1. THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN: FROM EUROPE TO THE MIDWEST

Pennsylvania German is a language that has outgrown its name. Now in its fourth century on North American soil, this German variety has seen its speakers multiply—now numbering more than 250,000—and move to such an extent that the majority currently live, not in Pennsylvania, but in Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and other Midwest states. This shift in the demographic center of gravity of Pennsylvania German has been accompanied by linguistic divergence. A new Midwestern dialect of Pennsylvania German has emerged and with it a new sense of regional identity for its approximately 160,000 speakers, who, with a few exceptions, are members of Amish communities. I use the traditional term, at least among linguists, "Pennsylvania German" (PG), here and throughout the book, although other terms are also in common use, notably "Pennsylvania Dutch," "Deitsch"—the native term and arguably a preferable term given the current broad geographical distribution of the language—and among some Amish, "Amisch."

The dialect divergence that has produced Midwest Pennsylvania German (MPG) in opposition to Pennsylvania Pennsylvania German (PPG) consists primarily of a small set of phonological changes along with a few lexical differences. These PG regional dialects are, in this respect, similar to the coterritorial regional dialects of Anglo-American English (i.e., Mid-Atlantic, Midlands, Inner North/Great Lakes): there is a high degree of—indeed almost complete—mutual intelligibility across the dialects, yet a few phonological and lexical features are socially salient and diagnostic of regional identity. Thus, PG dialects, like the Amish themselves, are thoroughly American.

This book is a study of dialect divergence in the North American context, though the dialects in consideration are, obviously, not English. It aims to provide empirical detail on the distribution of key phonological, lexical, and morphological variants in several communities and to explore the internal linguistic changes, patterns of migration, and language contact that have led to the current geographic and social distribution of these features. Finally, it considers the potential for future dialect divergence or

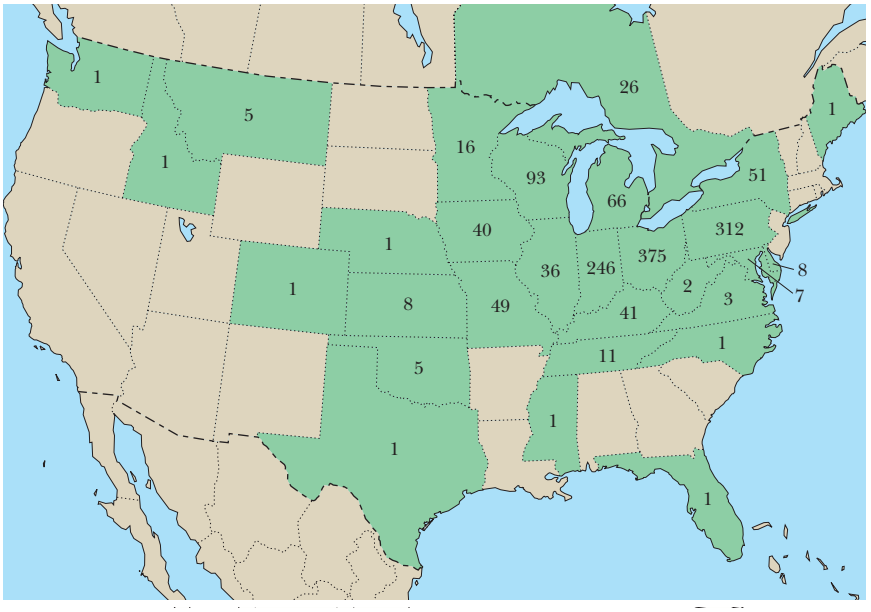
convergence as it describes the links between these language varieties and the notions of regional identity and religious ideology in the attitudes of PPG and MPG speakers toward each other.

This is not a study of new dialect formation as it is understood in, for example, Kerswill and Williams (2000), Trudgill (2004), and Boas (2009b). Studies of new dialect formation are concerned with the range of donor dialects that serve as input to a new immigrant community and the processes of leveling or koinézation these dialects undergo on the way to the emergence of a new cohesive dialect. The study of PG as a new dialect and its relation to donor dialects has been undertaken in Buffington (1939), Seifert (1971), and Reed (1972), among others. Though I review the question of donor dialects to PG briefly later in this chapter, the focus of this study is the time after the crystallization of PG as a stable variety, and so I am addressing the subsequent divergent developments within PG in the absence of any further significant influx of speakers of new donor dialects.

