects of this English-only law were quite dramatic. Besides making it illegal to teach in any other language than English, children were not allowed to speak German on the school grounds and were "corporally punished ... shamed, threatened, fined, and even suspended or expelled" if they spoke German (Zamora 1977, 33). Teachers faced penalties of $50–100 for violations and could lose their jobs and state teaching certifications (Nicolini 2004, 123). Blanton (2004, 76) describes the consequences of this law: "The offence was not considered cumulative; it began anew each day a non-English word of instruction was uttered. The 1918 English-only law was totalitarian in its scope and finality."

2.7.2. CHURCHES. The exclusive use of German in Lutheran churches began to fade slowly at the beginning of the twentieth century. The steady number of new immigrants from Germany had dropped significantly, and many second-generation Texas Germans, who were raised speaking German, became exposed to more English through schooling and contact with English speakers. This development led to a growing demand for the inclusion of English in churches, in particular in areas where the majority of the population spoke English as their first language (Nicolini 2004, 94–95).

The long-term effects of World War I on the use of German in Lutheran churches were profound. Until the entry of the United States into World War I in 1917, there had been a general distrust toward Germans. With the entry into the war, defense councils were organized to coordinate medical supplies, public safety, and military matters. The 240 County Councils throughout Texas were equipped with "sweeping legal powers, including the authority to subpoena witnesses and to punish for contempt" (Rippley 1984, 186). In places where the majority of the population spoke only English, the Anglo-American xenophobia toward Texas Germans was reflected by the activities of the defense councils. For example, the defense council in Cuero (DeWitt County) asked the local citizens to use only English in public places. In Hays County, the defense council forbade the use of German at church as well as at meetings of local clubs, because the use of German was "unpatriotic." Similarly, using German in public, at school, or at church was a misdemeanor in Travis County. In Corpus Christi, a Lutheran pastor was whipped because he continued to preach in German despite a ban on using German in public put in place by the defense council. Although these were isolated incidents, they started a discussion about the use of German among Lutheran church officials at the end of 1917. As a result, the Lutheran congregation in Cuero switched to English in September 1918. That same month, St. Johannes in San Antonio cancelled all German services temporarily (Nicolini 2004, 126).

With regard to New Braunfels, I have not been able to determine any immediate effects of the war on the use of German in church services. This is probably due to the fact that the gradual incorporation of English did not begin until the 1920s, as we will see below. As such, Nicolini's (2004, 124) statement that "the one

incident that caused German Lutheranism in America to lose the German language overnight, so to say, was, of course, the First World War" must be relativized for Texas, because it was not until the 1930s that German lost significant ground in churches in certain areas of Texas.

2.7.3. NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER PERIODICALS. At the turn of the century, the German-language press flourished throughout Texas. There were a total of 29 German newspapers in 1904 and 1907, with a circulation of individual papers exceeding the numbers of the 1890s (see Arndt and Olson 1961). However, World War I and the general anti-German hysteria had dramatic effects on the German-language press in Texas. Many newsstands refused to sell German newspapers, and German Americans often cancelled their subscriptions so as not to be identified as being of German descent. Besides these problems, the U.S. Congress enacted legislation in October 1917 that made it possible to control foreign-language publications. Editors of non-English newspapers had to apply for a permit from the U.S. Postmaster General to publish their papers. Subsequently, editors had to submit English translations of all articles relating to wartime activities to the local postmaster or to print the entire paper bilingually (Rippley 1984, 165; Nicolini 2004, 117). These new regulations constituted a considerable financial burden for the German language press. As a result, some papers like the *Texas Volksbote* (Brenham) switched their entire publication to English, while others decided to publish in both English and German (e.g., *Katholische Rundschau* [San Antonio]) (Nicolini 2004, 117–18). Overall, 11 German language periodicals went out of business in Texas between 1914 and 1919, according to Salmons and Lucht (2006, 176). This situation, in turn, triggered an increase in circulation for some of the remaining larger German-language newspapers between 1910 and 1920, as table 2.2 illustrates.

The *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* flourished at the beginning of the twentieth century as its circulation increased from 1,500 in 1900 to 2,000 in 1910, 2,250 in 1915, and 4,000 in 1920. Its number of pages had doubled to eight in 1885 and remained at that length for the duration of the war (Engelhardt 1969, 11). The paper continued to be published entirely in standard German, but it was

TABLE 2.2
Circulation Increases for German-Language Newspapers in Texas, 1910–20
(Salmons and Lucht 2006, 176)

Newspaper	*Year*	*Circulation*
Lavaca County Nachrichten (Hallettsville)	1910	2,000
	1920	2,400
Texas Deutsche Zeitung (Houston)	1910	2,750
	1915	3,100
Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung	1910	2,000
	1915	2,250
	1920	4,000
Freie-Presse für Texas, weekly (San Antonio)	1910	7,400
	1915	9,072
	1920	12,000

not until 1912 that it adopted the reforms of the German spelling system from 1903/1905. According to Engelhardt, "the 1907 issue still has the nineteenth century spelling, such as 'i' instead of 'ie', e.g., 'involvirt' (1907) and 'informieren' (1912), 'c' instead of 'k', e.g. 'controlliren' (1907) and 'Konstabler' (1912)" (13). The newspaper continued to use the German Fraktur type, whereas English quotes and advertisements were printed in Roman type. Overall, it appears that the war did not have negative effects for the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*. Instead, it seemed to have fared very well, particularly judging by the increased circulation and its adoption ofthe new German spelling, thereby signaling its aspirations to keep up with "proper" standard German.

2.7.4. OTHER DOMAINS. Between 1890 and 1920, the German language played an important role in athletic clubs, choirs, and social organizations. Once they had become established between the 1850s and 1880s, many club activities became a centerpiece of Texas German social life, appealing not only to Texans of German heritage, but also to people of other ethnic backgrounds. For example, the Sängerfeste "around the turn-of-the-century became very elaborate affairs in which non-German citizens, public officials, and the merchants of the host cities also enthusiastically

participated" (Gish 1990, ix; cited in Nicolini 2004, 48). Shooting clubs in New Braunfels and Fredericksburg held annual fairs that also became popular among the non-German population.

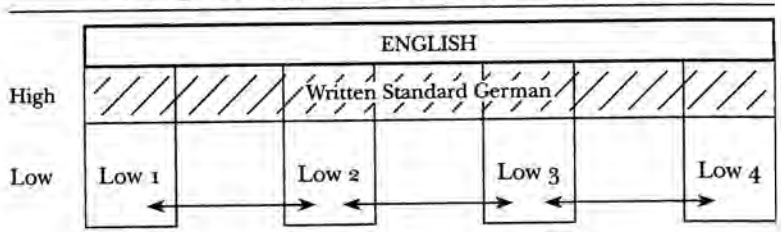
With the entry of the United States into World War I, the situation changed for many Texas German organizations. Commenting on the impact of the war, one member of a Texas German singing society said, "There were few of us who cared to stand forth and proclaim we were German members of an organization designed to keep alive German folk songs" (Gish 1990, 8). To avoid being suspected of pro-German activities, many Texas Germans left German cultural clubs and organizations. The German singing clubs suffered the most during these times; many discontinued their meetings entirely during the war years. The Sängerfeste of the Texanischer Gebirgs-Sängerbund were canceled between 1917 and 1919 (Nicolini 2004, 112).

2.7.5. ESTABLISHMENT OF STABLE DIGLOSSIA. Having been established as an important ethnic group throughout central Texas for more than six decades, the German-speaking population reached its highest number in 1907 with an estimated 75,000 to 100,000 speakers (Gilbert 1964, 144). The different varieties of German used throughout the German Belt flourished in various public and private domains to a degree that "non-German speakers who moved to the area were frequently assimilated linguistically" (Salmons 1983, 188).

As we have seen in the sections above, the war changed this situation dramatically, leading to a loss of public institutional support for the use of German in public domains. The degree of disintegration among different Texas German speech communities certainly varied according to their location and concentration vis-à-vis other speech communities. It was less dramatic in areas that had a high percentage of German speakers and were geographically more isolated. The direct impact of English-only legislation also differed from domain to domain. That is, the use of German in schools and newspapers was much easier to regulate and control than in churches, social organizations, or among family and friends.

Despite these differences, the immediate impact of the World War I–era xenophobic sentiments and English-only laws is undeniable. In addition to eliminating standard German from schools and influencing its use in the print media and churches, these laws also affected the use of German in the private domain. Many Texas German families were confronted with a novel situation in which their language had lost a significant amount of the prestige formerly associated with it. In addition, being associated with anything German automatically triggered strong anti-German sentiments among Anglo-Americans. Whether consciously or unconsciously, some parents adapted to the new situation by not passing German on to their children, even punishing them when they spoke German. They were afraid of social discrimination and therefore did not endorse the use of German anymore. The remaining Texas Germans who still used different varieties of German found themselves in a situation where seemingly overnight English "was established as the high form in a diglossic situation" (Salmons 1983, 188). In other words, by 1920 written standard German had lost most of its status as a prestige variety and continued to be used only in selected areas as a high variety. At the same time, the different local varieties of German brought to Texas by the original settlers some seven decades earlier had been in constant contact with each other, leading to some form of accommodation (illustrated by the arrows in figure 2.5) as I will show in chapter 3. As such, the dialectal varieties continued to serve as the low variety, "confined to home, friends, neighbors, church, and religion" (Guion 1996, 444), for the majority of Texas Germans. Figure 2.5 illustrates this situation.

FIGURE 2.5
Stable Diglossia in the Sense of Fishman (1967)
with English Emerging as the New High Variety by 1920



2.8. GERMAN LANGUAGE DOMAINS 1920–60: DIGLOSSIA ENGLISH/TEXAS GERMAN

Besides the establishment of English as the new high variety, a number of other factors contributed to the demise of Texas German in the years after 1920. Most important were certain demographic changes and political developments that led to an even greater loss of prestige of Texas German. For example, beginning in the 1920s, the population began to grow and thus change in some areas of the German Belt. Hawgood (1940, 199) noticed that "a large Mexican inroad has transformed New Braunfels, and the automobile has taken from Fredericksburg the greatest safeguard of its *Deutschtum*—its relative isolation from the world." Salmons (1983, 188) attributes the diminishing status of German to changes in the social and economic structure of the area: "more jobs outside of the Texas German-speaking areas, the military, higher education, all in addition to the practical and economic advantages of being primarily English-speaking." At the same time, newcomers felt no need to learn German. According to Salmons, "the mobility that took more Germans away from the German-speaking areas also brought more non-Germans into those areas."

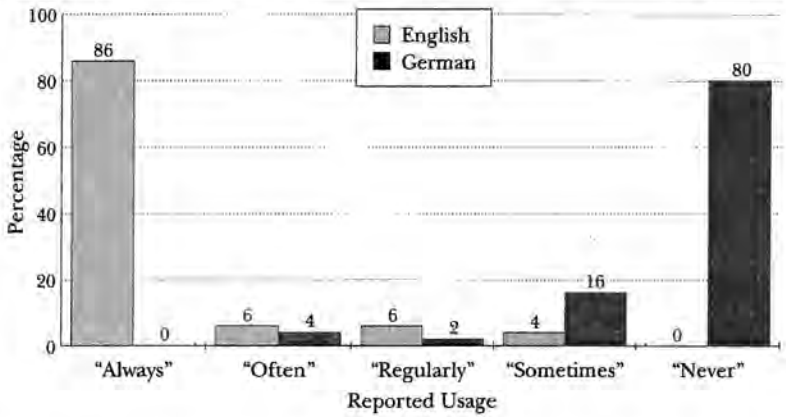
2.8.1. SCHOOLS. The laws regulating the use of languages other than English did not change significantly until 1933, when a law permitted German instruction past the second grade, following a similar ease of restrictions for Spanish in 1927 (Blanton 2004, 78). However, the passing of these laws did not automatically entail German's being taught in elementary schools. Some schools, particularly in rural areas, had already reintroduced German in the late 1920s despite legal restrictions (Nicolini 2004, 132). However, communities often had problems finding appropriate teachers to teach German in elementary schools, which meant that German was largely taught as a foreign language in high schools after students had mastered English. In New Braunfels, German was taught exclusively as a foreign language at the high school level after 1933. An independent German summer school was organized by volunteers in the 1930s, where children were instructed in German reading and writing. The summer school was discontinued in the 1950s.

German-speaking students felt the lasting effects of English-only laws the most. Many children who entered elementary school between the 1920s and 1940s grew up speaking German at home and knew very little English (if any) when they entered school. As a consequence, they spent a great deal of their time during their first years at school learning English, often being ridiculed by other English-speaking students.[19] In subsequent years, this experience, among others, led many Texas Germans to raise their children in English, because they wanted to spare their children similar experiences.

In order to arrive at an adequate account of the language abilities of New Braunfels Texas German students between 1920 and 1940, the written questionnaire administered to informants by members of the Texas German Dialect Project (see chapter 1) includes questions about language use in elementary school. The first question pertaining to this subject asked informants to state which language(s) they knew when they entered elementary school. Of the 52 New Braunfels informants, born between 1920 and 1942, 78% grew up learning and speaking Texas German as their first language, whereas only 22% grew up bilingually. Those who learned English later in their lives began acquiring the language between the ages of five and eight years, primarily from going to school and having to follow school instruction in English. Only 8% of the informants picked up English from their parents, older siblings, or other children during the years before first grade.[20]

Figure 2.6 demonstrates how little German was reportedly spoken at elementary schools.[21] Eighty-six percent of the informants stated that their interactions with their schoolteachers were "always" in English, whereas 6% of informants remember "often" speaking English with their schoolteachers. Six percent of the informants report speaking English "regularly," and 4% of informants "sometimes." In contrast, 80% of informants report "never" speaking German to their teachers, 16% "sometimes," 2% "regularly," and 4% "often." The informants who claim to have spoken some German with their teachers remember that it was only used when students did not understand instructions in English. When this happened, teachers would typically take their German-speaking students to the back of the classroom and quietly give them the

FIGURE 2.6
Reported Use of English and German with Teacher 1920–40



instructions in German. These figures demonstrate that English was by far the dominant language for Texas German children in New Braunfels elementary schools between 1920 and 1940 (see also Boas 2005a, 89–90).

2.8.2. CHURCHES. It was not until the mid-1920s that greater numbers of churches began abandoning German church services.[22] Salmons and Lucht (2006) discuss the language use for the Missouri Synod Lutherans in the Texas District (prevalent in the eastern part of the German Belt) and argue that during the mid-1920s German-only churches ceased to be viable in Texas. They attribute this development in part to war-related strife and propose that in addition some members of these congregations probably needed English services as language shift to English advanced (170). According to Salmons and Lucht (2006, 168), the increase in English services was strongest in areas that were outside the German Belt and weakest in rural areas within the German Belt, where German speakers made up the majority. Salmons and Lucht also show that after an initial decrease in German services in the 1920s, the numbers remained "more stable throughout the early 1930s. Beginning in 1935, German lost 18% in 5 years, a rate of shift unparalleled among other American Missouri Synod Districts" (171) Another

trend shows that "the oldest congregations held on to German the longest" (171).

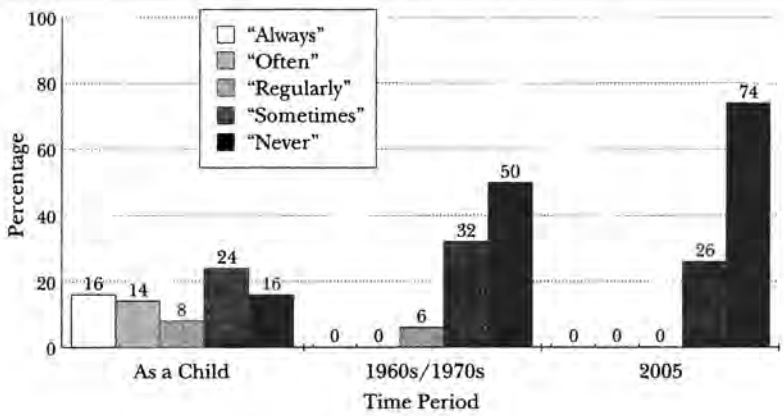
Similar trends can be observed for other churches, such as those belonging to the Iowa Synod, which underwent language shift to English during that same 20-year long period. In addition to the reasons cited by Salmons and Lucht (2006), Nicolini (2004, 96–98) attributes the language shift in churches to an increased level of mobility among the members of the younger generation in the years following World War I. While German speakers moved for professional reasons to locations with primarily English congregations, English speakers moved to towns within the German Belt. Because many of the younger members of these congregations had learned German at home but completed their schooling in English, they felt more comfortable using English than German. Thus, many congregations introduced one or two English services per month during the 1920s and eventually switched to all English services during the 1930s in order to facilitate better communication. Typically, congregations in urban areas were leading this development; those in more rural areas followed some years later (Nicolini 2004, 98–101). The death of a pastor was another reason for the switch to all-English services, because it was often not possible for congregations to find German-speaking replacements.[23] The results of these developments could be seen throughout the German-speaking communities in Texas.

The switch from German to English church services also took place in New Braunfels churches. Discussing the developments in the First Protestant Church of New Braunfels, Nicolini (2004, 101–4) points out that German remained the language of the church from its founding in 1845 through the war. It was not until 1925 that the language question was raised in the church council, eventually leading to strong disagreement among its members, as Oscar Haas recalls: "It was very much of a struggle, this transition of German to English. The young people were deprived of learning to read and write and speak the German language in public schools and they demanded church services in English be conducted and the elder church members wanted the German traditions established by their parents, continued" (quoted in Nicolini 2004, 102).

Eventually, the congregation decided to begin offering occasional services in English, and by 1927 there were regular church services in German followed by a church service in English, each led by a different pastor. By 1932, confirmation classes were taught in English, but German and English services were held regularly until 1951, when German services were offered only twice a month. Eikel (1954, 17) observed, "Although the attendance is comparatively very small, the Pastor-emeritus of the original Lutheran church still conducts regularly church services in German, but the confirmation classes and Sunday school classes are taught in English." The TGDP data collected from New Braunfels Texas German speakers present a similar picture about the use of English and German at church between the 1920s and the 1940s.[24] Informants were asked how much German and how much English they spoke at church when they were children. They were given a five-point scale ranging from "always" to "never," with "often," "regularly," and "sometimes" in between.[25]

As figure 2.7 illustrates, the distribution of German reportedly spoken at church is relatively diverse for the time when the informants were children. Since the 52 New Braunfels informants discussed in this book were born between 1920 and 1942, this time

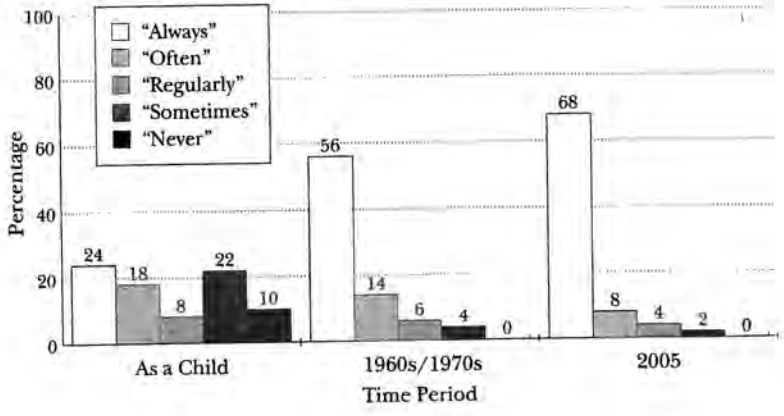
FIGURE 2.7
Reports of German Spoken at Church



period covers a span of almost 30 years (early 1920s to late 1940s). During this period, 16% of the 52 informants "always" spoke German at church, 14% spoke German "often," 8% "regularly," 24% "sometimes," and 16% "never." One informant (born in 1934) noted in the survey that the use of language depended on the individual person. He pointed out that among children English was the predominant language spoken at church, but when addressing parents, grandparents, and strangers, they would typically use German. Another informant (born in 1938) stated that the use of German at church drastically declined in the years immediately following the replacement of a German-speaking pastor with an English-only-speaking pastor in the mid-1940s.

If we compare the data on the reported use of German with comparable data on the reported use of English during the same periods, we find—not surprisingly—that the use of English was already widespread among the informants born between 1920 and 1940. Figure 2.8 shows that 24% of the 52 respondents reported to have "always" used English at church when they were children, whereas 18% report to have used English "often." Ten percent "never" spoke English at church during this period, whereas 22% spoke it "sometimes," and 8% "regularly." In summary, I have ar-

FIGURE 2.8
Reports of English Spoken at Church



gued that while English was becoming more and more important in churches during the three decades following World War I, German was still used to a certain degree in this domain well into the 1950s.

2.8.3. NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER PERIODICALS. Parallel to the decreasing use of German in churches, many newspapers were faced with a dwindling number of readers willing to subscribe to German-language publications. Overall, the 1920s saw two general trends. First, a number of smaller papers switched to English or went out of business entirely because fewer readers made German-language newspapers financially less viable (Arndt and Olson 1961). Second, some of the remaining papers, such as the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, the *Waco Post*, and the *Freie Presse für Texas*, increased their circulation by picking up readers who previously subscribed to publications that stopped printing in German.

Besides financial problems, many newspapers found it difficult to find editors and typesetters who had a solid command of standard German and could thus ensure that the publications remained free of spelling and grammatical mistakes (Nicolini 2004, 87–88). Starting in the 1920s, many German papers printed more articles and ads in English. The 1930s and 1940s saw the decline of more German-language publications in Texas, as shown by Salmons and Lucht (2006) (see table 2.3).

TABLE 2.3
The Death of the German Press in Texas
(Salmons and Lucht 2006, 176)

1940	*Das Wochenblatt* (Austin)
	Schützes Jahrbuch für Texas (San Antonio)
	Schützes Monatsbuch für Texas (San Antonio)
1942	*Der Hermannssohn in Texas* (San Antonio)
	Texas Herold (Taylor)
	Texas Historischer Kalender (Taylor)
1945	*Fredericksburger Wochenblatt*
	Freie Presse für Texas (Wochenblatt) (San Antonio)
1949	*Giddings Deutsches Volksblatt*

Nicolini identifies the rapidly decreasing number of subscriptions as one of the main reasons causing the steady decline of the German press in Texas during this period. According to Nicolini, this was a direct result of the fact that children were schooled in English starting at the end of World War I. Although numerous children would still acquire Texas German at home, they did not learn how to read or write in German, but in English. As the primarily German-speaking grandparents passed away, many households decided to subscribe to English papers so their children could read them.

In 1957, the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* became the last Texas paper to cease publication in German. Before switching entirely to English, its circulation numbers had dropped from 3,755 in 1944 to 3,308 in 1948 and 2,997 in 1954. After taking over the *Comal County Chronicle* in 1952, the *Zeitung* started including an English section, which soon became larger than the German section. By 1957, the number of readers of the German section had fallen below 1,000, which led the editor to switch the entire paper to English (Nicolini 2004, 90–92). Thus, a more than 100-year era of German print media in Texas came to an end.

2.8.4. THE USE OF GERMAN IN OTHER DOMAINS. Between 1920 and 1960, the use of German in athletic clubs, choirs, and social organizations saw some significant changes. While many such organizations either stopped meeting during the final years of World War I or would start using English in their meetings, this change was reversed once the war was over. For example, the Houston Sängerbund returned to regular meetings and saw its enrollment increase in the early 1920s. Throughout Texas, new choirs were founded between 1920 and 1940, of which 33 joined the Texanischer Gebirgs-Sängerbund. However, 10 of these had already dissolved by the early 1930s because of dwindling membership numbers. Many shooting clubs and athletic clubs continued to use German throughout the 1930s, but gradually they began switching to using English in the 1940s because fewer and fewer members spoke German. Similar developments took place among the various lodges of the Sons of Herman, where the switch to English was made in 1937 (see Nicolini 2004, 128–29, 132).

The outbreak of World War II and the declaration of war by Germany against the United States in 1941 triggered more anti-German sentiments among the non-German American population who thought that many German Americans were Nazi sympathizers. As during World War I, names of Texas German organizations were anglicized in order not to raise suspicion. For example, in 1942 the Houston Sängerbund changed its name to the Houston Singing Society (this was reversed in 1952) and decided to use English for its minutes (Gish 1990, 22; Nicolini 2004, 136). Similarly, the membership of the San Antonio Liederkranz dropped to a level that was insufficient for rehearsals; the annual Sängerfeste were cancelled from 1942 to 1944. In reflecting on these years, one of the members of the San Antonio Liederkranz later stated, "We didn't want to have anything to do with anything German. We were young and we were American and we didn't even want to admit that we were of German heritage" (Nicolini 2004, 136). Although the Sängerfeste resumed after the war, more and more people joined Texas German choirs that did not speak German.

2.9. GERMAN LANGUAGE DOMAINS 1960–2000: LANGUAGE SHIFT

The sections above have shown that after a short revival during the 1920s German retreated from virtually all public domains during the 1930s and 1940s. While standard German only lived on in the form of newspapers and occasional church services, Texas German continued to be spoken in private domains. Salmons (1983, 188) writes, "With German-English ambivalent bilingualism the rule, less need to learn German existed for these newcomers; English now began to reach further into all domains, and German retreated particularly in public use." All in all, then, we can conclude that by the 1950s standard German was completely replaced by English as the high language, while only Texas German remained as the low variety.

By the early 1960s, the number of Texas German speakers dropped to about 70,000, down from about 110,000 estimated for

the early 1900s (see Gilbert 1965b, 102). From the 1960s onward, Texas German was spoken primarily in the private domains, that is, among friends and family. There were no more German newspapers published in Texas, and German church services were limited to special occasions a few times during the year. In the 1960s, attendance at German services in the First Protestant Church of New Braunfels dropped continuously, and between 1975 and 1985, German services were only offered on Christmas, Thanksgiving, and Good Friday (Nicolini 2004, 103–4). The increasing use of English instead of German at church discussed on the basis of TGDP data in section 2.8.2 continued throughout the remainder of the twentieth century. Figure 2.7 above illustrates the decline in reported German language use among Texas German speakers in New Braunfels between 1920 and 2006.

This trend illustrates that sociopolitical events in combination with demographic changes eventually led to a decline of diglossia where Texas German was used less and less (Salmons 1983; Guion 1996; Boas 2005b). By 1980, the situation "almost developed into the final stages of language shift...: bilingualism without diglossia. That is, many people have command of Texas German but do not use it systematically" (Salmons 1983, 190). This trend has continued into the twenty-first century. In 2006, very few Texas Germans use their language outside the home, except with Texas German speakers they know from meetings of singing clubs, shooting clubs, or at cultural festivities like Oktoberfest in Fredericksburg or Wurstfest in New Braunfels. Even among most Texas German couples (most of whom are 60 years and older), English is now the preferred language of the home. As such, language shift was virtually complete by the end of the twentieth century.

To illustrate, consider the following facts. Whereas Salmons observed in the 1980s that "workplaces and shops seem to fare best in use of Texas German" (1983, 190), this situation does not hold true two decades later. In Boas (2005b) I report on the use of Texas German and English in local shops across the German Belt over a period of about 80 years. Based on data collected by members of the TGDP, I show that the reported use of German at local shops did not decline as much as that reported at church during

the 1960s and 1970s. The same holds for New Braunfels, as figure 2.9 illustrates.[26]

"Never" is the most frequent response given for the use of German at shops during the 1960s/1970s (36%), followed by "regularly" (6%). Only 4% of respondents reported using German "sometimes," whereas 4% said they used it "often." Turning our attention to the present, we see that the use of German has declined even more, parallel to the developments observed in the previous section. More than three-quarters of informants say they "never" speak German at local shops (78%), whereas 20% report that they speak it "sometimes." In comparison, only 2% claim to use German in this domain "regularly."

Similar developments have taken place among neighbors in the Texas German community. Figure 2.10 shows that in contrast to churches and local shops, the use of Texas German was comparatively widespread among neighbors from the 1920s well into the 1940s. When asked how often they spoke Texas German with neighbors, the most frequent response was "always" (24%), closely followed by "often" (22%). Eight percent of our informants spoke Texas German "regularly," while 18% spoke it "sometimes." Only 12% noted that they "never" spoke Texas German with their neighbors when they were children.

FIGURE 2.9
Reports of German Spoken at Local Shops

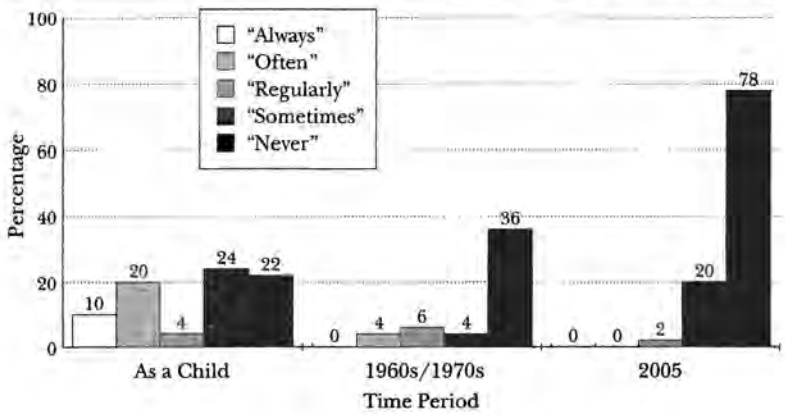
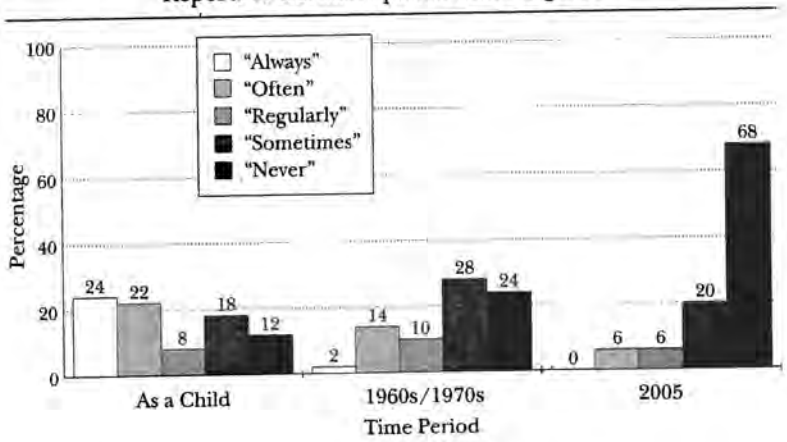


FIGURE 2.10
Reports of German Spoken with Neighbors



The statistics for the reported use of Texas German among neighbors during the 1960s and 1970s show a significantly different distribution: "never" (24%), "sometimes" (28%), "often" (14%), "regularly" (10%), and "always" (2%). As with the other domains discussed above, the reported use of Texas German declined drastically, leading to a distribution that resembles the one observed for churches and local shops. Various informants attributed this change to demographic factors: older Texas German speakers passing away and a significant influx of English-only speakers beginning in the late 1960s. This development has continued, as expected, through today. At present, 68% of the informants claim "never" to speak Texas German with their neighbors; in fact, one informant stated she would not want to speak Texas German with another neighbor even if he or she spoke it, because she thought that it would be inappropriate to speak Texas German when living in a neighborhood dominated by English-only speakers. Twenty percent of the informants claimed that they "sometimes" speak Texas German with their neighbors, whereas 6% each claim to speak it "regularly" and "often." These numbers illustrate the dramatic decline in use of Texas German in various domains over the past 80 years.

2.10. TEXAS GERMAN IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The 1990 Census lists 96,659 people who claim to speak German at home in Texas. The 2000 Census puts this number at 82,117. While these numbers are surprisingly high, it is not clear to what degree they actually reflect the accurate level of linguistic practice among Texas Germans. Recall that intergenerational transmission of Texas German virtually stopped by the late 1940s, which would mean that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, there are probably very few fluent speakers of Texas German who are younger than 60 years of age.

Although many Texas Germans identify themselves as being of German origin, this fact does not automatically mean that they speak the language fluently. In my view, two significant problems arise when interpreting the official census numbers. First, the census does not differentiate between different German dialects. That is, over the past five decades, a significant number of Germans have moved from Germany to Texas, in particular to metropolitan areas (such as Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Austin) and to the Hill Country. This classification makes it difficult to systematically separate recent immigrants from Germany from Texas Germans, who are descendants of the nineteenth-century German immigrants. Second, at present it has become difficult to locate fluent speakers of Texas German, even in such former German strongholds like New Braunfels, Fredericksburg, or Comfort. My fieldwork between 2002 and 2006 has shown that the majority of people who claim to speak Texas German have at best a passive knowledge of the dialect. Since they only have a limited command of a few words and phrases, they should be classified as semifluent speakers (see chapter 1). As such, it appears to be much more realistic to estimate the number of fluent Texas Germans speakers at around 8–10,000 (see Boas 2005a, 98).

I conclude that over the past eight decades a number of different factors have led to the demise of Texas German. While undoubtedly there existed a number of developments that indicated a very slow shift from German to English in the early 1900s, these

trends were intensified by the anti-German sentiments caused by World War I. It seems that the English-only laws prohibiting the use of German as an instructional language at school had the most dramatic effects. As a result, Texas German children did not achieve the degree of literacy and oral proficiency in German that they had in English. This situation eventually triggered a domino effect by which both German newspapers and church services switched to English between the wars because fewer and fewer young people were capable of reading German or following German services. These developments were intensified by social mobility, demographic changes, and another world war, which brought a second era of stigma for Texas German. As a result, Texas German at the beginning of the twenty-first century is spoken only in a very limited number of private domains (friends, family, neighbors). The majority of fluent speakers are currently 60 years and older. As I illustrate in chapter 7, this means that Texas German will most likely become extinct within the next 30 years.

3. DIALECT CONTACT AND NEW-DIALECT FORMATION

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the theoretical background for the analyses presented in chapters 4 and 5. In section 3.2 I survey the relevant literature on German *Sprachinseln* 'speech islands' to establish that many linguistic features of Texas German are also found in other German language enclaves around the world. Section 3.3 reviews some of the major principles of language and dialect contact. It then discusses the different types of mechanisms proposed for explaining the outcomes of new-dialect formation (see Trudgill 1986, 2004; Kerswill 1994, 2002; Sankoff 2002; Gordon et al. 2004). Section 3.4 addresses the classification of German dialects and shows that it is often difficult to establish one-to-one correspondences between specific linguistic features of a new dialect and a single feature of a putative donor dialect. Complicating the matter is that we are often unable to determine the exact location from which German immigrants left for Texas. Finally, I lay out the structure of the remainder of the book in chapter 3.5.

3.2. GERMAN *SPRACHINSELN* AROUND THE WORLD

Sprachinseln are linguistic and cultural enclaves that are the result of speakers of one language migrating to a new area where they are surrounded by speakers of other languages.[1] As such, they form a speech community (Labov 1972; Hymes 1974; Dorian 1981; Gumperz 1982; Romaine 1994; Milroy and Milroy 1997) whose members share certain linguistic repertoires and rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech that differ from those of surrounding speakers.[2] As seen in chapter 2, German immigrants were spread out across the German Belt, living in close proximity with speakers of English, Czech, Spanish, Polish, and other languages. Depending on the location, German immigrants made up

5–50% of local populations, with various degrees of public institutional support from German-speaking churches, newspapers, and schools. This means that a large number of nineteenth-century German immigrants in Texas did not belong to the coherent *Sprachinsel* that stretched throughout the central part of the state. However, in the western part of the German Belt, in particular in New Braunfels and most of the Texas Hill Country, Texas Germans made up over 90% of the population. Since larger numbers of English speakers did not begin moving into the Texas Hill Country until the twentieth century, this area can be considered a fairly homogenous German *Sprachinsel* vis-à-vis its English-speaking neighbors for most of the nineteenth century. As such, it is important to take a closer look at some developments attested for other German *Sprachinseln* around the world to determine whether the linguistic changes discussed in chapters 4 and 5 are unique to Texas German or whether they reflect more general trends of dialect contact, new-dialect formation, and language death.

Discussing the development of Texas German in this context is important because most *Sprachinseln* share a number of cultural and linguistic features. From a historical perspective, all *Sprachinseln* go through a period of stabilization after the settlers have established a local infrastructure and communal institutions, such as schools and churches. During this phase, the economic and social networks are dominated by the settlers' language and culture, which serve as the basis for group identification. Another characteristic of this phase is that *Sprachinseln* are often economically and culturally isolated (see Mattheier 2003, 23). After stabilization has taken place, *Sprachinsel* speakers typically come into contact with the culturally and linguistically dominant groups that surround them, leading to various degrees of language contact. Typical results include the borrowing of words and grammatical constructions into the *Sprachinsel* language as well as various degrees of bilingualism, depending on the length and intensity of contact. *Sprachinseln* may be assimilated by the surrounding speech community, a process that usually takes two to three generations and finally results in the death of the *Sprachinsel* (Mattheier 2003, 28). The period beginning with the establishment of a stable *Sprachinsel* and ending with

its eventual death may last anywhere from 50 to 100 years (e.g., Wisconsin, Texas) to several centuries (e.g., Transylvania Saxons, who have lived in Romania since the thirteenth century; Daugsch 1990). The demise of *Sprachinseln* is generally caused by a mix of external and internal influences, such as historical events, loss of prestige and institutional support, socioeconomic status of the different varieties, and demographic changes, among many other factors. According to Mattheier (1996), the most significant sociolinguistic characteristic that guarantees the survival of *Sprachinseln* is the attitudinal structure of distinctness, which serves as the basis of nonassimilation (see chapter 6 for a discussion of language attitudes among Texas Germans).

Sprachinseln are of interest to linguists because they represent the convergence of different speech varieties. For example, the German settlers who went to Russia in the eighteenth century were from various places such as Baden, Württemberg, the Palatinate, West Prussia, and Danzig. Their dialects reflected their diverse geographical origins, as they spoke some Low German, but mainly High German dialects, such as Franconian, Bavarian, Alsatian, Swiss German, Saxon, and Thuringian (Vejlert 1981, 2; Somerholter 1999, 103). Once settled, the various dialects of the German immigrants and their descendants came into contact and began influencing each other to varying degrees (see Schirmunski 1930, 113–14).

The resulting language varieties sparked intense research among Russian dialectologists during the 1920s and 1930s, and from the 1950s onward (see Berend and Jedig 1991; Rosenberg 1994). One of the main questions examined by these researchers was how new speech varieties emerge over time and which linguistic features of the original varieties survive. For example, Dinges (1925) noticed that the speech of the descendants of German-born immigrants on the Volga River was dominated by Rhine Franconian features. Dulson's (1938) more detailed study of Alt-Urbach (Volga region), which was founded in 1767 by settlers from 64 different villages and towns in Germany, demonstrated that a relatively heterogeneous speech variety had emerged by the mid-nineteenth century that was best characterized as East Middle German (*Ostmitteldeutsch*). However, there are numerous linguistic features that distinguish local varieties from each other, so that dialect classification becomes a question of granularity (see also chapter 3.4 below). Similar problems arise with the classification of Texas German, as shown in chapters 4 and 5.

Another issue is what Rosenberg (2005, 228) calls a "dialect-geographical illusion." This term describes attested cases in which the mixing of various varieties results in a new German dialect spoken among the descendants of German immigrants in the Volga region that matches all of the linguistic features of a specific regional variety spoken in Germany even though none of the original settlers came from that region. As such, the mix of dialectal features found among certain new dialects and existing dialects in Germany is simply a coincidence, according to Schirmunski (1930, 178). But what accounts for the fact that the emerging dialects of the *Sprachinseln* resembles some unrelated dialects in Germany? Rosenberg (1994, 289) raises this question in his discussion of case loss in dialects spoken in Germany and those of the *Sprachinseln* in the Volga region. He argues that one should not identify one of the new Volga dialects as the direct descendant of another dialect just because they both exhibit case loss. In his view, the similarity is not due to the fact that one dialect is the direct descendant of another, but instead is caused by independent typological processes (development of synthetic to analytic systems) operating in both dialects (see also Dulson 1941, 92).

A number of Russian dialectologists suggested different strategies for identifying and characterizing dialect mixing and leveling among Volga German dialects. In what follows, I briefly discuss two of the most prominent accounts, namely Schirmunski (1930) and Dulson (1941), to set the stage for our review of more recent analyses of new-dialect formation in chapter 3.3. Schirmunski (1930) proposes a system of primary and secondary features to explain why only certain linguistic features are found among the various new dialects but not others. Primary dialect features characterize linguistic phenomena that deviate from standard German or other near-standard dialects. These differences make the features very salient. Secondary dialect features are less salient, because they do not diverge as much from standard German or other near-standard

dialects. Schirmunski claims that primary dialect features do not survive because they are leveled in favor of their standard or near-standard German counterparts. In contrast, secondary features survive because they are less salient. Over the course of several generations, this development leads to a mixture of secondary features as well as the emergence of a new dialect that lacks the primary features of those dialects that are the farthest away from High German or dialects that are structurally close to it (see Berend and Jedig 1991, 137–45).

While Schirmunski's classification system can be applied to explain some cases of dialect mixing and leveling, it is problematic when it comes to situations where the settlers did not have knowledge of or access to standard German. This point is particularly problematic when we consider the fact that there was no standardized German pronunciation until the end of the nineteenth century, more than a century after the arrival of the first German settlers in the Volga region. Another problem, pointed out by Rosenberg (1994, 291), is that it is often not possible to predict what types of features will be perceived as more or less salient by speakers of different dialects (see Löffler 1974). This point was also raised previously by Dulson (1941, 83), who observes that there are differences in how salient features are perceived by dialect speakers and by linguists. According to this view, many features characteristic of specific dialects are not recognized as such by dialect speakers themselves, but only by linguists. In contrast, other features that are less characteristic of specific dialects are in fact noticed by dialect speakers and recognized as "different." This difference in perception raises the question of whose point of view should be taken to evaluate differences in dialectal features, the dialect speaker's or the linguist's.

Rosenberg (1994) also shows that mixing and leveling of various linguistic features do not always behave uniformly; that is, despite having similar input dialects in different locations we find new dialects that are quite distinct from each other with respect to a number of features, such as nasalization, diphthongization, and so on. These observations lead him to conclude that the outcome of dialect mixing and leveling is not automatically predictable based

on the sets of primary and secondary dialect features (Rosenberg 1994, 288). Asfandiarova (1999), in her study of convergence phenomena among Russian Germans in Ufa, Bashkortostan, arrives at similar results. Investigating three generations of speakers who originated from different villages and were merged in one central village in the 1980s, she shows that dialect convergence appears to be highly selective. While some linguistic features, such as front vowels, appear to be completely leveled, other features, such as diphthongs, are not (see Rosenberg 2003, 205). In chapters 4 and 5 I will discuss similar data that suggest that dialect leveling did not apply across the board in the formation of Texas German.

Dulson's (1941) analysis of dialect mixing and leveling in the German dialects of the Volga region is also relevant to our discussion of the Texas German data.[3] He suggests that the process of dialect mixing, which eventually leads to a compromise dialect (*Ausgleichsmundart*), is governed by seven different internal and external factors. The first factor is the influence of standard German on the lexicon of Volga German, in which the original pronunciation of newly borrowed words is retained. The fact that the morphosyntax and phonology of Volga German appear to have been minimally affected leads Dulson (1941, 94) to conclude that the overall influence of standard German was very minimal (see also Berend and Jedig 1991, 91). The second factor identified by Dulson is contact among speakers of different varieties. For example, he points out that word-initial [pf] (as in *Pfund* 'pound') does not exist in the variety spoken in the village Preuss despite its presence in most of the original donor dialects brought to Preuss by the first settlers. He attributes the loss of [pf] to the fact that none of the varieties spoken in the surrounding villages have word-initial [pf], but instead [p]. According to Dulson, the loss of [pf] was thus likely caused by contact with speakers from other villages whose speech did not exhibit this sound (see also Berend and Jedig 1991, 90). The third factor influencing dialect mixing is the prestige associated with different dialects. Following earlier work by Dinges (1923, 1925), Dulson points out that it is typically the form that is closest in pronunciation to standard German that survives whenever there is competition between different pronunciation variants.

In other cases, the social prestige associated with a particular group of speakers may be the deciding factor in promoting a specific variety, even if that group is in the minority. This is the case with the preponderance of Palatinate features vis-à-vis Swabian features in the dialects of Alexanderhilf and Neuburg, where large numbers of Swabian craftsmen learned agriculture from Palatinate farmers, who were the first settlers in that area and as such enjoyed greater prestige (see Schirmunski 1930, 173; Berend and Jedig 1991, 93; Rosenberg 1994, 137).

Dulson's fifth factor determining the outcome of dialect mixing is the numerical distribution of speakers with different dialects. In general, the majority of speakers determine the outcome of the dialect mix, according to Dulson (1941, 91), although this depends crucially on the number and diversity of the donor dialects. In situations where the new speech community consists of two or more compact groups, dialect mixing takes a longer time. In other situations, where the varieties in contact share more linguistic features—that is, they are less heterogeneous—dialect mixing and leveling occurs at a faster pace and affects a greater number of linguistic features. Dulson notes that the mixing and leveling of features in such situations does not affect dialects as whole systems, but rather only parts of their linguistic systems: "It can rather be characterized as a battle, which is being fought separately between the individual linguistic phenomena" (1941, 93; my translation).[4] The outcome of this mixing process is influenced by language attitudes, Dulson's sixth factor. One of the reasons that may block dialect mixing and leveling is the sense of belonging to a specific group of dialect speakers, according to Dulson. That is, when speakers of a particular variety share specific cultural and religious values, they tend to resist changing their speech because this would mean a partial loss of their identity. In such cases, dialect mixing proceeds at a much slower pace, leading to the existence of parallel variants within a village over several generations (see Berend and Jedig 1991, 94; Rosenberg 1994, 292). The seventh factor identified by Dulson is a general tendency of German dialects to develop in specific ways. That is, despite being cut off from other dialects in Germany for several generations, the Volga German dialects exhibit developments similar to those found among other German dialects across central Europe: loss of the dative case, loss of the preterite, and loss of certain plural endings, among others. Dulson points out that because of these tendencies in the original donor dialects, such developments are to be expected. Typically, such changes are accelerated in speech communities whose members speak varieties that are structurally closely related to each other (Dulson 1941, 91–94).

Although Dulson's detailed discussion of different factors influencing dialect mixing and leveling makes claims about what developments typically occur first (case loss, tendency toward analytic forms, loss of phonemes that are not in the inventory of the dominant variety, etc.), we must recognize that his account does not claim to offer a direct way of predicting the outcome of different dialect contact situations. As Rosenberg (1994, 294) observes, we should not regard Dulson's factors as automatic or mechanical. Instead, we should consider in detail how the seven factors interact with each other in each dialect contact situation to yield different outcomes (see also Aitchison 1981, 128; Dressler 1986, 520). Even more important, it is necessary to apply these factors to specific linguistic processes instead of viewing the multitude of linguistic developments found among newly emerging dialects as a whole. In the next section, I discuss such an approach toward new-dialect formation, namely Trudgill's (2004) analysis of New Zealand English. It differs from the research on German *Sprachinseln* discussed above in that it focuses on the outcome of dialect contact situations where there is virtually no contact with other languages. Trudgill's model is relevant to our analysis of Texas German in chapters 4 and 5 because it provides a detailed generational model to explain how certain linguistic developments occur over time.

3.3. KOINÉIZATION AND NEW-DIALECT FORMATION

Dialect contact, a term made popular by Trudgill (1986), typically occurs when people migrate from different parts of a single language area to a new settlement. For example, in Western European

countries during the Industrial Revolution, people migrated from different rural areas to the cities, leading to face-to-face interactions of speakers of different language varieties (Croft 2000, 212). The absence of other languages in this context is the major difference between this type of contact situation and the *Sprachinsel* situation discussed in the previous section. The continuous interactions of speakers of mutually intelligible varieties often leads to koinéization, a contact-induced process that may result in quite rapid, and occasionally dramatic, change (cf. Kerswill 2002, 669). The outcome of this process, which may take several generations, is language change as a consequence of linguistic accommodation. Eventually, a new language variety based on the former dialects, a koiné, forms (see, e.g., Schirmunski 1930, 1962; Andersen 1982; Siegel 1987; Kerswill 1994). Siegel (1985, 363) defines a koiné as

> the stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects. It usually serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the different contributing varieties and is characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison.[5]

Siegel (1985) distinguishes between regional and immigrant koinés. The former is a new variety that exists side by side with the donor dialects, while the latter is the result of koinéization following the mass settlement of a rather thinly populated region (see also Lass 1990; Britain 1991). Thus, toward the end of the Industrial Revolution, the koinés that emerged in the industrialized cities of Western Europe were regional koinés. Other migration processes and contact situations have led to the formation of immigrant koinés around the world, such as Høyanger Norwegian (Omdal 1977; Trudgill 1986), Fiji Hindi (Siegel 1987), and Milton Keynes English (Kerswill and Williams 2000). The study of koinés has revealed that social factors such as migration, which lead to dialect contact and koinéization, are among the major external causes of language change. Such external factors are to be distinguished from internal causes, which "have to do with aspects of the structure of a particular language (its phonology and its grammar) which, perhaps because of structural imbalances, are predisposed to change" (Kerswill 2002, 669).

It is only recently that research on English dialect contact has increased and that Anglo-American linguists have started to investigate the permanent effects of long-term linguistic accommodation in more detail (see, e.g., Trudgill 1986, 2004; Britain 1997; Kerswill and Williams 2000; Sudbury 2000; Schreier 2003; Gordon et al. 2004; Hickey 2004). Perhaps the most interesting question coming out of this line of research is what factors determine the result of such contact situations. Among the different accounts of the underlying dynamics of koinéization, and, eventually, new-dialect formation, Trudgill's (2004) model has emerged as one of the most comprehensive. Based on his earlier book *Dialects in Contact* (1986), Trudgill (2004) develops a comprehensive account of the origins and evolution of New Zealand English (see also Gordon et al. 2004). While sharing many insights with the works of Dinges (1923, 1925), Schirmunski (1930), and Dulson (1941), Trudgill's account differs from that of German *Sprachinseln* discussed above in that it provides a detailed generational model of dialect contact and change based on an extensive corpus of recorded speech. Using data from the Origins of New Zealand English (ONZE) Project (see Gordon et al. 2004, 3–4), he suggests that in a mixture of various dialects, different variants are leveled out and a new dialect comes into existence—a dialect that is different in some ways from all the input varieties. This process goes through several chronological stages, with each stage corresponding roughly to a single generation of speakers. One of Trudgill's major claims is that new-dialect formation is not a random process, but rather the outcome of a development that can be predicted, given enough linguistic information about the donor dialects as well as demographic information about the proportions of speakers with different dialects (Trudgill 2004, 83).

During the first stage of New Zealand English's formation (Trudgill 2004, 83–99), which lasted roughly until 1860, adult speakers of different regional and social varieties from the British Isles came into contact on the four-to-six-month boat journey, and then again in New Zealand. In this situation, rudimentary dialect leveling (Trudgill 1986, 126) and interdialect development took place as the result of accommodation of speakers to one another in face-to-face interactions (see also Trudgill's 1983 analysis of Nor-

wich English). During this period, comprehensibility also played an important factor in that any localized features that hindered mutual intelligibility were very likely lost (2004, 89). One problem with determining the range of dialects that are mutually intelligible is that intelligibility is often difficult to define (see R. Hudson 1996; Campbell 1998; Trudgill et al. 2000; Schreier 2003). In chapter 4 I will show that the donor dialects that formed the basis of Texas German were mutually intelligible to a large degree, thereby allowing for extensive contact and interaction between the immigrants. Another important process during Trudgill's first stage of new-dialect formation is the development of interdialectal forms that were not present in any of the dialects contributing to the mixture (see also Schirmunski 1930; Dulson 1941). According to Trudgill, they are the result of the interaction between the donor dialects and may, in principle, take one of the following three forms: (1) intermediate forms that result from partial accommodation; (2) simpler or more regular forms (see Combrink's 1978 analysis of verb inflection in colonial Dutch); and (3) hyperadaptive forms.

Trudgill's second stage of new-dialect formation (2004, 100–112), which for New Zealand English lasted until approximately 1900, is characterized by extreme variability. This situation is due to the fact that the immigrant's children had access to many different linguistic models, the result of mixing that occurred in the previous generation. Unlike stable linguistic situations in which children typically acquire the language of their peers, children were thus confronted with many different linguistic options and had no single peer-group dialect to which they could accommodate. Following research by Berthele (2000), Trudgill proposes that the role of adults in language acquisition is more significant in such diffuse dialect-contact situations than usual (2004, 101). One of the outcomes of this linguistic "diffuseness" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) is that children typically select several variants from different dialects to form them into new mixtures. Trudgill suggests that this unusual type of language acquisition eventually leads to INTRA-individual variability once these children reach adulthood; that is, they are likely to fluctuate in their own speech quite considerably and thus exhibit a different type of linguistic behavior than people

who were raised in more homogeneous speech communities.[6] Another characteristic of the second stage of new-dialect formation is the presence of INTERindividual variability. Trudgill observes that people from the same location exhibit speech patterns that are quite different from each other. Despite the great intervariability observed at the second stage, Trudgill claims that it was probably smaller than the variability assumed to exist among the speakers of different dialects when coming together in the new setting for the first time (stage one).

According to Trudgill, the processes taking place during the first two stages of new-dialect formation are commonly referred to as koinéization (see also Trudgill 1986; Siegel 1987; Mesthrie 1993; Britain 1997). Only after the third stage (2004, 113–28), which is characterized by focusing, does one see a stable and reasonably coherent outcome of new-dialect formation, that is, a crystallized variety with remarkably little regional variation. Trudgill characterizes the focusing process taking place among New Zealand speakers born around 1890 as leveling, that is, accommodation between speakers in face-to-face interaction (2004, 113–14). An interesting question is what factors determined whether certain forms were retained while other forms were lost at this stage, whose outcome is strikingly similar to modern New Zealand English.

To answer this question, Trudgill compares the speech of the ONZE Project informants to that of modern New Zealand English speakers. A drastic decline in variation between the two groups leads him to suggest that the survival of majority variants plays a major role in focusing. Again, children play a crucial factor in this development, according to Trudgill. In contrast to stage two children, these children are exposed to a somewhat more stable social environment and a more restricted set of variants to choose from. Trudgill proposes that because of this difference in environment, stage three children selected from among a "smaller array of variants ... on a rational, although still subconscious, basis. They simply selected, in most cases, the variants that were most common" (2004, 114–15). Trudgill's model is different from others (Domingue 1981; Siegel 1987; Chambers 1995) in that it claims that dialect mixture is not a random process, but deterministic

(2004, 126). As such, Trudgill's model is also capable of explaining why different varieties of English in the Southern Hemisphere are so strikingly similar. It attributes the parallels between New Zealand and Australia to the fact that they developed from comparable mixtures of similar dialects in similar quantities during similar periods. In my view, Trudgill's approach offers a coherent method of analyzing the development of new dialects in distinct yet easily comparable stages and has the potential for answering some of the most intriguing questions about the dynamics and mechanisms underlying new-dialect formation.[7] Among them are the following: (1) What features of donor dialects are retained in dialect contact situations? (2) What is the influence of external factors on new-dialect formation? and (3) What developments could possibly be attributed to internal factors?