Since dialect divergence in PG takes place in the context of long-term contact with English, some parts of this study may be situated more generally among studies of language contact in general (e.g., Weinreich [1953] 1979; Thomason and Kaufman 1988) and language contact in the American context (e.g., Haugen 1953; Silva-Corvalán 1994). This study especially complements research on German *sprachinseln* 'speech islands' worldwide (Berend and Mattheier 1994; Keel and Mattheier 2003; Rosenberg 2005) and in North America (Gilbert 1972; Salmons 1986, 1994; Keel 1994; Fuller 1997; Louden 2006; Boas 2009b), which combine attention to both dialect contact and language contact phenomena. Where this study departs from and adds to most *sprachinseln* studies is in its focus on a secondary set of migration patterns and language change following the establishment of a speech island—the persistence and extension of a speech island, as it were. Finally, the current vitality and broad geographic spread of PG is a remarkable example of long-term maintenance of an immigrant language in the United States.

There are several brief points of clarification to be made with respect to the maintenance of PG: who currently speaks PG, who does not, the current domains of use of PG, and what other German varieties are in use by the Amish and other Anabaptist groups.[1] Though the Amish are currently the largest group maintaining PG (see figure 1.1 for geographic distribution of Amish communities), there are also approximately 20,000 Old Order Mennonite church members (i.e., the count does not include children) in Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, and other Midwestern states, who, with the exception of one community in Virginia, speak PG, and whose children continue to acquire it at home. Many

FIGURE 1.1
Amish Settlements in North America
(Nolt 2003, 337)



PG speakers live in Canada, in southern Ontario, including approximately 3,000 Old Order Mennonite members and 4,000 Amish.

In addition there are several thousand elderly speakers of PG in southeastern Pennsylvania who are "nonsectarian," that is, they are of German Reformed or Lutheran (not Amish or Mennonite) background. But the dwindling numbers of nonsectarians, popularly known as "Pennsylvania Dutch," do not do justice to their numerical dominance in previous generations. Only slightly more than 100 years ago, at the end of the nineteenth century, there were three-quarters of a million nonsectarian PG speakers in Pennsylvania, vastly outnumbering the approximately 5,000 Amish and 50,000 Mennonite church members in North America at the time. These nonsectarians were spread out over more than a dozen counties in southeastern Pennsylvania, with significant regional variation in the PG they spoke (see Seifert 2001, also sec. 2.3.1).

Still, by the mid-twentieth century, after 200 years of vibrant maintenance of PG, the nonsectarian communities in Pennsylvania had shifted to English, at least as concerns the language acquired by children. Also completing the shift to English monolingualism during this time were most "mainstream" Mennonites—those who, unlike the Old Orders, chose a

path of greater assimilation to American culture—in Pennsylvania and elsewhere in the United States and Canada (including speakers of other German varieties, such as Mennonite Low German; see below and also Krahn and Reimer 1989), as well as a number of other German-speaking communities in North America founded by nineteenth-century immigrants, for example in Texas (Boas 2009b) and Wisconsin (Salmons 2005). The common catalyst for language shift in all of these cases was not, as is commonly assumed, anti-German sentiment during and following World War I, but rather a series of factors that first took root in the nineteenth century. These included increased geographic and social mobility, which lessened the isolation of many rural communities, increased exogamy, and the gradual realignment of economic and institutional (i.e., school, church, newspaper) activities from local control to state, regional, or national control (Salmons 2005; Louden 2006).[2]

By contrast, in Amish and Old Order Mennonite communities PG has been maintained as their native language (L1), and all speakers are also fluently bilingual in the coterritorial variety of English. English is the medium for all Amish and Old Order Mennonite schooling, and the vast majority of literate practices—nearly all reading and writing outside of worship services—is in English. PG is the language used most frequently at home, in worship services, and typically in the workplace, though code-switching is common (see, e.g., Fuller 1999). It is not unusual for English to be used occasionally in in-group interactions, for example, in a family with many school-age children whose use of English at school may spill over to the home. Most Amish and Old Order Mennonites work on farms and in small businesses operated by fellow PG speakers, and even those who work in large factories are typically grouped together and can thus use PG on the job aside from interactions with "English" (i.e., non-Amish/Memmonite) customers or coworkers. Thus, the sectarian PG speech communities are examples of stable bilingualism, given the presence of the following factors: early acquisition of both languages, positive or indifferent attitudes toward both languages, and well-defined domains, thus a functional need, for both (Louden 1989; 1993, 286–87).

PG is not, however, the only German variety spoken in Amish or Mennonite communities. Amish in the "Swiss" settlements of Adams and Allen Counties in Indiana speak Alemannic dialects that are not mutually intelligible with PG. The "Swiss Amish" may acquire some PG for interactions with Amish in other communities, but they are just as likely to resort to English when encountering PG speakers (Johnson-Weiner 1992, 36; Thompson 1994). There are also some branches of Mennonites in North America who speak a Germany variety other than PG. In the 1870s and in the 1920s, a

total of 40,000 Mennonites immigrated from Russia (modern-day Ukraine) to North America, settling primarily in Western states and provinces such as Kansas and Manitoba (Smith 1981). These Russian Mennonites spoke not PG but Plautdietsch or Mennonite Low German, an East Low German variety (Epp 1987). In most Plautdietsch-speaking communities, the shift to English was concluded by the end of the twentieth century, but Plautdietsch is maintained today among 300,000 Old Colony Mennonites in Canada and several Latin American countries such as Mexico, Paraguay, and Bolivia (Reimer 1994). Finally, the Hutterites are yet another Anabaptist group in North America who speak a German variety not directly related to PG. Hutterites migrated from eastern Europe in the 1870s and have established over 400 colonies in the Western Plains states and provinces. Hutterisch grew out of Austrian (specifically, Carinthian) German in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when Hutterites lived in Austria and Moravia; "Hutterite German" or "Hutterisch" is currently spoken as a first language by 33,000 people in Canada and 12,000 people in the United States (Lewis 2009).

To return then to the general nature of dialect divergence in PG, some may object that the degree of divergence described in this book is so minimal as to hardly count as divergence at all. Indeed, the set of linguistic features that distinguish the modern-day regional dialects of PG spoken by sectarians (that is, Midwest vs. Pennsylvania) is smaller than the set of features that distinguished earlier regional dialects of PG within southeastern Pennsylvania (e.g., the Eastern and Southern regions of Pennsylvania as defined by Seifert 2001; see also sec. 2.3.1). Even in these earlier PG dialects, the differences were never as dramatic as those found between the European donor dialects. Researchers agree that PG can be described as emerging out of a "Franconian, Palatinate dialect with some Alemannic features" (Seifert 1971, 19) and have without exception stressed its overall homogeneity. Buffington (1939, 276), for example, allows for "a few significant Alemannic peculiarities" in the Swiss settlements of Lancaster and York Counties in Pennsylvania, "yet, on the whole, the dialectal variations in the dialect as spoken in the various sections of Pennsylvania are very slight." Also Van Ness's (1994, 423) introduction to the language states that "Pennsylvania German is surprisingly uniform across geographic regions." When compared with the considerable variation found in continental varieties of German—variation that stretches to the breaking point the litmus test of mutual intelligibility—the homogeneity of PG is indeed remarkable.

Several factors can account for the relative absence of variability in PG. First, there was a relative lack of variability in the continental dialects that served as inputs to the new American variety. Second, settlers from the

Palatinate were most numerous in the early 1700s during the crucial development period of the emergent variety. Third, the leveling process in favor of Palatinate dialect features must have begun already in Europe, since many of the settlers of non-Palatinate origins (e.g., especially the Swiss) lived in the Palatinate for a generation or more before coming to the New World. Fourth, patterns of interaction confirm that the early settlers of different regions and religious practices did not remain isolated from each other. Finally, only two centuries have elapsed since the formative stage of PG, a relatively short time in the context of linguistic change.