Since many components of Trudgill's model have also been successfully incorporated into other accounts of new-dialect formation (e.g., Britain 1997; Kerswill and Williams 2000; Sudbury 2000; Gordon et al. 2004), I adopt it for my analysis of Texas German throughout the rest of this book. After reviewing a number of relevant linguistic features of the German donor dialects in the following sections, I apply Trudgill's model to characterize the stages of new-dialect formation in Texas German in chapters 4–5 to provide some answers to these questions.

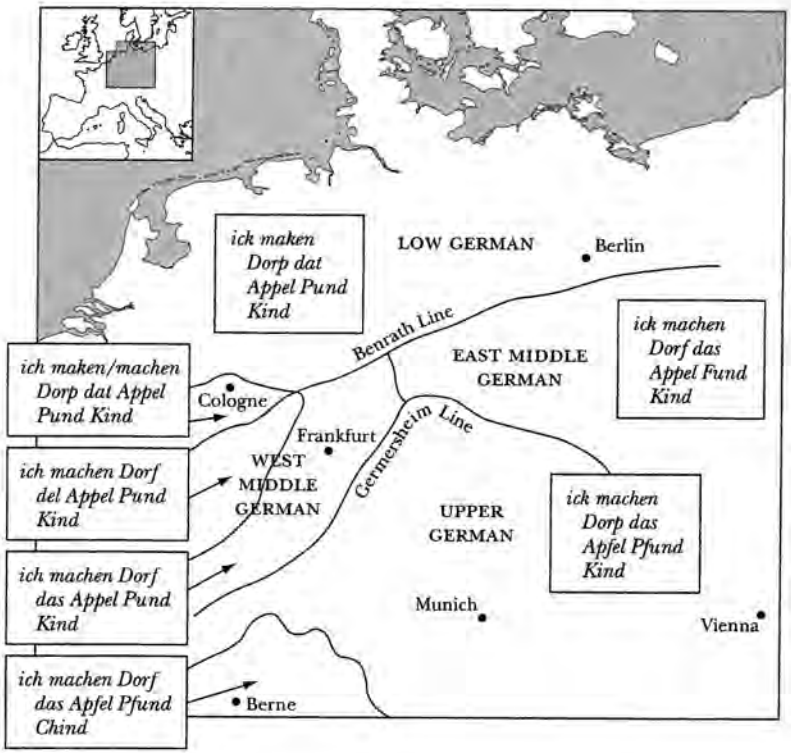
3.4. DONOR DIALECTS OF TEXAS GERMAN

3.4.1. CLASSIFYING GERMAN DIALECTS. Traditionally, German dialects (*Dialekte, Mundarten*), or language varieties, are understood by most linguists as spatially defined speech forms with striking distinctions from the standard (Löffler 1980, 103; Mattheier 1983, 146–51; Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 56–57).[8] Despite the different methods used for dialect classifications, there is a general consensus among dialectologists that German dialects can be split up into at least three major groups: the Low German dialects (*Niederdeutsche Dialekte*) (see Mitzka 1968; Niebaum 1980; Stellmacher 1980); the Middle (or Central) German dialects (*Mitteldeutsche Dialekte*) (see Putschke 1968; Beckers 1980); and the Upper German dialects (*Oberdeutsche Dialekte*) (see Schirmunski 1962; Freudenberg 1980; Kleiber 1980). Typically, the Middle and Upper German dialects are grouped together as High German dialects (*Hochdeutsche Dialekte*), not to be confused with the term High German (*Hochdeutsch*), which is used to refer to the standard variety. This classification is based, among other things, on how far the High German (or Second) Sound Shift (Keller 1978) operated on earlier variants of the dialects, resulting in different realizations of consonants. Figure 3.1 illustrates some of the differences in pronunciation among common German vocabulary items according to their dialectal divisions between the Benrath Line (C. J. Wells 1985, 42, 427–28) and the Germersheim Line (C. J. Wells 1985, 427–28).

Figure 3.1 also shows that the three main dialectal areas can be split up into finer-grained areas, such as West Middle German (*Westmitteldeutsch*) and East Middle German (*Ostmitteldeutsch*). West Middle German is typically divided further into Middle Franconian (*Mittelfränkisch*) and Rhine Franconian (*Rheinfränkisch*). These dialects can be subdivided into much finer categories. For example, Hessian (*Hessisch*), which belongs to Rhine Franconian, can be subdivided further into *Nord-* and *Osthessisch* (North and East Hessian), contrasting cities and even villages that are in close proximity to each other. These realities make it often difficult to clearly distinguish between boundaries that set dialects apart from each other (i.e., they form a continuum). As a result, Wiesinger (1983) argues for the definition of so-called core-dialectal areas, where local varieties exhibit a specific overlap of phonological and morphological inventories. Between the core areas of individual dialects, we find fuzzy zones in which local dialects may exhibit phonological and morphological properties that are typical of more than one core dialect.

Note, however, that isoglosses representing different linguistic features do not overlap. Consider the isoglosses that arise from the operation of the High German Sound Shift, yielding the division into northern and southern varieties discussed above. Other north-south divisions do not necessarily coincide with these phonological

FIGURE 3.1
Distribution of German Dialects
(Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 79)



characteristics. For example, most Upper German and some Middle German dialects do not have a preterite tense form anymore (except for *war*, the preterite of *sein* 'to be'), but instead use perfect tense forms. Barbour and Stevenson (1990, 84) point out that "the isogloss marking the limit of this change again separates a more northern from a more southern area," yet it does not exactly coincide with the isoglosses marking the High German Sound Shift. Similar points have been made about the classification of German dialects based on case (Shrier 1965; Panzer 1983), gender assignment (Elst 1983), comparatives (Lipold 1983), and lexical variation (Friebertshäuser 1983). These dialectal differences suggest that it is sometimes not sufficient to just identify the name of a dialect when discussing the speech variety of a particular region. Instead, it may be necessary to be more explicit about the specific types of linguistic properties under investigation. It is for this reason that in chapters 4 and 5 I do not attempt to correlate the entire phonological and morphosyntactic inventories of Texas German with those of its potential donor dialects; instead, I will compare specific phonological and morphosyntactic features that have been described by Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972).

3.4.2. AN ATTEMPT AT IDENTIFYING THE DONOR DIALECTS OF TEXAS GERMAN. As discussed in chapter 2, the first wave of German-speaking immigrants came from various locations throughout central Europe.[9] To get a clearer picture of the regional distribution of donor dialects, we thus turn to more precise data on the origins of the German immigrants. T. Jordan (2004, 64, 123) summarizes the origins of German-born farmers in Austin County and those from three typical Hill Country counties (Gillespie, Llano, and Mason), which lie about 120 miles to the west of Austin County. As the comparison in table 3.1 illustrates, German settlers in the Hill Country appear to have come predominantly from west-central Germany, whereas those to the east were born in more northern areas.

Note, however, that the identification of donor dialects based on such data is rather difficult because in many cases we do not know the exact geographic origin of the settlers; this is because census information and ship lists often only included the state of origin without the names of towns or villages. As we have seen in our discussion of isoglosses in the previous section, it is often crucial to know the exact location in order to determine whether the local variety had a specific linguistic feature. Consider the duchy of Nassau, the source of roughly 22% of German immigrants to the three Hill Country counties, according to T. Jordan (2004, 123). Nassau was formed in 1806 out of a number of smaller states. The resulting territory covered an area roughly between the Main and Rhine rivers in the south up to the Lahn River in the north. The Westerwald formed its borders in the west; in the east its borders

TABLE 3.1
Origin of German-born Farmers with Numbers Greater than 1%

Austin County (1870 Census)		*Gillespie, Llano, and Mason Counties (1860 Census)*	
Mecklenburg	15%	Nassau	22%
Oldenburg	6%	Hannover	15%
Saxony	5%	Hesse[a]	7%
Anhalt	5%	Brunswick	7%
Baden	2%	Württemberg	6%
Württemberg	2%	Saxony	4%
Lippe-Detmold	2%	Baden	1%
Hesse	2%	Bavaria	1%
Bavaria	1%	Mecklenburg	1%
Brunswick	1%	Unspecified Prussia[b]	36%
Saxe-Meiningen	1%		
Saxe-Weimar	1%		
Hamburg	1%		
Unspecified Prussia[c]	54%		

a. "Includes Hesse-Darmstadt and Electoral Hesse. It also includes the Schmalkaden area of western Thuringia, the home of a number of Germans in the western settlements, which was at that time an outlier of Electoral Hesse" (T. Jordan 2004, 123).
b. "Includes the Wetzlar-Braunfels area of Hesse, which was an outlier of the Prussian Rhine Province. It contained the ancestral home of Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels, and, as might be expected, supplied a significant number of the Verein immigrants" (T. Jordan 2004, 123).
c. "Includes Westphalia (the Münsterland) and Holstein. It probably also includes some natives of Hannover, Electoral Hesse, and Nassau, for these states were annexed by Prussia in 1866" (T. Jordan 2004, 64).

went roughly from Frankfurt in the south to the west of Wetzlar and to the headwaters of the Lahn River in the north. Comparing the political borders of the duchy of Nassau with Wiesinger's (1983) typology of German dialects, we find that there were at least three distinct dialects spoken in that area, namely Rhine Franconian (*Rheinfränkisch*), Mosel Franconian (*Moselfränkisch*), and Central Hessian (*Zentralhessisch*).

This means that within this relatively small area there existed (and still exists) considerable linguistic variation. An example is the lexical variation found among the many dialects of Hessen-Nassau. Figure 3.2 illustrates the geographic distribution of the various dialectal counterparts for the word *attic* in this area. Among them we find *Boden, Oberboden, Oberster Boden, Hausboden, Laube, Oberlaube, Oberste Laube, Laubenboden, Speicher, Balken, Bühne, Oberbühne, Oberste Bühne, Ollern,* and *Oberhaus.* In contrast, consider the different dialectal variants for *dinner* found in the same region, namely

FIGURE 3.2
Realization of 'attic' in the Hessen-Nassau Area
(based on Berthold 1943, 50)

Nachtessen, Nachtbrot, Nachtsuppe, Nachtmess, Abendessen, Abendbrot, and *Abendsuppe,* as illustrated in figure 3.3.

A comparison of the two maps shows that the isoglosses do not coincide; indeed, the degree of overlap is minimal. Similar observations can be made not only at the lexical level for hundreds of words, but also at the phonological and morphosyntactic levels (see Mitzka 1946; Wiesinger 1980, 1982). The divergence of isoglosses found among Hessian dialects leads Durrell and Davies (1989, 210) to suggest that it "is problematic to identify discrete varieties

FIGURE 3.3
Realization of 'dinner' in the Hessen-Nassau Area
(based on Berthold 1943, 422)

with certain linguistic features that always co-occur in that one variety and not in another." Instead, they propose that "dialect areas can only be established, if at all, on the basis of relatively homogenous areas and zones of transition shown by taking a wider range of evidence from structurally relevant features which show significant areal variation in the region under study." The complexity of the variation and the lack of isogloss convergence in the Nassau area exemplify the difficulty in identifying the exact dialect feature used by German immigrants without knowing the precise locations (villages, towns) from which they came to Texas.

Trying to identify the donor dialects of another major group of German settlers is further complicated by overly general or vague geographic labels. Consider the heading "unspecified Prussia," which is claimed by 36% of Hill Country German settlers as their place of origin in the 1860 Census (see table 3.1). Within the borders of Prussia, we find an even greater variety of dialects than in the Nassau area, including Westphalian (*Westfälisch*), Eastphalian (*Ostfälisch*), different varieties of Pommeranian (*Pommersch*), Silesian (*Schlesisch*), and Thuringian (*Thüringisch*), among others. Each of these dialects exhibit complex variation similar to that just discussed for the dialects in the Nassau region. Without knowing the town or village of origin, it is difficult to establish the exact nature of the dialect input that formed the basis for Texas German. This lack of information makes it hard to determine the types of isoglosses necessary for characterizing the dialects spoken by the German immigrants coming to Texas. In other words, unless we know the precise places of origin of the settlers from Nassau, unspecified Prussia, and other regions, it is difficult to determine the exact percentages of lexical inputs into the dialect mixture.[10]

3.5. SETTING THE STAGE FOR DETERMINING DIALECT-SPECIFIC FEATURES IN TEXAS GERMAN

Despite these issues, I will attempt in the next two chapters to approximate some of the donor dialects by correlating historical Texas German data with known features from some German dialects

that were spoken in the areas from which the immigrants left for Texas. Using Trudgill's (2004) model, I will argue that Texas German has not evolved into a coherent New World dialect. Instead, I will propose that its development toward a focused New World variety was interrupted during the second stage of Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation.

The historical data I will use come from Eikel (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967), Clardy (1954), and Gilbert (1972), which are based on interviews conducted at different points in time, but with speakers born around the same time.[11] Eikel conducted his interviews during the late 1930s and early 1940s, Clardy during the early 1950s, and Gilbert during the 1960s, with informants' birthdates ranging approximately from the late 1850s to the early 1930s. Eikel interviewed a total of 24 speakers of New Braunfels German (13 women, 11 men), all of whom grew up either in or close to New Braunfels, using the direct-questioning method in which sentences were given in English and the informant repeated them in German. Altogether, Eikel elicited a total of 191 sentences. All of Eikel's informants also spoke English, and some Spanish. "All except one speak German as their first language, and all have had formal instruction in German" (Eikel 1966a, 15–16). It is not entirely clear when Eikel's informants were born since he lists only their age, not their birthdates. He divides his informants into three age groups, each roughly corresponding to a generation: 78–87 years old (6 informants), 42–67 years old (12 informants), and 23–32 years old (6 informants) (1954, 23–24). Although his "records of the field work were compiled during the summer of 1952" (1954, IV), he does not mention the years during which he interviewed his informants.

Luckily, I was able to locate one of Eikel's original New Braunfels informants (speaker 125) in November 2004, who was interviewed by Eikel in the late 1930s when she was seven or eight years old. She remembers the interviews taking place in her father's store during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Her parents were both born in Texas, but her grandparents on both sides were born in Germany. This anecdotal evidence suggests that Eikel's age classification took place during the late 1940s or early 1950s, which would mean that his informants were born approximately between 1855 and 1930. As such, Eikel's oldest generation would have been born roughly between 1855 and 1875, his middle generation between 1880 and 1910, and his youngest generation roughly between 1920 and 1930. In discussing the distribution of individual linguistic features below, Eikel's classification of speakers' age is only of limited usefulness, because he describes age-based differences only for a handful of syntactic phenomena (loss of genitive and dative case, passive, past vs. present perfect, present vs. future, and subjunctive).

Clardy's (1954) study of the phonology of New Braunfels German is based on interviews with 3 women and 3 men conducted during the summer of 1953. All informants, except for one, who was born in Germany, grew up in Comal County. Of the 5 Texas-born informants, 2 were of the second generation (i.e., their parents were born in Germany), and 3 were of the third generation (i.e., their grandparents were born in Germany). All of Clardy's informants attended elementary school, 2 finished high school, and one attended the University of Texas at Austin from 1912 to 1914.

Gilbert's (1972) Texas German data are based on a total of 118 interviews, with 15 interviews conducted in the New Braunfels area.[12] The New Braunfels area speakers, 4 women and 13 men, were all born between 1891 and 1920. Gilbert's summary of the informants' biographies shows that 10 were second-generation Texas Germans (i.e., their grandparents emigrated from Germany), whereas 4 belonged to the third generation. For 3 informants we find either no or only insufficient information about what generation they belonged to.

3.6. SUMMARY

In this chapter I discussed two major approaches toward explaining new-dialect formation. The first is concerned with the dynamics underlying dialect contact and mixing in German *Sprachinseln* in Russia (Schirmunski 1930; Dulson 1941). The second is Trudg-

ill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, based on New Zealand English. While the two approaches share many insights about the nature of dialect mixing and leveling, Trudgill's model appears to be more useful because of its reliance on large amounts of recorded speech and because of its explicit mentioning of generational data.

Another important point raised in this chapter concerns the nature of donor dialects that formed the input for Texas German. Following Wiesinger (1983) and Barbour and Stevenson (1990), I argued that identifying specific German dialects as donor dialects is problematic because of the extremely high degree of variation and overlap of different linguistic features. As such, identifying a particular variety becomes a question of granularity. An additional problem with identifying the donor dialects of Texas German is the absence of detailed information about the locations from which the German-speaking immigrants came to Texas. Despite these issues, I will attempt to identify specific linguistic features of Texas German and compare them with their counterparts in German dialects that were spoken in the areas from which the immigrants left for Texas.

The following chapters on the phonology and the morphosyntax of Texas German are organized as follows. First, I review the distribution of specific linguistic features reported by Eikel (1954) and Clardy (1954) for New Braunfels German and Gilbert (1972) for Texas German. In particular, I highlight the data reported for the oldest generation of speakers interviewed by these researchers. These data are interpreted in the context of Trudgill's (2004) model and show the variability among the first settlers and their descendants. Then, I identify a German dialect (or number of dialects) that exhibits this feature and argue that this dialect (or dialects) may be regarded as a possible donor dialect of Texas German. Note that this comparison will not always yield precise results because single features, such as unrounding of front vowels or loss of case, can be shared by many dialects.

Analyzing the data leads me to argue that a uniform New World variety comparable to New Zealand English did not arise in Texas. Applying Trudgill's (2004) model to the Texas German

data, I argue that a variety that could be labeled "Texas German" was not formed because of the continued existence of inter- and intraspeaker variability. Instead, we find a broad spectrum of dialectal mixtures with considerable English admixture. What has traditionally been called "Texas German" should thus be regarded as a collection of various subvarieties that share a limited set of linguistic features, such as reduced case marking and heavy lexical borrowing from English. This leads me to conclude that Texas German did not go through all three stages of Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation, stopping short of the completion of the second and third stages. Throughout the discussion, I argue primarily from the earliest available linguistic data in order to arrive at a hypothesis about the status of a number of linguistic features in early New Braunfels Texas German. These data are then compared with more recent Texas German data recorded from 2002–2006 to determine how the dialect has changed and why.

4. DEVELOPMENTS IN TEXAS GERMAN PHONOLOGY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Summarizing the phonological properties of New Braunfels German, Eikel (1954, 72–73) makes the following observations:

> The "ideal" pronunciation in New Braunfels was not the artificial Bühnenaussprache laid down by Theodor Siebs and his associates, but precisely that pronunciation which Wilhelm Viëtor described and defended for over thirty years as "die mustergültige Aussprache," the standard Umgangssprache of North and West Middle Germany, from which the bulk of the settlers came. It is Viëtor's phonology, with a few minor exceptions, that characterizes New Braunfels pronunciation. The exceptions are: unrounding of /y/ and /ø/; shortening of long close /e:/ in some words, as [me:rərə], [pfe:rt] to [merərə], [fɛʁt]; /f/ instead of /pf/ initially.

In subsequent years, other researchers have come to similar conclusions about the sound system of Texas German. For example, Gilbert (1977, 21) claims that Texas German is a "koiné more closely approaching the middle-northern-based standard language." Similarly, Wilson (1977a, 47) points out that "most of the Texas Germans do not speak a dialect, but modified standard German." In contrast to these accounts, Clardy (1954, 59) comes to a very different conclusion, namely that "no homogeneous German dialect exists in New Braunfels." Clardy's view is also held by Salmons (1983) for Texas German in general. Salmons argues that "leveling has occurred, but not to the extent that one should speak of a Texas German koiné, as Gilbert often does" (194). To arrive at a better understanding of the properties and developments of Texas German phonology, this chapter investigates the underlying dynamics of dialect contact and mixing, language contact, and language death in Texas German, as they are manifested in a number of phonological features. Since it is beyond the scope of this study to provide an in-depth analysis of all the developments in the Texas German sound system over the past 150 years, I will focus on

a specific set of phonological features previously discussed in the literature.

This chapter, as well as the following chapter on morphosyntax, is structured as follows. First, I investigate a particular linguistic feature of Texas German as described in the literature and analyze it in the context of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation (see chapter 3.3) to determine whether there was any rudimentary dialect leveling and interdialect development as a result of accommodation of speakers. Ideally, I would like to compare the specific linguistic features in the speech of the oldest generation of New Braunfels Germans (born from the late 1850s onward) with their counterparts found in German dialects spoken in those areas from which the German immigrants left for Texas. However, identifying the origins of linguistic features of early Texas German is difficult, if not impossible, because we do not have sufficient data to establish a clear link with all of their geographic origins.

The next stage involves a comparison of the speech of different age groups of New Braunfels speakers to establish which linguistic features have changed since the early days of Texas German. To this end, I analyze Clardy's, Eikel's, and Gilbert's data across time in the context of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, particularly the second and third stages (extreme variability, leveling and focusing). The results of this investigation will show, for each feature, whether it has gone through all three stages of Trudgill's model.

Once we know more about which linguistic features have gone through the different stages of Trudgill's (2004) model, we need to determine whether present-day Texas German exhibits any signs of structural changes in comparison to the historical data. This step will help us to identify particular indicators of language shift, which have been pointed out by other researchers and which eventually lead to language death. For example, Wolfram (2002, 773) observes that the most common phonological changes in language death involve (1) reduction of inventorial and syllable structure distinctions (Dressler 1972; Andersen 1982; Cook 1989; Holloway 1997); (2) loss of marked phonological features (Dressler 1972; Campbell and Muntzel 1989; Cook 1989; Holloway 1997; Ber-

eznak and Campbell 1996); and (3) increased variability of phonetic and phonemic variants (Cook 1989; Campbell 1985). One of the main problems with phonological developments among dying languages is that there are no precise predictions about what types of changes will occur in a given situation. Wolfram (2002, 773) observes, "There is no singular hierarchical path when languages do reduce their phonological distinctions, since the reduction is affected by both independent linguistic factors and external social and psychological factors."

Along with the structural changes observable in language death situations at the societal level, we also need to consider language attrition at the level of the individual speaker, which leads to variability among speakers. According to M. Schmid (2002), language attrition among L1 speakers in language contact situations is determined by a number of linguistic factors: (1) the acquisitional sequence (Jakobson's 1941 regression hypothesis); (2) interlanguage effects, that is, aspects from the linguistic system of L2 encroaching on the L1; (3) general tendencies of language change, leading to a simplification of the linguistic system; (4) principles of Universal Grammar (UG); (5) marked structures will be lost while unmarked structures will be preserved; and (6) reduced accessibility of information in retrieval processes (see M. Schmid 2002, 11).[1] When these factors come into play in language death situations, we often find increased variability, or as Campbell and Muntzel (1989, 187) put it, "Obligatory rules may come to apply optionally."

To establish how Texas German has changed over the past 40 years and whether these changes are indicative of language death and language attrition, I compare Clardy's, Gilbert's, and Eikel's historical data with more recent data on New Braunfels German collected by the Texas German Dialect Project between 2002 and 2006 (see chapter 1). This straightforward comparison is made possible by resampling Gilbert's original data sets 40 years later. In addition, I analyze transcripts from open-ended sociolinguistic interviews in order to supplement the data from the elicitation tasks based on Gilbert's list. The goal of this comparison is to determine for each linguistic feature whether it has changed over

the past four decades and what mechanisms may have led to these changes.

By comparing the development and distribution of different linguistic features at the end of this chapter and the chapter on morphosyntax, I will then be able to determine the extent to which Texas German can be characterized as a newly evolving dialect during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In addition, I will also address the question of whether the changes in Texas German that took place over the past 40 years show signs of impending language death. Note, however, that it is often difficult to arrive at a clear-cut explanation about the factors causing these changes, a point already raised by Gilbert (1972, 2): "Nonstandard or dialectal usages have often spread geographically in Texas far beyond the settlement area of the immigrants who introduced them." For example, when discussing the historical Texas German data in the context of Trudgill's model, we ought to consider multiple causes leading to leveling, such as accommodation between speakers, but also general tendencies observed among the original donor dialects back in Europe (Rosenberg 2005, 228).

Similarly, when analyzing more recent developments in Texas German, we should be careful not to look at just a single possible factor causing a change (Thomason 2003, 705). Instead, we should consider a whole range of possible factors reported by other research on dying languages and languages in general, and research on German dialects around the world in particular (see Kaufmann 1997; Rosenberg 2003). While we can sometimes identify a specific factor causing a change in Texas German, we will often have to resort to a multiple causation scenario in order to formulate hypotheses about the likely causes of change. These considerations suggest that, instead of analyzing changes in the entire linguistic system of Texas German, it is necessary to present accounts of the individual development of each linguistic feature under discussion before arriving at any general conclusions.

Before turning to my analysis, I need to highlight a number of problems with the historical data that often make it difficult to identify the factors influencing a particular change. The first problem has to do with interpreting data found in the historical

Wenker atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56), the digitized version of which I accessed over the Internet (http://www.diwa.info). I use the Wenker data to approximate an inventory of linguistic features of the donor dialects that were brought to Texas in the nineteenth century. The 1,619 digitized Wenker maps represent different realizations of a multitude of words collected from more than 45,000 locations across the German Reich during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. While using laypersons for recording detailed linguistic data is in and of itself tricky (see Bremer 1895; W. König 1982), an even greater problem arises when each cartographer uses a different standard for compiling the dialect maps. According to Kehrein, Lameli, and Nickel (2005), each cartographer aimed at establishing the relevant isoglosses based on the frequency of a particular dialectal form, the so-called *Leitform* 'lead form'. Kehrein, Lameli, and Nickel (2005) discuss the example of *nicht* 'not', which is realized as *nischt* or *nit* in many regional dialects. To identify the areas covered by isoglosses, cartographers wrote the specific realization of a *Leitform* in the middle of the relevant area, which was surrounded by the isoglosses. Exceptions to the *Leitform* were marked with specific diacritics within the areas denoted by the isoglosses. Kehrein, Lameli, and Nickel (2005) point out that this method was somewhat subjective as cartographers differed in the ways in which they interpreted the data on the questionnaire to arrive at *Sprachraumgrenzen* 'dialectal boundaries' for the Wenker maps. Thus, we should not rely too much on the exact distribution of all isoglosses in the Wenker maps. Instead, we should regard the isoglosses as approximations that represent the historical data as closely as possible.

The second problem with the historical data is a "corpus problem." That is, the three different accounts of 1950s and 1960s New Braunfels area German by Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967), and Gilbert (1972) sometimes offer different (at times even contradictory) data on the distribution of a particular linguistic feature. This may be due to different factors, such as representativeness of the corpus, sample size (Gilbert: 15 informants; Clardy: 6 informants; Eikel: 24 informants), interview technique, and different descriptive goals of the studies. Since it is impossible

to independently verify which of the three accounts provides the most accurate data, it is difficult to arrive at precise explanations about some of the linguistic developments. As such, I provide a set of different hypotheses to account for the changes found in Texas German, but the unclear data situation makes it problematic to decide clearly in favor of one hypothesis.

4.2. DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOWEL SYSTEM

I now turn to a comparison of a few selected phonological features of Texas German discussed by Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967), and Gilbert (1972) to shed light on the diverse nature of Texas German. Eikel claims that the vowel system of his New Braunfels German (NBG) informants is very similar to that of standard German. According to Eikel, both systems consist of seven pairs of stressed vowels distinguished by length, as is illustrated in table 4.1.[2]

According to Eikel (1954, 31; 1966b, 256), NBG also has two unstressed vowels, /i/ and /ə/, that are the same as those in standard German. The NBG diphthongs /au/ and /ɔɪ/ are the same as in standard German, but the /aɪ/ diphthong differs from its standard German counterpart in that it "begins at a lower mid-front position and ends at a mid-front position" instead of beginning "at a low-central position" and ending "at a mid-front position" (Eikel 1966b, 256).

At this point a short discussion of Eikel's account is necessary. His 1966 article in *American Speech* "New Braunfels German: Part

TABLE 4.1
New Braunfels German Vowels
(Eikel 1954, 26)

	Front		*Central (unrounded)*	*Back (rounded)*
	Rounded	*Unrounded*		
High	y: y	i: i	u: u	
Mid	ø: ø	e: e	ə	o: o
Low		a: a		

II" is based on the same data as his 1954 work. In fact, most of the article is a direct reproduction of his 1954 work. It is not clear what transcription conventions Eikel follows in his description of vowels in table 4.1, which refers to "seven pairs of vowels kept apart by length" (1966, 254). Eikel's distinction of "long open" (e.g., /i:/) versus "short open" (e.g., /i/) is in contrast to descriptions of standard German that refer to the respective vowel pairs as "tense" (e.g., /i/) versus "lax" (e.g., /ɪ/) (see Kohler 1977, 169). If Eikel's description of the NBG vowels were correct, then his characterization of NBG in terms of the "standard Umgangssprache of North and West Middle Germany" and in terms of "Viëtor's phonology, with a few minor exceptions" (1954, 72–73) is mistaken. Similarly, Eikel's use of phonetic symbols appears confusing. For example, in his 1954 description, the three diphthongs are described as /ai/, /au/, and /oi/, in line with the description of the vowels that make up parts of the diphthongs as /i/, /u/, and /o/ (1954, 26). In contrast, Eikel's 1966 description, which is based on his work from 1954, transcribes the three diphthongs as /aɪ/, /aʊ/, and /ɔɪ/ (1966b, 256), while the notation of the corresponding vowels /i/, /u/, and /o/ remains unchanged (1966b, 254–56). Since Eikel repeatedly stresses that NBG is essentially like standard German (Gilbert 1972 essentially confirms Eikel's claim), with a few minor exceptions, I assume that he did not follow closely the conventions of the IPA when transcribing the vowels. This would also explain the inconsistencies in his 1954 and 1966 works. In what follows, I will thus reproduce Eikel's original notations when discussing his work. When comparing his data with the data by Clardy (1954), Gilbert (1972), and the TGDP, I will use IPA conventions.

4.2.1. ROUNDED AND UNROUNDED FRONT VOWELS. While some NBG vowels differ from their standard German counterparts in that they are "open" as opposed to "close" (e.g., /i:/) or "somewhat fronted and raised" as opposed to "low-central" (e.g., /a:/) (Eikel 1966b, 254), the major differences in the two vowel systems are to be found among rounded and unrounded vowels, which exhibit an age-graded distribution in NBG, according to Eikel (1966b, 255):

> Of the oldest generation (I) two rounded this vowel [/y:/] distinctly and consistently, two showed occasional unrounding, and two did not round the vowel at all. Of the twelve informants of the second generation (II), one rounded consistently, while all the others fluctuated, showing more instances of unrounding than of rounding. All six informants of the third generation (III) showed no signs of rounding: in their speech /y:/ is completely replaced by /i:/.

Based on interviews conducted in 1953 with six New Braunfels informants from three different age groups, Clardy (1954, 53) comes to conclusions that are similar to those of Eikel:

> The greatest diversity in the vowel systems appears in the front rounded vowels. Informant Five has no front rounded vowels as phonemes, but a few front vowels which are partially rounded occur as variants of the front unrounded vowels. Informant Three has all the front rounded vowels as phonemes, and several partially rounded forms as variants of these phonemes. Informants Two and Four have all the front rounded vowels as phonemes and they display no significant tendency toward unrounding.

Although Clardy's data are difficult to compare with Eikel's because they come from a much smaller set of informants, we discover an age-graded trend similar to the one observed by Eikel. For example, Clardy's informant 4, who was born in 1872 and as such belongs to Eikel's oldest generation, rounds all front vowels that are rounded in standard German. Informants 2 and 3, who also round their front vowels, were born in 1889 and 1896, respectively, and belong to Eikel's middle generation, along with informants 1 (born in the late 1890s) and 5 (born in 1900), who do not have rounded front vowels. Finally, informant 6, who does not have front rounded vowels, was born in 1920, and thus belongs to Eikel's youngest generation. Gilbert's (1972) data for the New Braunfels area support both Eikel's and Clardy's findings. For all seven of Gilbert's words in which one would expect a front rounded vowel in standard German, a majority of the 15 informants used unrounded vowels, as table 4.2 illustrates.[3]

In order to determine the full age-graded distribution of rounded and unrounded vowels among Eikel's, Clardy's, and

TABLE 4.2
Distribution of Rounded and Unrounded Front Vowels among New Braunfels Area Residents (Gilbert 1972)

Map	*Word/Phrase*	*Rounded*	*Unrounded*	*Other*
17	*die Tür* 'the door'		14 [i:]	1 [i:]/[e:]
18	*zwei Töchter* 'two daughters'	1 [ø]	12 [e]	
19	*Süßkartoffeln* 'sweet potatoes'		15 [i:]	
20	*zwei Kochtöpfe* 'two cooking pots'		15 [e]	
21	*eine Haarbürste* 'a hairbrush'		13 [i(:)]	1 [e(:)], 1 [i]/[u]
68	*zwei Kühe* 'two cows'		15 [i:]	
71	*zwei Köpfe* 'two heads'	1 [ø]	14 [e]	

NOTE: Gilbert's informant 15 from Comal County rounds his front vowels very frequently. Gilbert (1972, 9) notes that this informant "was occasionally assisted by his wife, who was also born in the vicinity and moved to New Braunfels in 1899; inf. is an autodidact and is highly regarded as a local savant and historian; his responses are to be treated with caution." For this reason I exclude his responses in table 4.3 below and in my further analysis of leveling.

Gilbert's informants, I now compare their data based on Eikel's (1954) age classifications. The data summary in table 4.3 is based on a number of assumptions I had to make because insufficient data prevented me from deriving the exact years of birth from Eikel's three age ranges.

The first assumption concerns the age distribution of informants. As already mentioned, Eikel (1954) does not list any dates of birth, but only the ages of his informants without giving a clear reference point that would help us to determine the informants' years of birth. This means that the classification and labeling of the three age ranges in table 4.3 is estimated for Eikel's informants. In contrast, the dates of birth of Clardy's and Gilbert's informants can be straightforwardly classified as belonging to one of the three age groups. The second assumption concerns the distribution of unrounded versus mixed (i.e., variable) front vowels among Eikel's informants in the middle generation (1880–1910). Since

TABLE 4.3
Age-Graded Distribution of Rounded and Unrounded Front Vowels

Generation	*Eikel*	*Clardy*	*Gilbert*
1855–75			
Rounded	33.3%	100.0%	n.a.
Unrounded	33.3%	0.0%	n.a.
Mixed	33.3%	0.0%	n.a.
1880–1910			
Rounded	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Unrounded	n.a.	50.0%	100.0%
Mixed	100.0%	50.0%	0.0%
1910–1930			
Rounded	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Unrounded	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Mixed	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

NOTE: I went through the Gilbert (1972) maps listed in table 4.2, extracting information about age of informants. In Gilbert's data for the New Braunfels area, there are only 2 informants who belong to the youngest age group; the remaining 13 informants all belong to the middle one. In map 21 ('a hairbrush'), I classified the single informant who gave [e] for /y/ as exhibiting an unrounded vowel although he did not produce the expected high front vowel [i]. I combined the percentages for the two rounded vowels and their unrounded variants.

Eikel does not provide exact numbers about how much the 11 speakers of his middle generation fluctuate between rounded and unrounded vowels, I presume that they all showed mixed behavior, which explains the total absence of speakers with unrounded vowels among Eikel's middle generation. As such, the data in table 4.3 should not be regarded as exact numbers about the distribution of rounded and unrounded vowels, but rather as representing a trend in the development of the NBG vowel system.[4] The data clearly show a trend toward unrounding of front vowels. In light of this development, we are interested in the following three questions: (1) What are the origins of the diverse distribution of rounded front vowels and their unrounded counterparts? (2) What factors influenced the shift toward unrounding of front vowels? (3) How

can we interpret these developments within Trudgill's model of new dialect formation?

Answering the first question is rather difficult, because ideally we would like to have access to data on the distribution of vowels in the speech of the generation prior to Eikel's oldest generation, that is, the adult migrants coming from Europe to Texas. However, such data do not exist. Data from the first Texas-born generation give us a rough approximation of what the speech of their parents might have sounded like, but even these data are problematic,[5] because some rudimentary leveling had already taken place during the trip to Texas and during the first years in the new colony (see Trudgill's [2004, 83–99] discussion of leveling in early New Zealand English). Another problem is that we have data from only seven informants in the oldest age group (six from Eikel and one from Clardy). Given these issues, and keeping in mind that we do not have exact information about the settlers' places of origin, I will attempt to approximate some of the geographic origins of rounded front vowels and their unrounded counterparts in the speech of the first German settlers in Texas.

Before I begin with my analysis, an important disclaimer is necessary. Following previous research by Gilbert, Eikel, and Salmons, I assume that the majority of New Braunfels settlers came from the Hessen-Nassau region. While I am aware that using this assumed point of departure is by no means ideal, it is as close as we can possibly get to determine the nature of the possibly most prevalent donor dialect of NBG. Because of a lack of detailed immigration records of all immigrants to New Braunfels, there does not seem to be anything better to play the role of donor dialect in my study.

Consider the distribution of /y/ and its various unrounded counterparts in the area of Hessen-Nassau, from which a great number of immigrants came to New Braunfels (see chapter 3.4). To determine the distribution of /y/ in the Hessen-Nassau area in more detail, I consulted the online digital Wenker atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56) located at the University of Marburg, Germany (http://www.diwa.info). To compare the different realizations of /y/ in the Hessen-Nassau region, I chose a number of words that included /y/ that are well documented on the Wenker maps:

zurück 'back', *über* 'over', *fünf* 'five', *Füsse* 'feet', *Kühe* 'cows', and *für* 'for'. Furthermore, I selected eight locations throughout the Hessen-Nassau region from which we know that many of the early settlers came to New Braunfels (see Fey 1995 and chapter 3). This list, which includes Braunfels, Giessen, Dillenburg, Montabaur, Fulda, Rotenburg, Marburg, and Frankenberg, is not exhaustive, but is suitable for illustrating the divergent realization of /y/ in that region. The Wenker maps show that high-front rounded /y/ may be realized in at least four different ways in the area of Hessen-Nassau. Interestingly, the geographic distribution of phonological features, such as rounded and unrounded vowels, is much more idiosyncratic than what is portrayed in most dialect atlases, such as the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*.

Consider the realization of /y/ in *zurück* 'back' in the area surrounding Braunfels. Since Braunfels is located in the area marked by the isogloss for [e], I listed *e* as the *Leitform* for Braunfels. In the area immediately surrounding Braunfels, I also found *y* and *i* variants, which I included in table 4.4 following the *Leitform*. I followed the same procedure for the other eight locations, as well as the other five words under investigation. The data summarized in table 4.4 demonstrate that there was considerable variation in the realization of /y/ in the Hessen-Nassau area during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Of particular interest is that in none of

TABLE 4.4
Realization of /y/ in Eight Different Hessen-Nassau Locations Based on Data Collected in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56)

	fünf	*über*	*zurück*	*Füsse*	*Kühe*	*für*
Montabaur	y/i	y/i	e	y/i/e	y/e	y/i/e
Dillenburg	y/i	e/y	e/i	eu/oi	oi	e
Giessen	y/i	y/i/e	e	eu/oi	oi/uo	y/e
Braunfels	y/i	y/i	e/i/y	eu/oi	oi/eu	y/i
Marburg	y/i	e/ø	e	eu/ei	ei	y/i/e
Frankenberg	e	e/y	e/i	i	y/i	e
Rotenburg	ø/e	e/y	e	y/i	y/i	e/y
Fulda	e	y/i	e/y	e/ø	ø/e	y/i

the eight locations we find an exclusive use of rounded /y/. Instead, there are many other variants besides its unrounded counterpart [i], including [e], as well as several diphthongs.[6] After comparing the historical Wenker maps with the data compiled by Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954), and Gilbert (1972) (see table 4.3), three important trends emerged.

First, there is a much higher degree of phonological variation of /y/ in the historical Wenker maps than what Clardy, Eikel, and Gilbert report for the speakers of the oldest generation. Within Trudgill's (2004) model, this reduction in phonological inventory can be attributed to rudimentary leveling, which is indicative of his first stage of new-dialect formation: "In a large dialect mixture situation such as that present in a newly settled colony, large numbers of variants from the different dialects involved in the mixture will abound. As time passes, the variants present in the mixture will begin to be subject to reduction" (85–86). The rudimentary leveling may have started during the journey to Texas, where "limited types of accommodation by adult speakers to one another in face-to-face interaction" (89) took place. This process was likely to have been triggered by the wish for mutual intelligibility (see Trudgill 2004, 89), among other factors, as the diphthongized variants listed in table 4.4 are likely to have been more difficult to understand than [y], [i], and [e].

The second trend concerns the mixed distribution of rounded /y/ and its various other realizations among the oldest generation of speakers, born between 1885 and 1875 (see table 4.3 above). The absence of diphthongized varieties is indicative of rudimentary leveling. In addition, a certain amount of variability appears, with a third of Eikel's informants using [y], a third using [i], and the final third using both variants. This distribution shows both INTERindividual and INTRAindividual variability among the oldest speakers. From Trudgill's (2004) point of view, such variability is indicative of the second stage of new-dialect formation, where children "have considerable freedom to select variants from different dialects—spoken not only by their parents but also by everyone else in the community" (102).

The third trend in the data can be seen by comparing the data for the three age groups in table 4.3. We find a significant increase

of unrounded [i] in the middle generation (born between 1880 and 1890) and no one who alternates between rounded and unrounded variants. The youngest generation (born between 1910 and 1930) appears to have used the unrounded variant [i] exclusively. Applying Trudgill's model to these data, it thus seems that Texas German has gone through the final stage of new-dialect formation with respect to the distribution of /y/ and its various counterparts in the input dialects. Trudgill (2004, 113–14) explains this stage as follows: "This leveling takes place as a result of group accommodation between speakers in face-to-face interaction." In other words, by the time the youngest speakers were completing their language acquisition, this dialectal feature was focused, that is, characterized by remarkably little regional variation. These observations suggest that /y/ and its various dialectal counterparts have undergone all three stages of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, resulting in just one sound, namely [i].

Similar observations can be made about the development of the front rounded vowel /ø/, which, like /y/, also exhibited considerable regional variation when the immigrants left Germany for Texas. The Wenker atlas data for the Hessen-Nassau region in table 4.5 and the data in tables 4.3 and 4.4 above show that /ø/ and its

TABLE 4.5
Realization of /ø/ in Eight Different Hessen-Nassau Locations (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56)

	hört	*bösen*	*könnt*	*schöne*	*zwölf*
Montabaur	i:/i/ia	i:	?	i:/e	ø/e/o
Dillenburg	e/ø/i:	i	o	i:	ø/e
Giessen	e/ø/i	i:/e	?	i:	ø/e/o/i
Braunfels	e/ø	i/i:	?	i:	ø/i
Marburg	e/ø/i/i:	i	i	i:/e	ø/e
Frankenberg	e/ä/e:	e/ø	i	e/e:	ø/e
Rotenburg	e/i:	e	u	e	ø/e
Fulda	ey/ø/ay	ø/e	?	ø/e	ø/e/ä

NOTE: Locations marked with "?" indicate that the relevant data are missing from Wenker's digitized atlas.

regional variants also went through all three stages of Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation (rudimentary leveling, variability/further leveling, and focusing), leaving /e/ as the only remaining form (with very few exceptions) in the speech of the oldest generation. The existence of unrounded counterparts of front rounded vowels and the outcome of a leveling process that leaves only the unrounded form is not unique to Texas German. In fact, the process of unrounding in some Middle High German dialects had already begun as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and then spread to other dialects throughout the German-speaking areas of Europe through dialect contact (Michels 1979, 86; Wiesinger 1983, 808–9).[7]

By the eighteenth century, unrounded vowels were so widespread even in standard German that Goethe and Schiller rhymed words containing rounded vowels with words containing their unrounded counterparts (e.g., *verlieren* 'to lose' : *führen* 'to lead'; *Blick* 'view' : *Glück* 'luck'; *König* 'king' : *wenig* 'little, few' [Damke 1997, 69]). As such, the outcome of the leveling process in Texas German, which left only the unrounded variants of long and short /y/ and /ø/, is parallel to developments that were under way in some of the original donor dialects of the Hessen-Nassau area (see Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 92–93). These facts suggest that the outcome of the leveling process should be primarily attributed to language-internal factors—that is, processes that are at work in other German dialects as well (see Wiesinger 1983)—and not external factors, such as influence from English, which no longer has front rounded vowels.[8]

Such an account of the leveling of rounded front vowels in Texas German receives further support from parallel developments in emerging dialects of other German *Sprachinseln*, such as those in Russia (Schirmunski 1931; Berend and Jedig 1991), Hungary (Tressel 2003), and Latin America (Damke 1997; Rosenberg 2003), where different German dialects were in contact with different languages over several generations. Leveling processes similar to those observed in Texas German led to vowel systems without rounded front vowels. Thus, the unrounding in Texas German should not come as a surprise, as it has also taken place in

other German American dialects, most notably in Ohio (Elliott 1972), Michigan German (R. Born 1994), and Pennsylvania German (Reed and Seifert 1954), as well as in Australian German (Clyne 1972; Kipp 2002). In sum, I have argued that the absence of rounded front vowels in Texas German during the first quarter of the twentieth century is most likely due to contact between different German donor dialects brought to Texas. Over the course of three generations, the rounded short and long vowels /y/ and /ø/ were replaced by their unrounded counterparts through leveling, in line with the three stages of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation.[9]

I now turn to the resampled Gilbert (1972) data, which members of the TGDP recorded with 52 New Braunfels area residents between 2001 and 2006 (see chapter 1).[10] The goal is to see whether the unrounded short and long vowels /i/ and /e/ that were acquired by the youngest generation (see table 4.3) have changed since the 1920s. First, consider the second vowel in *Haarbürste* 'hairbrush', which was realized by 13 out of 15 Gilbert (1972) informants as [i] (see table 4.2). Table 4.6 is a compilation of how TGDP informants realized this vowel when translating *hairbrush* into Texas German.[11] The numbers in the tables refer to the informants' identification numbers and can be used to access the sound recordings in the Web-based Texas German Dialect Archive (see chapter 1.3.5).

TABLE 4.6
TGDP Resampling of /y/ in *Haarbürste* 'hairbrush'
(see Gilbert 1972, map 1)

	Informants	*Total*
[i]	25, 27, 32, 33, 34, 76, 80, 88, 107, 110, 123, 125, 170, 173	14 (67%)
[y]		0
[e]	29, 35, 71, 96, 129, 139, 171	7 (33%)
Haarbrush	28, 60, 75, 82, 153, 155, 172	7
hairbrush/none	24, 26, 30, 62, 72, 77, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 108, 124, 128, 138, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 174	24

Comparing table 4.6 with tables 4.2 and 4.3, we see that the TGDP data for *Haarbürste* do not contain any instances of front rounded [y] (as expected). Of the 52 informants who translated the word into Texas German, 67% of New Braunfels area informants used its unrounded counterpart [i]. Also interesting is that 7 informants did not remember the word *Haarbürste*, rendering it as a hybrid compound *Haarbrush*, and that 24 gave English *hairbrush* or no translation at all. While specific lexical items often drop out of use in language contact and endangered language situations (see, e.g., Riehl 2003), the presence of 33% of New Braunfels informants using [e] instead of [i] is somewhat unexpected. Clardy (1954) and Eikel (1954) do not mention the presence of [e] in this environment, and Gilbert (1972) lists only one informant who used [e] in *Haarbürste* (Comal County informant 14, born in 1909).

Next, consider the TGDP results for *Süßkartoffeln* 'sweet potatoes' in table 4.7. Almost a third of the speakers did not remember the German word correctly. Regarding the distribution of rounded versus unrounded high front vowels, we see that a majority of speakers use the unrounded variant. Similar observations can be made for *zwei Kühe* 'two cows' in table 4.8, *die Tür* 'the door' in table 4.9, *fünf* 'five' in table 4.10, and *über* 'over' in table 4.11. The six tables illustrate three important facts regarding the development of [i] in NBG over the past 40 years. First, the great majority of TGDP informants employ the unrounded high front vowels as expected (up to 98%). These numbers suggests that NBG [i] has changed

TABLE 4.7
TGDP Resampling of /y/ in *Süßkartoffeln* 'sweet potatoes'
(see Gilbert 1972, map 19)

	Informants	*Total*
[i]	24, 25, 28, 34, 60, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 88, 96, 107, 108, 123, 124, 125, 129, 139, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	35 (92%)
[y]	32, 35, 153	3 (8%)
None	26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 62, 77, 83, 85, 110, 128, 138, 155, 161	14

TABLE 4.8
TGDP Resampling of /y/ in *zwei Kühe* 'two cows'
(see Gilbert 1972, map 68)

	Informants	*Total*
[i]	24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 88, 108, 110, 123, 125, 128, 129, 138, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 167, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174	40 (91%)
[y]	96, 124, 170	3 (7%)
[u]	107	1 (2%)
None	28, 62, 76, 84, 139, 161, 165, 168	8

TABLE 4.9
TGDP Resampling of /y/ in *die Tür* 'the door'
(see Gilbert 1972, map 8)

	Informants	*Total*
[i]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 108, 110, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	49 (98%)
[y]	107	1 (2%)
None	72, 123	2

TABLE 4.10
TGDP Resampling of /y/ in *Es ist viertel nach fünf* 'It is quarter past five'
(see Gilbert 1972, map 146)

	Informants	*Total*
[i]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 96, 108, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	45 (92%)
[y]	33, 88, 153	3 (6%)
[e]	155	1 (2%)
None	107, 110, 161	3

TABLE 4.11
TGDP Resampling of /y/ in *Häng das Bild über das Bett*
'Hang the picture over the bed'
(see Gilbert 1972, map 50)

	Informants	*Total*
[i]	24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 96, 107, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 138, 139, 155, 159, 160, 154, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	44 (90%)
[y]	26,[a] 33, 35, 88, 153	5 (10%)
None	108, 129, 161	3

a. Informant 26 first says *iber*, then *über*.

relatively little in these contexts over the past eight decades. Second, the TGDP data reveal the presence of up to 10% of /y/ in present-day NBG. This result is somewhat unexpected, since Clardy's (1954), Eikel's (1954), and Gilbert's (1972) studies demonstrated an absence of rounded high front vowels among speakers of the youngest generation. Third, some informants also used other vowel variants, such as [e] and [u], albeit relatively rarely (2–13.5%).[12]

What factors may have caused the presence of [y], [e], and [u] in the TGDP data? In what follows, I suggest a number of possibilities to explain these developments. However, because of the limited amount of historical data, my different hypotheses should be regarded as parts of a multiple-cause scenario and not as single definitive answers. The reason for this has to do with the corpus data: one major problem that arises when comparing the TGDP data with the historical data is that of sample size and distribution. Recall that the youngest generation, used as a benchmark for comparison with the TGDP data, consists of only nine informants (1 Clardy, 6 Eikel, 2 Gilbert). Even if we add all of Gilbert's (1972) remaining 13 informants from the New Braunfels area (belonging to the middle generation) to that group, the historical data consist of less than half the sample size (22 informants) than the comparable modern TGDP data with 52 informants. Previous studies such as Ruoff (1973), Schank (1973), and Wagener (1988) discuss

the issue of representativeness but do not agree on specific sample sizes for different speech communities. However, they generally agree that larger corpora are more representative, because they are capable of potentially capturing more varied linguistic data than smaller corpora. Given these facts, we may speculate that the absence of [y], [e], and [u] in the historical data may be due to the small size of the corpus (they are present in the original German donor dialects). Gilbert (1972) recorded two speakers who used [e] and [u] instead of [i], so it is likely that there were other speakers who also used [y]. One piece of evidence supporting this hypothesis comes from Gilbert's (1972) data, which demonstrate the presence of [e], [u], and [y] in *Tür*, *Süßkartoffeln*, and *Haarbürste* in areas immediately surrounding New Braunfels (Kendall County, [y]; and Bexar and Guadalupe counties, [e]), as well as throughout other areas of the German Belt (e.g., Gillespie County, [e], [u], [y]; Medina County, [e], [u], [y]; and Lee County, [u], [y]). Since [y] is the marked phoneme vis-à-vis [i], it would have "survived" in the speech of a few speakers (along with [e] and [u]), despite the various leveling processes. The persistence of marked features in language contact and language loss situations has been documented for other endangered languages as well (see Wolfram 2002, 773).[13]

Another hypothesis explaining the increased variability may be a decrease in stability of the Texas German phonological system, which in turn may lead to increased variability. This phenomenon has been observed among dying languages by various researchers (Dressler 1972; Dorian 1978; Andersen 1982; Campbell 1985; Cook 1989). For example, Dorian's (1973, 414) report on East Sutherland Gaelic notes "a patchwork of inconsistencies, and ... mistakes, haphazardly distributed over villages, speakers and occasions." While in healthy speech communities linguistic variants often serve as sociolinguistic markers identifying group membership of a particular type (age, sex, ethnicity, social class, etc.) (Labov 1966, 1970; King 1989), this is not the case in a community whose language is dying.[14] Holloway (1997, 71) maintains "that the primary reason for the high degree of variation in terminal communities has to do with the fact that such variation in a

dying language is not salient to its speakers; and because linguistic variants go unnoticed by members of the community, they do not become speech markers."

A third hypothesis for the distribution of vowel variants in the TGDP data may have to do with the interview technique underlying the data collection. Recall that the Gilbert data in tables 4.6–4.11 were elicited as part of a list of words, phrases, and sentences (see chapter 1), without any context. Such artificial interview situations are not ideal because they sometimes produce skewed data (see Wagener 1988; Niebaum and Macha 1999). To address these problems, I analyzed TGDP transcripts of the open-ended interviews to see whether informants would also exhibit such variability in conversational speech. Using the online concordancer interface of the Texas German Dialect Archive, I searched each word using multiple spelling variants. While some words, such as *Kühe* (see 4.1), *Tür* (see 4.2), *fünf* (see 4.3), and *über* (see 4.4), occur quite frequently in the archive corpus, others, such as *Haarbürste* and *Süßkartoffeln*, did not occur.