Even so, the number and type of linguistic differences between dialects is not a predictor of their social significance. Indeed, "the unity of a dialect is a unity, not of sounds produced, but of sounds perceived; it is subjective rather than objective" (Sturtevant 1917, 146–47). This is echoed by Hymes (1974, 123): "Any enduring social relationship or group may come to define itself by selection and/or creation of linguistic features, and a difference of accent may be as important at one boundary as a difference of grammar at another. Part of the creativity of users of languages lies in the freedom to determine what and how much linguistic difference matters." The set of lexical and phonological differences that emerged between MPG and PPG in the twentieth century matters a great deal to their respective speakers, marking as they do not just regional identities but also, for the majority of PG speakers, distinctive ethnoreligious practices in daily life that are part of different ways of being Amish.

The plan of this book is as follows: The remainder of this introductory chapter traces the history of PG from Europe to the Midwest. I provide evidence from family histories of both sectarians and nonsectarians that dialect contact processes contributing to the development of PG very likely began in Europe prior to emigration. I then analyze the movement of Amish to the American Midwest in the nineteenth century by focusing on two key early settlements: Holmes County, Ohio, and Kalona, Iowa. Finally, I show how the Amish practice of "portable community" allowed for frequent moves between these nineteenth-century settlements, which set the stage for the diffusion of linguistic change across these communities in the twentieth century.

Chapter 2 describes previous studies of linguistic variation in PG, beginning with the possible influence of contact with English. I then examine claims about social variation between sectarians and nonsectarians in PPG and suggest that intrasectarian variation between Amish and Mennonites in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, reflects an earlier geographic divide. This is followed by a review of Reed and Seifert's (1954) pioneering work

mapping regional variation in mid-twentieth-century PG in Pennsylvania. The chapter concludes with an examination of the few important studies of variation of PG in the Midwest.

In chapter 3 I describe the history of the communities studied in this book—Holmes County, Ohio; Kalona, Iowa; and Grant County, Wisconsin—and the current patterns of intercommunity travel and contact. Amish "portable community" remains a reality into the twenty-first century, though the number of Amish communities has increased greatly with the result being that there are very few direct connections between any two of these communities. I then present the methodologies used in the several studies that make up this book: the selection of linguistic and social variables, selection of consultants, interview protocols, and coding of tokens.

The core chapters, 4 through 6, are quantitative analyses of phonological and lexical variation in MPG and PPG. Chapter 4, the most extensive in the book, considers the monophthongization of /aɪ/, a sound change that spread to all MPG communities in the twentieth century. In its linguistic and social conditioning, monophthongal /aɪ/ is nearly identical across MPG communities. The monophthongal variant, typically fronted [æː] or fronted and raised [ɛː], is shown to have a negative correlation with age (i.e., it is less frequent in older speakers), an indication that it is a sound change in progress, though nearing completion. The chapter concludes by considering tokens by some speakers that appear to be nearly merging with the mid, front, tense phoneme [eː], as well as a different type of monophthong—a backed [aː]—realized by some young PPG speakers..

Chapter 5 provides analyses of the liquid consonants of MPG and PPG. For both /r/ and /l/, PPG has largely converged with the coterritorial English, adopting an approximant allophone [ɹ] for the former and a velarized [ɬ] (sometimes vocalized) for the latter. In MPG, on the other hand, the allophonic distribution of native [r] and borrowed [ɹ] is more complex, with considerable variation in complex onsets.

In chapter 6 I consider five aspects of the lexicon and morphology of MPG. First, I compare lexical items in current MPG, Amish PPG, and Mennonite PPG with those documented in Reed and Seifert's (1954) study of Pennsylvania in order to show possible sources for MPG usage. I then bring quantitative data from two smaller studies to bear on claims of differences in lexical borrowing and phonological incorporation of borrowings in MPG and PPG. Finally, two morphological variables reveal very different patterns across MPG communities in Holmes County, Ohio, and Kalona, Iowa. The nonfeminine marking of feminine possessive constructions, first observed by Van Ness (1995), proves to be widespread in Holmes County,

but much less so in Kalona. And the merger of dative and accusative case, on the other hand, is shown to have identical patterns of age-correlated use of dative case in both communities.

Chapter 7 summarizes the linguistic features that distinguish MPG from PPG. I then introduce the Amish understanding of humility, *demut*, as a key to understanding apparently contradictory attitudes toward borrowing and the phonological integration of borrowed words. This then leads to an overview of the differences in the practice of being Amish in MPG communities and in PPG communities and how speakers themselves articulate these differences. As PPG communities are now being established in the Midwest, these ideologies are being tested by opportunities for more frequent contact between MPG and PPG speakers. I conclude with an evaluation of the possibility for future dialect divergence and convergence given current attitudes in these communities.

1.1. THE PREHISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN: DIALECT CONTACT IN THE PALATINATE PRIOR TO EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

The story of Pennsylvania German begins in Europe in the decades prior to the migration of German speakers to William Penn's experiment in the New World. Migration patterns within German-speaking territories in Europe, in particular migration into the Palatinate from Alemannic-speaking regions, set up favorable conditions for dialect contact and the concomitant processes of mixing and leveling—processes which continued as migration across the Atlantic got under way several decades later. Thus, the development of the language has a greater time depth than is typically acknowledged.

The significance of Palatinate varieties of German is strengthened when it is noted that many of the early Dutch and Swiss settlers arrived in America after sojourning for a generation or two in the Palatinate. The political, economic, and social instability of southwestern Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made migration within this area a common fact of life for many and was one reason why many were willing to undertake the risky move to the New World (Wokeck 1985, 5).

In the early settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania, for example, Palatines already outnumbered the Dutch in the 1690s, although, among the Mennonites, at least, many of the Palatines were of Dutch background.[3] After 1707, most Mennonites from the Palatinate were of Swiss ancestry (MacMaster 1985, 39, 48). This mixed European background was not restricted to Anabaptists. Many Swiss of the Reformed church also moved

into the desolation that was post-Thirty-Years-War Palatinate in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Burgert 1985, 3). The settler Peter Drachsel represents perhaps a common pattern of migration in Europe prior to immigration to America: born in Canton Bern, Switzerland, Drachsel moved with his family to Rieschwiller in the Palatinate by 1708, and then sometime in the 1730s emigrated to Lehigh County, Pennsylvania (Burgert 1985, 348).

It is probable, then, that after living in the Palatinate for a generation or more and with some intermarriage with local people, these Swiss settlers who arrived in colonial Pennsylvania were already well acquainted with the Palatinate dialect of the majority of their fellow immigrants. It is also likely that some degree of leveling out of differences between Alemannic and Palatinate dialects had already occurred in Europe, especially among the younger generations. One historian proposes just such a scenario for the Swiss in particular: "Most of them had stayed in Germany a generation or two and had married German wives, and their children spoke with Palatine or Swabian rather than with *Schwyzerdütsch* accents" (Yoder 1985, 43).[4]

1.2. THE GERMAN DIALECTS IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA THAT SERVED AS INPUTS TO PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN

German speakers began arriving in the New World in the late seventeenth century at the invitation of William Penn. The earliest settlement was founded in 1683 in Germantown, Pennsylvania (now part of Philadelphia). A steady stream of German-speaking immigrants continued arriving in Pennsylvania up until the Revolutionary War, when immigration ceased for a couple of decades. The mixing and leveling of dialect features that led to the formation of a distinctive New World dialect must have taken place during the eighteenth century, that is, during the colonial era in Pennsylvania through the end of the Revolutionary War. The year 1800, then, is a convenient date for marking the emergence of this dialect, which became known as Pennsylvania German or Pennsylvania Dutch.[5]

The immigrants during the formative period came overwhelmingly from the southwestern part of German-speaking Europe: the Palatinate, Baden, Würtemberg, Alsace, and Switzerland (see figure 1.2). Though the differences that existed between these dialects were significant, they are not representative of the breadth of difference that existed across all German dialects. With some patience, these speakers would have had little trouble understanding each other.