4.1. a. *Wo die alter war mussten mir helfen* KIEHE *melken*
where she older was must we help cows milk
'When she was older we had to help with milking the cows.' [1-7-1-18-a 🔊]

b. *De Ferde un— you know— un* KIEHE *un Schweine*
the horses and you know and cows and pigs
un... Hiene.
and chickens
'The horses, you know, and cows and pigs and chickens.' [1-33-1-9-a 🔊]

c. *Mir ham Schweine un die* KIEHE *natierlich— uh die*
we have pigs and the cows of-course uh the
Milchkieh.
milk-cows
'We have pigs and cows, of course, and the milk-cows.' [1-35-1-8-a 🔊]

d. *You know die haben de* KIEHE ...
you know they have the cows
'You know they have cows.' [1-60-1-5-a 🔊]

4.2. a. *Die* TIER *musst zugenageln werden, sonst...*
the door must nailed-shut be otherwise
'The door had to be nailed shut, otherwise...' [1-1-1-19-a 🔊]

b. *Lauf nich nach die* KIECHENTIER.
run not to the kitchen-door
'Don't run to the kitchen door.' [1-2-1-18-a 🔊]

c. *Da hat er die* TIEREN *in neunzehnzwei gekauft.*
there has he the doors in nineteen-two bought
'Then he bought the doors in 1902.' [1-51-1-14-a 🔊]

d. *Da kam er in die* TIR *rin und ich war am*
there came he in the door into and I was on-the
tanzen...
dance
'Then he came through the door and I was dancing...' [1-56-1-6-a 🔊]

4.3. a. *Das war uh vier uh* FINF *Jahre nach der erste Krieg.*
that was uh four uh five years after the first war
'That was four or five years after the first war.' [1-1-1-5-a 🔊]

b. *Well, wir hatten* FINF, *sechs Schweine gehabt.*
well we had five six pigs had
'Well, we have had five, six pigs.' [1-2-2-4-a 🔊]

c. *Mir spiel bei Wurschfest vier oder* FINF *Uhr den letzten*
we play at Wurstfest four or five o'clock the last
Samsta.
Saturday
'We play at Wurstfest at four or five o'clock on the last Saturday.' [1-25-1-16-a 🔊]

d. *Weil die misste— mussten immer met* FINF *Klassen.*
because they must must always with five classes
'Because they always had to take five classes.' [1-34-1-7-a 🔊]

4.4. a. *Hab schon* IBER *ganzes Deutschland gesprochen.*
have already over whole Germany spoken
'I have already spoken over all of Germany.' [1-24-1-4-a 🔊]

b. *Und da war er* IEBER *achzig, hat er immer noch seine*
and there was he over eighty has he always still his
Milchkuh gehabt.
milk-cow had
'And then he was over 80 years old, and he still had his milk-cow.' [1-28-1-17-a 🔊]

c. *Es war ungefähr etwas* IEBER *'ne Meile und ne Halb nach*
it was about a-little over a mile and a half to
Schule.
school
'It was about a little over a mile and a half to school.' [1-58-1-5-a 🔊]

d. *Aber das war* IEBER *elf Mile daraus.*
but that was over eleven miles out-there
'But it was over eleven miles to get out there.' [1-90-1-18-a]

The open-ended interviews contain hundreds of instances of the target words *Tür, fünf,* and *über* with [i], as in (4.1)–(4.4), but very few variants: 12 [y] variants, and no [u] or [e] variants. In other words, the New Braunfels informants do not exhibit the same degree of variability in free speech as when translating English words, phrases, and sentences into Texas German (see tables 4.6–4.11). The discrepancy between the data elicited with the Gilbert list and the open-ended interviews supports my third hypothesis for explaining the distribution of vowels. In this view, informants do not typically use [y], [u], or [e] as an alternative to [i], unless in special interview situations where they are "put on the spot," such as when translating from English into Texas German.

In sum, I discussed three possible hypotheses to explain the increased variability in the TGDP data vis-à-vis the historical data for the youngest generation recorded by Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954), and Gilbert (1972). The first hypothesis attributes the increased variability to the inadequate corpus size of the historical data. The second hypothesis would explain the development by pointing to general tendencies found among dying languages. The third hypothesis maintains that informants display increased variability only in unnatural elicitation and translation tasks, but not in free conversation. Since we do not have more historical data available for comparison and further analysis, a clear choice in favor of one of the three hypotheses is difficult.

Interestingly, the data on the other front rounded vowel /ø/ are strikingly similar to the data on /y/ in that the German donor dialects brought to Texas in the 1840s exhibited similar degrees of variation. Recall from table 4.5 that /ø/ exhibited multiple variants,

including [e], [i], and [aɪ]. The historical data from Clardy, Eikel, and Gilbert demonstrate a leveling process over three generations similar to that observed for /y/; that is, for the youngest generation, complete leveling had taken place, leaving only [e] in words like *Töchter* 'daughters' and *Töpfe* 'pots'. The following tables illustrate the distribution of [e] and its variants in the TGDP data.

Tables 4.12–4.15 illustrate for [e] some of the same developments as observed for [i] above. First, the TGDP data contain a few instances of [ø] similar to the presence of [y] in tables 4.6–4.10. Otherwise, [e] continues to be used by an overwhelming per-

TABLE 4.12
TGDP Resampling of /ø/ in *zwei Töchter* 'two daughters'
(Gilbert 1972, map 18)

	Informants	*Total*
[ø]	96, 107, 170	3 (6%)
[e]	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 71, 72, 77, 80, 82, 83, 85, 88, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 155, 168, 171	27 (55%)
[o]	24, 35, 60, 62, 75, 76, 78, 79, 84, 108, 139, 153, 159, 165, 167, 169, 172, 173, 174	19 (39%)
Schwestern	108, 129, 161	3

TABLE 4.13
TGDP Resampling of /ø/ in *zwei Kochtöpfe* 'two cooking pots'
(Gilbert 1972, map 20)

	Informants	*Total*
[ø]	169, 35	2 (6%)
[e]	26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 71, 75, 76, 79, 80, 82, 85, 88, 107, 110, 123, 124, 125, 129, 138, 155, 159, 164, 168, 171, 172, 173	29 (81%)
[o]	60, 78, 160, 161, 165	5 (14%)
None[a]	24, 32, 77, 96	4
pots	25	12

a. This category includes lexical variants such as *Kochpede, Kessel,* and *Eimer.*

TABLE 4.14
TGDP Resampling of /ø/ in *Der Hund biss den bösen Mann*
'The dog bit that bad man'
(Gilbert 1972, map 42)

	Informants	*Total*
[ø]	76, 79, 96, 124	4 (25%)
[e]	27, 29, 33, 35, 82, 107, 125, 129, 153, 155, 168, 173	12 (75%)
None[a]	24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80, 83, 84, 85, 88, 108, 110, 123, 128, 139, 138, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174	36

a. This category includes lexical variants such as *schlechten, eglichen, schrecklichen,* and *schlimmen.*

TABLE 4.15
TGDP Resampling of /ø/ in *zwei Köpfe* 'two heads'
(Gilbert 1972, map 71)

	Informants	*Total*
[ø]	60, 165	2 (4%)
[e]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	45 (88%)
[o]	35, 78, 139, 168	4 (8%)
None	161	1

centage of informants, as was the case with [i]. This trend is also reflected in the open-ended interviews, as the following examples illustrate.

4.5. a. *So alle meine drei* TECHTER *sind graduate von*
so all my three daughters are graduates from
University Texas.
University Texas
'So, all of my three daughters are graduates from the University of Texas.' [1-27-1-28-a 🔊]

b. *Un da hammir die Mommie ihr alte* TEPF *un so*
and then have-we the mother her old pots and so
weiter genommen.
on taken
'And then we took mommy's old pots and other things.' [1-29-1-12-a 🔊]

c. *Natirlich meine Eltern waren etwas* BESE *nach ihn,...*
of-course my parents were a-little angry to him
'Of course my parents were a little angry with him.' [1-32-1-27-a 🔊]

d. *Un make sicher sein dass der* ELMANN *auch das Recht*
and make safe be that the oilman also the right
eigent...
owns
'And you have to make sure that the oilman also owns the right...' [1-29-1-9-a 🔊]

e. *Ich denk des waer* SCHEN *wenn se deten...*
I think that would-be nice if they did
'I think it would be nice if they did that...' [1-84-1-11-a]

Second, a good number of informants do not remember certain lexical items; that is, they either use the English word or a German lexical variant that does not contain the target vowel. This is also parallel to our observations above. Third, in contrast to the youngest generation in the historical data, the TGDP data contain various instances of [o] instead of [ø]. Besides the three hypotheses regarding an increase in variability put forward above in our discussion of [i], there may be another factor at play here. That is, the presence of [o] does not necessarily reflect an increase in phonological variation, but may instead signal a breakdown in plural morphology of the nouns *Tochter, Topf,* and *Kopf,* where plural is marked with an umlaut in standard German and many traditional dialects (e.g., *Töchter, Töpfe,* and *Köpfe*).[15] Interestingly, Gilbert (1972) already documents instances of [o] instead of [ø] (for *Töchter* and *Töpfe*) in other locations throughout the German Belt, including Kendall, Medina, and Gillespie counties.

4.2.2. DIPHTHONGIZATION. Another important phonological feature of Texas German described by Gilbert (1972) is diphthongiza-

tion of long vowels. One of the important differences among German dialects is whether they have undergone the *neuhochdeutsche Diphthongierung* (New High German diphthongization), by which the Middle High German long vowels /i:/ and /u:/ became diphthongized to [aɪ] and [aʊ] (see C. J. Wells 1985). According to König (1994, 147), this process began in Kärnten (Austria) as early as the twelfth century and then spread northward into Swabian, Franconian, and the Middle German dialect areas. By the sixteenth century, this development resulted in distinct areas that were differentiated in terms of whether their long vowels became diphthongized or not (Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 91). Returning to the Hessen-Nassau area, from which a great number of immigrants came to Texas, we find that diphthongization has affected the local dialects in all but two of our eight locations, as table 4.16 shows.

Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954), and Gilbert (1972) all report the presence of [aɪ] for the New Braunfels area in the mid-twentieth century. Gilbert's (1972) Comal County data include one informant (out of 15) who alternates between [maɪn] and [mi:n]; all other informants employ the diphthongized version. This suggests that that the diphthongized variant—the majority in the input dialects of the Hessen-Nassau area—continued to be in the majority throughout the various stages of new-dialect formation.[16] The fact that by the mid-twentieth century we still find [i:] in this context suggests that it was not completely leveled during the three stages

TABLE 4.16
Realization of /i:/ in Eight Different Hessen-Nassau Locations
(*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56)

	mein	*dein*	*sein*	*Wein*
Montabaur	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ
Dillenburg	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ
Giessen	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ
Braunfels	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ
Marburg	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ
Frankenberg	aɪ	e	aɪ	aɪ
Rotenburg	i/aɪ	i	i	i
Fulda	i/aɪ	i	i	i:

of new-dialect formation (in contrast to the rounded front vowels discussed above). The [i:] variant is also found in other areas such as Medina and Fayette counties (see Gilbert 1972, map 25). Interestingly, the TGDP data reveal no more instances of [i:] in the speech of our New Braunfels area speakers, as table 4.17 illustrates.

The absence of diphthongized [i:] is also evident in the recordings of the open-ended interviews, where all 52 informants use [aɪ] in the respective contexts. The complete absence of [i:] in this context shows that further leveling must have taken place in present-day Texas German, which indicates that hypothesis two (increase of variation) cannot be regarded as a possible explanation for this development. Alternatively, let us consider the remaining two hypotheses proposed above for explaining the development of rounded and unrounded front vowels above: inadequate corpus size and skewed data sets. The fact that none of the TGDP informants uses [i:] rather than [aɪ] in conversational speech suggests that the resampled Gilbert data actually reflect how informants speak naturally, ruling out hypothesis three (skewed data sets). The remaining hypothesis, namely that the historical corpus is too small, is questionable, because it actually contains one instance of [i:] (although there might have possibly been more speakers exhibiting this feature). Since none of the three hypotheses appears to be applicable to the data, we are left with one of the most common developments found among obsolescing languages: phonological

TABLE 4.17
TGDP Resampling of [i:]/[aɪ] in *mein Kopf* 'my head'
(Gilbert 1972, map 25)

	Informants	*Total*
[ay][a]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	51 (100%)
[i:]		0 (0%)
None	161	1

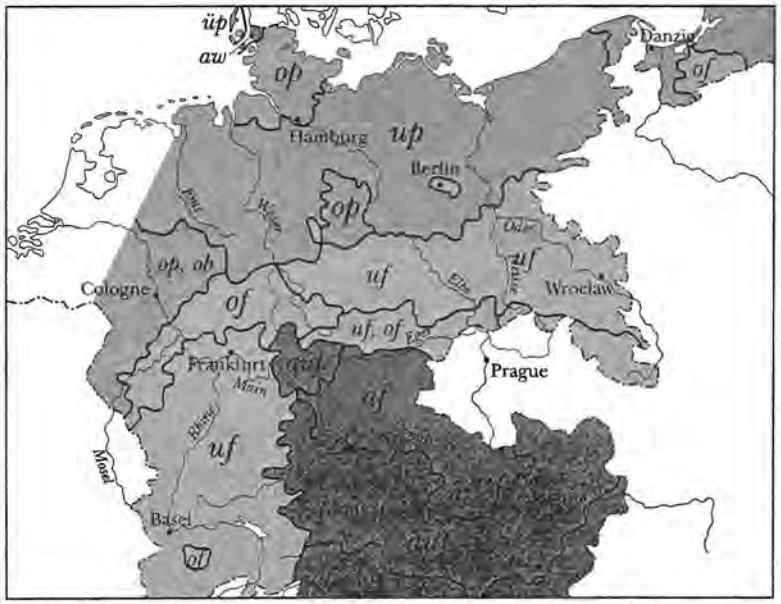
a. Speakers 26, 153, and 159 say *dein* 'your' instead of *mein* 'my'.

reduction. According to Wolfram (2002, 773), such phonological reduction is "certainly a dominant pattern" for receding languages.

Next, consider the diphthongization of [u:] to [au] and its reflexes in Texas German. Among the German donor dialects in the Hessen-Nassau area, we find various realizations of the diphthong as well as other variants. Figure 4.1 presents a broad overview of diphthongized [au] among dialects in Germany; table 4.18 lists the distribution of the different variants in the eight locations of the Hessen-Nassau area in the digital Wenker atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56).

The TGDP data show that the original [o] pronunciation in *auf* found in the Hessen-Nassau area has generally been replaced by the diphthongized version [au], leaving only a few instances of *uff*. Since the factors leading to this change are unclear—through

FIGURE 4.1
Auf 'on' among German Dialects
(based on König 1994, 165)



NOTE: The dashed line indicates the edge of the German-speaking region in 1940.

TABLE 4.18
Realization of /au/ in Eight Different Hessen-Nassau Locations
(*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56)

	auf
Montabaur	o
Dillenburg	o
Giessen	o
Braunfels	o
Marburg	o
Frankenberg	o
Rotenburg	o
Fulda	o

TABLE 4.19
TGDP Resampling of [u:]/[au] of *auf* 'on'
(see Gilbert 1972, maps 23, 56, and 129)

Map 23	*Informants*	*Total*
auf	24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 88, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 153, 159, 160, 164, 167, 169, 170, 171, 174	36 (88%)
uff	84, 85, 139, 172, 173	5 (12%)
Other	27, 79, 83, 96, 168	5
None	35, 60, 72, 155, 161, 165	6

Map 56	*Informants*	*Total*
auf	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 153, 160, 161, 164, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	41 (95%)
uff	84, 139	2 (5%)
Other	85, 34	2
None	35, 60, 72, 155, 159, 165, 168	7

Map 129	*Informants*	*Total*
auf	24, 29, 30, 32, 33, 80, 83, 85, 96, 138, 159, 169, 170, 171	14 (100%)
uff		0 (0%)
Other	25, 26, 27, 35, 60, 62, 76, 79, 82, 84, 88, 110, 123, 125, 128, 139, 153, 160, 164, 165, 167, 173	22
None	28, 34, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 107, 108, 124, 129, 155, 161, 168, 172, 174	16

the influence from other traditional dialects or standard German are likely factors—I do not pursue this point any further.

4.2.3. BORROWING OF AMERICAN ENGLISH VOWELS. One of the most common phenomena found in language contact situations is lexical borrowing (see Haugen 1953; Weinreich 1953; Coetsem 1988; Thomason and Kaufman 1988). During this process, foreign sounds from source language words are often replaced with sounds from the recipient language. As a result, they become essentially indistinguishable from native words (see Myers-Scotton 1993, 180; Clyne 2003, 115). Alternatively, large-scale borrowings of words may be accompanied by phonological interference or transfer where nonnative sounds are borrowed along with the words into the recipient language (see Pap 1949, 101–2; Clyne 1979, 34). In long-term contact situations, this process may lead to phonological changes in the recipient language, where new phonemes are imported into the recipient language to fill gaps in its phonemic inventory (Winford 2003, 55). As a result, a new phoneme is not restricted to foreign-origin vocabulary, but it may also spread to native vocabulary (Sankoff 2002, 643).

While this broad-scale categorization of phonological borrowing appears relatively straightforward, there are different types of scenarios that need to be taken into account. For instance, following Haugen (1953, 393), Clausing (1986, 26–27) points out the following problems:

1. Some words may consist of sounds which are essentially identical in both languages. As a result, a determination cannot be made as to whether the word is imported or substituted.
2. The extent of substitution or importation for a given word is determined partly by the degree of bilingualism on the part of the speaker, i.e., a person fluent in both languages is more likely to import the word than a speaker who has great difficulty in mimicking the sounds of the donor language. But individual bilingual ability is determined by many factors, only one of which would be the time element of the speech community. . . .
3. A word may have originally been substituted, but subsequent speakers who are more fluent in the donor language may "improve" the pronunciation so as to match the donor language. In Haugen's words: It is also possible for bilinguals to touch up the form of an older word and introduce a more 'correct' form if they happen to know it.

The three factors mentioned by Clausing (1986) play an important role in determining when a word was borrowed and to what degree it has been integrated into the recipient language. I have argued above that the gradual replacement of rounded front vowels with their unrounded counterparts was not due to the influence of American English; instead, it was caused by different processes, including leveling, taking place during new-dialect formation. Next, let us consider the English phoneme /æ/ as in *ranch*, which is typically pronounced as [e] (as in Hentschel) in German, according to Gilbert (1965b, 108). He elaborates on this point by discussing other borrowed English lexical items that contain /æ/:

> For the same reason, a speaker of Standard German fails to distinguish between *Tex* 'a man from Texas' and *tax*; for him they are both /teks/. However, in Texas German a separate phoneme, /æ/, exists as opposed to /e/; the Texas German says: *die* /rænts/ and /tæks/ (= Steuer), but: /teks/ *der Mann*. This we can probably attribute to the introduction of an immense number of loanwords containing the English /æ/.

The large number of loanwords containing /æ/ has led to an overdifferentiation of phonemes with an imposition of phonemic distinctions from English in Texas German, according to Gilbert (1970). This leads him to conclude that "/æ/ has apparently also been borrowed from English. It occurs in both borrowed and native lexical items" (96). Interestingly, Clardy (1954) and Eikel (1954) also acknowledge the presence of /æ/ in the vowel inventory of their New Braunfels informants. They note that /æ/ is restricted to loanwords, such as *pantry*, *handle*, *tractor*, *match*, *brandy*, *pasture*, and *candy* (Clardy 1954, 12). In addition, Clardy (1954, 28) mentions that German words with English cognates, such as *Giesskanne* 'watering can', may contain [æ], and in the speech of one of her informants it even "appears very frequently in words which are not cognates" (59). Gilbert's (1972) New Braunfels area data also document differences in the degree of integration of English loan-

words (although it does not offer information on the spread of [æ] into noncognate words of German origin). The noun *pasture* is an example of a loanword with sound substitution, as all of Gilbert's 15 New Braunfels area informants use German-style [a] instead of [æ] (see Gilbert 1972, map 27).[17] This type of sound substitution, however, does not occur very often, as the [æ] is preserved in almost all other loanwords. In contrast, the same informants used [æ] with *tank* across the board (see Gilbert 1972, map 142).

Two important details emerge when comparing Gilbert's (1972) data on *pasture* and *tank* with the resampled TGDP data. First, all TGDP informants use the [æ] in *tank*. Second, in contrast to Gilbert's (1972) data, a number of informants also use [æ] in *pasture*, as table 4.20 illustrates.

The increased use of [æ] in *pasture* suggests that more and more speakers prefer the English sound over the German counterpart [a]. This development signals, in part, a greater acceptance toward using American English [æ]. The more widespread use of [æ] in present-day Texas German is also evidenced by data from the open-ended TGDP interviews. Many informants continue to use [æ] even though the English loanwords themselves are integrated using German-based morphological rules, such as compounding (4.6a and 4.6d) and past participle formation (4.6b, 4.6c, 4.6e).

TABLE 4.20
TGDP Resampling of [æ]/[a] in *pasture*
(Gilbert 1972, map 10)

	Informants	*Total*
[æ]	62, 75, 78, 80, 161	5 (13%)
[a]	25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 71, 76, 77, 82, 84, 85, 96, 110, 123, 124, 125, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 164, 167, 171, 172, 173, 174	31 (87%)
None	24, 26, 32, 60, 72, 79, 83, 88, 107, 108, 128, 160, 165, 168, 169, 170	16

4.6. a. *Warn se auch an den Ziegenranch.*
were they also an the goat-ranch
'They were also at the goat ranch.' [1-35-1-5-a 🔊]

b. *Der hat das geranchт.*
he has that ranched
'He ranched that.' [1-82-1-2-a]

c. *... haben gecampt und sind fischen gegangen*
have camped and are fish went
'... we camped and went fishing.' [1-82-1-6-a]

d. *Beim dancehalle.*
at-the dance-hall
'At the dance hall.' [1-2-1-13-a 🔊][18]

e. *Die Grossmutters und die Kinder hamm alle gedanct*
the grandmother and the kids have all danced
auf dieselbe Zeit.
on the-same time
'The grandmother and the kids all danced at the same time.'
[1-2-1-14-a 🔊]

Despite the apparent widespread use of [æ] in loanwords, the open-ended interviews did not reveal any cognates or other native German words in which [e] or [a] have been replaced with American English [æ] (contrary to Clardy's [1954, 59] observation). Since Clardy observed this phenomenon used by only one of her six informants and neither Eikel nor Gilbert report similar data for the New Braunfels area, I suspect that her one informant was among a very small number of Texas German speakers to use [æ] more frequently. In sum, then, the comparison of the historical data with the TGDP data demonstrates that [æ] continues to be used in loanwords at least as much as in the 1950s and 1960s. The presence of [æ] in English-based words that are the product of German-style morphological processes and the increased distribution of [æ] in loanwords that previously followed German-style pronunciation (e.g., *pasture*) suggests that this sound has become more of an everyday part of the Texas German phonological inventory, albeit restricted to English loanwords (or parts thereof).

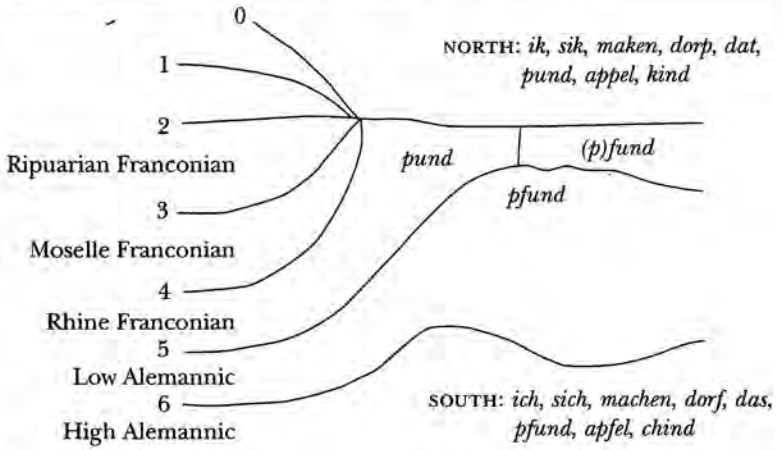
4.3. CONSONANTS

4.3.1. AFFRICATES. German dialects differ in that not all underwent the Second Sound Shift (see König 1994, 62–63). Since this shift affected only the High German dialects (but to different degrees; see Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 26–27), it yielded specific sound distributions, as illustrated by C. J. Wells (1985, 422–28). The resulting distribution of stops, affricates, and fricatives is most vividly illustrated by the *rheinischer Fächer* 'Rhenish Fan', which, according to Theodor Frings (1950), captures different subdialectal boundaries in terms of isoglosses that are named according to the locations where they cross the Rhine. Figure 4.2 shows the most prominent isoglosses of the *rheinischer Fächer*, including some of the words that are often used as "diagnostics" for distinguishing dialects from each other.

A look at the isoglosses in figure 4.2 reveals that some of the dialectal divisions of the Benrath and Germersheim lines represent the varied distribution of consonants in the areas in which the donor dialects of Texas German were spoken. As such, it is not surprising that these dialectal divisions were carried over to Texas in the nineteenth century, as is demonstrated more than a century later by Gilbert's (1972) description of the distribution of [p] versus [pf] in words such as *Apfel* 'apple', *Kopf* 'head', and *Kochtopf* 'cooking pot' across the German Belt. To gain a better understanding of the different types of stops, fricatives, and affricates brought to New Braunfels, I now turn to data from the digital Wenker atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56). I then compare these data with data from Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954), and Gilbert (1972) to determine how far the different sounds have been affected by the different processes of new-dialect formation. Finally, I compare the historical data with newly recorded TGDP data to determine the present-day status of the different consonants.

The first set of consonants consists of [p] and [pf]. Table 4.21 presents their distribution in one of the main areas from which immigrants left for Texas, namely the Hessen-Nassau area. What is most striking about these data is that in none of the eight locations do we find an attestation of [pf] during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

FIGURE 4.2
The Rhenish Fan
(C. J. Wells 1985, 428)



0. *sik/sich* line: one of several minor isoglosses north of Ürgingen.
1. Ürdingen line, *ik/ich*.
2. Benrath line, *maken/machen*: often taken as the "baseline" for the Low/High German dialect division, since the other isoglosses merge into it.
3. Bacharach line, *dorp/dorf*: separating Ripuarian from Moselle Franconian.
4. *dat/das* line: separating Middle Franconian dialects (Ripuarian and Moselle Franconian) from Rhine Franconian.
5. Germersheim line, *appel/apfel*: separating Franconian from Alemannic.
6. *kind/chind* line: separating Low Alemannic from High Alemannic (not strictly part of the Rhenish Fan).

NOTE: All of these isoglosses are complex zones of features reflecting the dialectal position at the end of the nineteenth century. The isogloss *(p)fund* is not part of the fan: in the early period, it separates Rhine Franconian (*pund*) from East Franconian (*pfund*), later it separates West Middle German (*pund*) from East Middle German (*fund*). Otfrid's South Rhine Franconian has *pad* (New High German *Pfad*) and *aphul* (New High German *Apfel*), again demonstrating that the isoglosses of the Rhenish Fan must be used with caution when evaluating Old High German monestary dialects.

TABLE 4.21
Realization of [p] and [pf] in Eight Different Hessen-Nassau Locations (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56)

	Apfel	*Pfeffer*	*Pfund*
Montabaur	p	p	p
Dillenburg	p	p	p
Giessen	p	p	p
Braunfels	p	p	p
Marburg	p	p	p
Frankenberg	p/b	p	p
Rotenburg	p/b	p	p
Fulda	p/b	p	p

The absence of any [pf] variants in one of the main areas of emigration is particularly interesting when we compare it with Gilbert's (1972) results for the German Belt. Unfortunately, not all of Gilbert's words match those found in the Wenker atlas (and vice versa). However, the general distribution of the sounds overlaps a great deal; that is, in both Wenker's and Gilbert's data, they occur in prevocalic position word-initially and in between vowels. Gilbert's (1972) data for the New Braunfels area are summarized in table 4.22.

When comparing the data in table 4.22 with those in table 4.21, a number of trends stand out.[19] The most obvious is the somewhat unexpected presence of [pf] in the Gilbert data. Given

TABLE 4.22
Distribution of [pf] and [p] in the New Braunfels Area (Gilbert 1972)

	[pf]	[p]	[pf] *and* [p]	*None*
Apfel (map 4)	13 (86%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	0
Eiszapfen (map 5)	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	0 (0%)	4
Kochtopf (map 6)[a]	8 (57%)	6 (43%)	0 (0%)	1
Kopf (map 7)	6 (40%)	9 (60%)	0 (0%)	0
Köpfe (map 71)	11 (73%)	4 (27%)	0 (0%)	0
Pferd (map 103)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0

a. One informant used *Kochdopp*.

our observations about the distribution of vowels in the Wenker and Gilbert data above, one would expect to find a somewhat similar correlation for consonants between the dialects of the Hessen-Nassau area and NBG. Since [pf] did not exist in these contexts in the donor dialects under investigation, it cannot be the result of leveling between them. In my view, there are at least two possible explanations for the unexpected presence of [pf].

The first possibility is to attribute the presence of [pf] to the influence of local dialects brought to Texas from regions outside the Hessen-Nassau area. Dialects exhibiting [pf] in this context are generally found south of the Germersheim Line (see Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 80–81). This means that all areas of origin north of the Germersheim Line mentioned by T. Jordan (2004, 64, 123), such as Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Lippe-Detmold, Hannover, and Brunswick, are automatically ruled out as potential candidates. This leaves us with local dialects from two sets of areas south of the Germersheim Line.[20] The first set consists of areas that contributed relatively few settlers according to T. Jordan (2004), such as Anhalt, Saxony, and Bavaria. The second area is "unspecified Prussia," which contributed a large number of settlers (see chapter 3.4.2) to the emigration effort. However, since Prussia covered areas that lie both north and south of the Germersheim Line, it is basically impossible to pinpoint particular areas as the potential source of donor dialects contributing [pf] to the dialect mixture. As such, I tentatively propose that dialects from a number of different areas south of the Germersheim Line may have contributed [pf] to the dialect mix, without pinpointing any specific local dialect.

The second possible explanation for the presence of [pf] in Gilbert's data is to point to the influence of standard German, as it was regarded as the norm in school education. Such a hypothesis would adopt Salmons's (1994) view of the influence of standard German on Texas German during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In addressing an increased (and unexpected) use of dative cases in Texas German, Salmons (1994, 62) suggests that "the most formal register of Texas German grammar included essentially Standard German dative and accusative for most speakers born until roughly 1880, with a transition beginning then." In this view, the standard German pronunciation [pf] would have

been preferred over its dialectal [p] variant in the formal register, because it was regarded as more prestigious. Note that this hypothesis has one potential drawback: it would also have to explain why the leveling of rounded front vowels took place in Texas German instead of the leveling of their unrounded counterparts (see section 4.2.1). Given the presence of rounded front vowels in the prestige standard variety, one would also expect the leveling of dialectal unrounded front vowels. Another problem with the standard German hypothesis is that we have no effective way of measuring the true influence of the prestige variety in the lives of New Braunfels residents born between 1880 and 1920. In chapter 2 I laid out a number of arguments against the commonly held view that the use of standard German in a few selected public domains had long-lasting effects on the structure of Texas German. In sum, the lack of conclusive evidence makes it difficult to decide between one of the two hypotheses for explaining the unexpected presence of [pf] in Gilbert's (1972) data.

Whatever factors led to the introduction of [pf] into the dialect mix and subsequently influenced the development of [pf] and [p] between the arrival of the first immigrants and the time that Gilbert recorded his data in New Braunfels, the data clearly show that this part of the phonological system of NBG has not undergone all three levels of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation. More specifically, despite the drastic influx of [pf] in the Texas German dialect mixture, this sound has not been able to gain the upper hand by leveling in favor of [p], as Gilbert (1972) demonstrates. As such, the data illustrate an instance of new-dialect formation that is characteristic of Trudgill's second stage of new-dialect formation, where we find variability between speakers.

I turn now to the present-day TGDP data to find out whether this type of variation continues to exist or whether any changes have taken place over the past four decades. Tables 4.23–4.28 summarize the present-day distribution of [pf] and [p] in *Apfel, Eiszapfen, Kochtopf, Kopf, Köpfe,* and *Pferd.* The present-day TGDP data are similar to Gilbert's data in that we find a similarly high percentage of [pf] over [p] in *Apfel.* In addition, the distribution of the two sounds remains about the same for *Kochtopf* ([pf]: 46%; [p]:

TABLE 4.23
TGDP Resampling of /pf/ in *ein Apfel* 'one apple'
(Gilbert 1972, map 4)

	Informants	*Total*
[pf]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 88, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 160, 161, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	44 (88%)
[p]	32, 71, 78, 159, 164	5 (10%)
[b]	96	1 (2%)
None	72, 84	2

TABLE 4.24
TGDP Resampling of /pf/ in *Eiszapfen* 'icicles'
(Gilbert 1972, map 5)

	Informants	*Total*
[pf]	32, 34	2 (10%)
icicles	25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 75, 76, 79, 125, 164, 171, 172, 173, 174	14 (70%)
Other[a]	96, 107, 159, 168	4 (20%)
None	24, 26, 30, 35, 60, 62, 71, 72, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 108, 110, 123, 124, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 160, 161, 165, 167, 169, 170	32

a. These include lexical variants such as *Eisschpitua, Eisschterms,* and *Eisschtickel.*

TABLE 4.25
TGDP Resampling of /pf/ in *Kochtopf* 'cooking pot'
(Gilbert 1972, map 6)

	Informants	*Total*
[pf]	27, 28, 34, 60, 71, 79, 88, 96, 107, 110, 125, 169	12 (46%)
[p]	29, 33, 78, 80, 82, 85, 123, 129, 138, 159, 160, 171, 173	13 (50%)
Pott	24, 25, 30, 32, 35, 62, 75, 76, 124, 128, 138, 153, 155, 164, 168, 170, 172, 174	18
[f]	165	1 (4%)
None	26, 72, 167	3
Kessel	77, 83, 84, 108, 161	5

TABLE 4.26
TGDP Resampling of /pf/ in *Kopf* 'head'
(Gilbert 1972, map 7)

	Informants	*Total*
[pf]	24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 60, 62, 71, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 88, 107, 110, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 155, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170	31 (61%)
[p]	25, 30, 33, 35, 75, 77, 83, 96, 108, 123, 139, 153, 159, 160, 161, 164, 171, 172, 173, 174	20 (39%)
None	72	1

TABLE 4.27
TGDP Resampling of /pf/ in *Köpfe* 'heads'
(Gilbert 1972, map 71)

	Informants	*Total*
[pf]	32, 34, 35, 77, 79, 96, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 169, 170, 172	14 (27%)
[p]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 108, 110, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 171, 173, 174	35 (69%)
[f]	76, 107	2 (4%)
None	161	1

TABLE 4.28
TGDP Resampling of /pf/ in *Pferd* 'horse'
(Gilbert 1972, map 103)

	Informants	*Total*
[pf]	32, 77, 96, 124	4 (8%)
[f]	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 107, 108, 110, 123, 125, 128, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	44 (92%)
None	24, 62, 129, 161	4

50%) in the present-day data. The TGDP data differ from Gilbert's (1972) data in three important aspects. First, the distribution of [pf] and [p] has changed significantly for *Kopf* and *Köpfe*. While [p] was in the majority for the former, [pf] was in the majority for the latter in Gilbert's data. In the TGDP data, we find an inverse

relationship: [pf] occurs in the majority of *Kopf* tokens, while [p] occurs in the majority of *Köpfe* tokens.[21]

The second point in which the TGDP data differ from Gilbert's is a drastic decline of [pf] in *Pferd* 'horse' in favor of [f], as is illustrated by table 4.28. Whereas Gilbert reports a 100% presence of [pf] in his 1972 data, the TGDP data only attest a presence of 8% of [pf], with a 92% presence of [f]. This development can be attributed to at least two different, but not mutually exclusive, factors. The first is—again—a corpus problem. That is, Gilbert (1972) shows exclusive use of [pf] with *Pferd* in the New Braunfels area, whereas Eikel (1966b, 257) explicitly states that in NBG "/p/ does not occur initially before /f/: [fɛʀt], *Pferd*." Eikel's description of word-initial [f] fits the description of a number of local dialects in the Anhalt and Saxony areas, from which comparatively small numbers of immigrants came to Texas. For the East Middle German dialects around Leipzig, Halle, and Erfurt, the digital Wenker atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56) shows for *Pferd* a significant number of [f] instances in initial position, alongside the dominant [pf]. With respect to the distribution of the two sounds, Barbour and Stevenson (1990, 87) state, "In East Middle German the shift of /p/ to /pf/, and further to /f/, in *initial* position has occurred, whereas in West Middle German it has not." This view receives support from the presence of [f] instead of [pf] in word-initial position in other *Sprachinseln* that received settlers from the same areas. For instance, Berend and Jedig (1991, 128) point out that the dialects of the Volga-German settlements of Marxstadt, Boaro, Urbach, and Jost are characterized by a number of East Middle German features, including the use of [f] in word-initial position instead of [pf].

An alternative explanation is to attribute the increased presence of [f] in the TGDP data to a general tendency affecting affricates in word-initial positions. For example, Barbour and Stevenson (1990, 153) claim that this trend, "though not generally seen as a non-standard or dialect feature, is clearly informal or colloquial, and speakers attempt, not always successfully, to pronounce the stops when speaking formally." Since no clear patterns emerge to decide between the two hypotheses, I do not pursue them here.

The third aspect in which the TGDP data differ from Gilbert's (1972) atlas concerns lexical erosion. As table 4.24 demonstrates,

only two informants render *icicles* as *Eiszapfen*, with an additional four informants translating it as various regional variants already recorded by Gilbert. Since 90% of TGDP informants did not recall this lexical item, it does not come as a surprise that the [p] variant, which was already in the minority in Gilbert's (1972) data (see table 4.22), does not appear in present-day NBG. In sum, the TGDP data show a mixed picture for the distribution of [pf] and [p], which makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their development over the past 40 years and their current status in Texas German.

I now turn to the development of another Texas German consonant discussed by Gilbert (1972), namely the affricate [ts]. König (1994, 148, 151) shows that most High German dialects exhibit the affricate as a result of the High German Sound Shift, whereas the Low German dialects do not. As such, the donor dialects from the Hessen-Nassau area all exhibited [ts] in words such as *zu* 'to' and *zwei* 'two' when German immigrants left for Texas. Gilbert's (1972) data show a mixed picture when it comes to the distribution of [ts] and its Low German counterpart [t]. His map 3, which displays the distribution of [ts] and [s] in *Ziegen* 'goats', does not contain data for the New Braunfels area. Gilbert's maps 66 and 105, which list the pronunciations for the entire words *Ziegen* and *Zimmer* 'rooms', list the two sounds as alternations, without giving detailed information about whether any of his informants prefer one variant over the other (only one informant exclusively uses [ts] in *Ziegen*). The following TGDP data illustrate the distribution of [ts] and [t] in present-day NBG.[22]

Tables 4.29–4.31 show a majority of [ts] sounds with a solid number of [s] variants for all three words. Since Gilbert's data do not provide a solid basis with which to compare the TGDP data, it is unfeasible to determine what types of changes happened in NBG. However, based on Clardy's (1954) and Eikel's (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967) descriptions of NBG, none of their informants exhibited any variation of the type recorded by Gilbert. In fact, neither Clardy nor Eikel report any instance of [s] used in the context of [ts] as Gilbert does. Faced with the familiar corpus problem, we have two alternatives for interpreting the contradictory historical data.

TABLE 4.29
TGDP Resampling of [ts]/[s] in *Ziegen* 'goats'
(Gilbert 1972, maps 3 and 66)

	Informants	*Total*
[ts]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 71, 72, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 88, 107, 108, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173	38 (86%)
[s]	30, 33, 34, 60, 85, 174	6 (14%)
None	62, 75, 78, 84, 96, 158, 161, 172	8

TABLE 4.30
TGDP Resampling of [ts]/[s] in *Zimmer* 'room'
(Gilbert 1972, map 105)

	Informants	*Total*
[ts]	24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 62, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 138, 139, 155, 159, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173	39 (76%)
[s]	26, 33, 34, 75, 83, 153, 160, 161, 164, 172, 174	11 (22%)
[z]	60	1 (2%)
None	105	1

TABLE 4.31
TGDP Resampling of [ts]/[s] in *zehn* 'ten'
(Gilbert 1972, map 112)

	Informants	*Total*
[ts]	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 60, 62, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 167, 168, 169, 170, 173	41 (79%)
[s]	24, 30, 33, 34, 71, 161, 164, 165, 171, 172, 174	11 (21%)
None		0

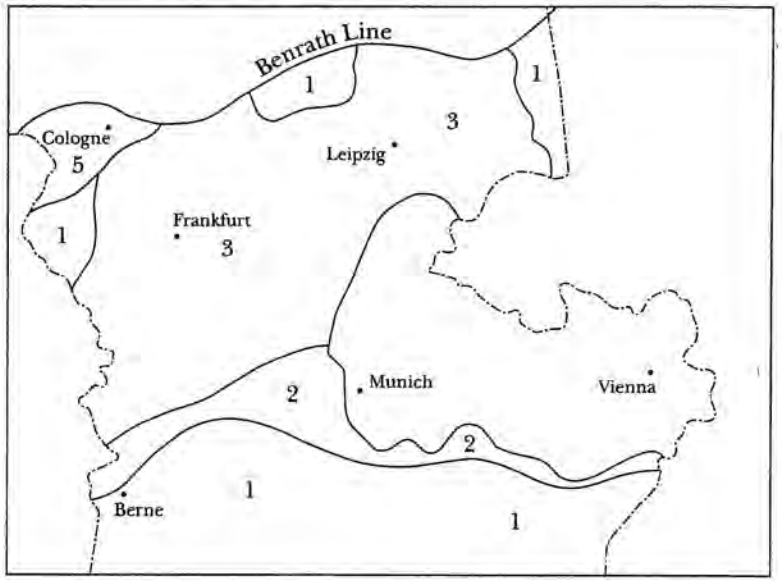
First, Gilbert's data compilation may not have been detailed enough in terms of splitting up instances of [ts] and [s]. This may be related to the somewhat smaller sample size: Gilbert's atlas only covers data from 15 New Braunfels area informants, as opposed to

the 30 informants interviewed by Clardy and Eikel. This scenario would likely explain the increased replacement of [ts] by [s] in the TGDP data (as opposed to the Clardy and Eikel data) in terms of general phonological developments affecting other German dialects. For instance, Barbour and Stevenson (1990, 152) show that such a replacement "causes no comprehension problem in much of the area in question, since many German speech types do not have [s] at the beginning of any other words, written 's' being pronounced [z] in such words as *See* (lake, sea)." Similar intergenerational developments have also been observed in other German *Sprachinseln* that have been in contact with English for an extended period of time. For example, Clyne (1972, 84) reports on the German *Sprachinsel* in the Barossa Valley in southern Australia, where speakers of the younger generation, who were brought up as German-dominant bilinguals, apply "the affricatisation rule for [pf]–[f] and [ts]–[s] *in reverse*." Based on such data, he concludes that the "results seem to support the case for the gradual spread of phonological change" (85). In later work, Clyne (2003, 78) characterizes this development as an instance of phonological transference, where a phoneme is eventually becoming deleted "because of the phonemic structure of the other language, e.g., [ts] is replaced by [s] in third-generation German-English bilinguals." Assuming that Clardy's and Eikel's (1954) data present a more accurate picture of the linguistic situation than Gilbert's data, I would propose that the present-day TGDP data demonstrate a definite change away from [ts] toward [s].

The second option seems to be less remarkable. In this view, Gilbert's (1972) depiction of the linguistic situation in New Braunfels of the 1960s is indeed accurate, and no significant change occurred over the past four decades. Since at present I have no means of evaluating the accuracy of the different historical data provided by the three authors, it appears impossible to choose between the two hypotheses to explain the distribution of [ts] and [s] in the TGDP data.

4.3.2. STOPS. Another group of sounds discussed by earlier accounts of Texas German consists of stops and whether they undergo lenition. Simmler (1983) maintains that lenition is a common phenomenon affecting voiceless obstruents in various German dialects to different degrees. Depending on the position of a voiceless obstruent in a word, it may be rendered as a voiced obstruent. This process may in turn lead to a loss of contrast in sets of words such as *Tür* 'door', *Tier* 'animal', and *dir* (second-person singular personal dative pronoun) where the [t] of the first two words becomes a [d]. Historically, this process, which is also called the *binnendeutsche Konsonantenschwächung* 'central High German lenition' (see Schirmunski 1962, 332–36) has affected different dialectal areas to different degrees, as figure 4.3 illustrates.

FIGURE 4.3
Lenition in Middle and Upper German Dialects
(Barbour and Stevenson 1990, 95)



1. No lenition.
2. Initial lenition only.
3. Lenition in all positions.
4. Middle Bavarian lenition phenomena.
5. Varying lenition phenomena in different localities (no lenition, initial lenition only, or lenition in all positions).

TABLE 4.32
Distribution of [t] and [d] in the New Braunfels Area
(Gilbert 1972)

	[t]	[d]	[t] *and* [d]	*N.A.*[a]
Tür (map 8)	14 (93%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)
Tisch (map 9)	13 (87%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)
Tier (map 11)	14 (93%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)
trocken (map 12)	10 (67%)	5 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Teller (map 63)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

a. This category includes lexical variants of *tot* as well as cases where Gilbert's atlas does not show data for an informant.

Figure 4.3 shows that the dialects that formed a significant base for NBG, namely those spoken in the Hessen-Nassau area, lie in areas affected by lenition (see also Durrell and Davies 1989). Data from the digital Wenker atlas generally support this point, showing a majority of [d] tokens for *Tisch* 'table', with some tokens of [t], and a majority of [d] tokens for *trocken* 'dry', with a sizable number of [d] tokens for the same area. As such, it should come as no surprise that we find a similar mixed distribution of [t] and [d] with a majority of [t] tokens in Gilbert's (1972) data.

Gilbert's (1972) data show a significant majority of [t] tokens, a somewhat unexpected state of affairs given the predominance of [d] tokens among the donor dialects of the Hessen-Nassau area. The overwhelming presence of [t] in the Gilbert data, which is independently confirmed by Clardy's (1954) and Eikel's (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967) data, is probably due to other traditional donor dialects that did not exhibit lenition in this context, the majority of which lie north of the Benrath Line (see figure 4.3).[23] Based on all available evidence, these other dialects were apparently underrepresented in the dialect input vis-à-vis the traditional dialects from the Hessen-Nassau area. Alternatively, the increase in [t] could be attributed to the influence of standard German in public domains (see Salmons 1994 and chapter 2.8.5). Although we are not in a position to determine the exact donor dialect(s) supplying [t] to the dialect mix, two important trends emerge in the data. First, while in other instances, such as the leveling of

rounded front vowels, the majority variant leveled out the minority variant during the different stages of new-dialect formation, this does not appear to be the case with [t] and [d]. Second, despite a drastic increase of [t], [d] has not completely been leveled out. This suggests that the two sounds have not gone through all three stages of Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation. Instead, the development appears to have stopped somewhere between the second and third stage of Trudgill's model, that is, one stage short of focusing, during which remaining localized variants are leveled out (Trudgill 2004, 113–28). To see whether any new changes have taken place over the past four decades, we now turn to the TGDP data on [t] and [d].

Tables 4.33–4.37 demonstrate that no significant changes have affected the distribution of [t] and [d] in word-initial position in NBG over the past four decades. More specifically, the distribution

TABLE 4.33
TGDP Resampling of /t/ in *Tür* 'door'
(Gilbert 1972, map 8)

	Informants	*Total*
[d]	84, 85, 160, 161, 165, 172	6 (12%)
[t]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 164, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174	45 (88%)
None	123	1

TABLE 4.34
TGDP Resampling of /t/ in *Tisch* 'table'
(Gilbert 1972, map 9)

	Informants	*Total*
[d]	161, 172	2 (4%)
[t]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174	50 (96%)

TABLE 4.35
TGDP Resampling of /t/ in *Tier* 'animal'
(Gilbert 1972, map 11)

	Informants	*Total*
[d]		0 (0%)
[t]	25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 62, 75, 76, 83, 88, 123, 125, 128, 129, 138, 153, 155, 165, 167, 169, 170, 173	25 (100%)
None[a]	24, 28, 29, 60, 71, 72, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 96, 107, 108, 110, 124, 139, 159, 160, 161, 164, 168, 171, 172, 174	27

a. This category includes informants who did not give any answer, or who used lexical variants such as *Rindvieh* or *das Stück Vieh*.

TABLE 4.36
TGDP Resampling of /t/ in *trocken* 'dry'
(Gilbert 1972, map 12)

	Informants	*Total*
[d]	25, 30, 60, 62, 77, 82, 84, 85, 107, 110, 123, 128, 129, 139, 155, 159, 161, 165, 168, 171, 172, 173, 174	23 (46%)
[t]	26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 83, 88, 96, 108, 124, 125, 138, 153, 160, 164, 169, 170	27 (54%)
None	24, 167	2

TABLE 4.37
TGDP Resampling of /t/ in *Teller* 'plates'
(Gilbert 1972, map 63)

	Informants	*Total*
[d]	160, 171	2 (4%)
[t]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 161, 164, 165, 167, 170, 172, 173, 174	46 (96%)
None	62, 128, 168, 169	4

of the two sounds in *Tür, Tisch, Tier,* and *Teller* are about the same as in Gilbert's (1972) data. A minor difference can be observed for *trocken*, where the TGDP data show a slight increase of [d] compared to Gilbert's data. The relative stability of the distribution of the two sounds is also mirrored by the open-ended interviews, where we find only few instances of [d] in contexts where we would typically expect [t] in standard German, some of which are illustrated in the following examples.

4.7. a. *Die Nachbarn am Wochenende mein Veder, mein guDe Freund,...*
the neighbors on-the weekend my father my good friend
'On the weekends, my father, my good friends,...' [1-27-1-6-a 🔊]

b. *Die hamm sie alle Dotgeschossen gehabt.*
they have them all dead-shot have
'They shot them all dead.' [1-28-1-5-a 🔊]

c. *Un hat ein Drockenes Loch getroffen.*
and have a dry hole struck
'And he struck a dry hole.' [1-24-1-10-a 🔊]

d. *Ja, ihr habt auch immer Deutsch gesprochen mit die Eldern.*
yes, you have also always German spoken with the parents
'Yes, you have also always spoken German with the parents.' [1-76-1-3-a 🔊]

Another sound affected by lenition in various German dialects is /k/ (Schirmunski 1962; Bach 1969; Simmler 1983). Gilbert (1972) reports lenition of /k/ to [g] by a small number of speakers in Gillespie and Medina counties. However, as table 4.38 shows, lenition has not affected NBG [k], where all of Gilbert's (1972) informants produced [k] instead of [g] in *Kochtopf* 'cooking pot', *Kopf* 'head', *Köpfe* 'heads', and *erkältet* 'caught a cold'.[24]

The absence of lenition is supported by Clardy's (1954) and Eikel's (1954) analyses of NBG. These data suggest that any lenition that was present in the different donor dialects of the Hessen-

Nassau area (see Durrell and Davies 1989) when German immigrants left for Texas was leveled out during new-dialect formation, resulting in the almost exclusive use of [k]. This development is in contrast to other *Sprachinseln*, including some varieties of Volga German (Berend and Jedig 1991, 128), Kansas German (Johnson 1993, 172), or Brazil German (Altenhofen 1996, 26; Damke 1997, 94–97), where lenition of /k/ is attested. Interestingly, present-day data show that NBG has maintained its [k], as tables 4.39–4.42 demonstrate.

The open-ended interview data contain only a few instances of [g] in contexts where one would expect a [k], such as in *Acker* 'field' in (4.8a), *gekriegt* 'gotten' in (4.8b, c), and *Zucker* 'sugar' in (4.8d). In general, lenition of [k] in casual speech appears to be limited to only a very small set of NBG speakers, as the following examples illustrate.

TABLE 4.38
Distribution of [k] and [g] in the New Braunfels Area
(Gilbert 1972)

	[k]	[g]
Kochtopf (map 6)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)
Kopf (map 7)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)
Köpfe (map 71)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)
erkältet (map 91)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)

TABLE 4.39
TGDP Resampling of /k/ in *Kochtopf* 'cooking pot'
(Gilbert 1972, map 6)

	Informants	*Total*
[k]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 85, 96, 107, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	40 (100%)
[g]		0 (0%)
None	33, 72, 77, 83, 84, 88, 108, 110, 138, 161, 167, 169	12

TABLE 4.40
TGDP Resampling of /k/ in *Kopf* 'head'
(Gilbert 1972, map 7)

	Informants	*Total*
[k]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 62, 71, 82, 83, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	41 (100%)
[g]		0 (0%)
None	60, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 88	11

TABLE 4.41
TGDP Resampling of /k/ in *Köpfe* 'heads'
(Gilbert 1972, map 71)

	Informants	*Total*
[k]	24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	46 (100%)
[g]		0 (0%)
None	25, 27, 29, 72, 83, 161	6

TABLE 4.42
TGDP Resampling of /k/ in *erkältet* 'caught a cold'
(Gilbert 1972, map 91)

	Informants	*Total*
[k][a]	25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 125, 128, 129, 138, 153, 155, 159, 164, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173	37 (100%)
[g]		0 (0%)
None	24, 26, 32, 35, 60, 85, 88, 124, 139, 160, 161, 165, 167, 168, 174	15

a. Some informants use a nominal variant *Erkältung gekriegt* 'caught a cold', but the context for the /k/ remains the same.

4.8. a. *Der hat– hat Vieh und denn meistens tut der– der*
he has has cattle and then often does he he
achthundert– acht– oder neunhundert AGer tut der
eight-hundred eight or nine-hundred acres does he
bestellen.
farms
'He has cattle and then often he farms 800 or 900 acres.' [1-27-1-25-a 🔊]

b. *Na ja ham mir Strom geGrigt. Licht in Haus!*
oh well have we electricity got light in house
'Oh well, then we got electricity. Light in the house!' [1-28-1-16-a 🔊]

c. *Un denn hab ich den sein Stelle geGriecht.*
und then have I the his job got
'And then I got his job.' [1-29-1-9-a 🔊]

d. *Well mir hamm nicht Gemise gekauft, mir hamm ZuGer,*
well we have no vegetables bought we have sugar
'Well we didn't buy any vegetables, we have sugar.' [1-85-1-3-a]

4.3.3. FRICATIVES. Gilbert (1972, 20–21) documents the distribution of the two fricatives [s] and [ʃ] in consonant clusters in words such as *Donnerstag* 'Thursday', *Wurst* 'sausage', and *Haarbürste* 'hairbrush'.[25] His data show that in 1960s NBG speakers still exhibited a certain degree of variation with respect to the distribution of the two sounds in consonant clusters, suggesting that during new-dialect formation complete leveling had not taken place in favor of one of the two variants. The summary of Gilbert's data for the New Braunfels area in table 4.43 demonstrates an inverse distribution of the two sounds in *Donnerstag* and *Wurst*, with the standard German [s] pronunciation being the majority variant in the former and the dialectal [ʃ] pronunciation (found in the Hessen-Nassau area, among others) being the majority variant in the latter.