FIGURE 1.2
European Places of Origin of German-Speaking Immigrants
to America in the Eighteenth Century

1.3. THE NUMERICAL DOMINANCE OF PALATINES AMONG GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

In the first four decades of immigration, the flow of new arrivals was rather slow, totaling perhaps three to five thousand (Kuhns [1901] 1971, 52; MacMaster 1985, 59). The absence of ship records prior to 1727 makes it difficult to establish the precise number and origins of early settlers. The first settlers were of Dutch origin, though soon Palatinate arrivals became more numerous, including some of Dutch origin living in the Palatinate. Beginning in 1710, Swiss immigrants—many of whom also came to the New World after a sojourn in the Palatinate—began to arrive in significant numbers.

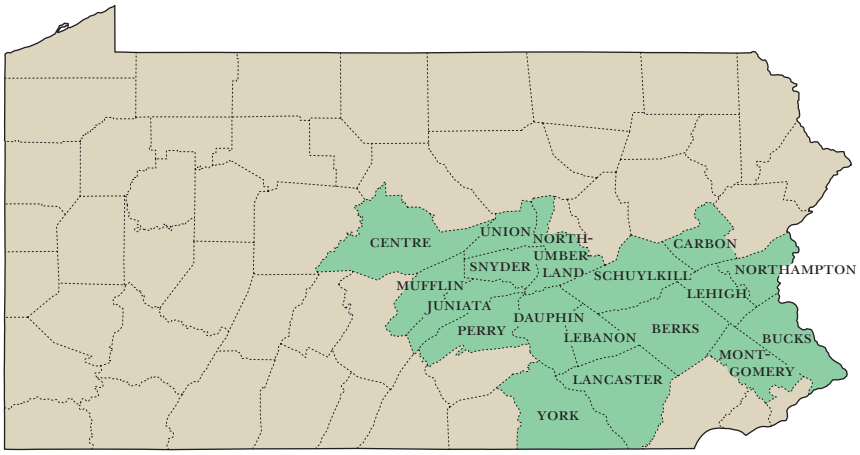
Mufwene (1996) has proposed that groups that are numerically dominant early on in a language/dialect contact situation may have a lasting impact on the outcome of that contact, despite the arrival of larger groups at a later point in time. Mufwene dubs this the "founder effect," a term borrowed from studies of population genetics. However, on the basis of the available data from the earliest years of German settlement in Pennsylvania, there is no clear choice of dialect group to which we might attribute a founder effect. Both the Dutch and the Swiss are prominent, but accompanied by many Palatines. In addition, during this time period, German-speaking settlers as a whole were few and thinly scattered across the region.

In the absence of a clear "founder" dialect in the first decades of German immigration to colonial Pennsylvania, later immigration must be considered for possible "swamping" effects, that is, what happens when the numerical superiority of later immigrants overwhelms the early "founder" (Lass 1990; Dollinger 2008).[6] Between 1727 and 1741, the number of German-speaking immigrants jumped sharply, averaging over a thousand new arrivals per year with the vast majority hailing from the Palatinate (Kuhns [1901] 1971, 57, 160; Raith 1992, 154, citing Veith 1968, 267). So great was the number of Palatine immigrants during this period that the term "Palatines" became synonymous for "Germans" in general. This surge of immigration in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, when settlers from the Palatinate overwhelmingly established their numerical superiority in the colony, would appear to be a textbook example of swamping.

The flow of new arrivals increased even more in the years preceding the French and Indian War (i.e., the Seven Years' War in Europe, 1756–63), during which immigration came to a temporary halt. The European origins of these settlers were somewhat more heterogeneous, including, for example, groups and individuals from Würtemberg, Alsace, Nassau, Darmstadt, and Basel in addition to the Palatinate (Kuhns [1901] 1971, 56).