The TGDP data for *Donnerstag* in table 4.44 reveal a drastic increase in the use of [ʃ], which is now used by 77% of informants (as opposed to 13% in Gilbert's data). In contrast, the TGDP data reflect a slight increase in the distribution of [s] and [ʃ] in *Wurst*, as table 4.45 shows. In addition, there is a significant increase of [ʃ] in *Haarbürste*, from 53% in Gilbert's data to 96% in the present-day TGDP data, as table 4.46 shows. This development is somewhat unexpected, as one would expect that the majority variant, in this

case [s], would level out the minority variant (see Trudgill 2004, 113).

The increased use of [ʃ] in *Donnerstag* in the TGDP data may be attributed to a number of factors. First, it could be due to a corpus problem: Gilbert's (1972) sample of 15 informants from the New

TABLE 4.43
Distribution of [s] and [ʃ] in the New Braunfels Area (Gilbert 1972)

	[s]	[ʃ]	[s] *and* [ʃ]
Donnerstag (map 14)	12 (80%)	2 (13%)	1 (7%)
Wurst (map 15)	1 (7%)	13 (87%)	1 (7%)
Haarbürste (map 16)	7 (47%)	8 (53%)	0 (0%)

TABLE 4.44
TGDP Resampling of [s] and [ʃ] in *Donnerstag* 'Thursday' (Gilbert 1972, map 14)

	Informants	*Total*
[s]	30, 60, 76, 77, 79, 85, 107, 125, 138, 165, 168	11 (23%)
[ʃ]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 62, 71, 75, 80, 82, 83, 84, 88, 96, 108, 110, 123, 124, 128, 129, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	37 (77%)
None	72	1
Dienstag 'Tuesday'	78, 161, 169	3

TABLE 4.45
TGDP Resampling of [s] and [ʃ] in *Wurst* 'sausage' (Gilbert 1972, map 15)

	Informants	*Total*
[s]	85, 168, 169	3 (6%)
[ʃ]	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 160, 164, 165, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	46 (94%)
None	72, 159	2

TABLE 4.46
TGDP Resampling of [s] and [ʃ] in *Haarbürste* 'hairbrush' (Gilbert 1972, map 16)

	Informants	*Total*
[s]	173	1 (4%)
[ʃ]	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 75, 76, 80, 88, 96, 107, 110, 123, 125, 129, 139, 170, 171	24 (96%)
Other	30, 82, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 169, 172, 174	13
None	24, 62, 72, 77, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 108, 124, 128, 138, 168	14

Braunfels area might not have been representative. In this view, Gilbert's sample did not include speakers who preferred the [ʃ] over the [s] variant. However, this is improbable because neither Eikel nor Clardy mention the mixed distribution of [s] and [ʃ] in this context among their 30 informants. As such, it is more likely that Gilbert's sample is more representative in terms of capturing variability in the speech community, including the distribution of the two variants.[26] Second, the change could be explained in terms of leveling, where in the mid-twentieth century *Donnerstag* was one the few words for which the majority of informants still preferred [s] over [ʃ] in this consonant cluster. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the almost exclusive use of [ʃ] in this context was extended from other words to *Donnerstag*.[27] This hypothesis receives support from the open-ended interviews, where a significant number of informants employ [ʃ] in this type of consonant cluster, as the following examples illustrate.

4.9. a. *ErsCHt wo ih klein war.*
only where I little was
'Only when I was little.' [1-3-1-10-a 🔊]

b. *Mir spiel bei WursCHtfest vier oder finf Uhr den letzten Samsta.*
we play at Wurstfest four or five o'clock the last Saturday
'We play at Wurstfest at four or five o'clock on the last Saturday.' [1-25-1-16-a 🔊]

c. *Der eine isCHt mein dridde Couseng.*
the one is my third cousin
'The one is my third cousin.' [1-27-1-30-a 🔊]

d. *Und das war jeden DonnersCHtag Amt.*
and that was every Thursday evening
'And that was every Thursday evening' [1-28-1-20-a 🔊]

e. *Die hat ein Haus mit allerhand Schtaff von Germany.*
she has a house with a-lot stuff from Germany
'She has a house with a lot of stuff from Germany.' [1-85-1-10-a 🔊]

The leveling out of the majority nonmarked [s] in favor of the minority dialectal [ʃ] variant may also be driven by the informants' desire to assert their ethnic identity. Increased use of some marked feature has been shown to be relevant as a marker of identity in language death situations (Campbell and Muntzel 1989; Craig 1997). Similarly, Wolfram (2002, 773), following research by Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1999), explains, "The social saliency of marked phonological features during the dying process may support their maintenance." This suggests that New Braunfels informants not only signal their identity vis-à-vis their English-dominant surroundings by employing [ʃ] in contexts such as those in (4.9). The increased use of [ʃ] also reflects another property commonly found among dying languages, namely an increased variability of phonetic and phonemic variants (Campbell 1985; Cook 1989). As there is currently not enough data available to determine which of the hypotheses adequately explains the increased use of [ʃ], I leave this point to further research. I suspect that such research will reveal a multiple causation scenario, as argued for by Thomason (2003, 705), to explain the dynamics underlying language attrition.

4.3.4. BORROWING OF CONSONANTS. Some developments in the consonant system of Texas German are clearly attributable to external factors. For instance, Texas German has borrowed the English retroflex [ɹ] and the velarized [ɬ] in specific contexts because of extensive contact with English. Similar developments are attested for other German American dialects, such as Iowa German (Rein

1977), Ohio German (Elliott 1972), and Pennsylvania German (Frey 1945), as well as Australian German (Clyne 1972, 2003).

Wilson (1960, 89) is the first author to note the occurrence of retroflex [ɹ] in Texas German: "Final *r* is often not trilled and sounds much like the American *r*. In younger speakers there is a tendency to avoid the rolled *r* altogether, substituting the American *r* for it." Gilbert's (1963) study of Gillespie and Kendall County Texas German comes to similar conclusions: "both retroflex r and velar l are used in free variation with native r and l. Some speakers use only retroflex r" (103–4). Three decades later, Guion (1996, 452) describes the various realizations of /r/ in Gillespie County Texas German:

> The most common realization of /r/ in Texas German is an apical trilled tap [r] (or, in some speakers, the uvular fricative [ʀ]) in the onset of the syllable, and as the unstressed [a] in the coda of the syllable. Alternatively, /r/ is realized as an American-English retroflex continuant [ɹ]. In the present study, the older fluent speakers use trilled taps and [a], as described by Gilbert, and the younger fluent speakers either continue to use the older fluent speakers' allophones [r] or [a] or use the retroflex continuant [ɹ].

Unfortunately, Gilbert's (1972) atlas does not contain any detailed data on the different realizations of /r/ in the New Braunfels area. However, in other areas such as Lee, Fayette, and Medina counties, Gilbert (1972, maps 1 and 2) documents the use of the American retroflex [ɹ] by some informants in words such as *Haarbürste* 'hairbrush' and *rennt* 'runs'. Eikel (1966b, 260) describes the NBG realizations of /r/ as similar to those found in standard German: "[r], as in SG, a tongue-tip trilled dental fricative, occurring prevocalically.... [R], as in SG, a lenis post-velar fricative, occurring preconsonantally and finally." Based on the absence of any description of retroflex [ɹ], he does not seem to regard it as belonging to the sound inventory of NBG.

Since neither Gilbert (1972) nor Eikel (1954) or Clardy (1954) present any reliable data on the presence of retroflex [ɹ] in NBG during the 1950s and 1960s, we have no solid data set with which we can compare the present-day TGDP data. However, based on the presence of the retroflex in areas surrounding New Braunfels,

we may infer that it may have also been in use in New Braunfels during the middle of the twentieth century, a view supported by a general observation made by Gilbert (1963, 121, n. 12): "[velar l] and [retroflex r] are the most used on the borders of the German speaking area, in the towns—New Braunfels, Fredericksburg, and Comfort—and among the younger generations." For comparison, consider the TGDP data in tables 4.47–4.49, which illustrate the different realizations of /r/ in present-day NBG.

In contrast to the observations by Gilbert (1963) and Guion (1996), who report a relatively high frequency of retroflex [ɹ] among younger speakers (largely due to free variation), the TGDP data in tables 4.47–4.49 reveal a different picture. They show a fairly low frequency of retroflex [ɹ] among present-day NBG speak-

TABLE 4.47
TGDP Resampling of /r/ in *Haarbürste* 'hairbrush'
(Gilbert 1972, map 1)

	Informants	*Total*
German [r]	24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 167, 165	7(21%)
Trilled [ʀ]	75, 173	2(6%)
[a:]	25, 28, 33, 35, 60, 71, 76, 80, 82, 96, 107, 123, 125, 129, 155, 159, 161, 170, 172	19(56%)
Retroflex [ɹ]	34, 139, 153, 164, 169, 171	6(18%)
None	30, 62, 72, 77, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 88, 108, 110, 124, 128, 138, 168, 174, 160	18

TABLE 4.48
TGDP Resampling of /r/ in *rennt* 'runs'
(Gilbert 1972, map 2)

	Informants	*Total*
Trilled [ʀ]	125	1(33%)
Retroflex [ɹ]	32, 96	2(67%)
Läuft	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	49

TABLE 4.49
TGDP Resampling of /r/ in *Jahr* 'year'
(Gilbert 1972, map 12)

	Informants	*Total*
German [r]	26, 27, 34, 60, 77, 79, 80, 107, 108, 124, 128, 138, 153, 167	14(30%)
[a:]	24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 82, 83, 84, 88, 96, 110, 125, 139, 155, 160, 164, 165, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174	30(65%)
Retroflex [ɹ]	123, 168	2(4%)
None	78, 129	2
Jahre	85, 159, 161, 173	4

ers, both in the resampled Gilbert data and the open-ended interviews. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of [ʀ] realizations clearly follow the German pattern, except for the trilled [ʀ], which appears with an extremely low frequency. The absence of the trilled [r] is not surprising, though, as it has been noted before by G. Jordan (1977, 63) for Texas German: "The letter *r* was trilled in certain positions, as in *true* 'true,' but in others it was lost completely so that *lieber Bruder* 'dear brother' came out as *lieba Bruda.*" The main contexts in which retroflex [ɹ] appears in present-day NBG is in borrowed words that have retained their original English pronunciation, as the following examples illustrate.

4.10. a. *Das war schrecklich gewesen wie die grossen Trucks...*
that was horrible been how the big trucks
'That was horrible how the big trucks...' [1-24-3-9-a 🔊]

b. *In Converse da war ein um Tractor- uh- Verkäufer.*
in Converse there was a um tractor uh salesman
'In Converse there was a tractor salesman.' [1-27-1-7-a 🔊]

c. *Wir haben vier trips gemacht nach Deutschland.*
we have four trips made to Germany
'We've made four trips to Germany.' [1-62-1-1-a]

d. *Ist nicht, war nicht so viel traffic.*
is not was not so much traffic
'There isn't, wasn't so much traffic.' [1-82-1-4-a]

e. *Uh... ja wir hatten's recess genannt.*
uh yes we have-it recess called
'Uh, yes, we called it recess.' [1-25-1-8-a 🔊]

f. *Uh der Meusebach der hat uh... uhn treaty gemacht*
uh the Meusebach he has uh uh-a treaty made
mit die.
with them
'The Meusebach made a treaty with them.' [1-24-1-11-a 🔊]

The TGDP data for the New Braunfels area thus seem to support only a restricted extent of borrowing of retroflex [ɹ] into Texas German, limiting its occurrence primarily to loanwords. The TGDP data reflect a similar distribution for velarized [ɬ], which is overwhelmingly found in English loanwords like *pool* and *mill.* Comparing these data with Eikel's (1966b) description of velarized [ɬ] in NBG more than four decades ago shows that its distribution has not changed much. Eikel claims that this sound belongs exclusively to the sound inventory of English, which was learned by his informants as a foreign language: "Speakers of NBG learned English at an early stage; consequently, they distinguish between the American English /l/ and the German /l/ and do not confuse the two" (1966b, 260).

Gilbert (1970, 96) claims that /θ/ "has been borrowed from English," but mentions only one instance, namely in the name *John Smith.* The open-ended TGDP data contain a relatively small number of loanwords, such as *Lutheran, Smithville, health department, national anthem, godmother, cloth,* and *arithmetic,* in which the English interdental fricative is used instead of replacing it with German /s/ or /t/. Since /θ/ does not occur in any native German words, it is thus safe to say that it has not been borrowed into NBG per se, but is rather restricted to a small number of English loanwords. The same can be said of /ʤ/, which appears in a very tiny set of loanwords, such as *judge, jeans jacket, jack stone, jump the rope,* and *art major.* In sum, I have shown that the English consonants retroflex [ɹ], velarized [ɬ], /θ/, and /ʤ/ occur in present-day NBG, but they are almost exclusively limited to English loanwords (see Boas forthcoming). As such, NBG differs from other German American dia-

lects such as Pennsylvania German (e.g., Frey 1945) and Wisconsin German (e.g., Donnelly 1969) in that English sounds almost never appear in native German words.

4.4. OTHER PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In this section I offer brief analyses of two phonological developments in NBG. First, I investigate how the phonology of loanwords has changed over the past five decades. Then, I discuss whether the present-day data provide any evidence that vowel epenthesis has spread to lexical items other than those described by Gilbert (1972).

4.4.1. CHANGES IN LOANWORD PHONOLOGY. Borrowing words from another language is typically characterized by some type of phonological interference (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Davidson and Noyer 1997; Paradis and Lacharité 1997). In language contact situations, different options exist for the integration of loanwords into the recipient language. For example, the borrowed word is influenced by the native phonological patterns of the recipient language, because the phonological systems of the source and recipient languages differ from each other (see Perira 1977 on English loanwords in Brazilian Portuguese).

In his description of loanword adaptation, Gilbert (1972) documents the pronunciation of *pasture*, *creek*, and *candy*, showing that their phonological integration has taken place to various degrees. For example, nine New Braunfels informants (60%) rendered *pasture* with a distinct German pronunciation [pastə], while six informants (40%) preferred an English pronunciation [pæstʃur] (Gilbert 1972, map 27). A comparison of Gilbert's (1972) data with present-day TGDP data reveals a considerable increase in German-style pronunciation. Of the 52 informants, 27 (84%) used the German pronunciation, 4 (13%) used the English pronunciation, 1 (3%) informant gave both versions, and 20 informants did not translate *pasture* at all into Texas German.[28] The data for *creek* reveal a slightly different pattern. Gilbert (1972, map 136) shows that

all 15 New Braunfels area informants use a distinct German pronunciation. In contrast, only 74% of the TGDP informants from New Braunfels pronounce *creek* with a German accent, while the remaining 26% follow English pronunciation.[29] Finally, consider the phonological integration of *candy* into NBG. Gilbert (1972, map 139) reports that all of his 15 informants exhibit a variable pronunciation between the English-sounding [kændi:] and the German-sounding [kendi:]. The present-day TGDP data show that 94% of informants use the German variant, with the native [e] instead of the American English [æ].

The comparison of Gilbert's (1972) data with the TGDP data shows that the pronunciation of English *pasture*, *creek*, and *candy* has changed toward a more German-like pronunciation over the past four decades. Anecdotal evidence from the open-ended TGDP interviews suggests that a number of other English loanwords, such as *car*, *gasoline*, *baseball*, and *cashier*, also exhibit significant phonological interference from German. To determine whether any speakers exhibit a systematic pattern toward more English- or more German-style pronunciations, I compared the loanwords in this section with those in the subsections above, where I discussed different loanwords that introduced English sounds into Texas German. Unfortunately, I have not been able to establish any systematic preferences of individual speakers toward phonological integration of English loanwords. The fact that the speech of individual speakers exhibits both phonologically integrated loanwords alongside loanwords that have completely preserved the English-style pronunciation suggests that there is no systematic process at work. Instead, it appears as if the integration of English loanwords occurs on an item-by-item basis, with each speaker exhibiting individual patterns. Since it is beyond the scope of this work to offer a broad-scale analysis of the phonological integration of hundreds of English loanwords into Texas German, I leave this topic open for future research.

4.4.2. VOWEL EPENTHESIS. Many High German dialects exhibit epenthetic vowels between the liquids /l/ and /r/ and following labial and velar consonants, a process that often leads to the establishment of

an additional syllable (Abraham 1988). Schirmunski (1962, 401) explains the presence of epenthetic vowels by pointing out that assimilation between the liquids and subsequent consonants is not possible in High German dialects, leading to forms such as "dorf > dorəf, berç > beriç" ('village', 'mountain'). The epenthetic vowel thus serves to facilitate the pronunciation of the consonant cluster in specific contexts. According to Schirmunski, different dialects exhibit vowel epenthesis to various degrees, which makes it often difficult to make across-the-board statements about vowel epenthesis in different dialects. For the Hessen-Nassau area, the Wenker atlas documents vowel epenthesis in *Milch* 'milk' and *fünf* 'five' in only two locations, Montebaur and Fulda (see table 4.50).

It thus comes as no surprise that Gilbert's (1972) data on vowel epenthesis in Texas German reflect the multiple donor dialects of Texas German. Gilbert uses the word *Milch* to document vowel epenthesis in Texas German, yielding two variants. Twenty-seven percent of Gilbert's New Braunfels area informants use an epenthetic vowel in *Milch*, and 73% do not. This distribution suggests that the High German dialect feature of vowel epenthesis had not been completely leveled during new-dialect formation. The present-day TGDP data show that of all informants who translated the word into Texas German, 88% did not use an epenthetic vowel in *Milch* (see table 4.51).

TABLE 4.50
Realization of Vowel Epenthesis in Eight Different Hessen-Nassau Locations (digital Wenker Atlas)

	Milch	*fünf*
Montebaur	-lch/-llich	-nf/-nef
Dillenburg	-lch	-nf
Giessen	-lch	-nf
Braunfels	-lch	-nf
Marburg	-lch/-lche	-nf
Frankenberg	-lche	-nf
Rotenburg	-lch	-nf
Fulda	-lch/-llech	-nf/-nef

TABLE 4.51
TGDP Resampling of *Milch* 'milk' (Gilbert 1972, map 26)

	Informants	*Total*
No vowel epenthesis	24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 62, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 123, 124, 125, 128, 138, 153, 155, 159, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 174	42 (88%)
Vowel epenthesis	25, 71, 139, 160, 161, 173	6 (12%)
None	72, 110, 129, 171	4

4.5. EVALUATION OF PHONOLOGICAL DATA

4.5.1. NEW-DIALECT FORMATION. The phonological data on the development of NBG present a mixed picture when it comes to new-dialect formation. According to Trudgill's (2004) model, one can characterize a colonial variety as a coherent New World dialect only after it has gone through all three stages of new-dialect formation, including focusing at the end. However, when we compare the historical Wenker atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56) data with the data reported by Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954), and Gilbert (1972), we see that only a few phonological features have gone through all stages. For example, in section 4.2.1 I have shown that the different donor dialects brought to Texas beginning in the 1840s varied with respect to the rounding of front vowels. By the 1920s, there were no traces left of [y] and [ø], leaving only their unrounded counterparts [i] and [e], respectively. Other features that appear to have gone through all three stages of new-dialect formation include diphthongization of [i:] to [aɪ] (section 4.2.2) and lenition of /k/ (section 4.3.2).

In contrast, the majority of other features discussed in this chapter do not seem to have gone through all three stages of new-dialect formation. Consider, for example, the distribution of affricates reported by Clardy, Eikel, and Gilbert. In section 4.3.1 I showed that the historical data include a significant degree of

variation in the distribution of [pf] and [p] and [ts] and [s]. This variability leads me to argue that the affricates did not participate in the third (and last) stage of new-dialect formation, i.e., focusing, which is crucial to the formation of a new dialect (Trudgill 2004, 127).

When comparing the development of rounded and unrounded front vowels with the development of affricates, it thus becomes clear that, in contrast to the former, the latter did not go through all three stages of new-dialect formation. Instead, the variability of affricates with their dialectal counterparts [p] and [s] suggests that for these sounds new-dialect formation stopped somewhere between Trudgill's second and third stage. Other phonological features that have not participated in all three stages of new-dialect formation include lenition of /t/ (section 4.3.2), distribution of [s] and [ʃ] in consonant clusters (section 4.3.3), borrowing of English vowels and consonants (sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.4), and vowel epenthesis (section 4.4.2).

The mix of features that underwent all stages of new-dialect formation and those that did not suggests that, at least from the perspective of phonology, NBG did not evolve into a coherent new-world dialect by the first quarter of the twentieth century. The persistent variation of linguistic features several generations after the establishment of a *Sprachinsel* is not unique to Texas German, having also been documented for other comparable circumstances. For example, Berend and Jedig (1991, 52) discuss Georg Dinges's investigations of the German *Sprachinseln* in the Volga region, some of which were founded 150 years prior to Dinges's studies. With respect to the linguistic variability documented by Dinges, they write,

> During his dialectological fieldtrips, he could observe that the German dialects on the Volga were not only different from village to village, but there were even observable linguistic differences within villages. [Berend and Jedig 1991, 52; my translation][30]

The situation described by Berend and Jedig reminds us of the historical New Braunfels data, where we find both inter- and intra-speaker variability for a number of phonological features, but not

others (see also Altenhofen 1996, 27, for a description of *Sprachinseln* in Brazil with comparable degrees of variation). In discussing the variability in Volga German, Berend and Jedig also address the issue of whether it is possible to predict the types of developments leading to dialect leveling. Reviewing the works of several Russian dialectologists, including Dinges and Schirmunski, they conclude that it is often not possible to apply uniform explanations to different *Sprachinsel* situations:

> Dialect leveling does not operate according to one standard blueprint all the time. This explains why the results of leveling under the same circumstances can be quite different. [Berend and Jedig 1991, 176; my translation][31]

Rosenberg (2005), in his comparative analysis of German *Sprachinseln* in Russia and Brazil, comes to similar conclusions regarding the application of uniform principles to explain the outcome of dialect contact and dialect mixing in colonial situations. He maintains that

> some linguistic features gaining the upper hand in dialect levelling in Brazil and in Russia are similar while others are not, although the input dialect features were to a considerable extent the same. Thus, voicing of consonants in intervocalic position and between vowel and sonorant following stress has spread both in Russia and in Brazil, e.g. [g] for [k]: *drogge* for standard German *trocken* 'dry' (cf. Altenhofen 1996, map 29). On the other hand, nasalisation (as in [tsã] for standard German *Zahn* 'tooth') is a common feature among the Volga Germans (cf. Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas 1996, map 143), but not among *Hunsrück* speakers, despite the fact that Brazilian Portuguese has several nasalised vowels. [Rosenberg 2005, 228]

Conducting research on *Sprachinseln* with comparable donor dialects has the advantage of effectively addressing the different factors that lead to new-dialect formation. However, identifying the exact factors that influenced the outcome of each stage of new-dialect formation is a difficult enterprise, as the quote from Rosenberg (2005) illustrates. The question of WHY the phonology of NBG did not exhibit the defining characteristics of a completely

focused new-world dialect during the first half of the twentieth century brings up a number of additional issues.

First, I have shown that by the 1950s and 1960s English loanwords were integrated into Texas German phonology to different degrees. These differences are clearly due to three factors: (1) the point in time at which the borrowing took place, (2) the degree of bilingualism among Texas German speakers, and (3) interspeaker variability as to how words are integrated, if at all. These factors have been discussed by Haugen (1953) and Clausing (1986), who argue that the integration of loanwords and the borrowing of sounds from the source language are typically subject to a great deal of variation. As such, the variation in NBG discussed for loanwords and for borrowed sounds (e.g., see sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.3) is typical of languages in contact.

Second, in comparing the development of Texas German with that of other German American dialects, it is important to note that Texas German is a comparatively young dialect, whose first speakers came to Texas in large numbers beginning only in the 1840s. In comparison, other German American dialects, such as Pennsylvania German, had been developing since the early seventeenth century. As such, the speakers of the different donor dialects as well as their descendants had been in contact with each other much longer by the time German immigrants began arriving in Texas in large numbers. Over time, Pennsylvania German appears to have developed into a fairly coherent New World dialect, according to Buffington and Barba (1965, 1). One of the major differences between Pennsylvania German and Texas German is thus the length of contact between the speakers of different donor dialects as well as their descendants. All available evidence suggests that the short time span in which German dialect speakers were in contact with each other in New Braunfels is one of the major factors that hindered the emergence of a uniform Texas German dialect in that area. Those dialect features that were leveled in favor of one remaining variant, such as unrounding of front vowels, went through all three phases of Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation. These features "completed" their final stage of new-dialect formation (focusing) around the time when the third generation

of Texas German speakers acquired the language, that is, during the first few decades of the twentieth century (see table 4.3). Features that did not complete the third stage of new-dialect formation remained at the second stage of Trudgill's model, which is characterized by a certain degree of leveling, but also still by a large degree of both inter- and intraspeaker variability. The variability of features that did not "reach" the third stage, where they would have been completely leveled, such as vowel epenthesis and distribution of affricates, is reminiscent of Trudgill's (2004, 108) description of the second stage of new-dialect formation:

> The considerable inter-individual variability characterizing the speakers of this generation means that they demonstrably did not indulge in long-term accommodation to one another.... We have to say, then, that what occurred was a form of variable acquisition, not accommodation.

Interestingly, the time span during which third-generation speakers (whose grandparents immigrated from German) acquired Texas German coincides with World War I and its sociopolitical aftermath. As I have shown in chapter 2, Texas German lost a great deal of prestige during this period, which led to a drastic decrease in its use in the public domain. In an environment where the use of German was prohibited in public schools, these third-generation children would have had only a limited opportunity to engage in extensive face-to-face contact, a necessary precondition for focusing during new-dialect formation. Such an explanation would fit with Labov's (2001, 506) observation that "social structure affects linguistic output through changes in frequency of interaction." For new-dialect formation scenarios, Trudgill (2004, 149) elaborates on Labov's statement: "It is purely a matter of who interacts most often with who—a matter of density of communication. I have argued above that leveling is equally a matter of simple calculation."

In my view, the drastic decline in regular use of Texas German during and after World War I thus contributed significantly to prevent all phonological features from undergoing the final stage of new-dialect formation (i.e., focusing) to the same degree. This would in part explain why the historical data do not show a uniform

leveling of minority features for third-generation speakers across the board. In other words, the emergence of a coherent NBG dialect was in effect obstructed by sociopolitical factors that prevented extensive face-to-face interaction of third-generation speakers (see also chapter 6 for language attitudes).[32]

While sociopolitical factors certainly influenced the development of Texas German, it is important not to lose sight of some of the linguistic factors. Note that some developments described above for NBG have parallels with developments occurring in the donor dialects. An example is the loss of rounded front vowels, a development that already began in the twelfth and thirteenth century and subsequently spread to a number of German dialects (see Wiesinger 1983, 814). As such, it is likely that the loss of rounded front vowels in Texas German can be attributed in part to parallel developments in German dialects, which, in addition, was "later promoted and accelerated by English influence" (Gilbert 1965b, 108).

Another factor involved in determining the outcome of leveling processes is the numerical presence of a particular feature in the donor dialects. Consider Labov's (2001, 20) PRINCIPLE OF DENSITY: "The principle of density implicitly asserts that we do not have to search for a motivating force behind the diffusion of linguistic change. The effect is mechanical and inevitable." Adapting Labov's principle, Trudgill (2004, 149) proposes for new-dialect formation that it is "equally mechanical and inevitable," where "leveling is equally a matter of simple calculation." On this view, the relatively low percentage found for lenition of /t/ in Gilbert's data (see section 4.3.2) may be attributed to its comparably low numbers in the input dialects.

Our discussion has shown that a variety of factors have influenced the formation of NBG.[33] It does not seem possible to pinpoint one particular factor as the driving force behind the development of each phonological feature. In my view, there are several reasons for this. First, we do not have a large enough data corpus for each stage of the development of the dialect. The absence of larger amounts of precise data parallel to Trudgill's (2004) corpus of spoken New Zealand English does not allow for definite conclusions about the factors causing the phonological changes (see section 4.2 above). Also making it difficult to identify a specific factor as causing a particular change in a feature is that a great deal of changes are caused by multiple factors. For example, Thomason (2003, 705) claims that "few authors have considered the possibility of multiple causation and fewer still have investigated it empirically." However, due to the limited amount of corpus data, it is difficult to identify individual factors causing individual changes, let alone multiple factors involved in them. For these reasons I do not pursue this point any further here.

In sum, I have argued that the various phonological features of NBG underwent different developments. While some features were leveled, others preserved their variability. The differences in the variability of features in the historical NBG data seem to suggest that there is a great deal of variability in the time-depth of focusing. Similar observations have been made about variability in the time-depth of koinéization processes, "with focusing being possible already by Stage II, and the absence of focusing sometime persisting over several generations of Stage III" (Kerswill 2002, 679). All available phonological data on NBG thus show that the dialect did not evolve into a completely focused New World variety. Instead, the picture emerging from our analysis shows a dialect whose development was interrupted halfway between Trudgill's second and third stages by the fallout from sociohistorical events. This prevented further intensive face-to-face interaction of third-generation Texas German speakers, which would have allowed all phonological features to complete the final stage of new-dialect formation, namely focusing.

4.5.2. LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE DEATH. When comparing the historical data with present-day NBG, it is important to keep two things in mind: First, the New Braunfels speakers interviewed by the TGDP were born between 1912 and 1945. As such, they acquired Texas German at a time when it still exhibited a significant degree of variability. Second, when growing up these speakers used Texas German predominantly in the private domain (see chapter 1), not in the public domain. When entering first grade,

most TGDP informants did not know English and had to learn it rather quickly. Speaking German at school was forbidden and often punished, which in turn drastically reduced the amount of face-to-face interaction among children that is needed for accommodation and further leveling. The reduced use of Texas German during the school years thus contributed to preventing the children from completing the final stage of new-dialect formation, focusing.

After graduation, many speakers entered the workforce, enrolled in college, or joined the military, all English-speaking domains (except for local farms and ranches). A significant number of speakers married partners who did not speak Texas German. As such, the TGDP informants had much less exposure to other Texas German speakers after they left their parents' home. Most informants continued to use Texas German whenever they talked to other Texas German speakers, but over the years these opportunities became fewer and fewer.

These two factors make it difficult to determine whether the changes observed in the phonology of NBG over the past four decades should be attributed to language attrition (the overall simplification and reduction of a language's linguistic structures) or to the multiple developments documented for language death situations. Consider, for example, Wolfram's (2002, 773) observation about the various changes found among dying languages: "(1) the reduction in inventorial and syllable structure distinctions...; (2) the loss of marked phonological features...; (3) the increased variability of phonetic and phonemic variants." Interestingly, a comparison of the historical data with the present-day data above reveals a mix of different changes, though only minor ones. First, consider the reduction in inventorial distinctions. In section 4.3.4 I have shown that the German trilled [ʀ] has been drastically reduced (see tables 4.47–4.49), an observation also made by Guion (1996) for Gillespie County Texas German. In addition, we find an increased number of phonetic and phonemic variants for some sounds. An example is the replacement of [pf] by [f] in word-initial position in table 4.28. In addition, we find a limited amount of phonological borrowing restricted to loanwords (see sections 4.2.3, 4.3.4, and 4.4.1) and a number of leveling processes that appear

to favor particular dialectal variants over others. An example of the latter is the increase of [ʃ] over [s] discussed in section 4.3.3.

The changes in NBG phonology over the past four decades demonstrate two important points. First, a range of different developments have taken place at the same time, each one affecting different features to different degrees. Second, and perhaps more important, there are no radical changes, such as widespread reduction of the phonological inventory or of syllable structures. In fact, it appears as if the phonology of NBG has remained relatively stable since Clardy, Eikel, and Gilbert conducted their analyses. Examples include the continued use of unrounded front vowels (where standard German would use rounded front vowels) (section 4.2), the distribution of /k/ without lenition (section 4.3.2), and the limited use of retroflex [ɹ] and velar [ɬ] (section 4.3.4). What is striking is that the variability found in present-day NBG does not seem related to well-known processes found among dying languages. Instead, most of the variability can be traced back directly to the data recorded in the 1950s and 1960s, such as the distribution of affricates except for /pf/ in word-initial position (section 4.3.1), lenition of /t/ (section 4.3.2), and vowel epenthesis (section 4.4.2).

4.6. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have analyzed the development of a number of phonological features of NBG over the past 150 years. Comparing historical data from the Wenker atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas* 1927–56) with data by Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967), and Gilbert (1972), I first aimed to identify some of the donor dialects by focusing on the Hessen-Nassau area from which, according to all available information, the large majority of settlers came to New Braunfels. I have found that establishing this link is problematic for two reasons. First, we are faced with a corpus problem. The reliability of the Wenker data has been questioned repeatedly, yet they are the only resource available that offers considerable coverage for a broad variety of linguistic features. Throughout this chapter, I have also highlighted a number of problems with the data provided by Clardy, Eikel, and

Gilbert (they contradict each other in some respect). Second, identifying particular phonological features with their counterparts in the donor dialects is inherently problematic, because a specific feature is likely to be found in several areas, as the isoglosses in the Wenker atlas illustrate. This point is also observed by Rosenberg (1994, 291): "Even if there were such one-to-one correspondences with local village dialects located in the coherent German-speaking area of central Europe, these are likely to be dialect-geographical illusions, already discussed by Schirmunski" (my translation).[34]

I investigated a number of phonological developments that illustrate the partial emergence of NBG as a New World dialect. Applying Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, I analyzed how different phonological features evolved from the time the first settlers arrived in Texas in the 1840s until the first quarter of the twentieth century. While some sounds, such as rounded front vowels and their unrounded counterparts, went through all three stages of Trudgill's model, other sets of sounds did not go through all stages. As data from Gilbert (1972) demonstrate, the competing sounds of the various donor dialects remained at the second stage of Trudgill's model, where some leveling has taken place, but variability continues to exist. Such variability can also be found throughout other areas of the German Belt, as documented by Gilbert (1972, 1978) for central Texas German and Pulte (1970) for North Texas German and Oklahoma German. The differences in the variability of features in the historical NBG data have led me to suggest that there is a great deal of variability in the time-depth of focusing (the last stage of new-dialect formation), which differs from feature to feature. Thus, NBG evolved into a variety where some phonological features went through all stages of new-dialect formation, including focusing, while a large number of features continued to exhibit considerable variability (indicative of the second stage). Overall, I attributed this mixed development to two factors: First, the fallout from sociohistorical events drastically reduced the prestige of Texas German, effectively cutting the use of German from the public domain. By consequence, children could not continue to participate in extensive face-to-face accommodation, which Trudgill (2004) considers to be crucial for focusing. Second, linguistic factors, such as drift, contribute to the leveling out of certain types of variation faster than others (see also Kerswill 2002, 686–87).

The comparison of Gilbert's, Clardy's, and Eikel's data with the present-day TGDP data shows that the phonology of NBG has changed relatively little over the past four decades. While we find some reduction in variability, as well as some increase in variability, most of the variability in the TGDP data (as well as the borrowing of sounds from English) appears to be a continuation of the trends already under way during the 1950s and 1960s. The phonological data on present-day NBG thus demonstrates two important points: First, the phonological system of NBG has not been dramatically affected by changes characteristic of language death (see Wolfram 2002; Thomason 2003). Second, while NBG certainly shares a number of phonological features with standard German (e.g., /au/, /ai/, and back vowels), the continuing high degree of variability suggests that the variety has never evolved into a coherent New World dialect. As such, some features of current-day NBG resemble the "standard Umgangssprache of North and West Germany" (Eikel 1954, 72), but to a significantly lesser degree than claimed by Eikel. The large variety of traditional dialectal variants such as unrounded vowels, presence of [ʃ], lenition of /t/, vowel epenthesis, and simplification of affricates, among others, appears to be a vivid mix originating from many locations throughout the Hessen-Nassau area and beyond. More than 50 years ago, this already led Clardy (1954, 59) to conclude, "No homogenous dialect exists in New Braunfels." The present-day TGDP data demonstrate that Clardy's characterization still holds for present-day New Braunfels German as well.

5. MORPHOSYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN TEXAS GERMAN

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Some of the most obvious changes in language contact and language death situations occur in morphology and syntax. In morphology, there is usually a reduction of morphologically marked categories and in the number of allomorphs (Dressler 1988; Campbell and Muntzel 1989; Holloway 1997). Morphological loss typically affects only certain areas of morphology, while other areas remain unaffected or may even see an increase in morphological marking (Wolfram 2002, 773–74). For example, Dorian (1977) reports that obsolescing Southern Sutherland Gaelic exhibits variable gender and case marking of nominals. Future tense and conditional suffixes also show a considerable amount of variation, while at the same time past-tense markers are much better preserved. A reduction of morphologically marked grammatical categories may also lead from polysynthetic structures to analytical structures. In other words, morphological changes often go hand in hand with syntactic changes. Consider, for example, Pipil, an endangered Uto-Aztecan language spoken in El Salvador. Pipil future-tense suffixes are used only in older texts and are replaced by periphrastic constructions in present-day Pipil (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 192). The reduction of such syntactic devices in language contact and language death situation is a common phenomenon described by Andersen (1982, 99): "A [semispeaker] will use a smaller number of syntactic devices ... than a [fully competent speaker] of the same language. The [semispeaker] preserves and overuses syntactic constructions that more transparently reflect the underlying semantic and syntactic relations."

Since it is impossible to provide a comprehensive account of all morphosyntactic developments in Texas German within a chapter

or even a book, I chose to focus on a few case studies of phenomena observed in other *Sprachinseln* around the world. To set the stage for determining whether present-day Texas German exhibits any morphological and syntactic loss characteristic of language death, I first present a brief survey of the case systems of the German donor dialects in section 5.2. Section 5.3 analyzes how the case system of New Braunfels German has evolved over the past four to five decades. The effects of case loss on Texas German word order is the topic of section 5.4. Sections 5.5 and 5.6 investigate how other morphological categories, specifically number and gender, have been affected by language contact.

5.2. CASE IN GERMAN

5.2.1. CASE MARKING IN STANDARD GERMAN. As a relatively free word order language, German morphologically encodes argument roles as well as number and gender (see Webelhuth 1992; Eisenberg 1994; Helbig 1998). The four-case system of standard German consists of the nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive cases (e.g., *der Mann, den Mann, dem Mann(e), des Mannes* 'the man') and encodes both syntactic information (grammatical functions such as subject and object) and sometimes semantic information (assignment of semantic roles such as Agent, Patient, Instrument, etc.) in the Noun Phrase (NP).[1] English is different from German in that it has collapsed its nominative, accusative, and dative forms into a common form, *the man* (the English pronoun system retains a case distinction), though it still retains a separate genitive *the man's* (Hawkins 1986, 11). Besides marking case on nouns, German case-marks other constituents of the NP, such as determiners and adjectives. Shrier (1965, 420) notes that "more frequently, the case of the noun phrase is exhibited by the determiners and such adjectives as may be contained in it." To illustrate, the definite article exhibits six different forms: *der, den, des, dem, das,* and *die,* depending on its gender, number, and case (Hawkins 1986, 13). Adjectives following a definite article are markers for case according to the so-called weak paradigm; that is, they receive either an *-e* or *-en* suffix.

The paradigm of strong adjective endings (*-er, -en, -es, -em, -e*) closely resembles the paradigm of the definite article (for more information, see Eisenberg 1994 and C. J. Wells 1985). Finally, consider the so-called mixed adjective endings in table 5.1, which are a combination of weak and strong adjective endings. These appear with the indefinite article *ein* and its negated form *kein*, according to Hawkins (1986, 15). The assignment of a particular case to an NP is typically determined by a particular verb, adjective, or preposition. For example, prepositions such as *durch* 'through' only assign the accusative case (5.1a), whereas others such as *mit* 'with' only assign dative (5.1b), and prepositions such as *trotz* 'in spite of' only assign the genitive case to an NP (5.1c). So-called two-way prepositions such as *auf* 'on' or *über* 'over' may assign either accusative or dative, depending on whether the NP is undergoing a change in location or state (5.1d) or whether it is stationary (5.1e) (see Durrell 2002 for an overview).

5.1. a. *durch* *den* *Keller*
through the:ACC basement
b. *mit* *meinem* *Hund*
with my:DAT dog
c. *trotz* *des* *schlechten* *Wetters*
because of the:GEN bad:GEN weather:GEN
d. *über* *das* *Bett*
over the:ACC bed
e. *über* *dem* *Bett*
over the:DAT bed

TABLE 5.1
Mixed Adjective Endings
(Hawkins 1986, 15)

	Singular			*Plural*
	Masculine	*Feminine*	*Neuter*	*All Genders*
Nom	kein gutER Mann	keinE gutE Frau	kein gutES Haus	keinE gutEN Häuser
Acc	keinEN gutEN Mann	keinE gutE Frau	kein gutES Haus	keinE gutEN Häuser
Gen	keinES gutEN Mannes	keinER gutEN Frau	keinES gutEN Hauses	keinER gutEN Häuser
Dat	keinEM gutEN Mann	keinER gutEN Frau	keinEM gutEN Haus	keinEN gutEN Häusern

German verbs differ from English verbs in their case assignment properties, among other things. For instance, verbs in German typically mark their subject NP with the nominative as in (5.2a). However, as the following examples show, some intransitive verbs such as *hungern* 'to be hungry' (5.2b) or *kalt sein* 'to be cold' (5.2c) may assign accusative and dative cases to the sentence-initial position, respectively.

5.2. a. *Er* *läuft.*
He:NOM walks
b. *Mich* *hungert.*
I:ACC hunger
c. *Ihm* *ist* *kalt.*
He:DAT is cold

Transitive verbs in German also differ from their English counterparts in that they may assign accusative (5.3a), dative (5.3b), or genitive case (5.3c) to their postverbal NPs. Verbs that govern the accusative are much more frequent than those governing the dative or the genitive. In fact, there are only a handful of verbs in modern standard German that govern the genitive.

5.3. a. *Lena* *liebt* *ihn.*
Lena:NOM loves him:ACC
b. *Rosa* *antwortet* *ihrem* *Vater.*
Rosa:NOM answers her:DAT father
c. *Der Hund* *bedarf* *des* *Trostes.*
The dog:NOM needs the:GEN condolence:GEN

Before turning to case assignment in different German dialects, it should be noted that because standard German has a relatively free word order language, morphological cases serve the important function of identifying the semantics of different NPs. Unlike English, where case assignment is dependent on where a constituent occurs in a sentence, different German cases may be assigned to the same structural position. For example, depending on pragmatic context and intonation, the first syntactic position of a sentence may be marked with nominative (5.4a), accusative (5.4b), or dative (5.4c) case.

5.4. a. Er schenkte seinem Hund einen Knochen.
b. Einen Knochen schenkte er seinem Hund.
c. Seinem Hund schenkte er einen Knochen.
'He gave his dog a bone.'

5.2.2. CASE SYNCRETISM IN GERMAN DIALECTS. German dialects differ in many ways from standard German in how they assign case.[2] One first notices the differences in the case-marking systems among traditional German dialects in Middle High and Middle Low German times. Shrier (1965, 435) notes that more morphological case distinctions were lost earlier in the north than in the south and claims that "in contrast to the rapid change and areal diversity of sound systems, the morphological systems of the dialects exhibit remarkable stability."

The reduction of case by the fifteenth century is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather the reflection of a more general long-term development from synthetic to analytic structures in German (Schirmunski 1962, 432). Rosenberg (2005, 229) identifies the Germanic shift to initial stress as one of the main factors influencing case loss across German dialects.[3] These developments eventually led to case syncretism, where the remaining cases took over the functions formerly encoded by the cases that were lost. For example, most German dialects have lost the genitive case and replaced it with prepositional, dative, or accusative constructions. Only certain frozen idiomatic expressions still contain the genitive (Schirmunski 1962, 433–37). Besides standard German, where the genitive is restricted to rather formal registers, only a few dialects, such as the *Walser* dialect, have preserved the genitive as a regular morphological paradigm (W. König 1994, 161). The distribution among the remaining three cases differs significantly between the regional dialects. In general, there are three different types of case-marking systems found among German dialects: (1) nominative, accusative, and dative are all used in at least one part of speech (resembling the system of standard German); such case systems are typically found among High German dialects, but are maintained in each dialect area to different degrees (Shrier 1965, 431); (2) accusative and dative form a single oblique case vis-à-vis the nominative, a pattern found most commonly among the Low German dialects (and in related languages, such as English [except for the pronoun system], Dutch, and Danish); and (3) nominative and accusative form a single oblique case vis-à-vis the dative (see Panzer 1983).

Case syncretism is a well-attested phenomenon in other languages. A well-known example is Modern English inflectional morphology, which is significantly impoverished in comparison to its Old English counterpart, whose morphological system was very close to that of Modern German. Both languages started with a common West Germanic inflectional system, but Old English began reducing it, whereas German preserved most of it (Hawkins 1986, 12). Consider, for example, the case system of Old English personal pronouns, which "used to have a three-term system of personal pronouns in all but the 3rd pers. masc. where a four-term system existed" (Rosenberg 2005, 232). In Modern English, there is only a two-case opposition left, namely between nominative and oblique cases, even though it is only present in a few personal pronouns (*I/me, he/him*, etc.)

What sets case syncretism in traditional German dialects apart from that of Modern English is that there is a great deal of different case-marking patterns for nouns, adjectives, and determiners, each varying from dialect to dialect. As shown below, this often makes it difficult to determine the origins of a particular case-marking system, which in turn reduces the chances of clearly identifying the donor dialect that contributed that particular case-marking system to the dialect mix that eventually became Texas German. At the same time, there are overlaps in forms with the subsystems of other German dialects. Since a complete overview of case syncretism in German dialects would go far beyond the scope of this work (see Lipold 1983, Maak 1983, and Panzer 1983 for such an overview), I will only discuss a few examples from Shrier (1965) to illustrate the different patterns found among the various German dialects. Shrier extensively reviews the case systems of German dialects, focusing on case assignment on masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. She shows that in the south there are more conservative

dialect areas that maintain a three-way case distinction between nominative (N), accusative (A), and dative (D) cases (Shrier 1965, 437). She also arrives at an interesting generalization concerning peripheral areas that maintain a three-way case distinction in the fewest number of NPs: in these areas we typically find only one part of speech that maintains a three-way case opposition, whereas "inward from the western dialects toward the center of the area, the N/A/D system becomes stronger and stronger" Shrier (1965, 432).

Interestingly, the southernmost part of the Hessen-Nassau area, from which a great number of settlers came to New Braunfels, is characterized by isoglosses identifying it as partially belonging to the more conservative areas.[4] Shrier (1965, 433) notes, "The core area of N/A/D strength, that area most resistant to morphological change, is the center of the dialect territory (southeast diagonal hatching), in which the three way distinction is maintained in all five parts of speech—both pronouns [first- and third-person singular], both articles, and adjective." While other dialects of the Hessen-Nassau area do not lie at the center of the most conservative region, they nevertheless exhibit a more pronounced contrast in three-way case distinctions than other dialects which are further away from the center and thus exhibit more case syncretism among more parts of speech. For example, the cross-hatched area in figure 5.1 is a region where the three-way case distinction can be found among first- and third-person singular pronouns, as well as definite and indefinite articles (see Shrier 1965, 437).

So far, this overview has shown that case syncretism among German dialects is a comparatively old phenomenon, affecting determiners, adjectives, and nouns to different degrees. The summary of Shrier's (1965) work on the distribution of cases demonstrates that High German dialects tend to be more conservative in maintaining three-way case oppositions among determiners, adjectives, and pronouns. Among the High German dialects, we have seen that some of the Hessen-Nassau dialects (north of the Main and east of the Fulda rivers) are among the more conservative dialects, while others are less conservative, but still exhibit more case distinctions than Low German dialects.

FIGURE 5.1
Strength of Nominative/Accusative/Dative Differentiation
(based on Shrier 1965, 437)

5.2.3. CASE SYNCRETISM IN GERMAN *SPRACHINSELN*. Before turning to case syncretism and other morphosyntactic phenomena in Texas German, I offer a brief overview of how case loss has affected other German *Sprachinseln* around the world. The results from these studies set the stage for our discussion of the Texas German data in the remainder of this chapter. Case syncretism in German *Sprachinseln* is perhaps one of the most-studied phenomena among German dialectologists. The literature on this topic is considerable and includes studies on German dialects in Russia (Jedig 1966; Berend and Jedig 1991), Pennsylvania (Louden 1988; Huffines 1994; Van Ness 1996; Fuller 1999), Texas (Eikel 1949; Gilbert 1965a; Salmons 1994), Kansas (Albrecht 1979; Keel 1994), Michigan (Born 2003), Brazil (Altenhofen 1996; Damke 1997), Namibia (Riehl 2004), and Australia (Clyne 2003), to name just a few. The following examples from Riehl (2004, 90–91) illustrate how case morphology is lost in various *Sprachinseln*.

5.5. a. Er hiess Albers mit Nachname[ ]. [Namibia]
b. Ich hab bei einer Bekannte[ ] geschlafen hier in die Stadt. [Rumania]
c. In DIE Felder habn se geschaffen. [Russia]
d. ...so ich schwetze Deitsch zu SIE. [Pennsylvania]

From the perspective of Standard German, we would expect an *-n* suffix on the NPs *Nachname* and *Bekannte*, signaling dative case marking, in (5.5a) and (5.5b), respectively. Similarly, we would expect *den* instead of *die* in (5.5c) and *denen* or *ihnen* instead of *sie* in (5.5d). One of the central questions of prior studies on *Sprachinseln* is whether the reduction of case morphology is caused by external or internal factors. Analyses proposing external factors typically attribute case loss to the influence of the language with which the German *Sprachinseln* dialect is in contact. For example, Eikel (1949, 281) observes that "older people use the dative more freely than does the present generation." This observation leads him to attribute the loss of the dative case in New Braunfels German to the influence of English: "New Braunfels German has been forced to follow the English pattern of syntax." Similar proposals have been made by other researchers, including Elliott (1972, 121) and McGraw (1973, 189).

To assess the influence of external factors on case loss, Rosenberg (2005, 227) proposes a comparative approach for analyzing changes in German speech islands in Russia and in Brazil. This methodology allows him to determine "to what extent a linguistic change can be related to interlingual convergence." A brief overview of the *Sprachinsel* in Rio Grande do Sul in southern Brazil reveals a number of parallels to the German settlements throughout the territory of the former Soviet Union. Both countries have a German-speaking population of more than one million speakers, the settlements date back to the nineteenth century (or even earlier), and there was considerable discrimination against German speakers during the 1940s, due largely to World War II. In addition, the settlers lived in small isolated colonies, and their ancestors came from various regions in Germany, speaking different dialects, such as Rhine Franconian, Moselle-Franconian, Upper German Swabian, Low German Westphalian, and Pommeranian, among others. As such, "the input dialect features were to a considerable extent the same" (Rosenberg 2005, 228).

According to Rosenberg, the *Sprachinseln* in Brazil differ from those in Russia in that settlers have developed a supraregional (so-called *Hunsrück*) variety, "presumably as a consequence of the numerical dominance of speakers from this area among the first settlers, and due to the more open networks of communication between the settlements" (2005, 228). Following Altenhofen's (1996, 27) findings, Rosenberg maintains that the supraregional variety exhibits a dialect continuum with some variability; that is, it is not completely homogenous. In fact, dialect convergence did not affect all areas to the same degree, as some local varieties continue to be preserved as so-called "family dialects" (Rosenberg 2005, 228). In contrast, no such supraregional variety developed in Russia, as the summaries of the numerous works on German dialects in Russia by Berend and Jedig (1991) illustrate.

Rosenberg's comparison of *Sprachinseln* in the two countries yields some fascinating results. Some linguistic features appear to have gained the upper hand in dialect leveling in both Brazil and Russia. One such feature is the voicing of consonants in intervocalic position. However, nasalization, which appears to be widespread among the Volga German *Sprachinseln*, is typically not found

in Brazil despite the fact that the contact language, Brazilian Portuguese, has a number of nasalized vowels. Examples such as these lead Rosenberg (2005, 228) to conclude that "external linguistic influence plays a minor role in these cases."

With respect to the loss of morphological case in German speech islands, he acknowledges some small degree of influence from contact languages, in particular in the case of English. However, Rosenberg presents two important arguments against attributing case loss to external influences. His first argument rests on the observation that the pattern of case loss differs between sectarian and nonsectarian Mennonite and Amish groups. While case reduction is stronger in sectarian groups, who use German in most parts of their lives, this is not the case among nonsectarian speakers, who have intensive language contact (Rosenberg 2005, 229). If language contact indeed played a major role in triggering case loss, one would expect the speech of nonsectarian speakers to exhibit a far greater degree of case loss than that of sectarian speakers. However, this is not the case. Rosenberg's second argument against attributing case loss primarily to language contact is supported by data from German dialects spoken in Russia. He claims that case loss in those dialects is unlikely to be caused by external influence from Russian, since Russian has six cases (see also Rosenberg 1994, 294). Thus, Rosenberg (2005, 229) concludes that case loss in these German dialects should be interpreted as "internally induced language change."

To explain language change, several authors have suggested different internal factors, such as typological tendencies toward specific types of developments, that are inherent to particular languages or language families. For example, Rosenberg (2003, 208) proposes that case loss in Germanic languages is ultimately due to a "long term development from synthetic to analytic language structure." After reviewing how case-marking paradigms in German have changed over the centuries, Rosenberg notes that grammatical information in German has generally moved more to the left, away from the head of the noun phrase. At the same time, adjectives and determiners have taken over more and more case-marking properties from the head of the noun phrase. This development has progressed at various speeds in the different dialects of German.

Other authors attributing case loss to internal factors point to changes in the phonological system of various German dialects, including those of the *Sprachinseln.* For example, in line with earlier observations by Schirmunski (1962, 432), Berend and Jedig (1991, 158) observe, "The loss of phonetic differences between the cases in the dialects leads to an ever-increasing case syncretism" (my translation).[5] In this view, several of the Volga German dialects have only two cases left because the grammatical functions are sufficiently encoded with the help of prepositions and the lexical semantics of the verbs. As such, no more phonetic markers are necessary. According to Berend and Jedig (1991, 159), this tendency is so strong that one particular dialect, namely the dialect of the village Boaro, no longer exhibits case distinctions in the noun phrase (except for pronouns), leaving only the nominative case. In my view, the development toward a one-case system in this Volga German dialect lends support to Clyne's hypothesis that language-internal tendencies tend to be accelerated in *Sprachinsel* communities that are relatively isolated.[6]

5.2.4. CASE SYNCRETISM IN TEXAS GERMAN. To determine the degree of case syncretism among the dialects in the areas from which immigrants left for Texas, it would be ideal to have a resource like the Wenker (1927–56) atlas available, which would allow us to compare the realization of similar data sets across many locations. Unfortunately, a resource with such broad coverage does not exist. For this reason, I do not attempt to correlate the morphosyntactic data reported by Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972) with historical data from the nineteenth century. Instead, in this section I focus on assessing the degree of case syncretism on the basis of the data from Eikel, Gilbert, and other researchers. In section 5.2.5 I compare these data with the present-day TGDP recordings from the New Braunfels area.

Eikel (1949) offers the first linguistic description of case loss in NBG. He observes that "the uses of the nominative and the accusative of Standard German are in general practice in New Braunfels," and that the dative "has been lost and replaced by the accusative"

(279). With respect to the genitive, Eikel maintains that it only appears with surnames such as *Beckers Esel* 'Becker's donkey', but it is otherwise "replaced by a prepositional phrase, usually *von* plus the accusative" (280).

These observations are put in a generational context by Eikel (1954) (later published as Eikel 1966a, 1966b, 1967), showing that case loss is a gradual phenomenon among NBG speakers. Based on original fieldwork with 24 informants, Eikel (1954, 48–50) first discusses the use of the genitive, which is significantly reduced in the speech of his informants. While his worksheets included 20 possible instances of the genitive from the perspective of standard German (excluding the adverbial genitive, e.g., *Sonntags* 'on Sundays'), his informants use it considerably less. The informants in the oldest generation (born ca. 1855–75) used the genitive an average of 4 times out of the possible 20 (ranging from 1 to 10); those in the middle generation (born ca. 1880–1910), an average of 6 times (ranging from 2 to 16); and those in the youngest generation (born ca. 1910–30), an average of 3 times (ranging from 0 to 8). According to Eikel (1954, 49), many genitives are replaced by periphrastic constructions involving the dative (as in standard German), such as *meine Schwester ihre Schuhe* 'my sister's shoes' instead of the genitive *meine Schwesters (Schuhe)*.[7]

Following his discussion of the genitive, Eikel (1954, 51–54) reports on the use of the dative among the speakers of his three age groups. He concludes that "the accusative is used in many instances for the dative" and that "the use of the dative decreases from generation to generation" (1954, 53). As such, it is strongest among the 6 informants of the oldest generation. Of the 102 instances in Eikel's worksheets where one would expect the dative in standard German, speakers of the oldest generation employed the dative 61 times on average. It is interesting to note that the use of dative among the oldest generation is subject to considerable variation. That is, informant 6 used the dative in only 56 instances, whereas informant 1 used it in 101 instances. The other 4 speakers in the oldest generation fall in between. The 12 speakers in the middle generation used an average of 52 dative forms (ranging from 17 to 102), while the 6 speakers in the youngest generation used an average of 15 dative forms (ranging from 7 to 26).[8]

With respect to the use of the dative, Eikel's data reveal a number of important points. First, informants of all generations use the dative in some instances where standard German would require the accusative (see 1954, 54). Unfortunately, Eikel does not mention the specific contexts in which the dative is used instead of the accusative. Second, Eikel observes that there is still some variation in the use of the dative in contexts in which it has replaced the genitive. For example, in describing the nonstandard use of the dative in *Er schläft gern während solchem Wetter* 'He likes to sleep during such weather', he points out the following with respect to dative use with prepositions such as *während* 'during' that govern the genitive in standard German: "The same informant used the genitive with *während* the next time. These are the only forms recorded with the dative; outside of a few genitive forms recorded above, the accusative was used. The third generation uses the accusative exclusively with these prepositions" (1954, 53). From these observations, we can conclude two things. First, similar types of leveling processes as those observed in chapter 3 for phonology have affected the morphosyntax of NBG. That is, the increasing loss of the genitive and dative cases has led to a two-case system, very similar to the changes observed among other German *Sprachinseln* in Russia (see Berend and Jedig 1991). Second, some functions of the cases are more resistant to leveling than others. For example, frozen phrases that contain adverbial uses of the genitive and dative appear to be unaffected by this development. Although Eikel does not explicitly mention this point, dative pronouns in NBG are not affected as much by case loss as determiners and adjectives (see below).

The decreased use of the genitive and dative has led to the accusative taking over their functions, according to Eikel (1954, 56). For example, the accusative is used with prepositions that require the dative (see 5.6a) or the genitive (see 5.6.b) in standard German. Similarly, indirect objects that are marked with dative in standard German are marked with accusative (5.6c), as are objects of verbs that require the dative case. According to Eikel, the accusative is also used (1) with prepositions that typically govern the dative (1954, 56), (2) instead of the genitive or dative of possession, and (3) instead of the dative to express definite time (1954, 58).

5.6. a. Er lief aus den Zimmer. [1954, 56]
b. Trotz den Schauer ist es immer noch trocken. [1954, 57]
c. Erlaube, dass ich den Herr dich vorstelle. [1954, 57]
d. Ein kleines Kind begegnet ihn. [1954, 57]

Although Eikel's (1954) description is based on an extensive data set (191 sentences), his presentation and analysis should be treated with caution. For instance, his calculations of expected case use from the perspective of standard German mix various different functions and contexts of the dative into one broad dative category. He combines into one category dative assignment by certain verbs (e.g., *Ich nehme mir Fleisch* 'I take meat (for myself)' [1954, 52]) and dative assignment by prepositions (e.g., *Sie geht gerne zur Schule* 'She likes to go to school' [1954, 51]) as well as types of grammatical constructions such as the dative of interest (e.g., *Tret mir nicht auf den Fuss* 'Don't step on my foot' [1954, 53]) and the use of the dative in a number of fixed-time expressions, such as *am Abend* 'in the evening', among other types of dative uses. Research has shown that case loss affects different parts of speech to different degrees (Salmons 1994; Damke 1997). Not listing individual parts of speech with the amount of actual dative usage makes it difficult to assess the actual degree of case loss among different categories. The lack of such frequency data also prevents us from determining whether some of his informants exhibited a systematic pattern of case loss or perhaps variation of the type described by Trudgill (2004) for the second stage of new-dialect formation.

Another problem with Eikel's data is that it is difficult to arrive at definite conclusions about case loss because of sample size. He interviewed only 6 informants each in the oldest and youngest generations and 12 informants in the middle generation. Given the degree of phonological variation among NBG speakers of the 1940s and 1950s (see chapter 4 above), it is very likely that morphosyntactic variation existed as well. In fact, Eikel (1954, 48, 53, 55) reports a number of instances with variable case use among speakers of the same generation. Assuming such morphosyntactic variation existed, it is difficult to arrive at definite conclusions about case usage among three different generations, because the samples for the generations differ and because 6 informants per generation do not constitute a representative sample, especially given the inconsistent phonological data reported by Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954), and Gilbert (1972) (see chapter 4). These issues do not necessarily mean that we should discard Eikel's analysis of case loss, in particular because other researchers report reduced use of cases in other areas of the German Belt. However, due to the lack of important frequency information and the small (and different) sample sizes for the three age groups, Eikel's account of generational case loss should be regarded with caution.

Following Eikel (1954), other researchers have described case loss in different locations throughout the German Belt. Gilbert's (1965a) description of case usage in Kendall and Gillespie counties (to the west of New Braunfels) is similar to Eikel's (1949, 1954) observations. Gilbert (1965a, 288) refers to the loss of the dative as a process leading "to a two case system: nominative and non-nominative." According to Gilbert (1965a, 289), this development ultimately leads to syntactic changes, with word order, auxiliaries, and other analytic devices compensating for the missing synthetic case relations (see also Wilson 1960). While acknowledging a very minor influence of English in this development, Gilbert (1965a, 290–91) attributes case loss primarily to language-internal factors.

With respect to new-dialect formation, Gilbert briefly addresses the syntactic properties of the donor dialects, pointing out that some exhibited a three-case system, while others had only a two-case system. He notes, "After a time a new uniformity is established which may or may not exist in that form in the mother country" (1965a, 292). Interestingly, Gilbert claims that although case loss has affected Texas German in Gillespie and Kendall counties, some of the morphological markers have been maintained:

> The speakers were no longer distinguishing the categories of the dative and accusative although the various markers have been retained. *Das* and *den* have become freely varying or geographically determined allomorphs of the same grammatical function. The speakers tolerate the variation in form, but not the distinction in function. [292]

Pulte (1970) provides a description of Texas German in four locations on the border of Oklahoma. Based on the questionnaires

used by Gilbert (1963, 1972), Pulte compares the case systems in the dialects of Valley View, Muenster, Lindsay, and Corn. In describing the two-case systems found in the four locations, Pulte identifies the Low German donor dialects as their source. In his view, Low German dialects had a similar influence on NBG. In contrast to Eikel, who maintains that English has influenced case loss (external factor), Pulte claims that the generational differences observed by Eikel in New Braunfels may be due to the spread of two-case systems found among some of the donor dialects brought to the area (internal factors).

Gilbert (1980) offers another historical perspective on case loss in Texas German. In light of the age distribution of his informants, he proposes that case loss in Texas German is the result of the decreasing literacy in German during and after World War I, which was caused by restrictions on German instruction. In this view, case loss took place between 1875 and 1925 and affected different parts of speech to different degrees. For example, according to Gilbert, the accusative is most likely to be found with dative objects of verbs and least likely with dative prepositional objects. Regional distribution also is a factor in that the accusative is most likely to be employed in Fredericksburg and least likely in eastern Medina County. With respect to age, Gilbert notes that the dative is used mainly by older speakers, while speakers born after 1940 almost never use the dative.

Salmons's (1983) study of Gillespie County Texas German finds no instance of dative case use among his five informants of the youngest generation (see Guion 1996, 454–56, for similar results).[9] Salmons attributes this development to "the most ordinary kinds of language change," such as paradigm reduction, but he also acknowledges that this development may represent "the beginning of some breakdown of the language system" (194). In a later paper, Salmons (1994) offers a more detailed analysis of case loss in Texas German. Focusing on data from Gillespie County, he argues that the donor dialects are of Middle German origin, most notably Hessian. Table 5.2 presents Salmons's summary of case marking in Texas German vis-à-vis the case marking of most donor dialects.

TABLE 5.2
Case Marking In Hessian Dialects and Gillespie County Texas German (Salmons 1994, 60)

	Most Base Dialects			*Texas German*		
	Masculine	*Feminine*	*Neuter*	*Masculine*	*Feminine*	*Neuter*
Nom.	der	die	das	der	die	das
Acc.	den	die	das	den	die (der)	den (das)
Dat.	dem	der	dem	den	die (der)	den (das)

Based on data from Gilbert's (1972) atlas, Salmons classifies a number of different contexts, such as pronouns and prepositional objects, in which one would expect the use of dative from the perspective of standard German. He argues that the more prototypical dative contexts (i.e., the least marked) typically exhibit a higher percentage of standard German dative marking than less prototypical dative contexts. According to Salmons (1994, 64), this trend explains why verbs such as *helfen* 'to help', whose objects are categorically marked with dative in standard German, receive "about half as much dative as the straightforward indirect objects and objects of obligatory dative prepositions." Similarly, pronouns exhibit four times as much dative marking as determiners (all seen from the perspective of expected case marking in standard German). The development toward a two-case system goes hand in hand with the emergence of a more rigid syntactic structure, including use of prepositions and fixed word order to mark grammatical relations.

Another important property of Texas German discussed by Salmons is the expansion of nominative versus accusative marking found in the masculine in standard German to all three genders in the singular. According to Salmons (1994, 67), this development is an indicator that the morphosyntax of Texas German has evolved "in the direction of clearly marking subject versus object relations even as it has abandoned further case distinction." As such, this change is a reduction in the overall markedness of Texas German morphology, which is in line with one of the basic principles of Natural Morphology, namely that morphological change typically proceeds from marked to unmarked (Wurzel 1989, 13; Salmons 1994,

68). Such an explanation is also compatible with Sapir's (1921) hypothesis of drift, which manifests itself in case loss in other Germanic languages and dialects.

With respect to external factors, Salmons (1994, 65) points out that English influence is unlikely to have played a major role in case loss. Instead, he claims that the loss of standard German as an instructional language contributed to case loss in Texas German. Like Eikel (1954), Salmons carefully splits Gilbert's (1972) informants into three different age groups and observes that the percentage of dative use (from the perspective of standard German) among the oldest age group is 66.1%. As table 5.3 shows, the middle group, born between 1900 and 1911, used 55.1% of datives, while the youngest group, born after 1912, used only 28.5% datives. The detailed comparison of dative use among the different age groups leads Salmons to the following tentative proposal:

> The most formal register of Texas German grammar included essentially Standard German dative and accusative for most speakers born until roughly 1880, with a transition beginning then to general but not complete control of Standard German dative, showing dative in roughly two thirds of the expected instances.... This variability appears stable until the turn of the century, when a period of lessened dative accusative distinction began. By and large, speakers born after 1912 do not show consistent use of dative forms even in formal speech with a speaker from outside the community. [1994, 62]

TABLE 5.3
Dative versus Accusative for Standard German Dative, Regional/Age Stratification
(Salmons 1994, 61)

Date of Birth	*NW*	*WC*	*SW*	*NE*	*Total*	*Percentage*
–1899	10-23	43-29	52-16	29-16	144-74	66.1%
1900–1911	21-17	22-15	21-11	17-23	81-66	55.1%
1912–	16-60	4-30	20-21	9-21	49-123	28.5%

NOTE: Numbers for dative forms are listed first, followed by numbers for accusative forms. The two-letter abbreviations stand for geographical areas: NW (northwest), WC (west central), SW (southwest), and NE (northeast).

Salmons correlates the data in table 5.3 with institutional policies that curtailed the use of standard German as an instructional language in Texas schools. Pointing to laws enacted in 1884, 1909, and 1918 (see chapter 2 for details), he argues that one can trace a progressive loss of the standard German distinction between dative and accusative (62). In his view, this would explain why children born around 1878 would be the first to be affected by the 1884 law promoting English as an instructional language. In contrast to the speakers of the older age group, who seem to have almost uniformly standard German dative/accusative distinctions, children born around 1880 and later exhibit some variation, according to Salmons. Speakers born during the first decade of the twentieth century are the transitional generation moving "away from dative vs. accusative distinction, as they started school between the passage of the two laws essentially eradicating German instruction" (62). Finally, speakers born during the 1920s and 1930s exhibit only sporadic distinctions between accusative and dative, while the generation born around World War II exhibits "complete loss of dative/accusative distinction and of all use of Standard German dative markers" (62).

Although Salmons (1994) offers a very detailed and convincing account of how English-only educational policies promoted case loss in Texas German, his hypotheses are problematic for a number of reasons. First, it is unclear whether the solid dative/accusative distinction found among speakers born before 1880 should really be attributed to the influence of standard German. An alternative source of this case distinction could also be the donor dialects of Texas German. For example, in section 5.2.2 I noted that a great number of donor dialects brought to Texas from the Hessen-Nassau area beginning in the 1840s were among the more conservative dialects that preserved three cases—a point Salmons (1994, 60) himself acknowledges in his discussion of the case systems of the donor dialects. The attribution of the three-way case distinction to donor dialects is also supported by my observation from chapter 2 that the influence of standard German through school education at the end of the nineteenth century was rather limited. After graduation, the majority of Texas Germans often did not have an

opportunity to continue their active practice of standard German, although they may have had a passive knowledge of it, as the following quote from one of Eikel's (1949, 280) informants about the use of the dative shows: "I know that there is also me [*mir* (dative)], but I don't know when to use it, so I always use me [*mich* (accusative)]" (my translation).[10]

Also worth considering is the impact of normative influences of school education during the nineteenth century. Salmons maintains that many speakers of Texas German born before 1880 had an active control of standard German because of school instruction. However, it is unclear whether the teaching of a standard variety really has a long-lasting impact on the speech of dialectal speakers. McWhorter (2000, 28–29) argues against the normative pressure of standard varieties in his examination of Spanish-based creoles:

> Sociolinguistics has taught us that vernacular dialects tend to be hardy in competition with dominant standards, and that it takes a great deal more than mere exposure to standard dialects in school to eliminate them from a speech community.

Interpreting McWhorter's point in our context would suggest that most Texas German speakers born before 1880 most likely did not "learn" the three-case distinction during their limited exposure to it in school and then retained it throughout their adult lives. Instead, it is much more likely that the traditional dialects from the Hessen-Nassau area served as the source of the three-case system.

The influence of legislation curtailing the use of German in schools is the third point that should be reevaluated. Salmons (1994, 62) claims that "as state educational policy mandated more English in the schools, one can trace a progressive loss of Standard German dative/accusative distinction." In chapter 2 I have shown that such legal restrictions had relatively little impact in areas such as the Hill Country where German speakers were the majority. Since the state did not have the means to enforce laws restricting the use of languages other than English, regulation was typically implemented by local school boards. In locations with strong German-speaking populations, such as New Braunfels, the school board consisted largely of Texas Germans. According to all available information, the school boards in these areas did not enforce the use of English as an instructional language until World War I and the ensuing anti-German sentiments. As such, it was usually not until the second decade of the twentieth century that German was pushed out of the schools, not because of earlier laws, but rather because of strong anti-German sentiments throughout the entire United States (and the English-only laws that were then passed).

Although the historical data are notoriously difficult to interpret because of sample size and inconsistencies, I would like to propose an alternative explanation for the progressive loss of case observed by Salmons. In my view the loss of the dative should be attributed to the different mechanisms of new-dialect formation (see chapter 3). Assuming that the three-case system used by speakers who were born before 1880 has its source in some of the donor dialects brought to Texas, I suggest that the first-generation speakers exhibited a case system roughly similar to that of the original immigrants (with some rudimentary leveling). That is, these speakers would fall roughly into the first stage of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation. Speakers born after 1880 until the first decade of the twentieth century would then make up the second generation; that is, they would participate in the second stage of new-dialect formation, which is characterized by variability and some more leveling. In fact, Salmons's (1994, 62) observations support my proposal: "Those born until the turn of the century tend to maintain the distinction, though some lose the distinction either variably or, occasionally, categorically." The type of variability described by Salmons is exactly one of the defining features of Trudgill's second stage of new-dialect formation. Finally, speakers born in the 1920s and later would exhibit Trudgill's third stage of new-dialect formation, focusing. During this phase, most of the remaining dative distinctions would be leveled. This account also reflects similar developments in other *Sprachinseln*, where case loss proceeds at a much faster pace than among other German dialects and Germanic languages. In sum, I suggest that the loss of standard German as an instructional language is overemphasized by Salmons (1994) to explain progressive loss of dative case in Texas German. Instead, I propose that applying Trudgill's model of new-dialect

formation to the historical data offers a more fitting account of why dative morphology was lost.

Before turning to Gilbert's (1972) data on New Braunfels area German, I discuss a more recent paper by Fuller and Gilbert (2003) on case loss on Texas German. Based on data from 1965, Fuller and Gilbert investigate how different parts of speech have been affected by case loss. They compare 255 written questionnaires sent in by informants from 62 counties and show that the dative is being replaced by the accusative across all relevant parts of speech. Similar to previous results by Gilbert (1965), Fuller and Gilbert (2003) claim that pronouns exhibit a higher average rate of dative marking than other nouns. They attribute case loss primarily to internal factors, while acknowledging that "language contact may accelerate processes of language change, particularly if they favor simplification and reduction" (175).

Generally speaking, nouns following two-way prepositions, such as *über* 'over' and *unter* 'under', exhibit dative case marking between 9% (*über*) and 40% (*auf*). The percentage of expected accusative marking with two-way prepositions is much higher, namely between 69% and 95%. These data lead Fuller and Gilbert to conclude that "roughly three-quarters of the respondents do not consistently distinguish between dative and accusative case marking after prepositions" (172). In contrast, dative marking on pronouns is significantly higher than among ordinary nouns: it ranges from 17% (*ihr* 'her') to 60% (*ihnen* 'them').

Fuller and Gilbert also found that case marking on adjectives reveals an even more complex pattern across speakers and communities. Comparing dative marking in two sentences (*There's something in your left eye* and *Boil that egg in hot water*), they find that the adjectives *link* 'left' and *heiss* 'hot' differ significantly (2003, 174): the former exhibits 46% of dative and 47% of accusative case marking, while the latter exhibits 8% dative and 76% accusative case marking. As to the different case-marking patterns, Fuller and Gilbert recognize a significant amount of variation not only between speakers, but also within the speech of individuals. This high degree of variability leads them to call for future research that "can put detail in this picture in terms of specific language features and the patterns of discourse in localized varieties" (175). In the sections below, I follow Fuller and Gilbert's focus on the case-marking systems found among different parts of speech in one local Texas German variety, namely that of the New Braunfels area. As in chapter 4, I first review data from Gilbert (1972); then, I compare the data with the present-day recordings made by the TGDP. Where appropriate, I supplement the Gilbert data with data from open-ended interviews.

5.2.5. CASE SYNCRETISM IN THE NEW BRAUNFELS AREA.

5.2.5.1. *Two-Way Prepositions.* I begin with a discussion of dative case marking following the two-way prepositions *über* 'over', *unter* 'under', *neben* 'beside', *in* 'in', and *auf* 'on'. Tables 5.4–5.8 summarize the distribution of dative and accusative case marking in contexts where standard German would require dative case marking. Following previous work by Eikel and Gilbert, standard German is used as a reference point. Each table contains three sets of data. First, it summarizes the distribution of case assignment among Gilbert's (1972) 15 informants from the New Braunfels

TABLE 5.4
Case Marking after *auf* in *Es liegt dort unten auf dem Boden*
'It's lying down there on the floor'
(Gilbert 1972, map 57)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	3 (20%)	47%	24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 85, 88, 107, 108, 110, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 159, 160, 164, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	38 (93%)
Dat	12 (80%)	40%	84, 123, 167	3 (7%)
None			35, 60, 72, 155, 161, 165	6
Other[a]			27, 79, 83, 96, 168	5

a. "Other" includes *am* and *an der*, which could be interpreted as dative marking. However, since the informants did not use the appropriate preposition *auf* 'on', I decided to categorize these answers as belonging to the "other" category.

TABLE 5.5
Case Marking after *über* in *Das Bild hängt über dem Bett*
'The picture hangs over the bed'
(Gilbert 1972, map 51)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	13 (87%)	85%	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	49 (100%)
Dat	2 (13%)	9%		0
None			62, 72, 88	3
Other				0

TABLE 5.6
Case Marking after *unter* in *Er sitzt unter dem Baum*
'He's sitting under the tree'
(Gilbert 1972, map 53)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	12 (80%)	68%	24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 60, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 172, 173, 174	42 (93%)
Dat	3 (20%)	26%	33, 96, 170	3 (7%)
None			28, 29, 62, 75, 153, 161, 171	7
Other				0

TABLE 5.7
Case Marking after *neben* in *Er sitzt neben dem Baum*
'He's sitting beside the tree'
(Gilbert 1972, map 55)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	11 (73%)	66%	24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 72, 75, 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 96, 107, 108, 123, 125, 129, 138, 139, 153, 160, 164, 165, 174	29 (97%)
Dat	4 (27%)	23%	170	1 (3%)
None			27, 30, 32, 60, 62, 71, 77, 78, 85, 88, 110, 124, 128, 155, 159, 161, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173	22
Other				0

TABLE 5.8
Case Marking after *in* in *Er ist schon im Zimmer*
'He is already in the room'
(Gilbert 1972, map 59)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	13 (87%)	66%	24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 88, 107, 110, 123, 124, 129, 138, 155, 161, 164, 165, 167, 169, 172, 173	35 (95%)
Dat	2 (13%)	16%	96, 170	2 (5%)
None			27, 62, 71, 72, 84, 108, 125, 128, 139, 153, 159, 160, 168, 171, 174	15
Other				0

area. The next column contains—when available—the percentages from Fuller and Gilbert's (2003) investigation of Gilbert's (1965) 255 written questionnaire that was sent in by 255 Texas German speakers from throughout the state. The next column presents the distribution of cases among the 52 New Braunfels area informants interviewed by the TGDP.

The data for *auf* show that in the 1960s there was considerable variation in case marking among speakers in New Braunfels, as well as at the regional level.[11] Gilbert's New Braunfels area informants appear to have been much more conservative with their dative case marking following *auf*, as they employ the dative with a frequency of 80%. In contrast, the respondents of his 1965 questionnaire from throughout Texas use the dative marking considerably less in this context, namely in only 40% of dative contexts. Comparing the data from the 1960s with present-day New Braunfels area speakers, we see that the use of the dative following *auf* has dropped quite dramatically to 5%. A similar, but somewhat less radical change, has affected dative marking following *über* 'over' as table 5.5 illustrates. While 13% (Gilbert 1972) and 9% (Fuller and Gilbert 2003) of informants employed the dative in this context, none of the present-day New Braunfels speakers used the dative anymore.

Tables 5.6–5.8 indicate that the other three two-way prepositions, *unter*, *neben*, and *in*, have undergone similar changes in dative case marking as *auf* and *über*; that is, they have come to mark the

dative in only a very small number of expected dative contexts (3–7%).

I now turn to contexts in which the same two-way prepositions are expected to assign accusative case. Consider the distribution of dative and accusative cases with *auf* in table 5.9. A comparison of the data from Gilbert (1972) and Fuller and Gilbert (2003) reveals an interesting difference in regional distribution of case usage. While only 27% of Gilbert's (1972) New Braunfels area informants employ the accusative in this context, the statewide group uses the accusative more than twice as often (69%). In contrast, current-day TGDP speakers from the New Braunfels area employ the accusative in 84% of expected contexts. The dramatic increase of accusative case from 27% to 84% among New Braunfels informants is perhaps the most significant change in the use of the accusative.

The data for the remaining four prepositions, *über, unter, neben,* and *in,* in tables 5.10–5.13, respectively, reveal a definite trend toward an increased use of the accusative, totaling between 87% and 100% in present-day NBG.

The data on case use with two-way prepositions demonstrate a further progression of the case syncretism already pointed out by Eikel, Gilbert, Salmons, and others. That is, while in the 1950s and 1960s there were still a small number of speakers who distinguished between dative and accusative case marking following prepositions, this number has shrunk even further some five decades later. The present-day data indicate that less than 10% of Texas German

TABLE 5.9
Case Marking after *auf* in *Tu es auf den Boden!* 'Put it on the floor!'
(Gilbert 1972, map 59)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	4 (27%)	69%	24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 88, 96, 107, 108, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 160, 164, 167, 171, 172, 173, 174	36 (84%)
Dat	11 (73%)	25%	27, 84, 110, 123, 161, 169, 170	7 (16%)
None			35, 60, 72, 155, 159, 165, 168	7
Other[a]			34, 85	2

a. "Other" is *an.*

TABLE 5.10
Case Marking after *über* in *Häng das Bild über das Bett!*
'Hang the picture over the bed!'
(Gilbert 1972, map 50)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	11 (79%)	95%	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	48 (100%)
Dat	3 (21%)	2%		0 (0%)
None			62, 108, 129, 161	4
Other	1			0

TABLE 5.11
Case Marking after *unter* in *Er stellt den Stuhl unter den Baum*
'He's putting the chair under the tree'
(Gilbert 1972, map 52)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	13 (87%)	77%	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174	45 (96%)
Dat	2 (13%)	17%	24, 96	2 (4%)
None			62, 72, 75, 79, 125	5
Other				0

TABLE 5.12
Case Marking after *neben* in *Er stellt den Stuhl neben den Baum*
'He's putting the chair beside the tree'
(Gilbert 1972, map 54)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	12 (80%)	71%	24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 72, 75, 76, 77, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 129, 138, 139, 159, 160, 165, 170, 171, 172, 173	34 (87%)
Dat	3 (20%)	23%	25, 27, 30, 71, 174	5 (13%)
None			26, 60, 62, 78, 79, 128, 153, 155, 161, 167, 168, 169	12
Other			164	1

TABLE 5.13
Case Marking after *in* in *Er geht ins Zimmer* 'He goes into the room' (Gilbert 1972, map 58)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	14 (93%)	82%	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 75, 76, 77, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 153, 159, 165, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173	40 (95%)
Dat	1 (7%)	7%	79, 170	2 (5%)
None			62, 72, 78, 155, 161, 164, 174	7
Other			107, 139, 160	3

speakers from the New Braunfels area distinguish between dative and accusative marking following prepositions in contexts in which standard German would require either one case or another.

One important property of dying languages is an increase in variability, which supposedly signifies the breakdown of the language system (see Wolfram 2002). With respect to case marking following two-way prepositions, this does not seem to be the case with the NBG speakers. The data in tables 5.4–5.13 above show that a small number of speakers use the dative after two-way prepositions significantly more than the average speaker. For example, speaker 170 (who studied formal German and holds a professional degree) uses the dative five times, speaker 96 uses the dative three times, and speakers 84, 123, and 27 use the dative twice. The remaining 11 dative tokens in the 10 tables above are isolated occurrences produced by 11 different speakers. As such, the data on case usage following two-way prepositions does not support an increase in variability. Instead, the data show that case syncretism of dative and accusative in this context has essentially neared its final stage.

The data from the open-ended TGDP interviews support this view. Using the online concordancer interface, I conducted an exhaustive search for two-way prepositions and categorized the case marking on NPs governed by them. A number of disclaimers are in order here, however. First, the dialect archive contains only 36 transcripts of open-ended interviews with informants from the

New Braunfels area. As such, the corpus for this search is smaller than the Gilbert data in the other tables above, which are based on data from 52 informants. Despite its smaller size, this corpus shows a number of important trends regarding case assignment and other phenomena. Second, I have only classified those sentences that allowed me to come to precise conclusions about case marking. For example, in many cases it is not possible to establish the case because there are no determiners or adjectives present (e.g., *Mir waren hier draussen auf Land* 'We were out here on the land' [1-28-1-15] or *Meine Kinder kann gar nichs gelernt in Schule* 'My children didn't learn anything in school' [1-60-1-6-a]). Other tokens I could not classify as accusative or dative because of phonologically reduced determiners, as in *auf duh Bauerhof* 'on the farm' (1-29-1-6-a). Table 5.14 lists for each preposition the number of tokens and percentages for accusative and case assignment.

The data from the open-ended interviews are very similar to the data resampled by the TGDP using Gilbert's questionnaire in that there are very few instances of datives present.[12] They also show considerable variation in case distribution, with *in* exhibiting the largest percentage of accusative marking and *neben* the smallest. In sum, the present-day data show that the loss of dative case marking has progressed further when compared to Gilbert's historical data from four decades ago. The high percentage of accusative case marking demonstrates that for the great majority of NBG speakers there exists no clear distinction between dative and accusative marking following two-way prepositions.

TABLE 5.14
Distribution of Cases with Two-Way Prepositions in Open-Ended TGDP Interviews

Preposition	*Accusative*		*Dative*	
	(dat expected)			*(acc expected)*
neben	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)
unter	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
auf	50 (74%)	6 (8%)	11 (14%)	1 (4%)
in	112 (77%)	31 (21%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)

5.2.5.2. *Prepositions Governing the Dative.* To determine the extent of case loss, I also searched the transcripts of the open-ended interviews for prepositions that always require the dative in standard German. Disregarding sentences that did not provide clear contexts for distinguishing between dative and accusative cases, I analyzed case assignment for full lexical NPs as well as pronouns following the prepositions *aus* 'out', *zu* 'to', *bei* 'by, at', and *mit* 'with'. Since none of the historical descriptions by Gilbert or Eikel offer a numerical distribution of case assignment with these four prepositions (except for those with pronouns, see section below), I did not compare the present-day data with historical data. Table 5.15 summarizes my results. In present-day NBG, prepositions requiring the dative case (from the perspective of standard German) exhibit the accusative case in the majority of postverbal NPs. Among the four prepositions, *zu* has retained the highest percentage of dative assignments, namely 14%; *mit* has retained the lowest percentage, with only 5%. These data nicely support my results from the two-way prepositions in the section above, which show that the dative/accusative distinction has essentially been given up by the great majority of present-day NBG speakers.

5.2.5.3. *Case Marking on Pronouns.* I now turn to a comparison of how dative case assignment with pronouns has changed over the past four decades. Previous studies on case syncretism in the Germanic languages such as Schirmunski (1962), Shrier (1965), Kemenade (1994), and Haberland (1994) show that pronominal systems are typically more resistant to case syncretism than full lexical nouns, determiners, and adjectives. This difference has also been observed

TABLE 5.15
Case Marking with Dative-Governing Prepositions in Open-Ended Interviews

Preposition	*Acc. NP*	*Acc. Pronoun*	*Dat. NP*	*Dat. Pronoun*
aus	36 (88%)	0 (0%)	4 (10%)	1 (2%)
zu	44 (60%)	18 (25%)	10 (14%)	1 (1%)
bei	91 (81%)	9 (8%)	7 (6%)	5 (5%)
mit	263 (83%)	26 (8%)	16 (5%)	11 (4%)

in studies on German *Sprachinseln* by Huffines (1989), Berend and Jedig (1991), Louden (1994), Salmons (1994), Van Ness (1994), R. Born (2003), and Rosenberg (2005), among many others. Most recently, Fuller and Gilbert (2003) analyzed Gilbert's questionnaires from the 1960s to investigate case marking in Texas German personal pronouns. Parallel to developments in other Germanic languages, they find that although the dative is being replaced by the accusative, this process is proceeding at a slower rate than with full lexical nouns, determiners, or adjectives. Table 5.16 contains a summary of Fuller and Gilbert's (2003) calculation of how many speakers from across central Texas used the accusative versus the dative for the pronoun *ihnen/denen* 'them'. Their data are supplemented with data from Gilbert's (1972) data on the New Braunfels area, as well as the present-day TGDP data.

From the perspective of standard German as well as that of several traditional dialects that served as the input to Texas German,

TABLE 5.16
Case Assignment after *gehören* in *Das Bild gehört ihnen/denen* 'The picture belongs to them' (Gilbert 1972, map 35)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	3 (21%)	35%	24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 62, 71, 75, 76, 82, 83, 110, 124, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 159, 160, 172, 174	22 (48%)
Dat	11 (79%)	60%	26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 60, 77, 78, 79, 80, 96, 107, 108, 123, 125, 155, 164, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173	24 (52%)
None			72, 84, 85, 88, 161, 165	6
Other	1			0

NOTE: To facilitate the comparison of current-day TGDP data with the data reported by Gilbert (1972) and Fuller and Gilbert (2003), I have combined the different accusative and dative forms. The accusative forms include *die* (24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 62, 71, 75, 76, 82, 83, 110, 124, 128, 129, 138, 172, 174) and *sie* (139,153, 159, 160). The dative forms include *den* (77, 79, 108, 125, 171), *ihr* (34, 78, 123, 164, 168), *denen* (28, 29, 167), *dem* (32), *ihnen* (26, 80, 96, 107, 169, 170, 173), and *die ihr* (35, 60, 155).

one would expect the verb *gehören* 'belong' to govern the dative case. This fact partially explains Fuller and Gilbert's (2003) data, which show a rather high percentage of dative usage (60%) when compared with dative case marking following prepositions. Interestingly, Gilbert's (1972) data for the New Braunfels area show an even higher percentage in dative pronoun marking following *gehören*, an indication of significant regional variation in case marking across central Texas in the 1960s. Comparing the historical data with the present-day TGDP data, we see that dative marking has dropped considerably in favor of the accusative, leading to an almost halfway split between accusative (48%) and dative (52%) case marking. Tables 5.17–5.20 summarize Gilbert's (1972) and Fuller and Gilbert's (2003) data on dative marking on pronouns, comparing them with present-day TGDP data.

A comparison of the data reveals a number of important facts. First, the historical data differ significantly in that Gilbert's (1972) New Braunfels area informants have a much higher percentage of dative markings on pronouns than the Texas-wide average documented by Fuller and Gilbert (2003). This difference supports my claim that the German donor dialects of the New Braunfels area were among the more conservative dialects that preserved a three-way case distinction as opposed to other German donor dialects

TABLE 5.17
Case Assignment after *mit* in *Er kam mit mir* 'He came with me'
(Gilbert 1972, map 30)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	6 (46%)	57%	27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 60, 75, 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 107, 108, 110, 123, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 172, 173, 174	35 (73%)
Dat	7 (54%)	35%	25, 26, 32, 71, 78, 88, 96, 124, 125, 168, 169, 170, 171	13 (27%)
None			24, 62, 72, 77	4
Other	2			0

NOTE: TGDP informants used *mich* as the accusative pronoun, and *mir* and *ihnen* as dative forms.

TABLE 5.18
Case Assignment after *mit* in *Wir gingen mit ihr* 'We went with her'
(Gilbert 1972, map 34)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	1 (7%)	66%	25, 27, 32, 35, 71, 75, 76, 77, 82, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 128, 129, 139, 155, 159, 160, 161, 165, 167, 172, 173, 174	28 (60%)
Dat	13 (93%)	17%	26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 78, 79, 83, 123, 124, 125, 138, 153, 164, 168, 169, 170, 171	19 (40%)
None			60, 62, 72, 80	4
Other	1		24	1

NOTE: TGDP informants used *die* and *sie* as accusative forms and *ihr* and *ihre* as dative forms.

TABLE 5.19
Case Assignment of Indirect Object in *Gib ihr zwei Stück!*
'Give her two pieces!'
(Gilbert 1972, map 33)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	2 (13%)	33%	26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 62, 71, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 128, 129, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 165, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173	32 (71%)
Dat	13 (87%)	58%	24, 25, 27, 29, 33, 35, 60, 80, 83, 125, 138, 164, 168	13 (29%)
None			72, 78, 84, 85, 88, 161	6
Other			174	1

NOTE: TGDP informants used *die, sie, den,* and *ihn* as accusative forms and *ihr* and *her* (once) as dative forms.

that formed the basis for other local varieties of Texas German. I propose that the majority of NBG's donor dialects exhibited dative marking on pronouns, which explains why they had not been leveled in favor of the accusative by the time the data were collected in the 1960s.[13] Such regional differences in case marking are another reason why one should avoid labeling Texas German as "a single dialect," instead suggesting the need for a much more finely

TABLE 5.20
Case Assignment after *helfen* in *Er hilft mir jetzt* 'He's helping me now' (Gilbert 1972, map 31)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	11 (73%)	65%	24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 62, 75, 76, 77, 80, 82, 83, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 171, 172, 173, 174	36 (88%)
Dat	4 (27%)	25%	78, 124, 168, 169, 170	5 (12%)
None			60, 71, 79, 161	4
Other			26, 32, 72, 84, 85, 88, 153	7

NOTE: TGDP informants used *mich* for accusative and *mir* for dative pronouns. The category "other" includes four tokens of *mi* (phonologically reduced form of *mich* or *mir*).

grained approach that focuses on the varieties found in individual locations.

The second point concerns the differences in case-marking properties observed by Fuller and Gilbert (2003), which are partially reflected by the Gilbert (1972) and TGDP data. Fuller and Gilbert (2003, 173) attribute the differences in case assignment to the different contexts in which one would expect the dative. For example, they point out that ditransitive *geben* in table 5.19 is likely to produce more instances of dative marking because (1) the English original sentences includes a dative pronoun and (2) *geben* marks two different cases (accusative and dative), which in turn may lead to more consistent case marking in order to distinguish the two objects from each other. Similarly, Fuller and Gilbert suggests that other case-marking differences are influenced by idiosyncrasies of German verbs with respect to dative marking. What matters most for our discussion is that the differences observed by Fuller and Gilbert (2003) are not that remarkable in the present-day TGDP data. In other words, while the percentages of dative/accusative markings varied quite considerably between the different contexts in the 1960s, this variation is less pronounced in the present-day data.

This observation brings me to my third point. Comparing the present-day data with analogous data from the New Braunfels area reported by Gilbert (1972), we see a decrease in dative case marking that is even more significant than the differences from the data reported by Fuller and Gilbert (2003). As such, the case marking on pronouns in NBG has followed a path that is very similar to that of full lexical NPs discussed above. The reduction in dative case marking on pronouns thus follows the general trend toward the accusative already noted by Eikel (1949, 1954) and Gilbert (1965). What makes this development special is that the rate of dative loss seems to be about the same among full lexical NPs and pronouns. A comparison of the historical data with the present-day data shows that the two classes differ from each other in that NPs have almost completely lost dative case marking (since it had lower dative percentages to begin with), whereas pronouns still exhibit dative case marking, albeit considerably less. Unlike before, the Texas German pronominal system as the last stronghold of the dative is also affected by case loss more than ever before. If the current development was to continue for another 50–100 years, we would most probably witness a further decline of dative marking in the pronominal system.

Finally, the tendency of dying languages to simplify their structures may explain the elimination of dative case marking in favor of a two-case system. However, it is difficult to determine whether simplification is indeed triggered by the impending death of Texas German or whether it simply supports an already existing change toward a two-case system. Another obvious factor is the role of individual speakers. Comparing the tables above, we see that speakers 26, 78, 124, 125, 168, 169, 170, and 171 show a fairly consistent rate of dative marking that is above that of all other 44 speakers from the New Braunfels area. This pattern suggests that language-external factors may also be at work. A look at the biography of these speakers shows that they either had formal German instruction in high school or college or that they had visited or lived in Germany for an extended period of time.

Before turning to case marking on adjectives, two more interesting developments in the pronominal system should be noted. The

present-day TGDP data contain a number of sentences in which one would expect accusative or nominative case marking. In comparison with the historical data discussed by Gilbert (1972) and Fuller and Gilbert (2003), the TGDP data also reveal a decrease in dative marking among the New Braunfels area informants. Consider, for example, the data in table 5.21, where in standard German we would expect accusative marking on the pronoun. Fuller and Gilbert (2003, 173) hypothesize that the unexpected dative marking is caused by the fact that the English sentence, which serves as the basis for the translation into Texas German, contains the oblique pronoun *her*, which has a certain phonetic similarity to *ihr*. However, Fuller and Gilbert point out that this hypothesis does not hold when compared to other English sentences that contain *her* (see tables 5.18 and 5.19), which the majority of informants translate as the accusative *sie* instead of the phonetically similar dative *ihr*. Table 5.21 shows that dative case marking among Gilbert's (1972) New Braunfels area informants is even more pronounced than the average percentage for central Texas speakers.

Interestingly, the present-day TGDP data demonstrate that case reduction has also affected this somewhat irregular dative case assignment documented by Gilbert (1972) and Fuller and Gilbert (1972). The resulting majority of accusative case assignment is thus

TABLE 5.21
Case Assignment after *sehen* in *Die kleinen Kinder sehen sie*
'The little children see her'
(Gilbert 1972, map 32)

	Gilbert	*Fuller & Gilbert*	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Acc	4 (27%)	44%	25, 32, 35, 60, 62, 71, 75, 76, 80, 82, 84, 88, 107, 108, 110, 124, 128, 129, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 171, 172, 173	26 (58%)
Dat	11 (73%)	51%	24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 79, 83, 123, 125, 138, 164, 169, 170	15 (33%)
None			26, 77, 168, 174	4 (9%)
Other			72, 78, 85, 96, 161, 165, 167	7

NOTE: TGDP informants used *sie* and *die* for accusative, and *ihr* for dative pronouns. The category "other" includes *er* and *den*.

comparable to the changes observed among the other pronouns above.

5.2.5.4. *Case Marking in Adjectival Endings.* The data on adjectival case endings shows both a significant increase in variability and a substantial decrease in systematic case marking. Consider table 5.22, where the determiner and adjective would be expected to occur in the accusative from the perspective of standard German.[14] In Gilbert's (1972) New Braunfels area data, 14 out of 15 informants used the expected accusative marking on both the determiner and the adjective, while only 1 employed a phonologically reduced form *-e* on the adjective while at the same time maintaining accusative marking on the determiner (*den*). The present-day TGDP data reveal a drastic reduction in accusative marking, which is now down to 18% from Gilbert's (1972) 93%. At the same time, there is a significant increase of the phonologically reduced marking on the adjective in combination with the accusative-marked determiner: its use has increased from 7% to 42%.

At the same time, the TGDP data show an increase in variability. More specifically, present-day NBG speakers substitute a mix of what in standard German are accusative, nominative, dative, and

TABLE 5.22
Case Assignment of *den bösen* in *Der Hund biss den bösen Mann*
'The dog bit the bad man'
(Gilbert 1972, map 42)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
den -en	14 (93%)	24, 80, 82, 88, 124, 125, 170, 171, 164	9 (18%)
den -e	1 (7%)	25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 35, 62, 71, 75, 76, 83, 96, 107, 110, 129, 138, 153, 155, 167, 173	21 (33%)
den -er		28, 84, 159, 172	4 (8%)
das -e		60	1 (2%)
den		78, 85, 108, 123, 160, 161, 169	7 (14%)
de -e		139	1 (2%)
dem		77, 168	2 (4%)
der -e		79, 128	2 (4%)
Other[a]		33, 165, 174	3 (6%)
None		34, 72	2

a. The category "other" includes *der* and *das*.

zero case markers for the expected accusative marking on both determiner and adjective. Tables 5.23 and 5.24 show that the loss of case marking is not restricted to the accusative, but affects the nominative as well.

The TGDP data in table 5.23 shows the progression of a trend already observed by Gilbert (1972), namely a reduction in nominative case marking (from 34% to 2%). At the same time, there is a significant increase of the phonologically reduced form (from 40% to 73%), while the percentages for zero marking remain about equal. Besides internal syntactic changes, the reduction in case marking is most likely caused by regular processes of phonological reduction, which affect traditional German dialects as well as other German *Sprachinseln* (see Berend and Jedig 1991, 158). As such, the TGDP data appear to represent a natural development in Texas German toward phonologically induced case syncretism that has also affected other German language enclaves with multiple donor dialects.

Table 5.24 illustrates a somewhat different development: we find a slight increase of nominative marking, while the reduced case marking becomes less frequent. The differences between tables 5.23 and 5.25 are perhaps due to the different syntactic constructions in which the NPs appear. While the former is a regular transitive construction with a default word order Subject-Verb-Object (SVO), the latter construction contains a relative clause where the

TABLE 5.23
Case Assignment of *die kleinen* in *Die kleinen Kinder sehen sie*
'The little children see her'
(Gilbert 1972, map 44)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
die -e	6 (40%)	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 60, 76, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 128, 129, 138, 153, 155, 159, 160, 165, 167, 169, 172	35 (73%)
die -en	5 (33%)	168	1 (2%)
kleinØ	4 (27%)	32, 71, 75, 62, 77, 80, 125, 164, 170, 171, 173, 174	12 (25%)
None		72, 82, 139, 161	4

TABLE 5.24
Case Assignment of *die roten* in *Die roten Ameisen, die stechen*
'The red ants that sting'
(Gilbert 1972, map 45)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
die -e	11 (73%)	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 107, 108, 110, 123, 128, 129, 138, 139, 159, 161, 165, 167, 172, 173, 174	32 (65%)
die -en	4 (27%)	24, 32, 62, 75, 77, 80, 88, 124, 125, 153, 155, 160, 168, 169, 170, 171	16 (33%)
Zero		96	1 (2%)
None		72, 85, 164	3

NP is followed by a relative pronoun. Because of the two distinct syntactic contexts, the differences in nominative case assignment seen in the two tables should not be overestimated.

Finally, consider dative case marking in adjectival endings. Fuller and Gilbert (2003) show that only 46% of the respondents to the 1965 questionnaire used dative case marking in *Da ist etwas in deinem linken Auge* (table 5.26), while 47% employed the accusative. Interestingly, Gilbert's (1972) data for the New Braunfels area do not include any dative marking on the determiner and adjective, because all informants used the accusative. A comparison with the present-day TGDP data shows that the consistent use of the

TABLE 5.25
Case Assignment of *heissem* in *Koch das Ei in heissem Wasser*
'Boil the egg in hot water'
(Gilbert 1972, map 47)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
-es	9 (60%)	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 62, 72, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 128, 129, 153, 155, 159, 164, 167, 169, 173, 174	37 (77%)
-en	4 (27%)	71, 80, 125	3 (6%)
-em	2 (13%)	170	1 (2%)
-e		139, 160, 168	3 (6%)
-er		60	1 (2%)
das/dies heiße		138, 165, 171	3 (6%)
None		30, 78, 161, 171	4

TABLE 5.26
Case Assignment of *deinen linken* in *Da ist etwas in deinem linken Auge*
'There's something in your left eye'
(Gilbert 1972, map 46)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
zero -es	15 (100%)	26, 27, 28, 29, 34, 60, 62, 75, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 107, 124, 129, 138, 155, 164, 167, 170	21 (46%)
zero -en		96, 110, 128, 168	4 (9%)
zero -e		30, 35, 71, 108, 123, 153, 165, 169, 171, 172	10 (22%)
-e -e		33, 79, 139, 173	4 (9%)
das linka		32, 88	2 (4%)
die -e		174	1 (2%)
-e -es		24, 159	2 (4%)
den -e		76, 125	2 (4%)
None		25, 72, 77, 85, 160, 161	6

accusative in Gilbert's (1972) data has given way to a mix of different nominative, accusative, and zero markers (some most likely due to nonstandard gender assignment), but no dative markers.

Fuller and Gilbert's (2003, 174) second sentence in which one would expect dative case marking on adjectives exhibits a slightly different distribution in case assignment. Only 8% used dative marking on *heiss* 'hot' in the sentence *Koch das Ei in heissEM Wasser.* These results fit better with those of Gilbert (1972), who found that 13% of his New Braunfels area informants employed the dative. The TGDP data reveal an increased use in accusative marking (77%) over Gilbert's New Braunfels data (60%) and a generally more variable mix of case markers. The variability among adjectival case markers in this context may be partially due to the fact that some informants are not sure about the gender of the head noun, a topic I will address in more detail in section 5.3.

A comparison of adjectival case marking with the case marking of other elements discussed above shows that the complex pattern of adjectival case marking is the most unstable (see also Fuller and Gilbert 2003, 174). Besides the different factors discussed above, there are at least two other internal factors that have influenced this change, one of the most important being the gender of the head noun. Since gender assignment varies a great deal among Texas German speakers (see section 5.4 for details), the type of

variation discussed in this section is expected. Another factor is the complex agreement patterns between determiner, adjective, and head noun, which depend on number, gender, and case. As shown earlier in this chapter, standard German and the various donor dialects differ considerably from each other in their complex nominal declension patterns. Since most of the TGDP informants have spoken Texas German only occasionally over the past 40 years, it is likely that they have lost their formerly accurate command of adjectival endings. Such a development is typical of language attrition among elderly speakers who do not use their L1 on a regular basis, as M. Schmid (2002) demonstrates.

5.2.5.5. *Evaluation of Case Syncretism.* A comparison of Eikel's (1949, 1954), Gilbert's (1965a, 1965b, 1972), and Fuller and Gilbert's (2003) data with present-day data from the New Braunfels area shows that the loss of the dative in favor of the accusative has progressed significantly over the past five decades, although it has not been brought to completion across the board. As such, the progressive loss of the dative appears to be governed by a number of systematic tendencies influencing variation in case assignment. The most obvious difference is that the frequency of occurrence of the accusative vis-à-vis the dative is determined by various syntactic environments.

Dative case loss has progressed the furthest among two-way prepositions, with accusative marking now accounting for between 93% (*unter*) and 100% (*über*) in contexts where one would typically expect the dative from the perspective of standard German. In comparison, dative case loss among pronouns presents a more complicated picture. Historically speaking, pronouns have undergone the most significant reduction of dative case marking over the past five decades, with drops from 93% dative to 40% dative after *mit* (table 5.18) and 87% dative to 29% dative as the indirect object of *geben* (table 5.19), for example. This development suggests that the last remaining stronghold of dative case marking in Texas German is finally eroding. However, when compared with current data on dative loss following two-way prepositions, pronouns still exhibit significant higher rates of dative case marking than NPs following prepositions, ranging from 12% (table 5.20) to 52% (table 5.16).

Adjectives and determiners are the most susceptible to dative loss; the present-day TGDP data contain almost no instances of dative case marking on determiners and adjective endings.

The present-day data from the New Braunfels area present a continuum of dative case marking, with determiners and adjectives located at the end of the continuum with basically no dative case marking left. Pronouns are located at the opposite end of the continuum, exhibiting significantly higher degrees of dative case marking (though still drastically reduced from the perspective of standard German or the historical Texas German data). Prepositional objects fall somewhere in between adjectives and pronouns (see Mironow 1957 for comparable descriptions among different German dialects). The resistance of pronouns to case reduction is not unique to Texas German but occurs in other Germanic languages as well. Rosenberg (2005, 232–33) explains this tendency by pointing to seven factors that make pronominal paradigms more resistant to case loss than other nominal paradigms: (1) high frequency, which makes pronouns more resistant to change; (2) animacy—because pronouns are more likely to have animate referents, more morphological distinctions are needed to define their syntactic roles; (3) closed classes, which are typically more resistant to change; (4) morphological markedness—because pronouns function as heads of NPs, they are morphologically more marked than regular lexical NPs; (5) suppletion—because pronominal paradigms are highly suppletive, case reduction would be more disruptive than with regular nouns; (6) constituent order—in contrast to noun phrases, series of pronouns show a different unmarked order in the central field of German sentences (subject–direct object [accusative]–indirect object [dative]); and (7) neurolinguistic considerations. Pronouns are thought to be listed as irregular words in the mental lexicon, which apparently makes them more resistant to change. While it is difficult to determine to what degree any of these seven factors have affected the changes found in Texas German, their influence on parallel developments in other Germanic languages strongly suggests that some combination of them has also triggered the changes in the Texas German pronominal system.

Other types of constituents have also undergone considerable reduction of dative marking over the past five decades. The data above show that significant numbers of speakers used to prefer dative where in certain contexts we would expect accusative marking. Examples above include prepositional objects following two-way prepositions (e.g., table 5.9) and postverbal objects with dative marking in accusative contexts (e.g., table 5.21) reaching 73%. In the present-day data, these high numbers have been drastically reduced (anywhere between 0% and 33%), reflecting the overall trend toward reduction of dative marking in favor of the accusative.

Also revealed by the TGDP data is variation in reduction of dative morphology among various members of the same part of speech. This variation is already documented by Gilbert (1972) and Fuller and Gilbert (2003) but is more pronounced in the present-day TGDP data. For example, dative marking on pronouns varies considerably, from 12% to 52%. In contrast, variation is less pronounced among prepositional objects, where retention of the dative ranges from 0% (table 5.5) to 7% (table 5.6). A look at the historical data suggests that the higher degree of variation among pronouns may be because they have undergone a significantly higher rate of case reduction over the past five decades when compared with other parts of speech. However, due to the limited size of the corpus, it is not possible to determine exactly what is triggering this variation. Following Gilbert's (1980, 236) observation that dative case assignment is least favored in Fredericksburg, future research needs to compare the present-day TGDP data from the New Braunfels area with similar data from Fredericksburg to shed light on this question. If the dative had indeed been reduced at a higher rate in Fredericksburg by the 1960s, then we would expect to find less variation in dative marking on pronouns in present-day Fredericksburg German in comparison with NBG.

Many of the recent changes in the Texas German case system can be traced to developments that were already taking place during the 1950s and the 1960s. As such, they represent a natural continuation of earlier changes that have parallels in other German dialects

(see, e.g., Schirmunski 1962; Berend and Jedig 1991). However, a number of other changes seem to have occurred only over the past four to five decades. One development previously underdescribed is the considerable increase of case-marking options on determiners and adjectives. Tables 5.22–5.26 show that a large number of present-day informants use variable accusative, nominative, dative, and zero case-marking options on determiners and adjectives. In contrast to the reduction of dative morphology, which is the continuation of an earlier change in progress, I propose that these two developments are indicative of more general tendencies observed among moribund languages, such as increased sociosymbolic meaning of certain forms (see Craig 1997, 263) and increased variability in morphological marking (here, variability of case marking on determiners and adjectives) (see Wolfram 2002, 774).[15]

In sum, the changes in the case system of NBG over the past five decades were caused by different factors. First, the increase in case marking among determiners and adjectives as well as among certain pronouns is indicative of the moribund state of the dialect. This increase is likely caused by external factors similar to those at work in other dying languages around the world. Second, the overall reduction of dative case and the trend toward a two-case system appears to be internally motivated (see also Keel 1994 and Rosenberg 2003). This typological change is not directly caused by interlingual convergence. Instead, it is a reflection of a more general tendency of Germanic languages to reduce case-marking systems over time (see Shrier 1965; Wiesinger 1983; Clausing 1986; Salmons 1994; Rosenberg 2005).

5.3. WORD ORDER

This section offers a brief overview of word order in Texas German to determine whether it still exhibits a German-type word order or whether it has changed. Due to space limitations, I focus on a few well-known syntactic differences between English and German previously discussed in the literature (e.g., Hawkins 1986; Louden 1988; Van Ness 1992; Huffines 1993).

One of Clardy's (1954, 3) observations about the syntax of NBG during the early 1950s points to English influence: "But a consideration of the word order in the free conversation seems to indicate that English word order is not unusual in New Braunfels German." Unfortunately, she does not provide any data to support her point, but data from other German *Sprachinseln* such as those described in Burridge (1992), Louden (1992), Nützel (1998), and Riehl (2004) suggest that word order often changes when German dialects are in contact with English. Changes in word order are not unique to language contact situations between German and other languages; they seem to take place in other language contact situations as well. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 54–55), word order is "the easiest sort of syntactic feature" to cause interference in language contact situations (see Thomason 2001 for examples from various languages).

Perhaps the most common factor leading to word order changes is a reduction of morphological categories, a process typically caused by internal factors (see above). Over time, these developments lead to the emergence of a fixed SVO word order, according to Sapir (1921, 159). This view is also held by Vennemann (1974, 359), who maintains that "as reductive phonological change weakens the S-O morphology, and does not develop some substitute S-O morphology," there is a trend toward a more rigid SVO order. One of the problems with classifying languages as SOV or SVO is that such classifications are difficult to verify. This led Hopper and Traugott (1993, 51) to conclude that languages tend to favor one word order, but they do not typically follow it rigidly.

Typically, standard German is assumed to have an underlying SOV word order, where the finite verb of a clause is found at the rightmost clause boundary in underlying structure (Hawkins 1986; Louden 1988). At surface structure, the finite verb stays in final position in dependent clauses, while it is assumed to move leftwards into second position in main clauses (see Webelhuth 1992). In contrast, English is assumed to be an underlying SVO language. Previous studies on German dialects in contact with English have tried to determine whether word order has changed more toward the English model. For example, Louden (1988) proposes a num-

ber of criteria for deciding whether the word order of Pennsylvania German is predominantly SVO, more like English, or SOV, more like German. The remainder of this section first presents Louden's (1988) four criteria and then applies them to our data to determine whether Texas German word order has changed.

Louden's (1988, 184) first criterion for classifying Pennsylvania German as an underlying German-type SOV language is whether the finite verb occupies the final syntactic position in dependent clauses. As in other German dialects, Texas German dependent clauses are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, such as *weil* 'because', *obwohl* 'although', and *wenn* 'if, whenever', and question words, such as *wer* 'who', *wo* 'where', and *wie* 'how'. The data in (5.7) show that the subordinating conjunction *weil* does not follow SOV, but instead follows the SVO pattern. Note, however, that some German dialects (even spoken modern standard German) exhibit an SVO pattern in subordinating clauses introduced by *weil*. In contrast, the examples in (5.8) demonstrate that *bis* follows the German-type SOV pattern.

5.7. a. ...weil die sollten nich fliehen. [1-24-3-5-a]
b. ...weil mein Vater hat gern Hersch geschossen. [1-25-1-24-a]
c. ...weil die sind alle verstick worden. [1-27-1-13-a]
d. ...weil die haben doch nichts gehab frieher. [1-28-1-2-a]
e. ...weil ich habe immer gearbeitet. [1-32-1-20-a]
f. ...weil meine Mutter hatte uns immer was geneht. [1-34-1-14-a]
g. ...weil die Leute tanzen das nicht mehr hier. [1-71-1-12-a]

5.8. a. ...bis mir geheirat ham. [1-27-1-21-a]
b. ...bis ich wie alt war. [1-28-1-9-a]
c. ...bis ich neun Jahr alt war. [1-29-1-3-a]
d. ...bis sie hier nach Neu Braunfels kam. [1-76-1-20-a]
e. ...bis es mal alles fertig war. [1-80-1-15-a]

While *weil* and *bis* appear to follow either SVO or SOV, other conjunctions exhibit a mixed word order distribution. For example, *dass* 'that' in (5.9) appears with both SVO and SOV word order, depending on the speaker. Some speakers, such as informant 25, switch between the two word orders (see 5.9b and 5.9c), apparently without any systematic pattern.

5.9. a. dass ich ein richtige beste Freund gehabt hab. [1-24-1-17-a]
b. dass sie ist geschimpft worn in die Schule... [1-25-1-11-a]
c. dass ich noch un Master's kriegen konnte. [1-25-1-20-a]
d. dass mir gross gefeiert habn. [1-27-1-19-a]
e. dass die Federn leicht rauskam. [1-30-1-7-a]
f. dass ich nach College gehe. [1-34-1-17-a]
g. dass Weihnachtsmann war ferdig. [1-76-1-14-a]
h. dass sie halt English sprechen sollten. [1-80-1-18-a]

As to Louden's other criterion for final verb position in embedded clauses, the use of "question words" (1988, 184), Texas German shows a clear preference for the German SOV pattern, as the following examples illustrate.

5.10. a. wo mir gewohnt haben. [1-27-1-1-a]
b. wo er arbeiten konnt. [1-28-1-17-a]
c. wo mir gewohnt hab. [1-29-1-25-a]
d. wo wir spielen konnten. [1-32-1-16-a]
e. wo er Milchkieh gehabt hat. [1-35-1-1-a]
f. wo die Indianer gekommen sind... [1-96-1-11-a]

5.11. a. wie mein Urgrossvater ausgesehn hat. [1-25-1-4-a]
b. wie mir es alles gemacht habn. [1-27-1-19-a]
c. wie man das in Deutsch sagt. [1-84-1-3-a]
d. wie ich den kennenlern hab? [1-85-1-11-a]
e. wie mir dahin gekommen sin... [3-129-1-17-a]

Using the data on word order in dependent clauses as a criterion to classify Texas German as SOV or SVO is complicated because they show a mixed picture. While some items, such as *wie*, clearly trigger SVO, others trigger SOV, while yet a third group exhibits a mixed distribution. For our analysis, this mixed distribution means two things. First, the data do not allow a conclusive classification as either SOV or SVO. The fact that the NBG speakers exhibit such a mixed use of word order suggests a move toward an SVO word order in dependent clauses. Second, further research is needed to address these data in more detail. More specifically, a detailed item-based analysis should investigate the frequencies for each item, including the different contexts in which the two types of word order are found.[16]

The position of the infinitive in infinitival complement constructions is Louden's (1988, 185) second criterion for determining word order. In German constructions of this type, the infinitive occurs in final position, signaling SOV word order. The following data show that the TGDP informants maintain the German-type word order, where the infinitive appears at the end of the clause.

5.12. a. Das war ziemlich schwer gewesen, so 'n Prüfung zu machen. [1-24-1-18-a]
b. Ich muss denn nächsten Montag anfang zu lernen. [1-35-1-19-a]
c. Un da hat er gelernt Spanisch zu sprechen. [1-62-1-22-a]
d. Da hat er mich geholt zu tanzen. [1-80-1-13-a]
e. Of course vier Bit war auch nicht gerad' leicht zu kriegen. [1-83-1-2-a]

Louden's (1988, 185) third criterion for classifying word order in German American dialects as SOV or SVO hinges on the position of prefixed verbs. In German, the verbal prefix remains in final position. The examples below illustrate that our Texas German informants continue to adhere to German-style word order, placing the prefix at the end of the clause.

5.13. a. Ja, da kam 'n Brief an. [1-28-1-25a]
b. Dann stop die Wurst un dann hängst zum hinten schmoken auf. [1-82-1-7-a]
c. ...das kommt wieder zurick. [1-1-1-14-a]
d. Komm mal her! [1-25-1-9-a]
e. Sie nehmen es weg. [1-85-2-94-a]

The fourth and final criterion for the classification of word order proposed by Louden (1988, 186) is the position of prefixed verbs in dependent clauses. According to Louden, the presence of finite prefixed verbs at the end of dependent clauses is an indicator of underlying SOV word order. The following data demonstrate that for the TGDP informants, clause final position of finite prefixed verbs is the norm, thus lending further support to the classification of Texas German as essentially SOV.

5.14. a. dass die Federn leicht rauskam. [1-30-1-7-a]
b. dass de ein bisschen wegkommst. [1-8-1-13-a]
c. dass das Schiff losgingt. [1-28-1-2-a]
d. dass das Grass wider zurickkomm. [1-94-1-21-a]
e. dass ser nich mich ausgeschomfen hat... [1-59-1-10-a]

To sum up, Texas German fits three of Louden's (1988) four criteria for underlying SOV word order. Only dependent clauses exhibit a mixed word order pattern, part German-type SOV, part SVO, depending on the conjunction introducing the clause. All in all, it thus seems safe to assume that Texas German displays a German-type SOV pattern.

Additional evidence for classifying Texas German as adhering to German word order comes from the position of the finite verb, which in standard German always occurs as the second syntactic element of the main clause. Haider (1993) accounts for this property by claiming that the absence of a complementizer triggers a leftward movement of the finite verb into second position. The Texas German data show that the finite verb also occurs in second position, thus lending further support for classifying Texas German as exhibiting SOV word order.

5.15. a. For einunddreissig Jahr hab ich das getan. [1-55-1-16-a]
b. Die erste paar Jahr hab ich nicht verstanden. [1-84-1-10-a]
c. Bermuda hab ich geliked. [1-85-1-10-a]
d. Sondags moijens habe ich ein von mein Jungen ein von meine Sohn aufgerungen. [1-33-1-25-a]
e. Un denn in der Sommer hat der die deutsche Schule gehab. [1-32-1-12-a]

The brief discussion of word order in NBG has shown that it has essentially retained a German-type word order, specifically underlying SOV word order and verb-second. There are some data exhibiting non-German word order, but these are not systematic in the sense that they signal a general change in word order toward English. Instead, they are item-based multiword expressions or syntactic constructions that have been borrowed from English and subsequently relexified. In sum, my results are similar to those of

Louden (1988, 181) for Pennsylvania German, for which he concludes that "word order is significantly more resistant to change than other areas of syntax, such as case." As such, my results run counter to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988, 54–55) claim that word order "is the easiest sort of syntactic feature" to cause interference in language contact situation.

5.4. LOSS OF PRETERITE

The gradual loss of the preterite is a well-known development among German dialects, most prominently found among Middle and Upper German dialects. Over time, the preterite has been replaced by the perfect, because the two forms do not signify any important temporal differences in meaning (see Rowley 1983 for details). Rosenberg (2005, 229, 234) attributes this development to internal factors similar to those triggering case loss, such as the move away from synthetic structures toward analytic structures. The loss of the preterite is also commonly found among German *Sprachinseln* (see Louden 1988; Nützel 1998; Rosenberg 2005).

Both Eikel (1954, 60) and Gilbert (1972, 23) document the loss of the preterite in Texas German. Whereas Eikel (1954, 61) attributes the use of the preterite with formal school education in standard German among the older generation of his New Braunfels speakers, he claims that the youngest generation "seems to be characterized by the normal tendency of informal Colloquial German in the use of the past and present perfect." Gilbert reports the use of both the preterite and the perfect among his New Braunfels area informants. Tables 5.27–5.29 summarize Gilbert's data and compare them with the present-day data recorded by the TGDP.

The comparison of Gilbert's data with the TGDP data reveals a mixed picture. While table 5.27 shows an unexpected increase in preterite forms, we find a slight decrease of preterite forms in tables 5.28 and 5.29. The data suggest a certain degree of variability in how TGDP informants use the preterite. However, the limited data on the distribution of the preterite does not allow for any definitive conclusions about its distribution in current-day Texas German. Clearly, we need to analyze preterite marking among many more verbs in the transcripts of the open-ended TGDP interviews.

TABLE 5.27
Perfect and Preterite Forms in *Er kam gestern* 'He came yesterday'
(Gilbert 1972, map 97)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Er ist gestern gekommen (perfect)	10 (67%)	29, 34, 35, 62, 72, 75, 77, 80, 85, 88, 96, 107, 128, 139, 153, 160, 164, 165, 167	19 (40%)
Er kam gestern (preterite)	3 (20%)	24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 71, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 129, 138, 155, 159, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174	28 (58%)
Both perfect & preterite	2 (13%)		0
Er gekommen gestern		60	1 (2%)
None		26, 33, 161, 173	4

TABLE 5.28
Perfect and Preterite Forms in *Wir gingen nach Hause* 'We went home'
(Gilbert 1972, map 98)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
wir sind ... gegangen (perfect)	11 (79%)	24, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 88, 107, 110, 123, 124, 125, 128, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 164, 165, 167, 170, 171	34 (92%)
wir gingen ... (preterite)	3 (21%)	27, 168, 169	3 (8%)
Other	1	30, 72, 77, 78, 82, 108, 129, 172, 174	9
None		25, 33, 96, 160, 161, 173	6

TABLE 5.29
Perfect and Preterite Forms in *Ihr wart beide gestern hier*
'You were both here yesterday'
(Gilbert 1972, map 99)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
ihr wart ... (prefect)	15 (100%)	24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 60, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 84, 88, 96, 107, 108, 110, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138, 139, 153, 155, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174	45 (94%)
ihr wart ... gewesen (preterite)[a]		27, 83, 123	3 (6%)
None		33, 80, 85, 170	4

a. The preterite form includes two Gilbert informants who rendered the preterite as *ihr waren* 'you were'.

to determine whether there are any systematic patterns underlying the types of opposite developments seen in tables 5.27–5.29. Due to space restrictions, I leave this point as well as related investigations into the verbal system of NBG for future research.

5.5. NUMBER

In comparison with English, German plural formation is remarkably complex. Several factors determine what type of plural morpheme attaches to the singular form of a noun, including gender, number of syllables, and whether a noun is a proper name or not (for a more detailed overview, see Köpcke 1988, 1993; Clahsen 1992; Wiese 1996; Bybee 2001). Table 5.30 summarizes the major categories of standard German plural morphemes. Based on his

TABLE 5.30
Plural Morphemes in Standard German
(Köpcke 1988, 307)

Plural Morpheme	*Masculine singular/plural der/die*	*Feminine singular/plural die/die*	*Neuter singular/plural das/die*
Definite article			
1. *-e*	*Fisch/Fische* 'fish'	*Kenntniss/Kenntnisse* 'knowledge'	*Jahr/Jahre* 'year'
2. *-(e)n*	*Bauer/Bauern* 'farmer'	*Tür/Türen* 'door'	*Auge/Augen* 'eye'
3. *-er*	*Geist/Geister* 'ghost'	—	*Kind/Kinder* 'child'
4. *-s*	*Park/Parks* 'park'	*Mutti/Muttis* 'mommy'	*Auto/Autos* 'car'
5. *-Ø*	*Adler/Adler* 'eagle'	—	*Fenster/Fenster* 'window'
6. umlaut + *-er*	*Wald/Wälder* 'forest'	—	*Volk/Völker* 'people'
7. umlaut + *-e*	*Sohn/Söhne* 'son'	*Kuh/Kühe* 'cow'	*Floß/Flöße* 'raft'
8. umlaut	*Bruder/Brüder* 'brother'	*Tochter/Töchter* 'daughter'	*Kloster/Klöster* 'monastery'

data collected in the 1940s, Eikel (1967, 83–85) maintains that in NBG plurals are formed "like the plurals of native nouns in Standard German." He distinguishes between four major types of plural formation in Texas German, namely (1) plurals that are identical with the singular form or with vowel modification; (2) plural forms that consist of the singular plus an *-e* suffix, with or without vowel modification; (3) plural forms where an *-er* is added to the singular, with or without vowel modification; and (4) plurals that consist of the singular form and a suffixed *-n* or *-en* (see also Gilbert 1963).

As shown below, Eikel's claim that New Braunfels plural morphology is basically the same as that of standard German is problematic, in particular when compared with data reported by Gilbert (1972). Unfortunately, it is not clear how to evaluate the two different accounts. Moreover, it is difficult to establish the exact sources of variable plural morphology in the middle of the twentieth century because there are relatively few systematic materials on traditional German dialects that would facilitate such a comparison (see Dingeldein 1983, 1197, for details on this problem). For these reasons, I do not attempt to correlate the data reported by Eikel and Gilbert with historical data from traditional German dialects. Instead, I discuss how the system of plural markers in New Braunfels German has evolved since the 1950s.

Salmons (1983, 193–94) is the first to observe an increase in non-standard plural morphemes (*-s*, *-n*, and zero marker) among younger Texas German speakers. He attributes this development to the fact that "a kind of consensus 'standard' Texas German breaks down." Similarly, Guion (1996) notes that her Gillespie County speakers exhibit a pattern of plural marking different from that described by Eikel. She claims that older and younger fluent speakers typically agree on the plural markers, but younger semifluent speakers do not. Instead, semifluent speakers differ from each other when the plural marker is something other than *-s*. Guion (1996, 454) maintains that semifluent speakers do not generalize the *-s* marker to all words, but rather that it is "the only plural marker about the use of which the semi-speakers agree." Following earlier proposals by Gilbert (1963), she attributes the increased use of *-s* as a plural marker to English influence.

To determine whether our informants in the New Braunfels area have maintained a plural marking system similar to that of standard German as described by Eikel (1954, 1967), I compare Gilbert's (1972) data with present-day TGDP data. As table 5.31 shows, only 21% of Gilbert's (1972) informants from the New Braunfels area followed the standard German plural pattern for *Zimmer* 'room' by employing the zero morpheme to mark the plural. The 79% who suffixed the *-n* morpheme for plural marking run counter to Eikel's (1967) classification of NBG plural morphology as being essentially the same as that of Standard German. The TGDP data show that *-n* marking for *Zimmer* is still employed by the majority of informants, although it has dropped to 55%.

TABLE 5.31
Plural Marking on *Zimmer* in *zwei Zimmer* 'two rooms'
(Gilbert 1972, map 62)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Zero	3 (21%)	24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 35, 60, 72, 75, 76, 80, 88, 107, 124, 128, 153, 164, 171, 173	20 (43%)
-n	11 (79%)	25, 28, 30, 34, 71, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 108, 110, 123, 125, 129, 138, 139, 155, 159, 167, 169, 170, 172, 174	26 (55%)
-s		161	1 (2%)
Others	1	96	1
None		62, 160, 165, 168	4

TABLE 5.32
Plural Marking on *Teller* in *zwei Teller* 'two plates'
(Gilbert 1972, map 63)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Zero	11 (73%)	24, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 80, 84, 88, 96, 107, 108, 124, 138, 139, 160, 161, 164, 170, 172, 173	29 (62%)
-n	4 (27%)	25, 28, 29, 77, 79, 82, 83, 110, 123, 125, 129, 153, 155, 159, 165, 167, 174	17 (36%)
-s		85	1 (2%)
Others		168, 169	2
None		62, 128, 171	3

Next, consider plural marking with *Teller* in table 5.32. Gilbert's data show a majority of speakers (73%) use the standard German zero plural marker for *Teller* 'plate', while the rest uses nonstandard *-n*. Interestingly, the present-day TGDP data indicate a slight increase in use of the nonstandard marker. At the same time, one speaker also employs the nonstandard *-s* marker with *Teller*, similar to *Zimmer* in table 5.31. Again, the use of nonstandard plural markers is in contrast to Eikel's claim that the plural morphology of NBG is essentially the same as that of standard German.

Table 5.33 indicates a slight change away from the standard-type zero plural morpheme used with *Wagen* 'wagon' in favor of the nonstandard *-s*. The use of nonstandard *-s* is also apparent in table 5.34, where the majority of the Gilbert and TGDP informants

TABLE 5.33
Plural Marking on *Wagen* in *zwei Wagen* 'two wagons'
(Gilbert 1972, map 64)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Zero	13 (87%)	24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 88, 107, 108, 110, 123, 124, 125, 129, 138, 139, 153, 159, 161, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171	38 (78%)
-n	2 (13%)	33, 60, 62, 128, 155, 160, 164, 172, 173, 174	10 (20%)
Wage		96	1 (2%)
None		30, 83, 165	3

TABLE 5.34
Plural Marking on *Junge* in *zwei Jungen* 'two boys'
(Gilbert 1972, map 65)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
-n	2 (14%)	24, 33, 75, 84, 124, 165, 168, 169, 170	9 (22%)
-ns	10 (71%)	25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 62, 71, 76, 77, 80, 82, 85, 88, 96, 108, 123, 128, 129, 138, 153, 155, 159, 164, 167, 171, 172, 173	30 (73%)
Zero	2 (14%)	60, 78	2 (6%)
Other[a]	1	27, 79, 83, 107, 110, 125, 139, 160, 161, 174	10
None		72	1

a. Includes lexical variants *Knaben*, *Buben*, and *Kinder*.

employ a double plural marker. That is, besides adding an *-n* to *Junge* 'boy' for plural marking, they also add a nonstandard *-s*.

The data in table 5.35 exhibit the greatest overlap with standard German plural morphology, as all informants but one use the *-n* allomorph to mark the plural of *Ziege* 'goat'. In contrast, table 5.36 illustrates a significant change in the plural of *Kuh* 'cow'. While 80% of Gilbert's informants used both an unrounded front vowel and an *-e* to mark the plural, only 48% of TGDP informants conform to this pattern (instead of using a front rounded vowel to mark the change, they also use its unrounded counterpart). At the same time, the number of informants who only use a vowel change to mark the plural has increased from 20% to 48%.

TABLE 5.35
Plural Marking on *Ziege* in *zwei Ziegen* 'two goats'
(Gilbert 1972, map 66)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
-n	14 (93%)	24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 71, 72, 76, 77, 82, 83, 107, 108, 123, 124, 125, 128, 138, 139, 159, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174	36 (97%)
Zero	1 (7%)	28	1 (3%)
Other[a]		62, 75, 84, 172	4
None		78, 79, 80, 85, 88, 96, 110, 129, 153, 155, 161	11

a. Includes *Kühe, goats,* and *Kuhen.*

TABLE 5.36
Plural Marking on *Kuh* in *zwei Kühe* 'two cows'
(Gilbert 1972, map 68)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Kiehe	12 (80%)	26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 60, 75, 77, 79, 80, 85, 88, 124, 125, 129, 153, 164, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173	22 (48%)
Küh		82, 108, 96, 167	4 (9%)
Kieh	3 (20%)	24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 71, 72, 78, 83, 110, 123, 128, 138, 155, 159, 160, 171, 174	19 (41%)
Zero		107	1 (2%)
Other[a]		76, 139	2
None		62, 84, 161, 165	4

a. Includes *zwei Hantier* and *zwei Vieh.*

Finally, consider the different plural forms of *Garten* 'garden' in table 5.37. The use of the nonstandard *-s* plural suffix has increased considerably at the expense of the nonstandard zero allomorph. At the same time, very few informants interviewed by Gilbert and the TGDP employ the standard German plural marker. Again, these data run counter to Eikel's claim about the great similarity between standard German and NBG plural morphology.

Before summarizing and evaluating the data discussed so far, I turn to the open-ended TGDP data to obtain additional data on plural morphology in present-day NBG. Table 5.38 presents a brief summary of some of the nonstandard forms found in the transcripts. As it is very difficult and time intensive to extract every single plural form out of a corpus of nonstandard German measuring more than 305,000 Texas German words, I used the concordance interface to conduct KWIC (keyword in context) searches for contexts that are likely to contain plural-marked nouns, such as the plural determiner *die* or the numbers *zwei, drei,* and *vier.* While these search parameters do not return a complete list of plural forms, they nevertheless present an overview of plural formation in Texas German. To facilitate comparison with standard German

TABLE 5.37
Plural Marking on *Garten* in *zwei Gärten* 'two gardens'
(Gilbert 1972, map 69)

	Gilbert	*TGDP Informants*	*TGDP Total*
Zero[a]	10 (71%)	25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 62, 71, 72, 75, 78, 79, 80, 82, 85, 107, 110, 123, 125, 138, 153, 159, 161, 167, 171	27 (57%)
Gärten	2 (14%)	96, 178, 170	3 (7%)
Gartens	2 (14%)	29, 34, 76, 77, 88, 108, 124, 128, 129, 155, 160, 164, 165, 169, 172, 173, 174	17 (36%)
Other	1	60	1
None		24, 83, 84, 139	4

a. Informants use both [t] and [d] in *Garten* without any systematic pattern.

plural morphology, I use the same format as in table 5.30 above. The reason for choosing standard German as a benchmark is that I did not have access to a complete list of plural forms of the corresponding nouns of the dialects spoken in the Hessen-Nassau area. Each attested nonstandard Texas German plural is listed in the category in which it should occur from the perspective of standard German and, for that matter, from the perspective of Eikel (1954, 1967). For example, the standard German plural form of the masculine noun *Hirsch* 'deer' is *Hirsche* 'deers'. Yet, as shown in row one in table 5.38, the Texas German transcripts contain plural forms without the standard German plural marker *-e*. I did not analyze the plural morphology of loanwords such as *Store* and *Creek*, as they are borrowed from English and occur with the *-s* plural marker.

The data from the open-ended interviews support the two main observations made above based on the basis of the Gilbert data. First, there is a significant amount of morphological reduction of the type observed by Salmons (1983) and Guion (1996). In table 5.38 this trend is evident in the loss of plural morphemes such as *-e*, *-en*, and *-er*. It is even more pronounced in cases where the vowel is not changed in the plural form vis-à-vis the singular form as in plural *Sohn* 'sons' or *Bruder* 'brothers'. This development appears to be the continuation of what Salmons (1983, 194) labels "the beginning of some breakdown in the language system." The second trend concerns the productivity of the *-n* and *-s* plural morphemes, which are used in contexts in which, from the perspective of standard German, they are typically not expected to occur (see also tables 5.31–5.37 above).

In sum, my brief discussion of the changes in plural morphology has shown that over the past five decades two opposing developments have taken place in NBG, both characteristic of language death. On the one hand, the decrease in morphological plural markers signals a breakdown of a particular part of Texas German morphology. This trend is similar to other types of morphological reduction found among dying languages, such as reduction of case endings in American Finnish (Campbell and Muntzel 1989), reduction of noun classes in Dyirbal (Schmidt 1989), and reduced productivity of affixes marking background information on verbs

TABLE 5.38
Some Nonstandard Plural Forms in Texas German

Standard German	*Texas German Variants*
1. *-e*	MASCULINE: *Monat* 'months', *Tag* 'days', *Tagen* 'days', *Hirsch* 'deer', *Schritt* 'steps', *Zwilling* 'twins', *Pfirsich* 'peaches'
	FEMININE: —
	NEUTER: *Jahr* 'years', *Jahn* 'years', *Stick* 'pieces', *Haaren* 'hair', *Schwein* 'pigs'
2. *-(e)n*	MASCULINE: *Jungs* 'boys', *Pastor* 'ministers', *Texasdeutsche* 'Texas Germans', *Deutscher* 'Germans', *Russe* 'Russians', *Gefangene* 'prisoners', *Fremde* 'strangers'
	FEMININE: *Tiren* 'doors', *Schwester* 'sisters', *Schwesters* 'sisters', *Welt* 'worlds', *Auggabe* 'tasks', *Meil* 'miles', *Person* 'persons', *Klasse* 'grades', *Stunde* 'hours', *Stund* 'hours', *Stun* 'hours', *Familie* 'families', *Strasse* 'streets', *Frauens* 'women', *Kartoffel* 'potatoes', *Glocke* 'bells'
	NEUTER: —
3. *-er*	MASCULINE: *Männ* 'men', *Mann* 'men'
	FEMININE: —
	NEUTER: *Häus* 'houses', *Haus* 'houses', *Kindern* 'children'
4. *-s*	MASCULINE: —
	FEMININE: —
	NEUTER: —
5. *-Ø*	MASCULINE: *Amerikaners* 'Americans'
	FEMININE: —
	NEUTER: *Mädchens* 'girls', *Zimmern* 'rooms', *Fenstern* 'windows'
6. ¨ + *-er*	MASCULINE: —
	FEMININE: —
	NEUTER: *Dachn* 'roofs', *Hiehne* 'chickens'
7. ¨ + *-e*	MASCULINE: *Sohn* 'sons', *Block* 'blocks', *Ball* 'balls', *Blätz* 'places'
	FEMININE: *Kieh* 'cows', *Handen* 'hands'
	NEUTER: *Steck* 'pieces', *Wurschte* 'sausages'
8. ¨	MASCULINE: *Briedern* 'brothers', *Bruder* 'brothers'
	FEMININE: *Bank* 'banks'
	NEUTER: —

NOTE: The list of nonstandard plural forms is not exhaustive. A few speakers employ both standard and nonstandard plural forms (I did not tabulate the total number of standard vs. nonstandard forms for each speaker). When forming the plural of masculine nouns in (2), some speakers follow the standard German pattern of forming an *-n* plural when the noun is preceded by a determiner, while other speakers alternate between nonstandard and standard forms.

in Oklahoma Cayuga (Mithun 1989; Coulmas 1997). On the other hand, we find an increase in productivity of two plural morphemes, namely *-s* and *-n*, a change characteristic of dying languages and dialects (see Wolfram 2002, 773–74). Additional evidence for the breakdown of plural morphology comes from the fact that about a third of the speakers exhibit variable plural marking; that is, during the same interview they alternate between plural forms. Obviously, further research needs to study larger data sets to determine whether these developments have any parallels in traditional German dialects and other *Sprachinseln* and to what degree English might have played a role in bringing about these changes. Finally, the status of plural morphology in the donor dialects needs to be analyzed in more detail.

5.6. GENDER

Like standard German, Texas German has a grammatical three-gender system, masculine, feminine, and neuter, each marked on the determiner as *der*, *die*, or *das*, respectively. In standard German, there are only a few cases of gender assignment that are based on natural gender, such as *der Mann* 'the man', *die Frau* 'the woman', or *das Kind* 'the child'. There are also a few principles that determine gender assignment in standard German. Masculine gender is typically found with nouns denoting male persons, calendric units (days, months, seasons), monetary units, minerals and stones, and car brands, among other categories (see *Wörterbuch der deutschen Standardsprache* 1972, 151, for a complete overview). It is also possible to assign masculine gender to many nouns based on their last syllable, such as *-el* (*der Schlüssel* 'the key'), *-en* (*der Schatten* 'the shadow'), *-ich* (*der Teppich* 'the carpet'), *-ling* (*der Zwilling* 'the twin'), and *-s* (*der Schnaps* 'the schnapps') (see Genzmer 1995, 154).

Feminine gender is typically found with nouns denoting trees and flowers, names of ships and airplanes, names of rivers, names of motorcycle brands, and geographical names ending in *-ei*, *-ie*, or *-e*, among others. Words ending in *-ei* (*Singerei* 'act of singing'), *-in* (*Studentin* 'female student'), *-heit* (*Krankheit* 'illness'), and *-ung* (*Nahrung* 'food'), among others, are usually female (see *Wörterbuch der deutschen Standardsprache* 1972, 152). Finally, neuter gender is typically associated with nouns denoting minerals or chemical elements, colors, names of letters and musical notes, among others. Certain endings of words, including *-tel* (*Drittel* 'the third'), *-in* (*Benzin* 'gas'), and *-ment* (*Argument* 'argument'), are also associated with neuter gender (see Genzmer 1995, 155).

Unfortunately, there is no systematic account of gender variation (i.e., inconsistencies) among German dialects. The greatest amount of variation occurs among the High German and West Middle German dialects (Schirmunski 1962, 443–45); the least variation can be found in standard German. Elst (1983, 1202) observes that gender assignment is subject to extreme regional variation, which makes it difficult to arrive at exact isoglosses for particular words. According to Elst (1983, 1203), the neglect of more detailed broad-scale accounts of gender variation among German dialects can be attributed to the fact that it typically does not make a difference in meaning. There are only a few words where gender assignment creates semantic differences, as with *der Bund* 'alliance' and *das Bund* 'bunch'. Since variation in gender appears to be item- and dialect-based, there are to my knowledge no systematic patterns that allow for predictions as to the types of variation occurring among particular noun classes (although some specific studies of local dialects exist; see Elst 1983, 1204–5, for an overview).

Eikel (1967, 84) maintains that gender assignment in NBG follows standard German. This claim is substantiated by one data set in Gilbert (1972), which shows that *der Honig* ('the honey') appears uniformly with the masculine in the New Braunfels area. The present-day TGDP data show no change in gender assignment with this word. However, the open-ended interviews reveal gender variation for a number of different words from various semantic domains. Table 5.39 summarizes my search in the transcripts of the open-ended interviews. Each column denotes expected gender assignment from the perspective of standard German; each row lists actual gender assignment found in the Texas German corpus.

The data reveal a number of important facts about gender assignment. First, there is relatively little variation in gender assignment in present-day Texas German; that is, there are a total of 37

TABLE 5.39
Nonstandard Gender Assignment in Texas German

Standard German	*Texas German Variants*
der	DIE: *Krieg* 'war', *Wind* 'wind', *Bauernhof* 'farm', *Singerverein* 'singing club', *Bus* 'bus', *Kopf* 'head'
	DAS: *Wind* 'wind', *Hagel* 'hail', *Funkamateur* 'radio amateur', *Apparat* 'machine', *Mais* 'corn', *Schmalz* 'lard', *Kaktus* 'cactus', *Wert* 'value', *Verein* 'club', *Platz* 'place', *Installateur* 'handyman', *Beruf* 'job', *Verkehr* 'traffic', *Hersch* 'deer', *Krieg* 'war', *Bauer* 'farmer', *Baum* 'tree', *Reis* 'rice', *Schnee* 'snow', *Essig* 'vinegar', *Sack* 'sack'
die	DER: —
	DAS: *Masse* 'a lot', *Frucht* 'fruit', *Geschichte* 'story', *Gemeinde* 'community', *Wurst* 'sausage', *Arbeit* 'work'
das	DER: —
	DIE: *Museum* 'museum', *Geschenk* 'gift', *Schiff* 'ship', *Schulhaus* 'schoolhouse'

instances of nonstandard gender assignment in a corpus of more than 305,000 Texas German words. Second, neuter is the most frequently used gender in a nonstandard context, followed by feminine, while none of the informants use masculine gender in a nonstandard context. Third, nonstandard gender assignment seems to be most prevalent among a few speakers, most notably informants 27, 28, and 60. This distribution suggests that gender variation is restricted to a select number of speakers and does not occur across the board.

To summarize, I have shown in this section that, except for a few isolated cases, gender assignment has virtually remained unchanged in Texas German. My results show that in contrast to other dying languages, such as Southern Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian 1977), where speakers are often insecure about the gender of nominals, gender assignment is comparatively stable in Texas German. The relative strength of gender assignment suggests that this part of Texas German morphology has not been affected by language decay.[17]

5.7. SUMMARY

In this chapter I analyzed a select number of morphosyntactic developments in Texas German with the goal to determine what types of changes have taken place and why. Focusing on data from the New Braunfels area, I first investigated the loss of dative and accusative cases. Contrary to Salmons (1994), who attributes the decrease in dative case marking to the loss of formal school instruction in standard German during the 1880s, I claimed that the loss of the dative was triggered by regular leveling processes occurring during new-dialect formation. In my view, the majority of donor dialects brought to Texas in the 1840s were among the more conservative dialects, preserving three-way case distinctions in various nominal paradigms. Over time, the various donor dialects (including those with only two-case systems) were in intensive contact with each other, leading to the eventual leveling of the dative over two generations. Data from parallel changes in other German *Sprachinseln* in Russia, Latin America, and Australia (without formal instruction in standard German) support this hypothesis, as do general typological tendencies toward case reduction in Germanic languages. These observations have led me to conclude that the loss of the dative was caused primarily by internal factors.

The data on case loss also illustrate a continuum, where adjectives and determiners are the most susceptible to dative case loss, and pronouns are most resistant, with prepositional objects falling in between. In this connection I noted that loss of case is not only context-dependent, but also item-dependent; for example, some prepositions are more subject to case loss than others (although as a class, they all exhibit the same tendency toward morphological reduction). Comparing the historical data with present-day TGDP data, I have shown that case loss has progressed much further, leading more and more toward a two-way case system of nominative and oblique cases. Since these developments are simply the continuation of earlier trends and follow parallel developments in other German dialects and Germanic languages, I have proposed that they should not necessarily be regarded as indicators of language decay or language death. I have shown that the significant increase

in variability of case marking on determiners and adjectives is a characteristic also documented for other dying languages.

As to word order, I have shown that Texas German has basically retained the underlying German-type SOV order, with the exception of dependent clauses introduced by a few select subordinating conjunctions. Data on the loss of the preterite proved to be inconclusive, but parallel developments in other German dialects suggested that the increase of perfect forms replacing the preterite is due to internal typological tendencies and not indicative of language decay or language death. Finally, I have demonstrated that Texas German plural morphology exhibits changes characteristic of language decay: a decrease in morphological markers, an increase in variability of morphological marking, and an increased productivity of the two plural allomorphs *-s* and *-n*.

As with all changes discussed in this chapter, there are probably multiple factors at work, some of which we will never be able to identify because of a lack of historical data. Similar observations have been made by other researchers working in this area, most notably Aitchison (1979, 63), who maintains that "in any language change, the factors involved are often far more numerous than is commonly realized." In my view, the most striking result of this chapter is the relative absence of significant morphosyntactic changes indicative of language decay and language death. The different developments analyzed above suggest that, overall, Texas German is rapidly becoming extinct while its morphosyntactic structures of German origin remain largely intact.

Clearly, this chapter is just the beginning of a long-term research program analyzing morphosyntactic changes in Texas German. As such, I have focused on a select number of developments analyzed in the literature while at the same time leaving out other phenomena documented in other German American dialects, such as infinitive constructions (Huffines 1990), voice (Burridge 1992), progressive aspect (Huffines 1994; Louden 1994), possessive constructions (Burridge 1992; Van Ness 1992), and diminutives (Nützel 1993), among many others. Future research will have to provide analyses of these phenomena among Texas German varieties.

6. LANGUAGE DEATH AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The three preceding chapters yielded at least two major insights into the development of Texas German as spoken in the New Braunfels area. First, the contact of different German dialects brought to Texas beginning in the 1840s did not lead to the emergence of a focused New World dialect characterized by the leveling out of dialect-specific variation. In terms of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, the development of Texas German stopped somewhere between the second and third stages. Also, Eikel's (1954) and Gilbert's (1972) data demonstrate that regional variation in Texas German between the 1940s and the 1960s can be traced back to specific German dialects brought to Texas by the first wave of settlers.

Second, the development of Texas German over the past five decades has seen some phonological and morphosyntactic changes. Taken together, these changes set present-day Texas German somewhat apart from its earlier counterpart but do not appear to be indicative of a complete breakdown of the linguistic system characteristic of other dying languages (see Wolfram 2002, 772–74). Some of the changes discussed above, such as the unrounding of rounded front vowels and case loss, can be explained by internal factors. Other changes, such as borrowing and minor changes in word order, can be attributed to external factors. I have argued that some changes, such as increase in variability and reduction of forms (e.g., plural marking of nouns), may be indicative of language death, but there appears to be no systematic pattern underlying this development. This observation led me to argue that the increase in variability and reduction of forms generally proceeds on an item-by-item basis.

The absence of any major linguistic changes over the past five decades and the impending death of Texas German within the next three decades evoke a figure of speech used by Dorian (1978,

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The absence of any major linguistic changes over the past five decades and the impending death of Texas German within the next three decades evoke a figure of speech used by Dorian (1978,

608) to characterize East Sutherland Gaelic, which she claims is dying "with its morphological boots on." Applying Dorian's characterization to Texas German, we can thus describe the current state of Texas German as not only dying with its morphological boots on, but also with its phonological and syntactic boots on.

The relative structural stability of Texas German in combination with its status as an endangered dialect/language that is expected to go extinct within the next three decades thus raises three important questions: (1) How does the level of endangerment of Texas German compare to that of other endangered languages and dialects? (2) Given its relative structural stability, what factors are responsible for Texas German dying so quickly? and (3) What can be done to maintain Texas German? The remainder of this chapter addresses these three questions.

6.2. LANGUAGE DEATH

Languages and dialects around the world are dying at an alarming rate. While language death is no new phenomenon, the rate at which it progresses has accelerated dramatically over the past century. Some estimate that by the end of the twenty-first century half of the world's 6,000 languages will be extinct (Crystal 2000; Nettle and Romaine 2000). An estimated 300 languages were spoken in the present-day United States when Columbus landed in North America. Today, only about 175 languages remain, many of which are critically endangered because they have not been passed on to younger generations. These developments are mainly caused by overt pressure such as physical decimation of a population through war or oppressive government policies or the choice of speakers to abandon their first language in favor of another, higher-status second language to benefit themselves economically or politically (Dressler 1981; Ladefoged 1992).[1]

As discussed in chapter 2, the changes in the Texas German community throughout the twentieth century are best characterized in terms of language shift triggered by a loss in prestige and subsequent stigmatization following World War I (among other

factors). In the meantime, the dialect has not been passed on to younger generations, which means that it is on its way to extinction. In this context, it is important to remember that although Texas German is to a large degree mutually intelligible with standard German and as such is a dialect of a major language that is not endangered (standard German), it is nevertheless endangered in Texas (vis-à-vis English). However, the exact level of endangerment of Texas German is unclear at this point. Several researchers have proposed criteria for determining the degree of endangerment, most notably Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977; Kinkade (1991), Wurm (1996), Crystal (2000), and McConvell (2002). McConvell (2002, 5) notes that one of the most important measures of the degree of a language's endangerment is the proficiency level of its youngest speaker.

The category "speak" in table 6.1 is to be interpreted as "can understand and produce coherent sentences with appropriate vocabulary and grammar approximating to that of older people on a range of topics." In contrast, "don't speak" means that less than 30% of the population affiliated with the language have the ability to speak it, except in the case of the category "not spoken/extinct," where "don't speak" means no one speaks the language (McConvell 2002, 5).

According to McConvell's classification, Texas German in the New Braunfels area may be classified as critically endangered because there are virtually no fluent Texas German speakers under 60 years of age. This classification is only an estimation, because

TABLE 6.1
Levels of Endangerment
(McConvell 2002, 5)

	Age			
	5–19	*20–39*	*40–59*	*60+*
Strong	speak	speak	speak	speak
Endangered (early stage)	don't speak	speak	speak	speak
Seriously Endangered	don't speak	don't speak	speak	speak
Critically Endangered (near extinct)	don't speak	don't speak	don't speak	speak
Not Spoken (extinct)	don't speak	don't speak	don't speak	don't speak

the 2000 Census data do not differentiate between different German dialects. According to anecdotal evidence, about 50–60 speakers of other German dialects currently reside in the New Braunfels area. They are either recent immigrants from Germany who work in New Braunfels, San Antonio, or Austin, or they are speakers of other German American dialects who retired to New Braunfels because of its strong German heritage. All of the TGDP informants interviewed for this study are older than 60 years, and younger speakers between 50 and 60 years who were approached to participate in this study (but declined) could at best be classified as semi-fluent speakers. All available evidence thus suggests that NBG is critically endangered, that is, near extinct. Similar observations can be made for other Texas German communities, with the possible exception of Fredericksburg. The youngest informant interviewed by the TGDP so far is a carpenter in his late 40s from Fredericksburg who regularly speaks Texas German with his friends and family. However, even this informant acknowledges that it is difficult to find Texas German speakers outside of his circle of immediate family and friends. Moreover, he notes that he has not raised his children in Texas German, because English was "more practical."

Another method for measuring a language's level of endangerment relies on its number of speakers. For example, Krauss (1992, 4) offers a classification that distinguishes five different levels of endangerment: (1) Viable languages have population bases that are sufficiently large and thriving so that no threat to long-term survival is likely. (2) Viable but small languages have more than 1,000 speakers and are spoken in communities that are isolated or with a strong internal organization, and its speakers are aware of the way their language is a marker of identity. (3) Endangered languages are spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility, but only in favorable circumstances and with a growth in community support. (4) Nearly extinct languages are thought to be beyond the possibility of survival, usually because they are spoken by just a few elderly people. (5) Extinct languages are those where the last fluent speaker has died, and there is no hope of revival. Based on Krauss's classification, Texas German should be classified as nearly extinct despite its estimated 8,000–10,000 fluent speakers. I come to this conclusion because the Texas German community is no longer geographically isolated from speakers of other languages (as it was until the 1960s in some parts of the Hill Country), and it does not exhibit a strong internal organization. Moreover, as I will discuss in sections 6.3 and 6.4, there are neither favorable circumstances nor a growth in community support that would support the long-term survival of the dialect.

Language death is a concern not only of linguists because of the loss of valuable data about what is possible in human languages, but also of speakers of endangered languages, who are dramatically affected by the gradual loss of their identity and history (see Crystal 2000, 36–40). Often, indigenous language communities have encoded knowledge about their environment and medicinal practices in their language. With the extinction of half of the world's languages, such valuable knowledge is lost. In addition, some researchers argue that language extinction poses a threat that is similar in scope to the extinction of animals and plants. For example, Crystal suggests that the survival of the world's languages and cultures depends on the continued availability of a large pool of diverse language systems, similar to the need for a healthy and diverse ecosystem.

6.3. WHY IS TEXAS GERMAN DYING?

With the assessment that Texas German is critically endangered and that its impending loss will likely represent a drastic blow to the cultural identity of the Texas Germans, I now address the question of why Texas German is actually in the process of dying out. Sometimes overlooked by researchers of endangered languages and dialects are sociohistorical and political developments that influence a speech community. Haugen (1972b) was influential in raising this point, ultimately leading to the study of what he calls "the ecology of language":

> Most language descriptions are prefaced by a brief and perfunctory statement concerning the number and location of its speakers and something of their history. Rarely does such a description really tell the reader what

he ought to know about the social status and function of the language in question. Linguists have generally been too eager to get on with the phonology, grammar, and lexicon to pay more than superficial attention to what I would like to call the "ecology of language." [325]

Subsequent studies of endangered languages by Dorian (1977) and Gal (1979), among others, have given the "ecology of language" factor a more prominent role by also addressing sociological and historical aspects of language death. More recently, Edwards (1992) and Campbell (1994) have developed taxonomies for language endangerment and death, the latter offering the following list of nonlinguistic factors that may trigger language death:

> Discrimination, repression, rapid population collapse, lack of economic opportunities, on-going industrialization, rapid economic transformation, work patterns, migrant labor, communication with outside regions, resettlement, dispersion, migration, literacy, compulsory education, official language policies, military service, marriage patterns, acculturation, cultural destruction, war, slavery, famine, epidemics, religious proselytizing, resource depletion and forced changes in subsistence patterns, lack of social cohesion, lack of physical proximity among speakers, symbolism of the dominant language . . . , stigmatization, low prestige of the dying variety, absence of institutions that establish norms (schools, academics, texts), particular historical events, etc. [Campbell 1994, 1963]

Following Grenoble and Whaley (1998), Wolfram (2002, 767) distinguishes between macrovariables and microvariables. The former refer to situations external to the community, while the latter relate to specific factors affecting a particular speech community. While most of Campbell's (1994) factors leading to language endangerment and death can be cross-classified, it is clear that some of them, such as famine, resource depletion, and proselytizing, did not have any immediate impact on the Texas German speech community. Instead of discussing each of Campbell's factors individually, I shall group them into thematic threads to see how they affected the development of NBG. The specific factors I discuss in the remainder of this section are (1) loss of prestige and stigmatization, (2) education, and (3) migration and loss of group vitality.

6.3.1. LOSS OF PRESTIGE AND STIGMATIZATION. In chapter 2 I show that Texas German was a fully functional dialect at the eve of World War I. Parents of German heritage raised their children in Texas German, and it was spoken among family members, friends, neighbors, and in public. At the same time, schools, newspapers, and churches used standard German in their communications, while English was relegated primarily to the meetings of the city council and the court. New Braunfels businessmen who traded with merchants from non-German speaking areas also had to know some English in order to complete business transactions. The popularity of speaking German instead of English is recounted by one of the New Braunfels informants as follows:

> 6.1. No, ich konnt auch kein Englisch sprechen. Mir haben alles Deutche gesprochen zu Haus. Jede in die Gemeinde hat Deutsch gesprochen. Wenn wir zusamm kam, die Mama and Papa ham bei die Kegel warn. Und da sin mir halt als Kinner zusam kom, jeder hat Deutch gesprochen, wir konnten uns alle verstehen, warum sollten wir denn 'ne andere Sprache lern? [laughs] Un, you know, aber, mit die Zeit. . . .
> 'No, I also didn't know how to speak English. We all spoke German at home. Everyone in the community spoke German. When we got together for bowling, mom and dad spoke German. And as kids, we all got together, everyone spoke German, and we could understand each other; why should we learn any other language? [laughs] And, you know, as time goes by. . . .' [1-25-1-11-a 🔊]

In contrast to other immigrant groups in the United States, Texas Germans also enjoyed a considerable prestige among Anglo-Americans who often valued German culture, music, and education. For example, German bilingual schools enjoyed a relatively high prestige among non-German Texans, who regularly sent their children to attend these institutions, especially in larger towns such as Austin and San Antonio.

This relatively stable situation changed dramatically in large part because of World War I, which triggered anti-German sentiments and laws requiring the sole use of English in public schools. While prior English-only laws were not enforced effectively, the new

laws were implemented because of the fear of divided loyalties and identities among the unassimilated ethnic groups. Theodore Roosevelt sums up the mood at the time in a letter to Richard Hurd, then president of the American Defense Society, on January 3, 1919, a few months after the armistice that ended the fighting in World War I: "We have room for but one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out a concern as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a pollyglot [*sic*] boarding house; and we have room for but one, soul [*sic*] loyalty, and that loyalty is to the American people" (cited by Nettle and Romaine 2000, 193–94).

In chapter 2 I argued that English-only laws and the anti-German sentiments had a profound impact on the Texas German community. Children who had been raised and schooled in German were suddenly taught in English. They were punished for speaking their language, and their culture was ridiculed by English-speaking students and teachers. Informant 27 describes what children caught speaking German or Spanish had to do as a result of their violating the school code:

> 6.2. Da da – da – jetzt musste Engsch – Englisch lernen. Und dann – un mir dorfen nich Deutsch bei – odern – oder Spanisch bie die Schul sprechen. Und wenn die Lehrerin uns gefangen hat mit Deutsch sprechen, da musst mir uh schreiben, "I must not speak German in school. I must not speak Spanish in school. I must speak English in school."
> 'Then we had to learn English. And then we were not allowed to speak German – or Spanish – at school. And when the teacher caught us speaking German we had to write "I must not speak German in school.... I must not speak Spanish in school.... I must speak English in school.' [1-27-1-4-a 🔊]

While the Texas German speech community enjoyed a relatively high prestige among the Anglo-American population before World War I, the situation changed radically during and immediately after the war. This profound loss of prestige was, in my view, one of the major factors that led to the eventual demise of the dialect. The concept of "prestige" has been identified as one of

the most influential factors underlying linguistic variation and language change (for an overview, see McMahon 1994). For example, in the field of language contact, Hock (1986, 409) notes that prestige is one of the most important factors that influence the borrowing of lexical items. Holloway (1997, 180) observes that "the idea of prestige need not be connected to a particular language, but may in fact be linked even to the perception to a certain segment of a culture."

In the case of the Texas Germans, the identification of the "other" was relatively easy—everyone who spoke the language of the enemy. When it comes to the attitudes of Anglo-Americans toward the Texas Germans during and after the war, there was no mistake as to what they expected of their German-speaking neighbors. They were expected to speak only English in public and to proclaim their allegiance to the United States publicly. Often Texas Germans were denounced as unpatriotic and siding with the German Reich, because they had not managed to properly learn English and use only English in public. The following excerpt from the *Goliad Advance Guard* on September 15, 1918, illustrates how Texas Germans were perceived by many of their Anglo-American contemporaries during that time. The excerpt is from an article written by the chairman of the publicity committee of the Goliad County Council of Defense, who summarizes the views held by the members of that council.

> It would be a gracious act of self-denial and practical demonstration of patriotism for people who had formed this habit of speaking German to cease such a habit.... If there are any people in Victoria County today that are going to conceive, suddenly or gradually, any sympathy for anything German, language or otherwise, the quicker they are smoked out of their holes the better it will be for the public welfare.... It is a doubtful psychological question in the writer's mind whether any brain can think good, honest, United States patriotism in German words, but there can be no question that the best vehicle with which to express good, honest United States thoughts is the language of the United States itself.... There is no genuine honest American household, where the English language stops at the front gate.... It is the German mind, the German heart, and the German tongue, of which we disapprove.... There are means at hand to amply

and promptly punish a citizen who manifests a disloyal attitude.... Let that statement sink deep in every one. The resident who persists in thinking "Deutschland Über Alles" or "Fatherland" stuff will come to very great sorrow. Public opinion is a very powerful weapon, and it strikes in many forms. And he who willfully persists in speaking the German language when requested by recognized authority to stop doing so places himself in the attitude of giving aid and comfort to the enemy, and the courts might hold him or her answerable to the law for treasonable conduct.... There is manhood sufficient unto the task remaining in us who stay at home to make a clean-up of Germanism in Goliad County, to the end that our soldier boys when they come back will not find provocations to pitch a few hand grenades in enemy nests in this county.... We, the Council of Defense of Goliad County call upon all loyal Americans, particularly those of German descent, residing in Goliad County, to abandon and abstain from the use of the German language in private conversations, in business dealings, in sermons and public addresses.

Overt discrimination against Texas Germans did not reach the same levels in New Braunfels as in the eastern and southern areas of the German Belt where the German population made up a considerably smaller percentage of the population. Nevertheless, it seems certain that the public humiliation and accusations of Texas Germans reported from other communities throughout the state left many New Braunfels residents with the idea that there was a social stigma attached to speaking Texas German. As a result of this stigmatization, many parents of German-speaking children felt disapproval and pressure from the English-speaking community, which led them to raise their children in English instead of Texas German.[2]

The conscious choice by many parents to raise their children in English was one of the main factors that eventually led to a diminishing number of Texas German speakers. This reduction triggered a succession of events that ultimately led to a reduced pool of speakers who would in later years subscribe to German newspapers or attend German-speaking church services. As argued in chapter 2, there is a direct correlation between the stigmatization of speaking Texas German as a result of World War I and the decrease in circulation of German newspapers and attendance of German church services some ten to twenty years later.

6.3.2. EDUCATION. The loss of German as an instructional language had a profound impact on the Texas German community. In the written survey, informant 83 describes her feelings toward speaking German during the war: "When I was in school, Germany was America's enemy. People were prejudiced against the Germans. I was careful not to speak German in school." School was conducted in English, and children were punished for speaking German. The language in which schooling takes place is highlighted by Edwards (1982, 27) as one of the most influential factors determining language choice among students. In his view, schools often reflect and determine normal practices in mixed language communities and, in turn, may have a significant impact on the students' language choice both during the school years and afterward.

The long-term impact of English-only policies at school was deep. Children who were raised in German and who were required to speak only English at school would find it hard to learn English at first (see, e.g., 1-77-1-3-a). However, once they had mastered English, they often did not speak German at all at school, not even during recess, as they wanted to conform to school norms. To illustrate, consider the following excerpt in which informant 34 recounts how, after initial problems with learning English, she and her German-speaking friends made sure that they only spoke English in order to fit in:

6.3. Un uh da hamma gesprocken un denn – eh schlusslich ach – zwei – drei Jahre später – den sinn mir alle zusamm – gegang. Un die – die mer hamm alle Englisch gesprochen. Mir ham kein Deutsch in – or kein Spanisch in die Schul. Die Kinder hamm vielleich – die Mexikaner hamm vielleich uhn bißchen Spanisch gesprochen aber mir hamm alle Englisch gesprochen.
'And there we spoke, and finally two or three years later we all went together. And we all spoke English. We had no German or Spanish at school. The kids maybe – the Mexicans maybe spoke a bit Spanish – but we all spoke English.' [1-34-1-7-a 🔊]

Over time, these Texas German children started to speak more and more English, not only to their German-speaking friends, but also to their parents. Often, parents would address their children in Texas German only to get a response in English. At the same

time, children insisted that their parents use English at home when their friends came over, as the following excerpt illustrates:

6.4. Ja, un – denn als ich – wo ich älter geworden bin, ich wollt ham so, uhm, so gern, daß meine Mutter 'n bißchen mehr Englisch sprechen sollt', für wenn meine Freunde rüver kam. Un' um, wenn die hat – die ham was in Deutsch zu mich gesag, ich had's immer in English, zurück hab' ich zurück gesprochen zu die.
'Yes, and then when I got older, I wanted my mother to speak a little more English to me when friends came over. And when she said something to me in German, I always responded to her in English.' [1-62-1-10-a 🔊]

The enforcement of English-only policies at school not only affected language choice among friends and at home, but also in later years at church. Children who had learned how to read and write in English (but not in German) were unable to read German Bibles and hymn books at church. In order to appeal to a younger audience, English-language church services were thus introduced during the 1920s. As more and more Texas German speakers passed away, fewer church services were offered in German, as informant 78 recalls:

6.5. Da war ne so ne ich sachs ma das sind community da in Gonzales county warn warn alle Deutsch un da wir hatten Lutherische Kirche da un ne un – da sind wir alle nach die Kirche gegangen die ham Deutsch gesprochen in die Kirche bis oh ich weiß nach achtze – neunzehn dreißig irgendwe un denn sind alles Englisch geworden. Alten Leut sind gestorben und dann die Jungen die jüngst – Jungen die konnten das nich verstehen in Deutsch.
'There was another thing there in the community in Gonzalez; they were all Germans, and we had a Lutheran church. We went to the church and always spoke German until about 1930, and then everything became English. Old people passed away, and the younger folks – the young people couldn't understand German.' [1-78-1-2-a 🔊]

6.3.3. MIGRATION AND LOSS OF GROUP VITALITY. While the New Braunfels community remained relatively homogeneous until World War I, this situation began to change in the 1920s. The

influx of cars and continued improvement of the road system led to greater mobility, which in turn led to greater contact between Texas Germans living in the New Braunfels area and their English-speaking neighbors in the surrounding communities. The continued growth of San Antonio as well as the opening of Randolph Air Force Base northeast of San Antonio in the 1930s led to an influx of English speakers who visited New Braunfels on weekends to enjoy Landa Park or even to settle in the area. The years following World War II saw massive growth in the New Braunfels textile, construction-material, and tourism industries, all of which attracted more people from out of town, who were predominantly English speaking. Beginning in the 1960s, New Braunfels began to attract large numbers of retirees and commuters, as informants 29 and 30 point out when asked about the origin of people moving to the New Braunfels area:

6.6. Norde, Masse aus'm Norden, weil die komm nach Texas, weil's warm hier is. Die tun das – das Eis. Das kalte Wetter kenn sie nicht mehr vedrahen. So dann moven se nach – nach Texas.
'From the north, many people came from the north to Texas because it's warm here. They can't take the cold weather and the ice any more; that's why they're moving to Texas.' [1-29-1-16-a 🔊]

6.7. Un ich denk ne Mase Leut – ham ausgefunden, wie schhen's hier war. Ich weiß uh – die sind ne Mase du – Wir habn for a new park gesprochen. Das war un schehne Platz hinzukomm. Un hamn Leut ausgefund'n, wie – wie uh – Ne Mase Leut, wassen hier wohn, arbeiten in San Anton. Welche fahren nach Austin.
'And I guess that a whole bunch of people found out how beautiful it is here. I know there are a bunch of people here. We spoke up for a new park. That was the beautiful place to come to. And then people found out that a lot of people live here and work in San Antonio. Some drive to Austin.' [1-30-1-12-a 🔊][3]

While English-speaking people moved to New Braunfels, a significant number of Texas Germans left the area to attend college, to find jobs in a larger city, or to enlist in the military. The migration of English speakers into the New Braunfels area and the simultaneous migration of Texas German speakers out of the same area

eventually led to a weakening of the group vitality of the Texas German community. According to Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977, 308), the group vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the inter-group setting." Below I argue that the in- and out-migration accelerated the dynamics already set in motion by the English-only laws of 1918 that promoted the use of English and concomitantly led to a loss of prestige of Texas German.

In the remainder of this section, I address three types of institutions that have been most affected by the migration since the 1930s. These institutions eventually discontinued their use of Texas German on a regular basis, which in turn led to the loss of group vitality vis-à-vis the surrounding community of English speakers. The institutions are (1) families, (2) social organizations, and (3) the economy.

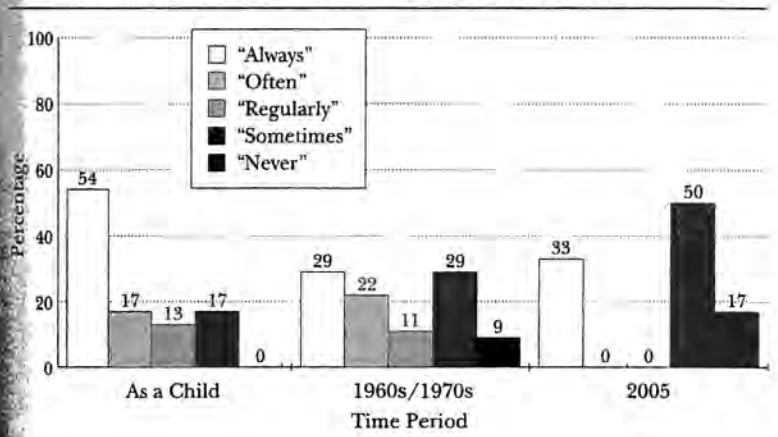
6.3.3.1. *Families.* First, consider how much the use of Texas German has declined in families over the past 70–80 years. One factor, already discussed above, was that many parents decided to raise their children in English instead of Texas German to avoid stigmatization of their children and to afford them better socioeconomic opportunities. Another factor is situations in which Texas German speakers married English-only speakers and subsequently chose English as the home language. Marrying outside one's ethnic group (so-called exogamy) has been identified as one of the most influential factors triggering language loss in ethnic communities. For example, Paulston (1985, 499) points out that marrying outside of one's ethnic group "obviously necessitates language shift for one partner, at least within the family.... This shift typically is in the direction of the socio-economically favored group." Following Paulston, Holloway (1997, 186) offers a brief summary of the research literature on this topic (Gal 1984; Nelde 1986; King 1989; Mougeon and Beniak 1989; Rouchdy 1989) and finds that "it is evident that the rate of exogamy in a terminal language community cannot be viewed in isolation, but is instead related to other social, cultural and economic factors within the community." So far, I have argued that the stigmatization of Texas Germans played

an important role favoring English as the home language in households where both parents speak the dialect. In addition, increased migration to the New Braunfels area led to an increase in mixed marriages in which English was chosen as the home language.

This development is nicely illustrated by the answers of my New Braunfels area informants. One of the questions posed in the written questionnaire was "How much German did/do you speak with your parents (a) as a kid, (b) in the 1960s/1970s, (c) today?" Informants were asked to circle one answer on a five-point scale ranging from "always" to "never", with "often," "regularly," and "sometimes" in between. Figure 6.1 shows how the use of Texas German with the informants' parents has decreased during their lives.

Figure 6.1 illustrates that all of the informants spoke at least some Texas German at home when growing up. However, only 54% of the informants spoke it "always" with their parents, while 16.5% spoke it "often," 13% "regularly," and 16.5% "sometimes." These numbers demonstrate that a significant number of informants already had a limited Texas German input from their parents when growing up. Based on all available information, the most likely reason for this limited use of Texas German between parents and children was that parents decided to speak more and more

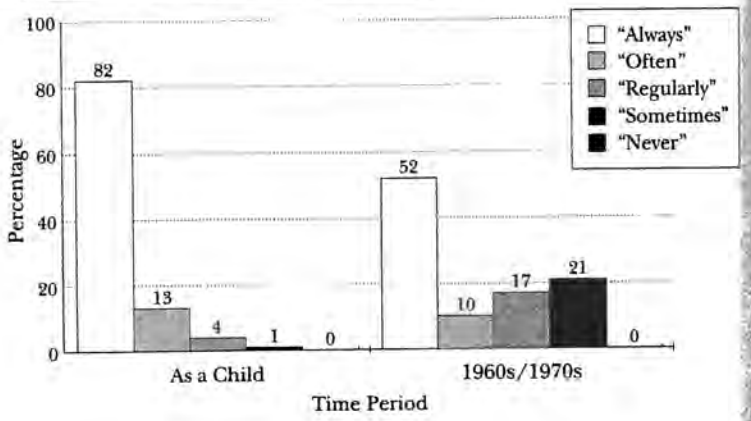
FIGURE 6.1
Reports of Texas German Spoken with Parents



English at home. Figure 6.1 also shows that the trend toward using less Texas German continued after the informants had left the parents' houses. In the 1960s and 1970s only 29% of the informants "always" spoke Texas German with their parents, while 22% spoke it "often," 11% "regularly," 29% "sometimes," and 9% "never." The data for present-day use of Texas German with parents is to be interpreted with caution as only 12 out of 52 informants responded to this question (the other informants' parents have passed away). The present-day data are nevertheless interesting because there appears to be a split in the use of Texas German between our informants and their parents: 33% of the informants report to "always" speak Texas German with their parents, while 50% speak it with their parents "sometimes" and 17% "never." A comparison of the data from the 1960s/1970s with present-day data indicates that the percentage of informants who "always" speak Texas German with their parents has remained relatively stable, while the percentage of those who spoke it "often" or "regularly" with their parents appears to have drastically dropped.

The data on Texas German use with parents should be compared and contrasted with data on Texas German use with grandparents. Figure 6.2 illustrates how much Texas German the TGDP informants spoke with their grandparents when growing up and during the 1960s/1970s.

FIGURE 6.2
Reports of Texas German Spoken with Grandparents



The data show that my informants spoke Texas German almost exclusively with their grandparents (82% "always," 13% "often"). This high number is probably due to the fact that most of the informants' grandparents did not speak any English, or only a few words and phrases at best. Furthermore, many informants recall that their grandparents often insisted on speaking German at home (even when they spoke English), in particular with their grandchildren. This was in stark contrast to many parents who either did not care about what language their children spoke when coming home from school or those who consciously raised their children only in English. Some informants report that they learned most of their Texas German from their grandparents and from playing with other children, but not from their parents. When they addressed their grandparents in English, they were often not understood and had to switch to German in order to be able to communicate with them. The percentages for the 1960s/1970s show a decline in speaking Texas German that is similar to that observed with the parents in figure 6.1 (note also that only 29 informants answered this question as the other's grandparents had passed away).

Most interesting, when one compares figures 6.1 and 6.2 is the percentage of informants who spoke Texas German with their parents or grandparents "always" and "often" when growing up. Taken together, 95% of the TGDP informants spoke Texas German with their grandparents "always" or "often," in contrast to only 60% who spoke it with their parents. I suggest that this discrepancy is indicative of the parents' choice to raise their children primarily in English instead of Texas German. According to all available evidence, this choice is most likely to have been motivated by socioeconomic factors and fears of stigmatization, as well as the simple fact that only one parent did speak Texas German. Take, for example, the following quote from informant 62, which illustrates how children were raised in mixed marriages:

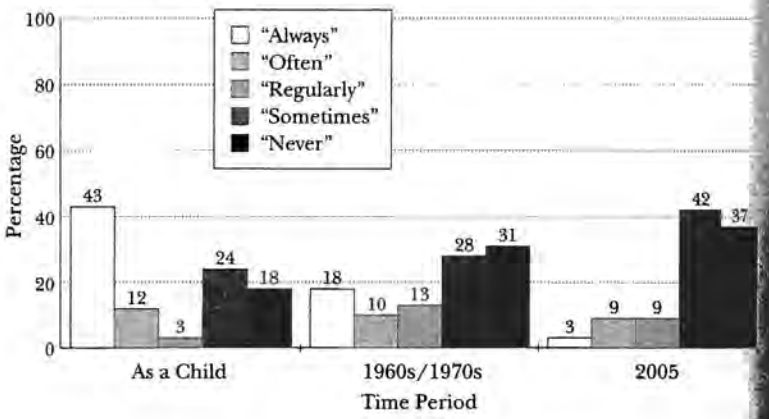
6.8. Und seine Frau konnt' kein Deutsch, die konnt' 'n bißchen Deutsch sprechen. Aber die kam von 'ne Englische – Familie. Und die kamen von, – uh – New Hampshire. Oder oben, Norden – glaub's war New Hampshire. Un uhh – So, die zwei ham nie, und ihre Kinder kannten kein – könned kein Deutsch.

'And his wife couldn't speak German; she could only speak a little. But she came from an English-speaking family, from New Hampshire. Or somewhere up north, I think it was New Hampshire. Und so their two children never learned how to speak German.' [1-62-1-10-a 🔊]

Next, consider how much Texas German my informants spoke with their siblings. Figure 6.3 shows even lower percentages of Texas German use with siblings than with parents. When my informants were children, less than half of them (43%) "always" spoke Texas German with their siblings, while only 12% spoke it "often," and 3% "regularly." When one compares the percentages in figure 6.3 with those in figure 6.1, it is striking that 24% of the informants spoke Texas German only "sometimes" while 18% "never" spoke it with their siblings.

What are the causes for this discrepancy in language use with parents and siblings? In families in which parents raised their children primarily in English, the informants learned Texas German from their grandparents and other children, who were the "link" to Texas German. However, when among themselves the informants often preferred to speak English with their siblings. Once they attended school and were exposed to the more prestigious

FIGURE 6.3
Reports of Texas German Spoken with Siblings



English, they quickly adopted English for home use, as the quotes in (6.3) and (6.4) above illustrate. The data for the 1960s/1970s and 2006 show a continuing decline of Texas German use with siblings among my informants. This suggests that the strongest link between my informants and their use of Texas German was their grandparents, followed by their parents and siblings.

Once my informants started their own families, their use of Texas German declined further. The percentages in figure 6.4 illustrate the small number of informants who spoke Texas German with their spouses in the 1960s/1970s: 40% of informants spoke it "never" and 26% only "sometimes" with their spouses during that time. Only 14% spoke it "regularly," 8% "often," and 12% "always." The present-day data demonstrate that the frequency with which my informants speak Texas German with their spouses has declined even further. Figure 6.5 shows a similar trend for language use with children.

The reasons for this decline are similar to the factors mentioned above. For example, the rate of intermarriage among my informants has drastically increased in comparison to that of their parents. This means that by the 1960s most of my informants did not have a language choice, as more than three-quarters of them

FIGURE 6.4
Reports of Texas German Spoken with Spouse

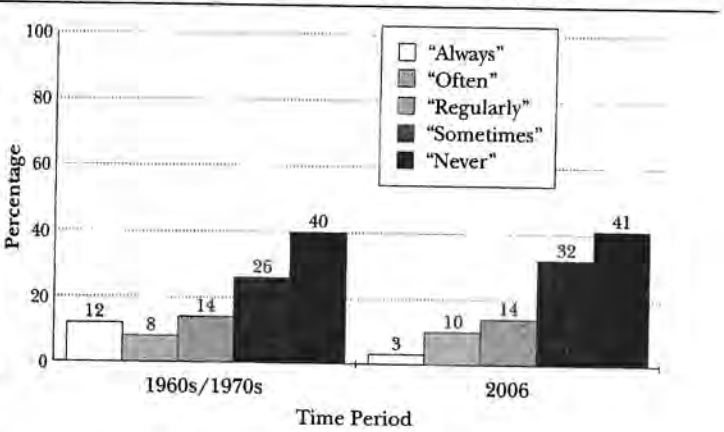
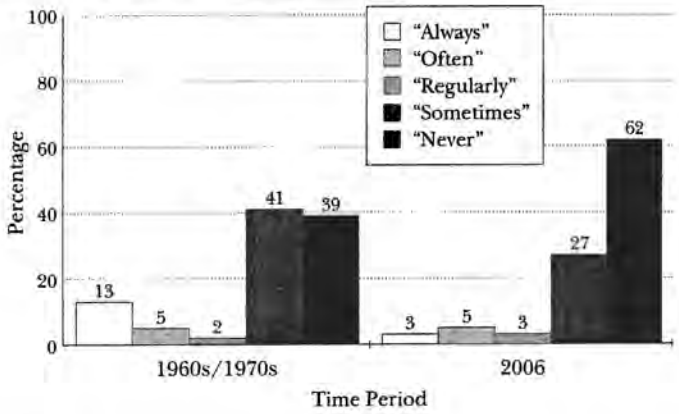


FIGURE 6.5
Reports of Texas German Spoken with Children



married English-only speakers (who would sometimes understand Texas German, but not speak it). However, even in families where both parents spoke Texas German, the language was not always spoken at home, mainly out of fear that the children would not properly acquire the more prestigious English. In some cases it was simply not practical to speak Texas German at home, as it was easier to raise children in the language that was spoken outside of the home. In the following quote, informant 59 explains why she and her husband did not continuously speak Texas German in their New Braunfels home:

6.9. Well, nein, nicht zu viel. Ich, uh – mir ham versucht, aber mir wussten, uh, dass die Englisch would – you know, die mussten Englisch wissen. Un hier un' da, da ham mir, uh, versucht, 'n bißchen Deutsch zu sprechen wie Dankeschen, un ja un no un so weiter un uh, Bitteschen. Un, aber – uh – wirklich, die zu sagen. Die ham richtich nich die – Mir ham nicht die Zeit gehabt. Die Kinder, wen die nach die Schule war'n, un', wo die sechzehn Jahr war'n, da ham die auch nach die Schul, weil ich war alleine.
'Well, not too many. I – we have tried, but we know that English would, you know, they had to know English. And here and there we tried to speak a bit of German, like "Dankeschön" [Thank you], and so on, like "Bitteschön" [Please]. But really, we didn't

really have the time. The children, after they got home from school, they spoke it because I was alone at home until they were sixteen.' [1-59-1-13 🔊]

Similarly, informant 34 recalls how she and her Texas German–speaking husband moved from New Braunfels to Buda in the 1960s because it was closer to her husband's job in Austin (after their retirement they returned to New Braunfels). With their first child, they tried to continue speaking Texas German at home, but soon realized that there were no other Texas German speakers in the neighborhood. As a result, they gradually spoke less and less Texas German at home until they eventually spoke almost exclusively English by the time they had their second child.

6.10. My unser erste Sohn der, der konnt 'n bisschen sprechen, aber mir mir ham ham ses nicht gelernt weil mir haben in Buda gewohnt. Und ahh. Und da waren keine deutsche Kinder da, und wo wir jung waren, da hammir gar nicht daran gedacht. Das war. Mir, mir hammen nichts – We might, wie ma sagt das war nicht so important. Jetzt, jetzt bin ich mehr mir hätten – Und die Kinder sagen immer, warum habt ihruns nicht Deutsch gelernt? Wir waren jung, wir hammen uns jung verheiraten, hammer jung Kinder gehabt.
'Our first son, he could speak it a little bit, but we didn't really teach him properly because we lived in Buda. There were no German children there, and when we were young, we didn't even think about it. That wasn't so important back then. Now, I'm more – And the kids always ask us, "Why didn't you teach us German?" We were young; we married when we were young; we had kids when we were young.' [1-34-1-22-a 🔊]

These examples illustrate that since the 1930s increased migration affected Texas German family structures as well as the choice of language spoken at home. It accelerated the demise of Texas German set in motion by the stigmatization following the English-only laws. With more English speakers moving into the area, intermarriages increased, which led to more and more households where English was the primary language. Other Texas German parents consciously decided to raise their children only in English because

of perceived socioeconomic advantages and fewer opportunities to use Texas German outside of the home. At the same time, many Texas Germans left their traditional areas of settlement to enlist in the military, pursue a college degree, or to find a job in a larger city. Even when both partners spoke Texas German and strongly identified with their heritage, they often chose to raise their children in English for practical reasons, including the higher prestige attached to it.

6.3.3.2. *Social Organizations.* Besides the family, a number of social organizations were traditional strongholds of Texas German language and culture in New Braunfels. Singing clubs, athletic clubs, shooting clubs, bowling clubs, and benevolent organizations such as the Herman's Sons and the Germania Farmers Verein played important roles in the social lives of New Braunfels area residents. As discussed in chapter 2, these organizations served the same cultural and societal functions as in Germany, namely for people to engage in leisure activities with like-minded people and to provide entertainment for others at public events. As a result of the stigmatization of the German language and German culture during World War I, many of these organizations discontinued the use of Texas German during World War I and World War II. The switch to English was intended as a sign of patriotism.

In the 1950s, when older members of some of these organizations attempted to switch their organization's "official language" back to German, they discovered that this was not an easy task. Younger members of German heritage were more comfortable with speaking English in public, and English-only speakers who had moved to the area in the meantime had joined these organizations and insisted on the continued use of English. This did not prevent older Texas Germans from speaking their native dialect in private during meetings, but at the same time it did not encourage other members to make an effort to use Texas German either. As a result, the number of native Texas German speakers shrank as the older members passed away over the years.

At present, only 26% of the New Braunfels area informants report membership in social organizations such as shooting or singing clubs. Those that belong to such organizations report only limited use of Texas German there: none of the informants "always" speak German in their social organizations, while only 4% say that they speak it "often," 8% "regularly," 14% "sometimes," and 74% "never." The percentages demonstrate that these former strongholds of German language and culture in the New Braunfels area no longer support the formerly frequent use of Texas German among its members. All available evidence thus suggests that this situation is largely due to an increase in membership of English-only speakers as well as lower competence levels in Texas German among younger members of German heritage.

6.3.3.3. *Economy.* Sociolinguistic motivations for language change have been shown to be quite powerful by Labov's (1963, 1966) pioneering studies. In language contact studies, economic factors have also been identified as one of the most prevalent causes for language shift and eventual language death (Patterson 1977; Giacalone Ramat 1983; Holloway 1997). For example, Gal's (1979) study of the shift from Hungarian to German in Oberwart, Austria (on the Hungarian border), shows that one of the primary motivations for Hungarian speakers to switch to German is socioeconomic. In that community, speaking Hungarian is typically associated with traditional rural peasant values, being relatively poor, and backwardness. In contrast, speaking German is associated with professional jobs, modern lifestyle, and a higher level of income. Following Gal's work, economic factors have been identified by a number of other studies as one of the most important causes triggering language shift. Commenting on this literature, Grenoble and Whaley (1998, 31) observe, "For endangered languages one must take into account the potential of economic issues to outweigh all others combined." In their view, there is a strong belief among speakers of minority languages that socioeconomic advancement is crucially linked to knowledge of the dominant language.

In chapter 2 I argued that knowledge of English was not crucial for economic success in the New Braunfels community before World War I. Because the area was overwhelmingly settled by Texas German speakers, there was little need to use English in business

transactions, except for situations that involved outsiders who did not speak Texas German. All available evidence suggests that this situation did not change much, as long as the number of English-speaking newcomers was relatively small, which it was until the 1930s. In fact, outside businessmen who wanted to sell their goods to New Braunfels residents had to speak at least some German in order to be successful. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt from informant 32, whose grandmother did not speak any English before her death in 1965. The Hispanic grocer spoke some German in order to be able to sell his goods to German-speaking customers during the 1940s and 1950s.

6.11. Und uh die konnt immer noch kein Wort Deutsch uh Englisch.... Der Gemiseman der war ein Mexikaner. Er ist zu San Anton gefahren hat sein Wagen voller Obst und Gemise gemacht und denn ist der von Haus zu Haus gegangen. Und hat Gemise verkauft zu alle die Hausfrauen. Und die Hausfrauen haben alle Deutsch gesprochen. So musste er Deutsch lernen dass er sagen konnen was es kostet und und wie Geld sie geben und all sowas.
'And they still didn't know a word of German – I mean English.... The grocer was a Mexican. He drove to San Antonio to load his truck with fruit and vegetables, and then he went from house to house to sell vegetables to the housewives. And the housewives all spoke German. So he had to learn German so that he could tell them the prices and how much they had to pay and so on.' [1-32-1-7-a 🔊]

Up to the 1950s it was also still advantageous to speak German when looking for employment. For example, informant 1 recalls getting a phone call from the owner of the H. E. Butt supermarket chain in 1954, who was building a new store in the area. He called informant 1 specifically because he was looking to hire a German-speaking butcher, as the following passage illustrates:

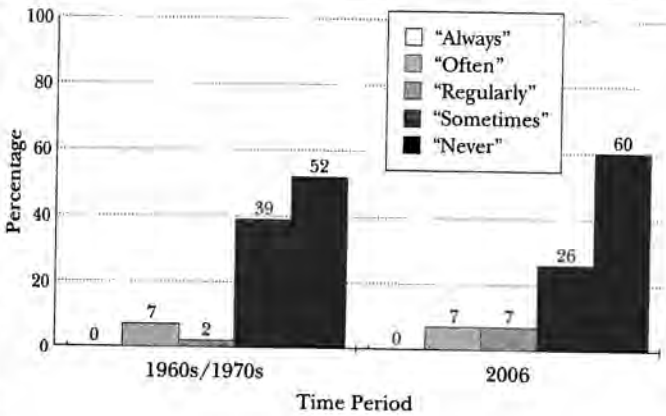
6.12. Un da hab ich gesagt, well sch– uh sachn Sie mal, ich will wissen. Warum – Du hast – 'ne Masse ander Metzger, was ieberall for Arbeit suchen. Warum kommst du nach mich? So hatter da, hatter gesagt, well ich hab gehehrt, Sie ken die deutsche Sprache noch ziemlich gut sprechen.

'And then I said – well – tell me, I want to know. You have a whole bunch of butchers who are looking for work everywhere. Why are you asking me? Then he told me that he heard that I still know how to speak German well.' [1-1-1-14-a 🔊]

However, with the large influx of English-only speakers moving to the New Braunfels area following World War II, the demand for German-speaking employees shrank. This development was also accelerated by the fact that the last generation of residents who spoke only German gradually passed away during the 1950s and 1960s. Their children (such as informant 32, see 6.11 above), who typically grew up bilingual, did not require German-speaking shopkeepers for their shopping activities because they felt comfortable with English. As such, the decreasing need for German-speaking employees can be regarded as a result of Texas German children becoming fluent in English and of large numbers of English-only speakers moving to the New Braunfels area.

This development is also illustrated by the dwindling numbers of German-speakers in the workplace. While as late as the 1930s a large number of businesses in the New Braunfels area were run by German-speaking employees, this situation began to change after World War II. By the 1960s and 1970s, there were already con-

FIGURE 6.6
Reports of German Spoken with Coworkers



siderably fewer German-speaking opportunities in the workplace. Consider, for instance, one of the questions posed in the written questionnaire, which asked "How much German did/do you speak at work in the 1960s/1970s and today?" Informants were asked to circle one answer on a five-point scale ranging from "always" to "never", with "often," "regularly," and "sometimes" in between. Figure 6.6 shows a relatively low percentage of Texas German speakers who report speaking German at the workplace. More than 90% of the 36 informants who answered this question state that they "never" or only "sometimes" spoke Texas German with their coworkers during the 1960s/1970s. The present-day numbers are roughly the same but need to be interpreted with caution, as only 15 of the 52 informants reported that they were currently working.

6.3.3.4. *Summary.* I have shown that the influx of English speakers from the 1940s onward and the simultaneous migration of Texas German speakers out of the New Braunfels area eventually led to a weakening of the group vitality of the Texas German community. In the years following World War II, we see that the continuous pursuit of socioeconomic opportunity and social advancement by members of the Texas German community has begun to re-orient the community toward English, which has gained in prestige vis-à-vis Texas German. At the same time, the sociopsychological pressure from the dominant group has led to a negative evaluation of Texas German, thus providing strong motivation for language shift beginning in the 1940s, thereby setting the stage for eventual language death.

6.4. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

This section explores the question of whether it may be possible to revitalize Texas German as a local community language. Some minority communities that were on the way to completely losing their ancestral languages have implemented programs to revive their cultural and linguistic traditions. Along these lines, Fishman's (1991) proposals regarding the reversal of language shift are instructive as they are based on a classification of different levels describing distinct stages of severity of an intergenerational dislocation. Table 6.2 summarizes Fishman's (1991, 395) levels of reversing language shift (read from the bottom up).

The successful revitalization of Welsh is an example of how language shift can be reversed. Since the English Act of Union in 1543, Welsh was pushed back by official laws favoring the use of English. Over the next four centuries, the use of Welsh declined further and further, until in the 1960s there was a grassroots movement to preserve it. With more than a half million fluent Welsh speakers left by the 1970s, Welsh was located between level 7 and level 6 of Fishman's model of reversing language shift (see table 6.2). However, the founders of the Welsh Civil Rights Movement

TABLE 6.2
Stages of Reversing Language Shift:
Severity of Intergenerational Dislocation
(to be read from the bottom up; Fishman 1991, 395)

1.	Education, work sphere, mass media, and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.
2.	Local/regional mass media and government services.
3.	The local/regional (i.e., non-neighborhood) work sphere, both among Xmen [speakers of the obsolescent language] and among Ymen [speakers of the dominant language].
4b.	Public [i.e., state-run] schools for Xish [the obsolescent language] children, offering some instruction via Xish [the obsolescent language], but substantially under Yish [the dominant language] curricular and staffing control.
4a.	Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish [the obsolescent language] curricular and staffing control.
	II. Reversing Language Shift
5.	Schools of literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6.	The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighborhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission.
7.	Cultural interaction in Xish [the obsolescent language] primarily involving the community-based older generation.
8.	Reconstructing Xish [the obsolescent language] and adult acquisition of X S[tandard] L[anguage].
	I. Reversing Language Shift to Attain Diglossia

were able to gather institutional support for Welsh kindergartens and subsequently for bilingual programs at the primary and secondary levels. This move started the reversal of language shift in the Welsh community as it lifted its status to level 4 of Fishman's model. According to Jenkins and Williams (2000, 17), as a result of this movement, Welsh regained prestige as an effective medium of education as well as a source of identity and self-esteem. Rising numbers of fluent Welsh speakers subsequently led to an increase of books published in Welsh. The increase in prestige has subsequently been recognized by different sectors of public life, for example, on Welsh road signs, official government forms, and radio stations (see Jenkins and Williams 2000). As a result of these language revitalization efforts, the status of Welsh is at the beginning of the twenty-first century between level 2 and 3 of Fishman's model (see table 6.2) and considerably healthier. Similar efforts by minority communities have led to a revitalization of Catalan in Spain and Frisian in the Netherlands, both of which were formerly stigmatized. However, revitalization campaigns are not always successful, as is illustrated by the unsuccessful attempt by the Irish government to revive Irish. Despite policies of positive discrimination, which financially rewards families and communities who achieve a certain level of proficiency in Irish, the language is still dying (Hindley 1990, 168).

One major factor determining the outcome of language maintenance and language revitalization efforts is the language attitudes of the speakers of the minority language. Language attitudes have been shown to play an important role in sociolinguistics (see Fasold 1984, 147–76, for an overview) and have typically been studied in two different ways: (1) the direct method of study, which makes use of questionnaires, interviews, and scaling techniques, and (2) the indirect method where a matched guise test is used (see Lambert et al. 1960). The results of this line of research have shown that people's attitude toward language influences both their opinion about its speakers and their ability to acquire it (Watson 1989; Rouchdy 1989; Jones 2001). With respect to endangered languages, Fishman (1991, 174) observes that language revitalization is typically successful only when speakers have positive attitudes toward their

minority language. The lack of positive attitudes toward the minority language usually leads to language loss, according to Grinevald (1998, 142), who points out that "language loss is ... mostly a matter of shift in language loyalty."

From my first encounter with Texas German in Fredericksburg during the summer of 2001, it was apparent that a great number of speakers viewed their variety as contrasting with what they perceived as "good" German (i.e., standard German). The negative label attached by many Texas Germans to their dialect also becomes apparent when they refer to themselves or other speakers as "Deutschverderber" (literally, someone who corrupts German). To determine whether any such thinking might influence the attitudes of my informants toward language maintenance, I decided to include a number of such questions in the written survey.

Item 31 addressed the informants' attitude toward Texas German: "I am proud to be a speaker of Texas German." Informants were presented with a five-point scale, with "I strongly agree" and "I strongly disagree" at opposite ends, and "I agree," "I don't know," and "I disagree" in between. Figure 6.7 shows that almost all informants expressed a high level of pride in Texas German: 63% "strongly agree" and 33% "agree" that they are proud to be speakers of Texas German, and only 4% "don't know."

The goal of question 32 ("Which of the following applies to you?") was to elicit broader responses about whether informants

FIGURE 6.7
"I Am Proud to Be a Speaker of Texas German"

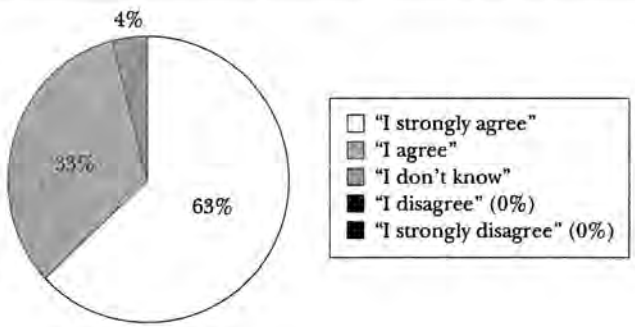
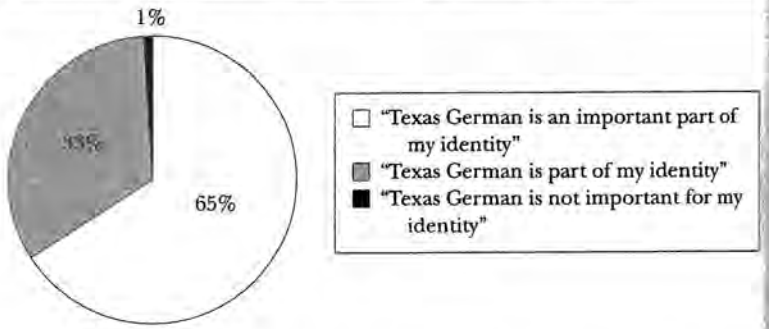


FIGURE 6.8
"Which of the Following Applies to You?"



view Texas German as an integral part of their identity. The question gave three possible choices: (1) "Texas German is an important part of my identity," (2) "Texas German is a part of my identity," and (3) "Texas German is not important for my identity." The results in figure 6.8 are similar to those in figure 6.7; they show that the majority of the New Braunfels area informants regard Texas German as an important part of their identity. Given that the great majority of informants are proud of speaking Texas German and view it as an integral part of their identity, I was interested to learn more about my informants' views of whether some form of German should be passed on to the younger generations (question 19). The overwhelming majority (97%) answered this question with "yes" (3% answered it with "no"). At the same time, 5 of the 52 informants offered a number of interesting comments about intergenerational language transmission in the "additional comments" section). For example, informant 79 noted that it is "very important to continue German language." This opinion is in stark contrast to informant 80, who pointed out that "English in America is best."

Interestingly, informant 134 (born in 1945), who is the daughter of informant 80, placed more emphasis on German language and culture than her mother: "I would like my children to know some of the German language and culture. Both my children have studied German in high school two years. I've tried to pass on German celebrations like going to Wurstfest or St. Nicholas Day or learning to waltz and polka." Informant 169 appears to share the feelings of informant 134: "It wasn't important to me soon enough. The grandchildren are grown already and neither they nor our children speak German, although the children understand some." Informant 96 does not seem to care what form of German is transmitted to the younger generations. He pointed out that "both are important. I hate to see Texas German die out, but any German at all is good." These comments support the data in figures 6.7 and 6.8 above by demonstrating that there is a generally positive attitude toward maintaining Texas German while at the same time Texas German plays an important role in the identity of the informants.

To shed some light on the question of whether informants prefer the use of Texas German over the use of standard German, the survey contained two sets of questions. Question 20 asked "Do you wish your children spoke (a) German, or (b) Texas German?" For each of the two options, informants had a choice between "yes," "no," and "don't know." Question 21 asked the same question, but for the informants' grandchildren. Figures 6.9 and 6.10 illustrate the results for questions 20 and 21, respectively.

The percentages in figures 6.9 show that almost three-quarters of the informants wish that their children spoke German and Texas German, with a very small preference for the former over the latter. The percentages for the comparable question regarding their grandchildren in figure 6.10 attest a slightly lesser desire for their grandchildren to speak both variants, again with a small preference for the standard variety. These responses generally confirm the positive attitude of more than two-thirds of the respondents toward Texas German illustrated by figures 6.7 and 6.8 above.

Given these relatively positive language attitudes, I was interested to find out whether my informants were of the opinion that measures should be put in place in order to preserve Texas German. To determine the informants' view on this issue, question 22 of the written survey asked "Do you think that Texas German should be preserved?" A large number of informants expressed their wish that Texas German should be preserved, as figure 6.11

FIGURE 6.9
"Do You Wish Your Children Spoke ..."

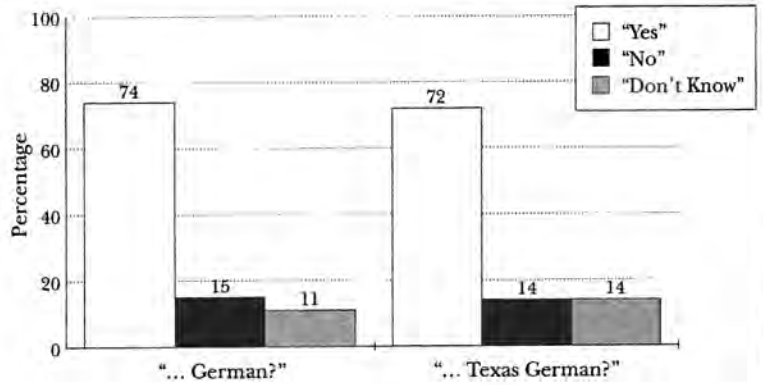
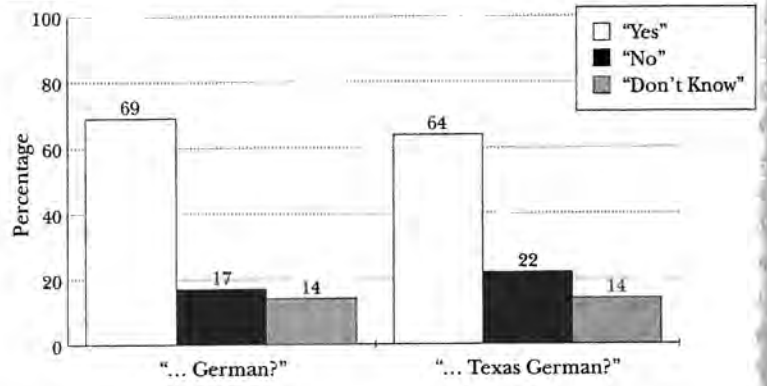


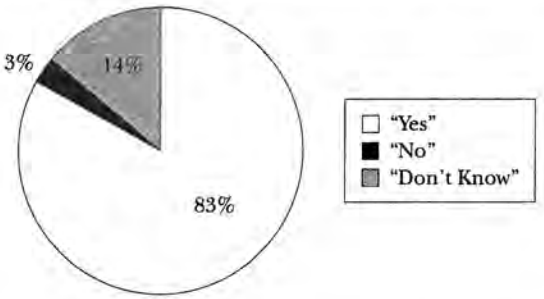
FIGURE 6.10
"Do You Wish Your Grandchildren Spoke ..."



illustrates: 83% of informants answered "yes," while 3% answered "no" and 14% "don't know."

These results are both surprising and not surprising. They are not surprising in that they confirm the relatively high prestige that a large number of the informants associate with Texas German (see above). At the same time they are surprising because native speakers of an obsolescent variety often consider it a hindrance to social advancement or a badge of backwardness (see Jones 2001, 63). As

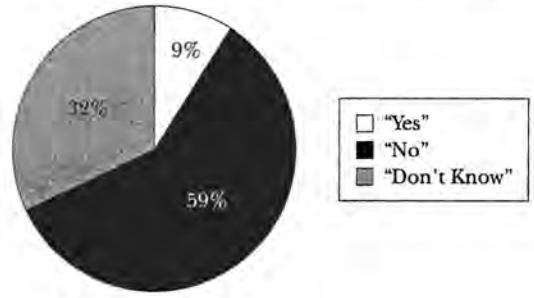
FIGURE 6.11
"Do You Think That Texas German Should Be Preserved?"



we have seen above, this powerful belief influenced most of the informants throughout their lives as they used Texas German less and less. It appears that only now, when the dialect is facing extinction, are members of the Texas German community beginning to realize what is happening, which in turn has led to an increase in language loyalty.

The grim reality of this situation is also apparent to most of the informants. Question 23 asked "Do you think that Texas German will be preserved?" Figure 6.12 reflects the overall pessimistic picture that many of the informants have of the future of their dialect. It shows that 59% think that Texas German will not be preserved, while 9% believe that it will be preserved, and 32% do not know

FIGURE 6.12
"Do You Think That Texas German Will Be Preserved?"



what will happen to it. Those who do not see a future for Texas German appear to be realistic about the history and future of the community's linguistic heritage. The comments of informant 134 on the written survey are representative: "I think it will be preserved with the TGDP project and archived, but over the years it will slowly die out with fewer and fewer speakers. My generation can still understand it and speak it with difficulty, but my children's generation don't."

A comparison of figures 6.11 and 6.12 demonstrates a discrepancy between the informants' wish to preserve their dialect and the realization that it is most likely not going to happen. To determine whether the responses to these answers also manifest themselves in other attitudes toward Texas German, I included two additional sets of questions in the survey.

The first set of questions seeks to elicit particular feelings and opinions about the not too distant future when Texas German is most likely to be extinct. Three scenarios of item 34 on the written survey asked for the informants' evaluation of different hypothetical situations by stating "A world without Texas German would be ... (1) more modern; (2) more practical; or (3) something good." Informants were presented with a five-point scale with "I strongly agree" and "I strongly disagree" on opposite ends, with "I agree," "I don't know," and "I don't agree" in between. The informants' opinions of these three different scenarios are summarized in figures 6.13–6.15.

FIGURE 6.13
"A World without Texas German Would Be More Modern"

FIGURE 6.14
"A World without Texas German Would Be More Practical"

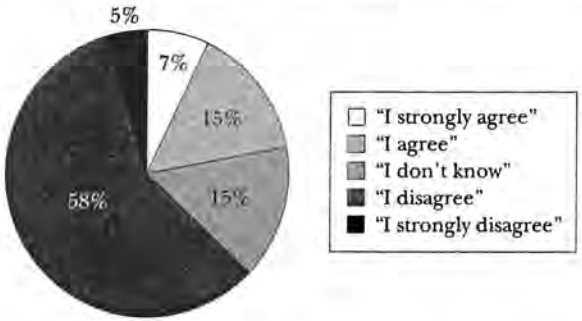


FIGURE 6.15
"A World without Texas German Would Be Something Good"

The results attest a strong negative evaluation of these three situations. Roughly three-quarters of the informants "don't agree" or "strongly disagree" with the idea that a world without Texas German would be "more modern" or "something good." The level of disagreement is somewhat lower for the hypothetical situation in which a world without Texas German would be "more practical" (63% "don't agree" or "strongly disagree"). Overall, the responses to these three scenarios demonstrate that the majority of informants do not regard the loss of Texas German as beneficial.

Besides presenting the informants with positive evaluations of a future world without Texas German, I also asked them about possible negative feelings toward such a situation. To this end, item 34

on the written survey included the same scenario, namely "A world without Texas German would be...," but this time with the specifications "sad," "lacking something," and "a lonely place."

The results in figures 6.16–6.18 nicely complement those of the three previous ones. Figures 6.16 and 6.17 represent perhaps the clearest negative feelings toward a world without Texas German. More than 80% of informants "agreed" or "strongly agree" with the statements that a world without Texas German would be "sad" or "lacking something." Figure 6.18 shows that agreement with the last of the scenarios, namely that a world without Texas German "would be a lonely place," is considerably less, with a combined 55% who "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with this evaluation.

FIGURE 6.16
"A World without Texas German Would Be Sad."

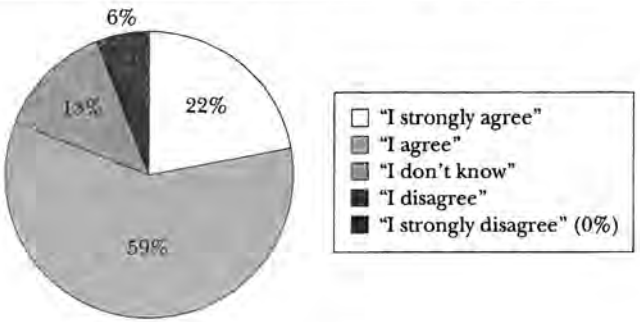


FIGURE 6.17
"A World without Texas German Would Be Lacking Something."

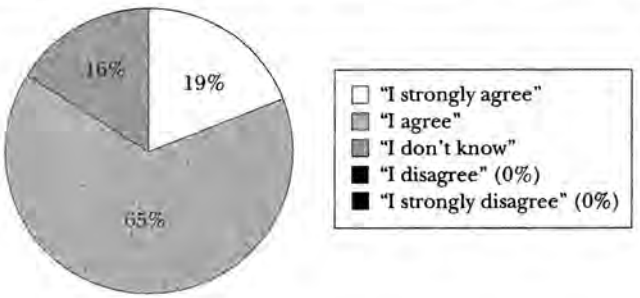
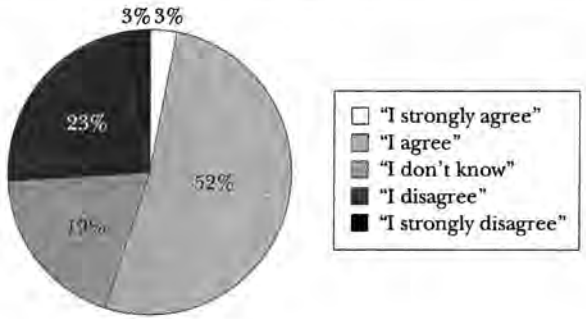


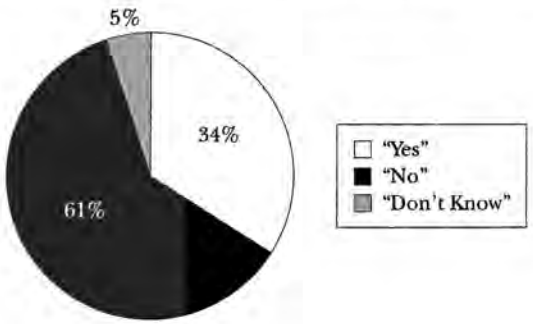
FIGURE 6.18
"A World without Texas German Would Be a Lonely Place."



The responses to the last scenario are probably representative of the fact that the great majority of informants feel at least equally comfortable speaking English and Texas German. As a result, the imminent loss of Texas German would not necessarily make the informants feel lonelier, as they could still continue talking to other people in English. In sum, it is fair to say that the great majority of informants have fairly strong emotional ties to Texas German and would lament the loss of it. Given these positive feelings toward Texas German, the question arises whether the New Braunfels area informants believe that anything can and should be done to prevent the death of Texas German. The results in figure 6.12 have already demonstrated that more than half of the informants do not think that Texas German will be preserved in the future. To get more detailed information on this topic, the survey included a number of questions about their opinion regarding concrete measures pertaining to language maintenance.

Question 24 asked whether informants think that it is important that Texas German should be included in the primary school curriculum. Given the positive attitudes and feelings toward Texas German discussed above, one might expect broad support for such a measure. However, figure 6.19 shows that for 61% of the informants it is not important that Texas German be included on the primary school curriculum. Such a measure is only supported by 34% of the informants, while 5% answered that they did not know.

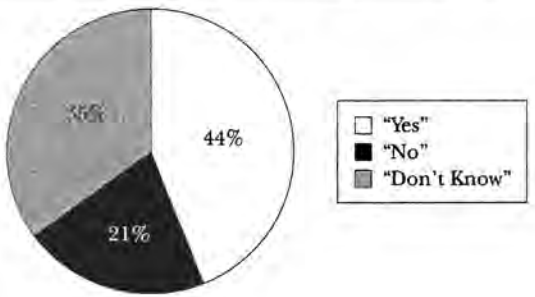
FIGURE 6.19
"Should Texas German Be Included in the Primary School Curriculum?"



The informants' opinions about the two remaining areas of language maintenance yielded mixed results. Question 27 asked whether there should be a regular television program in Texas German. The answers, which are summarized in figure 6.20, show that a regular television program would have considerably more support, with 44% of the sample declaring themselves in favor of this measure and only 21% against it (35% said they did not know).

The final question to be discussed here seeks to elicit speakers' attitudes toward Texas German being featured on central Texas road signs. Including a minority language on road signs may be regarded as a significant identity marker by the community, because

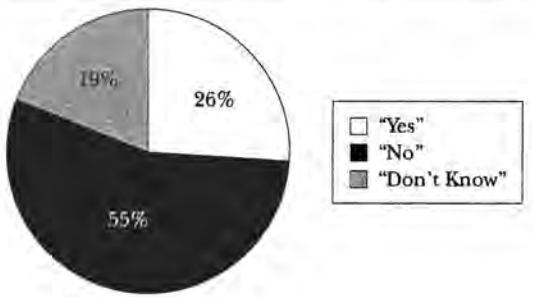
FIGURE 6.20
"Should There Be Any Regular TV Program in Texas German?"



it provides it with official status as well as a high-profile context and an immediate presence in the community (see Fishman 1991, 162). Some Hill Country communities, such as Fredericksburg and Boerne, already feature bilingual road signs, but apparently mainly for tourists who are supposed to be made aware of the German heritage. At present it is not known whether these German signs have any significant effect on the status of Texas German in these communities. For the New Braunfels area informants, the introduction of such road signs would not be a welcome addition as the results to question 28 in figure 6.21 demonstrate. More than half of the informants do not see any value in road signs that include Texas German, while 19% said they did not know, and only 26% are in favor of such a measure.

This section has shown an interesting split between the informants' attitudes toward Texas German and their opinions about practical measures supporting language maintenance. While the great majority of informants exhibit positive language attitudes toward Texas German and would like it to be passed on to younger generations, they do not appear to support language maintenance efforts uniformly that would ensure the survival of Texas German. What may be the cause for this discrepancy in the New Braunfels community? I would like to suggest that the current reservations about language maintenance efforts are primarily driven by two factors.

FIGURE 6.21
"Should Texas German Be Featured on Central Texas Road Signs?"



The first, and in my view perhaps most important, factor appears to be the continued belief that Texas German is a low-prestige substandard variety not worthy of full recognition. Time and again, informants have pointed out to me that they regard standard German as more "complete" or "correct" vis-à-vis Texas German. This opinion is likely to have been passed on to my informants by their parents and grandparents, who were exposed to standard German in school and church. In chapter 2 I argued that only a few Texas Germans acquired complete and long-lasting control of the standard variety at school. However, at the same time, they were imparted with the powerful idea that Texas German was a low-prestige variety, an idea probably reinforced by its lack of a standard orthography and by the exclusive use of the standard variety on official occasions. While standard German provided an institutional roof for the continued use of different varieties of German (see the discussion of diglossia in chapter 2), this support abruptly ended with the English-only laws of 1918. As a result, English effectively replaced standard German as the high variety. More importantly, the stigmatization of German culture and language led to the overarching idea that speaking German was considered un-American. The myth of Texas German being a substandard variety was passed on to younger generations. The anecdotal evidence accumulated in the open-ended interviews suggests that this view has changed little, despite the quite positive attitudes toward Texas German by many informants. This means that the continuing belief that being a good American entails speaking English has had such a powerful impact on the psyche of the Texas German community that it has thwarted the emerging positive attitudes that many informants have toward it. Informant 80 presents this idea: "English in America is best."

The second major factor underlying the mixed feelings toward language maintenance in the New Braunfels community is of a practical nature. The last six decades have seen a major influx of English speakers into the area, while the number of Texas German speakers has continuously shrunk. Spanish speakers have always lived in the area, but over the last two decades, large numbers of Spanish speakers have settled in and around New Braunfels, which

has in effect led to Spanish being the secondmost-popular home language in the area. Many Texas Germans are not happy with this development because they feel many of the Spanish speakers are reluctant to learn English the same way they had to. This situation sometimes creates mixed feelings toward the newcomers, as the following excerpts illustrate:

6.13. Da ists mir sind jetz wenn wenn se in die Schul gehen dun. Die Kinder in die Schul iss muh sagen so fimfzich bis auf sechzich Perzen – Mexikaner. Was muh nennt Spanisch. Sind mehr Spanische Leut als wie weise Leut in die Schul wie die Kinder jetz. Weil die spanischen Leut ham grâsere Familie. Die ham vier fimf sechs acht Kinder. Wo die weisen Leut die ham nur zwei oder drei oder ein. Da is der Underschied. San Anton iss auch so.
'That's when the kids go to school now. The kids at school I have to say about 50–60% are Mexican. What you call Spanish. There are more Spanish folks than white folks at school now. Because the Spanish folks have larger families, they have four, five, six, eight children. The white folks only have two or three or one. That's the difference. It's the same in San Antonio.' [1-61-1-14-a 🔊]

6.14. Un denn zuletz jetzt natierlich iss es umgedreht. Es waren die Mexikaner hat kein Englisch sprechen. Es iss ist, "Hablo Español?" Well so they're Span– well no, hello uh – see, you're in United States – you're Texas – you're No. Die warn nich – die were – die sind Mexikaner.
'And then finally it's the other way around now. The Mexicans don't know how to speak English now. It's like "Hablo Espanol?" Well so they're Span– now – hello, see – you're in the United States, you're in Texas now. They are Mexicans.' [1-24-1-16-a 🔊]

The use of Spanish is increasing throughout the New Braunfels area, as it is throughout most of central Texas. As such, Spanish has effectively replaced Texas German as the de facto local minority language, which is also reflected by the declining number of students who study German in local schools, while classes in Spanish continue to increase in popularity. This shrinking use

of Texas German and the increasing use of Spanish means that the former is more practical in everyday life, because there are many more Spanish speakers in the community (which receives constant newcomers from Latin America) than German speakers. As such, Spanish is regarded as having more market value, whereas Texas German is not. Informant 83 sums up the situation as follows: "There is no need to speak Texas German." Informant 156, when asked whether there should be any regular television stations providing Texas German programming, notes: "It'd be nice but impossible." This view reflects the realization that there are probably not enough Texas German speakers around who would make such a show profitable (the last German-speaking radio show in New Braunfels went off the air in 2002). In sum, I have argued that despite the positive language attitudes toward Texas German by the New Braunfels informants, language maintenance efforts seem very unlikely to be implemented because there are currently not enough speakers left who would support such activities, or who would indeed take advantage of them because Texas German is not regarded as "practical" anymore.

6.5. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I first applied McConvell's (2002) levels of endangerment to Texas German to establish that it is critically endangered. Unless language revitalization efforts are put into place, Texas German is most likely going to be extinct within the next 30–40 years, not only in the New Braunfels area, but also across central Texas. Then, I argued that the influx of English speakers from the 1940s onward and the simultaneous migration of Texas German speakers out of the same area eventually led to a weakening of the group vitality of the Texas German community. In the years following World War II, the pursuit of socioeconomic opportunity and social advancement by members of the Texas German community caused it to reorient itself toward English, which had gained in prestige vis-à-vis Texas German. At the same time, the sociopsychological pressure from the dominant group led to a negative evaluation of Texas German, thus providing strong motivation for language shift beginning in the 1940s.

In determining other causes leading to the continued decline of Texas German, I turned my attention to language attitudes, which have been shown repeatedly to be among the most important factors determining the outcome of language revitalization efforts. Interestingly, the language attitudes among my New Braunfels informants are somewhat similar to those described by Moore (1980) for the Texas German community in Fredericksburg. In her sociolinguistic study, Moore found that the predominant language of the community shifted from German to English between 1969 and 1979. Moore observed that the community valued its language and cultural heritage, which explains why the great majority of her informants supported educational intervention to impede the loss of German (1980, 199). Despite these feelings, however, the number of students taking German classes in school was on the decline. These observations led Moore to suggest a number of curricular modifications to support German language and culture, which, in turn, would promote active use of the language as well as community and school interaction in terms of extracurricular activities using the language to study the cultural heritage. These curricular modifications were not put in place in the Fredericksburg community, and, similar to the New Braunfels community, the use of German has declined even further since Moore completed her study in 1979.

The language attitudes among my New Braunfels informants are similar to those of Moore's Fredericksburg informants in that they generally exhibit a positive attitude toward their heritage and language. However, they are somewhat reluctant to support institutional measures that would revitalize Texas German in their community. I have argued that this discrepancy between positive attitudes and reluctance to support concrete language revitalization efforts is caused primarily by two factors, both of which are in large part the result of earlier sociohistorical developments: (1) continued stigmatization of Texas German, that is, the idea that English is the official language and speaking languages other than English is somehow un-American (the fact that Texas German is perceived

as a substandard variety of German is also of some importance), and (2) the practical value of Texas German, that is, over the past 40 years Texas German has effectively been replaced by Spanish as the de facto minority community language. Many Texas Germans feel as if there is no practical need for Texas German anymore as everything can be done in English. Spanish is regarded as a much more practical second language, which explains in part its rising popularity in the schools.

As none of the fluent Texas German speakers is of child-bearing age (to the best of my knowledge) and the current level of community support for concrete revitalization efforts appears to be low, it is very likely that Texas German will die out within the next three to four decades. Of course, there are some people in the community who believe that Texas German will be revitalized, but this is extremely doubtful. At present, Texas German is at the second lowest of Fishman's (1991, 395) levels used to describe the severity of intergenerational dislocation, "cultural interaction in Xish [the obsolescent language] primarily involving the community-based older generation." Given the negative attitudes among the majority of the New Braunfels area informants toward concrete measures for language revitalization, Wilson's (1986) predictions about the future of Texas German are thus expected to become true in the not too distant future:

> Fifty years from now (in the year 2036) there will be no speakers of Texas German left, and monolingual Texans will find it hard to believe that German was a living language in Texas, spoken by hundreds of thousands for two hundred years. Every sample of Texas German that we can collect now, while Texas German is still alive, will be precious in the future. [222]

7. CONCLUSION

THE PRIMARY GOAL of this study has been to give a comprehensive account of the status of Texas German as spoken in the New Braunfels area at the beginning of the twenty-first century. By comparing and contrasting present-day data with older Texas German data and data from the German donor dialects brought to Texas from the 1840s onward, this book provides information on the formation of Texas German as well as the linguistic changes it has undergone over the past 160 years. Furthermore, this study has examined the sociolinguistic situation of the Texas German community from its foundation to today, to better understand the dynamics underlying new-dialect formation, diglossia, language shift, language maintenance, and language death. The comparison of the Texas German data with those of other German dialects and endangered languages and dialects not only is of interest to dialectologists and Germanic linguists, but also provides crucial information for researchers dealing with language contact, language change, and language death. One major feature that sets this study apart from others is that the data on which it is based are available in a freely accessible digital archive on the Internet (http://www.tgdp.org). In what follows, I summarize each of the main chapters and then present my conclusions about the status of Texas German as spoken in the New Braunfels area at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

In chapter 2 I discussed the sociohistorical developments of the New Braunfels Texas German community from the early days of the settlements in 1845 until today. I first showed that up until the early twentieth century the New Braunfels community was almost exclusively of German heritage and that, because of its relative isolation on the western frontier, there was basically no need to speak English. This settlement pattern sets the Hill Country Texas Germans apart from other German settlements in the United States, which were often located in close proximity to English-speaking communities. I then reviewed the diglossic situation that existed between English, standard German, and Texas German, focusing

as a substandard variety of German is also of some importance), and (2) the practical value of Texas German, that is, over the past 40 years Texas German has effectively been replaced by Spanish as the de facto minority community language. Many Texas Germans feel as if there is no practical need for Texas German anymore as everything can be done in English. Spanish is regarded as a much more practical second language, which explains in part its rising popularity in the schools.

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on particular domains, specifically schools, churches, newspapers, and social organization. I argued that during the brief period following the initial settlement, standard German was the high variety, while the donor dialects brought to Texas by the immigrants were the low varieties. In contrast, the period between the 1850s and the 1890s was characterized by what I called "double overlapping diglossia" where the high language was English vis-à-vis different varieties of German and standard German was the high variety vis-à-vis the different regional dialects spoken by the German immigrants and their descendants (the beginnings of a newly emerging variety of Texas German). The late nineteenth century saw a relatively small increase in English being used in the official domain: the New Braunfels city council meetings changed to English, and the first New Braunfels English-language newspaper was published in 1896.

As a result of the English-only laws passed during World War I, the early 1920s saw the emergence of a stable diglossic situation, with English as the high variety and the emerging Texas German dialect as the low variety, spoken primarily among family and friends. Consequently, the formerly prestigious status of standard German began to decline during the 1920s, eventually leading to its falling out of use because of the discontinuation of German newspapers and church services in the 1950s. While acknowledging that there was already a slight trend toward increased use of English before the war, I argued in chapter 2 that the passing of the English-only laws was perhaps the most significant event leading to the decline of both standard German and Texas German. The long-term results of this legislation can be described best in terms of a snowball effect, by which the resulting stigmatization of German language and culture led some Texas German parents to raise their children in English. In addition, German-speaking children did not learn how to read or write in German and, while growing up, required newspapers and church services to be in English. Eventually, German papers and church services shut down or switched to English because the number of fluent German speakers was constantly declining. The prestige of Texas German suffered another blow as the result of World War II. The migration of English speakers into

the New Braunfels area and migration of Texas Germans to larger cities led to fewer and fewer opportunities to speak Texas German. English often became the family language in mixed marriages, while Texas German was not passed on to younger generations. The continued belief by many members of the Texas German community that their dialect is a substandard variety is also likely to have hindered the emergence of any revitalization campaigns of German language or culture after World War II.

Data collected by the TGDP demonstrate that the use of Texas German has declined quite dramatically in a number of public and private domains since the 1930s and 1940s. With the last group of exclusively German-speaking community members having passed away by the 1960s, language shift was unavoidable. At present, only an estimated 8,000–10,000 fluent speakers of Texas German remain, most of whom are 60 or older. Texas German is spoken in only a very limited number of private domains, among friends, family, and neighbors. This means that Texas German will most likely become extinct with the next 30–40 years. The chapter on the sociohistorical background of the New Braunfels community set the stage for my analysis of the linguistic changes in chapters 3–5.

In chapter 3 I discussed two major approaches toward explaining new-dialect formation. The first deals with the dynamics underlying dialect contact and mixing in German *Sprachinseln* in Russia (Schirmunski 1930; Dulson 1941). The second is Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, based on New Zealand English. While the two approaches share many insights about the nature of dialect mixing and leveling, Trudgill's model appears more promising because of its reliance on large amounts of recorded speech and because of its explicit mentioning of generational data. Another important point raised in this chapter concerned the nature of donor dialects that formed the input for Texas German. Following Wiesinger (1983) and Barbour and Stevenson (1990), I argued that identifying specific German dialects as donor dialects is extremely problematic because of the extremely high degree of variation and overlap of different linguistic features. As such, identifying a particular variety becomes a question of granularity.

An additional problem with identifying the donor dialects of Texas German is the absence of detailed information about the locations from which the German-speaking immigrants came to Texas.

In chapters 4 and 5 I analyzed how the phonology and the morphosyntax of NBG evolved between the 1860s and 2000. First, I reviewed the distribution of specific linguistic features reported by Eikel (1954), Clardy (1954), and Gilbert (1972). I summarized the data reported for the oldest generation of speakers interviewed by these researchers. I then identified a German dialect (or number of dialects) that exhibits this feature and argued that this dialect (or dialects) may be regarded as a possible donor dialect of Texas German. It is important to recall that this comparison did not always yield precise results because single features, such as unrounding of front vowels or the loss of case in certain contexts, are shared by many dialects. Comparing the data led me to argue that a uniform variety that could be labeled as "Texas German" did not exist, but that instead we find a broad spectrum of dialectal mixtures with considerable English admixture. What has traditionally been called "Texas German" should thus be regarded as a collection of various subvarieties that share a limited set of linguistic features, such as reduced case marking and heavy lexical borrowing from English, among others. Throughout the discussion in chapters 4–5, I argued for the most part, although not entirely, from the earliest available linguistic data in order to arrive at a hypothesis about the status of a number of linguistic features in early NBG. These data were then compared with more recent Texas German data recorded from 2002–5 in order to determine how the dialect changed, and why.

In chapter 4 I analyzed the development of a number of phonological features of NBG over the past 150 years. Comparing historical data from the Wenker's *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (1927–56) atlas with data from Clardy (1954), Eikel (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967), and Gilbert (1972), I first aimed at identifying some of the donor dialects by focusing on the Hessen-Nassau area from which, according to all available information, the large majority of settlers came to New Braunfels. However, establishing this link is problematic for three reasons. First, we are faced with a corpus problem. The reliability of the Wenker data has been questioned repeatedly, yet they are the only resource available that offers considerable coverage for a broad variety of linguistic features. Throughout chapter 4 I have also highlighted a number of problems with the data provided by Clardy, Eikel, and Gilbert (they contradict each other in some respects). Second, I argued that identifying particular phonological features with their counterparts in the donor dialects is inherently problematic, because a specific feature is likely to be found in several areas, as the isoglosses in the Wenker atlas illustrate. Finally, because of a lack of readily available source materials on the earlier stages (from the medieval period onward) of the donor dialects, I followed previous researchers in comparing the case system of Texas German with that of standard German. While this comparison is not ideal, it allowed my analysis to be readily comparable with that of works on other German *Sprachinseln*. I would like to emphasize that this methodology does not imply that Texas German is in any way derived from standard German.

In chapter 4 I also analyzed a number of phonological developments that illustrate the partial emergence of NBG as a New World dialect. In line with Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, I analyzed how different phonological features evolved from the time the first settlers arrived in Texas in the 1840s until the first quarter of the twentieth century. While some sounds, such as rounded front vowels and their unrounded counterparts, went through all three stages of Trudgill's model, other sets of sounds did not. As data from Gilbert (1972) demonstrate, the competing sounds of the various donor dialects remained at Trudgill's second stage, where some leveling has taken place but variability continued to exist. Such variability can also be found throughout other areas of the German Belt, as documented by Gilbert (1972) for central Texas German and Pulte (1970) for North Texas German and Oklahoma German. The differences in the variability of features in the historical NBG data have led me to suggest that there is a great deal of variability in the time-depth of focusing (the last stage of new-dialect formation), which differs from feature to feature. Thus, NBG evolved into a variety where some phonological features went through all stages of new-dialect formation, in-

cluding focusing, while a large number of features continued to exhibit considerable variability (indicative of Trudgill's second stage). I attributed this mixed development to two factors: (1) The fallout from sociohistorical events drastically reduced the prestige of Texas German, effectively eliminating German from the public domain. Therefore, children could not continue to participate in extensive face-to-face accommodation, which Trudgill (2004) argues to be crucial for focusing. (2) Linguistic factors such as drift that contribute to certain types of variation leveled out faster than others (see also Kerswill 2002, 686–87).

The comparison of Gilbert's, Clardy's, and Eikel's data with the present-day TGDP data demonstrated that the phonology of NBG changed relatively little over the past four decades. While we find some reduction in variability as well as some increase in variability, most of the variability in the TGDP data (as well as the borrowing of sounds from English) appeared to be a continuation of the trends already under way during the 1950s and 1960s. The phonological data on present-day NBG thus demonstrate that the phonological system of NBG has not been dramatically affected by changes characteristic of language death (see Wolfram 2002) and that, while NBG certainly shares a number of phonological features with standard German, the continuing high degree of variability suggests that the variety has never evolved into a coherent New World dialect. As such, some features of current-day NBG resemble the "standard Umgangssprache of North and West Germany" (Eikel 1954, 72), but to a significantly lesser degree than claimed by Eikel. The large variety of traditional dialectal variants, such as unrounded vowels, presence of /ʃ/, lenition of /t/, vowel epenthesis, and simplification of affricates, among others, appears to be a vivid mix originating from many locations throughout the Hessen-Nassau area and beyond. This already led Clardy (1954, 59) more than 50 years ago to conclude that "no homogenous dialect exists in New Braunfels." The present-day TGDP data demonstrate that Clardy's characterization is true of present-day NBG as well.

In chapter 5 I analyzed a select number of morphosyntactic developments in Texas German to determine what types of changes have taken place and why. Focusing on data from the New Braunfels area, I first investigated the loss of dative and accusative cases.

Unlike Salmons (1994), who attributes the decrease in dative case marking to the loss of formal school instruction in standard German during the 1880s, I believe that the loss of the dative was triggered by regular leveling processes occurring during new-dialect formation. In my view, the majority of donor dialects brought to Texas in the 1840s were among the more conservative dialects, preserving three-way case distinctions in various nominal paradigms. Over time, the various donor dialects (including those with only two-case systems) were in intensive contact with each other, leading to the eventual leveling of the dative over two generations. Data from parallel changes in other German *Sprachinseln* in Russia, Latin America, and Australia (without formal instruction in standard German) support this hypothesis, as do general typological tendencies toward case reduction in Germanic languages. These observations led me to conclude that the loss of the dative was caused primarily by internal factors.

The data on case loss also illustrate a continuum, where adjectives and determiners are the most susceptible to dative case loss, pronouns are the most resistant, and prepositional objects fall in between. In this connection I noted that loss of case is not only context-dependent, but also item-dependent; for example, some prepositions are more subject to case loss than others (although as a class, they all exhibit the same tendency toward morphological reduction). By comparing the historical data with present-day TGDP data, I showed that case loss has progressed much further toward a two-way case system of nominative and oblique cases. Since these developments are simply the continuation of earlier trends and follow parallel developments in other German dialects and Germanic languages, I proposed that they should not necessarily be regarded as indicators of language decay or language death.

As to word order, I demonstrated in chapter 5 that Texas German has basically retained the underlying German-type SOV order, with the exception of dependent clauses introduced by a few select subordinating conjunctions. Data on the loss of the preterite proved to be inconclusive, but parallel developments in other German dialects suggested that the increase of perfect forms replacing the preterite is due to internal typological tendencies and is not necessarily indicative of language decay or language death.

Finally, I have demonstrated that Texas German plural morphology exhibits changes characteristic of language decay: a decrease in morphological markers, an increase in variability of morphological marking, and an increased productivity of two plural allomorphs, namely *-s* and *-n*.

As with all changes discussed in this study, there are probably multiple factors at work, some of which we will never be able to identify because of inadequate historical data. Similar observations have been made by other researchers, most notably Aitchison (1979, 63), who maintains that "in any language change, the factors involved are often far more numerous than is commonly realized." In my view, the most striking result of chapter 5 is the relative absence of significant morphosyntactic changes indicative of language decay and language death. The different developments analyzed above suggest that, overall, Texas German is dying rapidly while its structure has not changed that drastically over the past 50 years.

Chapter 6 discussed language death, language attitudes, and language maintenance in the New Braunfels community. To determine how close Texas German is to dying out, I first applied McConvell's (2002) levels of endangerment to Texas German to establish that it is critically endangered. Unless language revitalization efforts are enacted, Texas German is most likely going to be extinct within the next 30 years, not only in the New Braunfels area, but also across central Texas. Then, I argued that the influx of English speakers from the 1940s onward and the simultaneous migration of Texas German speakers out of the same area eventually led to a weakening of the group vitality of the Texas German community. In the years following World War II, the continuous pursuit of socioeconomic opportunity and social advancement by members of the Texas German community caused it to reorient itself toward English, which had gained in prestige vis-à-vis Texas German. At the same time the sociopsychological pressure from the dominant group led to a negative evaluation of Texas German, thus providing strong motivation for language shift beginning in the 1940s.

In determining other causes leading to the continued decline of Texas German, I turned my attention to language attitudes. I found that the language attitudes among my New Braunfels informants are similar to those of Moore's (1980) Fredericksburg informants in that they generally exhibit a positive attitude toward their heritage and language. However, they are reluctant to support institutional measures that would revitalize Texas German in their community. I argued that this discrepancy between positive attitudes and reluctance to support concrete language revitalization efforts is caused primarily by two factors, both of which are in large part the result of earlier sociohistorical developments: (1) continued stigmatization of Texas German, that is, the idea that English is the official language and speaking languages other than English is somehow un-American (the perception that Texas German is a substandard variety of German is also of some importance), and (2) the practical value of Texas German, that is, over the past 40 years, Texas German has effectively been replaced by Spanish as the de facto minority community language. Many Texas Germans currently feel that there is no practical need for Texas German anymore, as everything can be done in English. Spanish is regarded as a much more practical second language, which explains in part its rising popularity in the schools. As none of the fluent Texas German speakers is of child-bearing age (to the best of my knowledge) and the current level of community support for concrete revitalization efforts appears to be low, it is very likely that Texas German will die out within the next three to four decades.

Due to space limitations I did not discuss lexical developments in Texas German. In short, an analysis of the TGDP data (see Boas forthcoming) shows that the different dialectal origins of words that were still apparent when Gilbert collected his data in the 1960s can still be found in the present-day data. Gilbert's (1972) data demonstrate that Texas German has borrowed words primarily from particular semantic domains such as education, administration, telecommunication, transportation, ranching and farming, and nature, among others. In addition, a few prepositions and conjunctions were borrowed. As such, Texas German can be classified as stage 2 according to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) five-stage borrowing scale ("slightly more intense contact"), which is characterized by lexical borrowing and slight structural borrowing in combination with conjunctions and adverbial particles. The com-

parison of Gilbert's data with the TGDP data suggests that there have been comparatively few changes in the Texas German lexicon over the past four decades. The small changes observed in the present-day data do not appear to follow any systematic pattern. As such, the lexicon of Texas German does not appear to have undergone further changes other than to its phonology and morphosyntax. This observation is also supported by Boas and Weilbacher's (2006, 2007) analysis of discourse markers (DMs) in Texas German. We show that German-origin DMs are still frequently used in Texas German (in contrast to Salmons's 1990 claims), in addition to borrowed DMs such as *well* and *you know*. After reviewing earlier proposals by Matras (1998) and Fuller (2001) about the development of mixed discourse marker systems, we suggest that the borrowing of English DMs and the simultaneous loss of German DMs should be regarded as two separate processes that are each subject to different sets of constraints.

This book provides a number of valuable insights for research in new-dialect formation, language contact, and language death. The first insight is that it took only a relatively short period of time for Texas German to become critically endangered. The Texas German community is different from many other immigrant communities in the United States in that it enjoyed a relatively high prestige among English-speaking Texans until World War I, including institutional support by German-language newspapers, churches, and schools. As a result, the Texas German community was able to maintain German beyond the generation of the immigrant's children, unlike many other immigrant communities in the United States. The English-only legislation passed during the final year of World War I and the subsequent stigmatization of German language and culture changed the attitudes of the Texas German community. Its members felt stigmatized and felt the sudden need to fit into mainstream American culture. This sudden loss of prestige set off a domino effect that started with the loss of German in the schools, then affected other public domains such as churches and newspapers, before affecting private domains and eventually leading to language shift. As a result, the generation born between the early 1920s and the late 1940s was the last one to acquire German at home.

The second major insight concerns new-dialect formation. Based on Eikel's (1954), Clardy's (1954), and Gilbert's (1972) data, I argued that no coherent variety of Texas German evolved in the decades after 1845, not even in the New Braunfels area. Applying Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation to phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical data, I demonstrated that some dialectal variants were completely leveled, while others were not. Comparing the different linguistic features led me to propose that new-dialect formation in Texas German proceeded on an item-by-item basis and stopped halfway through the second stage of Trudgill's (2004) model. Without the intervention of the concrete sociohistorical developments discussed in chapter 2, it is likely that the Texas German speakers born between the 1910s and the 1940s (i.e., the informants interviewed by the TGDP) would have been the final generation that could have completed the final stage of Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation, focusing.

The comparison of Gilbert's, Clardy's, and Eikel's data with the present-day TGDP data yielded another major insight. It demonstrated that the phonology and morphosyntax of NBG have changed relatively little over the past four decades. While we find both reduction in variability and some increase in variability in different areas of Texas German, most of the variability in the TGDP data appeared to be a continuation of the trends already underway during the 1950s and 1960s. These results have led me to propose that Texas German is dying while preserving almost all of its earlier structures.

The final insight of this work is that, despite the generally positive attitudes toward Texas German, the majority of the New Braunfels area informants do not support concrete measures that would support language revitalization efforts. I argued that this discrepancy is primarily caused by the continued stigma that is still attached to Texas German as well as the realization that speaking Texas German is simply not practical anymore (see Wagener 2003 for similar results concerning Wisconsin German). Due to migration of large numbers of Spanish speakers into the area, Spanish has effectively replaced Texas German as the most prominent minority community language.

It is, of course, interesting to compare the development of Texas German with other immigrant languages in North America that have been successfully maintained. One example is French in Quebec. Despite its status as a minority language vis-à-vis English in Canada, it has enjoyed considerable support and protection by a variety of (often controversial) legal measures promoting the use of French in the public domain (see C. Schmid 2001, 101–222). The laws promoting French, however, could only be implemented because the French-speaking population makes up the majority in Quebec and as such has a large representation in the provincial parliament. Without such a majority and the official status of French as recognized by the Canadian constitution, the passing of such legal measures and their official promotion of French would be less certain (see Brooks 1993).

When comparing the situation in Quebec with the background of the Texas German community, one quickly realizes that there was never a sufficiently powerful political representation that could have granted special linguistic rights to the Texas German community. Because Texas Germans were always a minority within Texas, albeit one of the largest minorities, they lacked the political representation that could have enacted powerful legal measures in support of German language institutions similar to the types of laws passed in protection of French in Quebec. In other words, with adequate political representation within Texas or with an official autonomous province with a Texas German majority, legal support for German language maintenance efforts might have been a possibility, although a very slim one.

Another factor supporting language maintenance in North America has been religion. To this day, the conservative Old Order Amish and Mennonite groups use High German at church, and some other variety of (Pennsylvania) German in their homes as well (Kloss 1998, 178). As such, German is not merely an auxiliary *Gottesdienstsprache* 'language of worship' as it was for other religious groups of German heritage before World War I (see Schiffman 1996, 238). Instead, the maintenance of German serves for these groups as a barrier to assimilation with mainstream American society and has thus become an integral part of their community identity (see Louden 1988, 81). The self-isolating rejection of modernization does not preclude community members from acquiring English at school. However, in their isolated and self-contained communities, German continues to be the preferred language. This special status is likely to ensure the survival of German among these conservative religious groups and has led Fishman (2004, 122) to label this type of continued language maintenance a success story of "immigrational non-English mother-tongue retention in the USA."

Turning our attention to the Texas German community, it is fair to say that language and religion were never as tightly interwoven as among the Old Order Amish and Mennonite groups. That the Texas Germans did not reject aspects of modern life made them open to contacts and intermarriage with English speakers. Despite the insistence of many Lutheran officials on continuing with church services exclusively in German in the years after World War I (see chapter 2), it soon became apparent that English services also attracted non-German speakers, thereby contributing to the survival of many small congregations throughout the German Belt. In the end, German did not prove to be the crucial ingredient that held Texas German congregations together.

Continued immigration from the home country has also been shown to be crucial for the maintenance of immigrant languages. The prime example in the United States is Spanish, which already had a long history in the Southwest before the United States annexed former Mexican territories. Throughout the twentieth century, immigration of Spanish speakers from Latin America (in particular Mexico) to the United States increased, leading McWilliams (1990, 7) to conclude that "there is no more heterogeneous ethnic group in the United States than the Spanish-speaking." The 2000 census shows that 12.5% of the U.S. population is of Hispanic origin, and estimates predict that by 2050 Hispanics will make up 25% of an estimated total population of almost 400 million (Silva-Corvalán 2004, 206). Because the shift to English is prevalent among first- and second-generation Spanish speakers in the United States, this does not necessarily entail a significantly larger percentage of Spanish speakers, but as Silva-Corvalán (2004, 206–7) notes, "The expanding Hispanic population's ties with family, friends, and business associates in Latin America bode well for the maintenance of

Spanish as a language of importance to American society because it is spoken by large numbers of residents."

When we compare the current situation of Spanish speakers in the United States with the history of German immigration to the United States, an interesting parallel emerges. As shown in chapter 2, the eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth century saw millions of German-speaking immigrants come to the United States. Chain migration and organized immigration societies, among other factors, led many newcomers to settle in areas that often already had sizable German-speaking communities, with schools, churches, and newspapers supporting German language maintenance. The constant influx of "fresh" German speakers helped to support the use of German in both private and public domains. However, with German immigration decreasing toward the end of the nineteenth century, this vital source of support slowly vanished, until it virtually stopped during World War I. As a result, German communities were literally cut off from their ties to the homeland and, thereby, their "source" of new German speakers. In contrast to the German American community in the early twentieth century, the Hispanic community in the United States continues to receive significant numbers of newcomers from Latin America, who contribute to Spanish-language maintenance.

In sum, I have argued that neither legal support of language maintenance of Texas German, religious support of Texas German, nor the influx of new speakers from other German-speaking areas is very likely to occur in the near future. Since the Texas German community is unlikely to put into place any language revitalization efforts, Texas German faces almost certain extinction within the next 30–40 years. Although this loss seems unavoidable, members of the Texas German Dialect Project at the University of Texas at Austin will continue to record, document, and archive the remnants of Texas German in order to create a permanent record of this unique dialect. I hope that the Web-based Texas German Dialect Archive will be a valuable resource not only for academics, but also for future generations of Texas German descendants as well as all other citizens of Texas and the United States who want to learn more about the history, language, and culture of Texas Germans and their impact on the Lone Star State.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. The results of Eikel's 1954 study were also published in a number of different articles (Eikel 1949, 1966a, 1966b, 1967).
2. Nicolini's (2004) extensive work on Texas German presents a historical account of the sociopolitical developments in the Texas German speech community between 1830 and 2000. It is discussed in detail in chapter 2.
3. The fieldwork on Texas German has been supported by the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, the Liberal Arts Instructional Technology Services, the Division of Instructional Innovation and Assessment (all of the University of Texas at Austin), and Humanities Texas (formerly Texas Council for the Humanities).
4. For advantages and disadvantages of using open-ended sociolinguistic interviews, see Wolfram and Fasold (1974) and Wolfson (1976).
5. In addition, field notes (in UNICODE) are included with each interview to provide supplemental information about special circumstances surrounding the recording of the interview (e.g., number of speakers involved as well as relevant metadata information).
6. Not all data are publicly available yet because members of the Texas German Dialect Project are still using them for conducting linguistic analyses. Once the findings of these analyses have been published, all data will be made available to the public.
7. For example, the file name 1-25-1-7-a.wav indicates that interviewer 1 conducted this interview with informant 25 and that this is the first interview with that informant. The "7" indicates that this file is the seventh media session pertaining to this interview. Each subsection of a master file is thus identified by a series of consecutive numbers. The "a" in the file name indicates that this is an audio file. To save space, I only use the short form for citing media sessions. Full cita-

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tions include specifications about the title of the media session as well as its exact location:

> Boas, Hans C. (2002): "Different types of Country Schools" [online] http://www.tgdp.org: The Texas German Dialect Project. 1-25-1-7-a.

8. Even though the speakers interviewed for this study were 60 years of age and older, only 30% had retired for good. The remaining 70% kept either a full-time job or continued with some type of part-time job. Only the 70% still working answered the question on language use "at work" in figure 1.3.

CHAPTER 2

1. It is important to keep in mind that in this context "German," "German-speaking," or "people of German ancestry" refers not only to people coming from Germany proper (i.e., its many individual states before 1871). Instead, it also includes people coming from other German-speaking areas such as Switzerland, Austria, Alsace, and Luxemburg (see also Auspurg-Hackert 1984, 248; Schwartzkopff 1987, 8; Nicolini 2004, 12).
2. A group of Wends (also known as Sorbs) immigrated to Texas from Lusatia (eastern Germany) in 1854, eventually settling in Lee County. Besides speaking Wendish (a west-Slavic language), most Wends were also fluent in German. However, by World War I, most members of the Wendish community had given up speaking Wendish in favor of speaking German or English. Subsequently, the Wends also shifted from German to English.
3. For definitions of these regions see Gilbert (1977, 30–31). Noting a number of problems with the definitions of geographical areas, Gilbert points out, "The figures are of value in indicating the sheer presence and perhaps cohesiveness of settlement of German speakers, a situation which probably holds for other ethnic groups as well" (32).
4. Ideological differences between Germans and Americans in Texas set the German settlers in Texas apart from German settlers in other states. Benjamin (1910, 82) attributes this largely to slavery "and to the fact that the Germans did not mingle much with the American population." According to Benjamin, similar disagreements existed

about capital punishment, temperance laws, and taxation laws, among other things (85).
5. The isolating settlement pattern unique to the Texas German community can be seen in the 1910 Census data by using the historical census browser at the Geospatial and Statistical Data Center's Web site at the University of Virginia Library (http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php). I chose the 1910 Census feature "White persons born in Germany" as the basis for determining the distribution of rural-versus-urban population because the analysis in T. Jordan (2004) is based on it.
6. German immigrants to Texas differed from each other in that most of the earlier immigrants between 1830 and 1860 left their old homes because of overpopulation, poverty, military service, and the longing for personal freedom. In contrast, later arrivals were mainly "middle-class peasants from land-owning families, artisans, or, in a few cases, university-educated professional people and intellectuals. More exactly, they were the more ambitious among their peers, farmers and artisans who saw a low ceiling imposed upon their ambitions by the social and economic system of Germany" (T. Jordan 1977, 6).
7. Biesele (1930, 137) points out that the 1850 population figures refer to all of Comal County even though they were listed as "New Braunfels," which makes it difficult to determine exactly how many people lived in the town itself.
8. An even smaller number of settlers were English-speaking Americans who held jobs as lawyers, administrative personnel, or merchants.
9. Note that it is difficult to determine the exact origin of the German immigrants since the records of the Customhouse in Galveston for 1840–60 were lost in the great flood of 1900. Also, a number of immigrants landed at New Orleans and traveled overland to Texas. The census lists only the province of origin, not the actual name of the hometown or village. To get an idea of the regional origins of the early settlers, I consulted the list of recorded deaths in New Braunfels in Haas (1968). See Gilbert (1963) for an overview of origins of German settlers in Gillespie and Medina counties.
10. The two private schools in New Braunfels also taught German and English (Dabney 1927, 51–52). For information on other schools in Comal County, see Dabney (1927, 49–58).
11. Among the Protestants, Lutherans were in the majority, followed by reformed Protestants and Calvinists. In rural areas with very few other

Germans around, some of the immigrants became Baptists or Methodists (for more information, see Nicolini 2004, 55–56). A group of nonreligious freethinkers also settled around Boerne, Comfort, and Cat Spring (see T. Jordan 1980, 116).

12. For more details on the history of German-speaking churches in Texas, in particular differences between Protestants and Catholics, see Nicolini (2004, 55–60, 67–81).
13. A certain amount of literature written by Texas Germans exists. See Benjamin (1910, 119–22) and Salmons and Lucht (2006).
14. Siebs (1969) first appeared in 1898 under the title *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache* (German Pronunciation for the Theater Stage) and has since served as the codification of pronunciation norms for the German stage. Its claim to authority for formal levels of German speech goes beyond the stage and covers the language of the schools.
15. An exception were the settlements known as "Latin Settlements" such as Sisterdale, which were founded by highly educated Germans who were political refugees fleeing persecution after the failed revolution of 1848. Based on accounts describing the importance of literary circles in these settlements, it is likely that the majority of settlers there insisted on continued use of standard German for some functions (see, e.g., Biesele 1930, 171–73).
16. See TGDP files 1-2-1-2-a, 1-25-1-7-a, and 1-28-1-12-a. Wilson (1977a, 51) claims that school attendance was similarly limited for many more years: "Through the 1930s, few of the people went to secondary school."
17. It is not clear to what degree teachers themselves were proficient in standard German. Discussing the use of standard German by elementary school teachers in nineteenth-century Germany, Elspaß (2002, 50) writes, "It is not certain what knowledge elementary school teachers had of the standard variety. It would be more accurate to say that they taught a form of German that they CONSIDERED correct." This leads Elspaß to suggest that nonstandard "norms of usage in written language seem to have been at least partly reinforced by teachers in elementary schools who were not aware of the official standard variety or felt insecure about its correct use themselves" (60–61). It appears likely that the situation in Texas was similar, if not even more divergent.
18. While the Texas law effectively banned the use of any other language than English in the lower grades, "it was quite tolerant in comparison to World War I laws of other states. The Texas regulation left it permissible to teach 'Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish and Czech or other languages' in high schools" (Kloss 1998, 228).
19. See, for example, TGDP file (for New Braunfels) 1-1-1-21, 1-2-1-3, 1-2-1-9, 1-27-1-4, 1-28-1-14, 1-34-1-4, 1-34-1-22, 1-60-1-6, and 1-62-1-4.
20. See Boas (2005a, 85–86) for comparable figures on Texas Germans living in other locations besides New Braunfels.
21. It is important to keep in mind that the percentages in figure 2.6 (and other figures) do not always add up to 100%. Informants were presented with simultaneous choices for English and German (on the five-point scale) and did not always mark both options appropriately (leading to totals both below and above 100%).
22. Salmons and Lucht (2006, 172) present interesting extracts from the records of the Saint John Evangelical Lutheran Church of Meyersville (DeWitt County) illustrating the debate over the adaptation of English between 1918 and 1922. They demonstrate impressively the different internal and external factors influencing the decisions of the congregation.
23. See Nicolini (2004, 100) on the drastic decline of German-language services after 1931.
24. Twenty-two percent of the New Braunfels informants are Catholic, while 78% are Protestants.
25. Because questions about German and English language use at church were asked separately, total usage does not always add up to 100%.
26. The percentages in figure 2.9 as well as in other figures do not always add up to 100% because not all respondents gave answers to each question.

CHAPTER 3

1. The term *Sprachinseln* 'speech islands' is also used to refer to the presence of multiple language varieties in the same location (Hooge 1992, 107). Non-German speech islands can be found, too, all over the world. Examples are Portuguese in West Africa, Swedish in Finland, and French in Canada and Louisiana.
2. Many researchers differ on how they define the term *speech community*; see Labov (1994) for an overview.
3. The discussion of Dulson's work, which was written in Russian, is based on Berend and Jedig (1991, 72–100) and Rosenberg (1994, 292–93).

4. "Es handelt sich vielmehr um einen Kampf, der zwischen den einzelnen Spracherscheinungen getrennt gefochten wird" (Dulson 1941, 93).
5. The many different definitions of koinés found in the literature are not directly relevant for our analysis of Texas German. For discussions of how koinés should be classified, see Samarin (1966), Nida and Fehderau (1970), Sudbury (2000), and Schreier (2003), among others.
6. Similar observations were made by Schirmunski among the speakers of Neu-Saratowka and Kolpino (Volga region), which were founded around 1765. According to Schirmunski, various speakers exhibit phonological and morphological variation (see Berend and Jedig 1991, 134–35). Note, however, that since he collected his data in the 1920s, the speakers exhibiting this variation would have probably been members of Trudgill's third generation of speakers. I will discuss the usefulness of the generational concept in more detail in chapter 4, where I address phonological variation in Texas German.
7. For an in-depth discussion of koinéization (and involved processes such as accommodation, mixing, leveling, simplification, and focusing) and the different views on how long it takes to form a new dialect, see Kerswill (2002, 669–702).
8. For details on classifying German dialects, see Schmeller (1821), Wenker (1877, 1896), Behagel (1891), Bremer (1892), Mitzka (1952), W. Arndt (1963), Moulton (1963), Panzer and Thümmel (1971), Händler and Wiegand (1982), Knoop (1982), Wiesinger (1983), Wolf (1983), Putschke (1993), Lausberg and Möller (1997), Nerbonne and Heeringa (1997), and Niebaum and Macha (1999), among many others.
9. In what follows, I do not discuss the migration of German speakers from the Upper Rhine Plain of Alsace to Medina County because they are not immediately relevant to our discussion of New Braunfels Texas German, having settled almost exclusively in Medina County.
10. Without detailed genealogical research, it is not possible to determine the exact places of origin of the German settlers, because census information is often not reliable. For example, Gilbert (1977, 31) points out that "instructions for census takers concerning enumeration of place of origin for the foreign born differed greatly from decade to decade. In 1850 'unspecified Germany' was the rule. In 1860 and 1870, a careful breakdown into provinces of origin (e.g., Prussia, Hanover, Holstein, Baden, Bavaria) was often provided, although certain enumerators were much more careful and exact than others." See Fey (1995) for an example of detailed genealogical research listing the villages and towns from which the first New Braunfels settlers came to Texas.
11. For methodological issues with apparent-time studies, see Bailey et al. (1991), Labov (1994), and Bailey (2002).
12. Gilbert's data are based on 15 interviews, 2 of which were conducted with married couples who, because they are not listed separately on Gilbert's maps, appear to have exhibited the same linguistic features. Not all 17 speakers resided within the 1960s city limits of New Braunfels proper, but in other places close to New Braunfels such as Gruene, Freiheit, and Solms. I have labeled these speakers as New Braunfels speakers, because all but two lived a significant number of years in New Braunfels proper. In addition, a quarter of our informants recorded between 2002 and 2006 currently live outside of the old city limits of New Braunfels (due to urban sprawl) but lived in New Braunfels for most of their lives.

CHAPTER 4

1. Extralinguistic factors determining language attrition and language death, such as age, gender, education, time, contact, attitude, motivation, identity, and ethnicity, will be considered in chapter 6.
2. Eikel (1954), Clardy (1954), and Gilbert (1972) employ different terminologies for the description of vowels. For example, Eikel (1966b, 254) refers to /i:/ as a high-front unrounded open vowel, whereas Clardy (1954, 10) labels this vowel tense high-front. Gilbert (1972, 21) characterizes this vowel as nonlow, nonback, and nonround.
3. The overwhelming use of unrounded variants is also observed in other Texas German speech communities, most notably in Gillespie County (see Gilbert 1965b, 107–8).
4. Although the data in table 4.3 illustrate similar trends, they reflect different numbers of informants. Eikel conducted 24 interviews, Clardy 6, and Gilbert 15. This means that the numerical distribution differs quite a bit. For example, Clardy's data set includes only 1 informant in each of the oldest and middle generations. The data from Clardy's informant 4 (the single speaker in Clardy's data set belonging to Eikel's oldest generation) should be regarded with caution when it comes to representing NBG because (1) he was born in Germany and

came to Texas in his early twenties, (2) he was a retired schoolteacher from New Braunfels and therefore likely to play close attention to this rounding of vowels, and (3) he was "very deaf" and exhibited a "slow rate of speech," which is why his "landlady" served as an auxiliary informant (Clardy 1954, 8).

5. It is difficult to determine whether all of Eikel's speakers are second-generation immigrants. For example, according to Eikel (1966a, 16), at least one speaker had a native Texan parent.
6. There are even greater variations if we consider the areas outside Hessen-Nassau from which settlers left for Texas. Due to space limitations, I cannot address these variations here.
7. For a phonetic classification and description of unrounding, see Abraham (1988, 706).
8. Gilbert acknowledges the possibility of English influencing this development. Noting that front rounded vowels are less common among younger Texas German speakers, he points out that attributing this change to English would be an "oversimplification, since the change is undoubtedly of German dialectal provenience, later promoted and accelerated by English influence" (1965b, 108).
9. As discussed in chapter 3, I am not "testing" Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation, nor do I intend to formulate an alternative model here. Instead, I apply Trudgill's model to the Texas German data to account for linguistic developments found in my data.
10. In this chapter I focus on the resampling of Gilbert's data for two reasons: (1) it allows us to compare New Braunfels data with data from other locations throughout the German Belt (as opposed to Eikel's data, which are solely from New Braunfels) and (2) the TGDP resampled many more Gilbert interviews than Eikel interviews, because the former are far shorter than the latter. Because of this, TGDP members typically elicit Gilbert data first and then return for a follow-up interview to resample the Eikel data. Unfortunately, 7 of our informants passed away before a follow-up interview was conducted.
11. Since the Gilbert questionnaire used by the TGDP members contains two instances of *hairbrush* (to reference Gilbert's 1972 maps 1 and 21), I listened to both instances in order to check for consistency (all informants provided the word in the same way both times).
12. Another important observation concerns the high percentages of informants who do not remember certain Texas German words. See Boas (forthcoming) for details on lexical developments in Texas German.

13. R. Born (1994) reports similar types of variation among vowels of Michigan German.
14. In analyzing the written questionnaires, I could not determine any correlation between the variation in vowels and some particular group marker, such as age, sex, or education. See chapter 6 for more details.
15. Salmons (1983, 193) observes a similar state of affairs for verbs, where leveling has eliminated the umlaut in second-person singular verb forms. Alternatively, this distribution could also be attributed to one of the original German donor dialects.
16. Recall that large numbers of immigrants also came from other German-speaking areas outside of the Hessen-Nassau area. Since we do not have any detailed information about their places of origin, we are focusing here on one particular area, Hessen-Nassau, which we know provided a large number of immigrants.
17. The use of /a/ instead of /æ/ in *pasture* is the same in all other areas covered by Gilbert (1972), except for Medina County and a few isolated cases in three other counties. Pulte (1970, 130) also reports the use of /æ/ in *pasture* among a small number of informants in north Texas and Oklahoma, but an overwhelming majority use /a/.
18. Informant 2 is also a New Braunfels resident but does not appear in the rerecorded Gilbert data because he passed away before I could interview him for the second time.
19. The historical data for New Braunfels are somewhat inconclusive when it comes to the distribution of [pf] and [p]. Whereas Gilbert (1972) acknowledges their varied distribution in different words, Clardy does not mention this point at all (again, this might be due to the sample size—Gilbert, 15 informants; Clardy, 6 informants). Contrary to Gilbert's observation about the presence of [pf] in *Pferd* 'horse' in NBG, Eikel (1966b, 257) maintains that "/p/ does not occur initially before /f/: [fɛʀt] *Pferd*, [fefəʀ] *Pfeffer*." Eikel's observations about the distribution of [pf] and [p] word-medially and word-finally confirm Gilbert's findings with respect to [pf] making up the majority of tokens.
20. For ease of exposition, I refer to the [p]/[pf] divide as the Germersheim Line. In fact, there are a number of different isoglosses reflecting the division between [p] and [pf] for different lexical items that are almost identical. These are the *Kasseler Scheide* 'Kassel Division', the *Speyerer Linie* 'Speyer Line', and the *Germersheimer Linie* 'Germersheim Line' (for further details see Noble 1983, 43).

21. The increased use of [pf] does not appear to be caused by hypercorrection (triggered by the formality of the elicitation task [see above]); the transcripts of the open-ended interviews contain only 5 instances of [p] and 24 instances of [pf]. It is thus unclear what may have caused this development. Unfortunately, a lack of data also prevents me from arriving at definite conclusions about what may have caused the increase of [p] in *Köpfe*.
22. Gilbert (1972, map 112) does not provide any information about the pronunciation of *zehn*. I chose to include it here to offer a broader view of how /ts/ is realized differently in present-day Texas German.
23. For example, Eikel (1966b, 257) points out, "Among a few informants, /t/ appears as a lenis stop."
24. There is only one minor exception: one of Gilbert's New Braunfels informants used /g/ in *WasserKrahn* 'water faucet'.
25. Neither Clardy (1954) nor Eikel (1954, 1966a, 1966b, 1967) mention the different distribution of the two sounds in this context.
26. Alternatively, Gilbert (1972) might have spent more attention on details of dialectal variants than Clardy or Eikel.
27. The data suggest that this development cannot be attributed to new-dialect formation as it runs counter to developments commonly observed in such situations: "Common dialect mixtures and leveling processes would have led to a reduction in regional variation" (Trudgill 2004, 22).
28. In calculating the percentages of the distribution of the various realizations, I have left out the "none" responses. The "none" category includes instances when informants did not give any response or they used a German lexical variant, such as *Weide* or *Wiese*.
29. This is out of a total of 38 informants who translated the word as *creek* into Texas German. The remaining 14 informants either did not translate it at all or used the German words *Bach* 'creek' and *Fluss* 'river'.
30. "Während seiner dialektologischen Studienreisen konnte er feststellen, dass sich die deutschen Mundarten an der Wolga nicht nur von Dorf zu Dorf voneinander unterscheiden, sondern auch innerhalb eines Dorfes sich sprachliche Unterschiede bemerkbar machen" (Berend and Jedig 1991, 52).
31. "Dialektausgleich verläuft nicht nach einem ein für alle Male vorausgegebenen Muster, und dementsprechend kann auch das Ergebnis des Ausgleichs unter den gleichen Voraussetzungen recht unterschiedlich sein" (Berend and Jedig 1991, 176).

32. Other factors contributing to a comparatively slow process of new-dialect formation include geographic isolation and lack of mobility. Until the twentieth century, many Texas German speakers lived in the countryside and went to town only once a week to go to the market, to dances, or to church. Thus, the rate of face-to-face contact differed drastically depending on where Texas Germans lived, thereby contributing to different degrees of dialect contact. Children, who often attended local school for only five to seven years, stayed on farms to work there, with relatively little interaction with the outside world until the advent of the automobile and paved roads (see chapter 2). By the time Texas Germans were more mobile, their language had lost a great deal of prestige, and English was the high language, thereby hindering further extensive face-to-face contact that could have resulted in the last stage of new-dialect formation (focusing).
33. Trudgill (1986, 37) claims that it is salient features that are accommodated to (see also Schirmunski 1930 on leveling of primary and secondary dialect features in German *Sprachinseln* in Russia). However, I do not address Trudgill's (1986) notion of salience here, because Trudgill (2004, 127) shows that "salience does not seem to be relevant in determining what happens at Stage II and III in tabula rasa colonial situations. We do not see salient features being more 'successful' than others."
34. "Selbst wenn sich eine solche Eins-zu-eins Entsprechung mit Ortsmundarten des geschlossenen deutschen Sprachraums zu ergeben scheint, handelt es sich doch oft um 'dialektgeographische Illusionen,' auf die Schirmunski bereits hinweist" (Rosenberg 1994, 128).

CHAPTER 5

1. For pragmatic information, see Clahsen (1984, 234).
2. Throughout this chapter, I use the phrases *case loss*, *loss of case morphology*, *case reduction*, *case syncretism*, and *case coalescence* to describe the same phenomenon: a case system that exhibits a smaller number of functional cases when compared to standard German's four cases. I would like to emphasize that I do not mean to imply that the different German dialects are derived from standard German. Instead, I follow previous researchers, such as Eikel and Gilbert, who use standard German as a benchmark for comparison. To determine in detail the developments of the case systems of the different donor dialects of

Texas German would require access to medieval, late medieval, Early New High German, and New High German vernacular texts from the purported region of migration. Since such an investigation is beyond the scope of this book, I leave it to further research.

3. For more details on how the unstressed suffixes *-e* and *-en* were phonologically reduced (eventually leading to loss of morphological differences, and thereby contributing to case syncretism), see Schirmunski (1962, 432–33).
4. Recall from chapter 4 that we do not have exact information about the locations from which the German settlers came. Based on all available information, I assume that the majority of early New Braunfels settlers came from the Hessen-Nassau region.
5. "Der Verlust der phonetischen Differenzierung der Kasus führt in den Mundarten zu einem immer mehr um sich greifenden Synkretismus im Kasussystem" (Berend and Jedig 1991, 158).
6. For cognitive principles explaining the reduction of morphological case, see Jakobson (1941), Zubin (1979), Clahsen (1984), Tracy (1984), Pinker (1994), and Rosenberg (2003).
7. "On average" is used by Eikel to mean that the total number of speakers is divided by the total number of tokens (while still listing the minimum and maximum number by the speakers of each group).
8. Both Eikel (1954) and Eikel (1966b) list 103 instances of dative use for informant 9, who belongs to the middle generation. Since I assume that this number is an error on Eikel's part (there are only 102 instances of expected dative use in his worksheets), I have listed the number as 102.
9. Guion (1996) also reports a tendency of semispeakers and younger fluent speakers to generalize the nominative case to contexts in which one would expect an oblique case or the dative and accusative cases.
10. "Ich weiss ja, dass da auch *mir* ist, aber ich weiss nicht, wann es zu gebrauchen, so sag' ich einfach immer *mich*" (Eikel 1949, 280).
11. Note that the data comparison in this chapter should be regarded with some caution as the sample areas are different (New Braunfels area vs. the entire German Belt). Furthermore, the sample sizes are different. Gilbert (1972) provides data from 15 New Braunfels area informants, while the present-day TGDP data come from 52 informants from the same area. In contrast, Fuller and Gilbert's (2003) data (based on Gilbert historical data) come from 255 informants. Another problem with the data discussed by Fuller and Gilbert (2003) is that they do not give any information about answers that do not fall into their two categories of accusative and dative. For example, in table 5.5 the authors list 85% of case marking as accusative and 9% of case marking as dative, leaving 6% that are not accounted for.
12. The data on *neben* should be regarded with caution because the corpus only contains four tokens, which is not representative when compared with the data on the other prepositions.
13. Recall that Salmons (1994) attributes the presence of the dative in part to the influence of standard German.
14. I repeat, by using standard German as a benchmark for comparison, I do not mean to imply that Texas German is a direct descendant of standard German, although Salmons (1994) argues that it has been influenced by standard German.
15. Reduction of morphologically marked categories is also characteristic of dying languages (Wolfram 2002, 773).
16. Interestingly, a large number of conjunctions that trigger SOV in standard German are absent from the transcripts of the open-ended interviews. The absence of *damit, da, bevor, indem,* and *trotzdem,* for example, in the data could be due to the informal style of conversation or to the fact that the system of subordinating conjunctions of the donor dialects was not as elaborate as that of standard German. Alternatively, the absence of these conjunctions may be attributed to style reduction, a phenomenon commonly found among moribund languages. Such "stylistic shrinkage" (Mougeon and Beniak 1989, 299) is often regarded as an indicator of the speaker's experience in certain linguistic domains (see also Holloway 1997, 68).
17. For an analysis of gender assignment of English loanwords in Texas German, see Bathe (2005), who shows that there is a strong tendency to assign female gender to English loanwords, followed by neuter and masculine (see also Clausing 1986, 83–106, for other German American dialects).

CHAPTER 6

1. For an overview of the literature on language death see Haugen (1972), Dorian (1977), Brenzinger and Dimmendaal (1992), Edwards (1992), Krauss (1992), Sasse (1992), McConvell and Thieberger (2001), Crystal (2000), Nettle and Romaine (2000), and Wolfram (2002), among others.

2. Another factor influencing parents' choice to raise their children exclusively in English may have been an indirect effect of the English-only laws pertaining to the social status of Texas German. More specifically, as a result of purist language ideas propagated by the German press in Texas and the local school system, many Texas Germans believed that their dialect was inferior in comparison to standard German (a belief that many Texas Germans still have today). With the absence of standard German in the schools, it is likely that many parents chose to raise their children in English instead of a nonstandard dialect of German, which was perceived to have little prestige among the highly educated classes.
3. See also file (1-61-1-13-a) in the TGDA for a description of how fast New Braunfels has been growing because of commuters who work in Austin or San Antonio.

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