By 1775, approximately 80,000 German-speaking immigrants had arrived in Pennsylvania. The actual number of German-speaking settlers—adding in a natural increase of perhaps 25% over one or two generations—was around 110,000, which accounted for one-third of the total population of Pennsylvania (Kuhns [1901] 1971, 59). These immigrants fanned out north and west from Philadelphia, establishing relatively dense settlements across a region stretching from present-day York to Allentown—approximately 100 miles along an axis from southwest to northeast and approximately 50 miles wide (see figure 1.3). The demographic figures noted above suggest that speakers of the Palatinate dialects were more numerous than any other group during this formative period of PG.

FIGURE 1.3
Historically Pennsylvania German–Speaking Areas in Pennsylvania



The linguistic data back the demographics. Buffington (1939) and Reed (1972) show that the phonology, morphology, and lexicon of PG closely match Palatinate dialect features, specifically the Eastern Palatinate area south of Mannheim near Speyer and Neustadt. This poses a small problem for a straightforward account of the development of PG, because Eastern Palatinate settlers were far less numerous in colonial Pennsylvania than settlers from the Western Palatinate. One possible reason for this apparent mismatch is the changes that have occurred in either the European varieties or in PG itself that obscure earlier similarities.[7] Buffington (1939, 278) appears to suggest that Eastern Palatinate linguistic norms may have prevailed because they were less idiosyncratic. All of the features Buffington listed as common to both PG and the Eastern Palatinate (mostly morphological variants of verb forms and regular sound changes) are ranked low on Kerswill's difficulty hierarchy for second dialect acquisition.[8] This indicates that it would be relatively easy for speakers of other dialects to acquire these features even as adults and that simplification of paradigms did not play a major role in the development of PG. Still, why the Eastern Palatinate forms should have prevailed must, at this point, be left to the vagaries of the process of dialect leveling and accommodation (see Trudgill 1986).

As to the relative influence of other dialects, particularly the Alemannic dialects, we can make only rough estimates. Louden (1989, 73) ventures that Amish and Mennonite immigrants totaled 5,000 in 1775. If we assume that the majority of these were of Swiss background, then Swiss Ana-

baptists made up no more than 5% of the total German-speaking population. Of course, there were non-Anabaptist Swiss immigrants as well, but their number has not been ascertained. So it is safe to say that in the dialect contact situation in colonial Pennsylvania, the Swiss dialects were underrepresented, except in certain areas of primarily Mennonite concentration, such as Lancaster County.

1.4. PATTERNS OF INTERACTION AND THE ROLE OF STANDARD GERMAN IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

We cannot precisely reconstruct how eighteenth-century German settlers in Pennsylvania interacted with each other, but the evidence suggests that interaction—and not isolation—was the norm. Although the new settlers were of diverse religious backgrounds, these differences apparently posed few barriers to interaction, even among the more separatist Anabaptist groups. Mennonites settled beside and among Reformed and Lutheran neighbors, and, far from shunning contact with outsiders (an assumption of many researchers, e.g., Seifert 1971, 36), they worked at the same occupations and even shared schoolteachers (MacMaster 1985, 138).

To be sure, Mennonites and Amish, because they were better organized and financed than the average immigrant, were often able to settle near each other. The Lancaster County settlement offers the clearest evidence that Mennonites of Swiss background aided each other in purchasing some of the best land in that area as it was made available starting in 1710 (MacMaster 1985, 82). As a result, in Lancaster in particular, the density of immigrants of Swiss background was higher than in other areas, though again it should be emphasized that this did not preclude interaction with settlers of other backgrounds, and the Mennonite role in contributing Alemannic features to the Lancaster PG dialect was probably not as prominent as Seifert (1971, 37) suggests. The presence of a sizable and dense Mennonite settlement in Montgomery County, for example, did not result in the retention of Alemannic features in that region. It seems likely that the Mennonites in Lancaster County formed just part of a significant general Swiss immigration to that region in the early 1700s.

As for standard German varieties, they had a limited role in PG-speaking communities and thus were of little significance in the development of PG (see, e.g., Louden 1989, 82–92, for discussion of claims about the putative utility of written standard German, and Boas 2009b, 44–45, for discussion of spoken standard German as a nineteenth-century development in Europe, thus too late to be a factor in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania).

Few class distinctions existed among the immigrants—most were farmers and craftsworkers—and they would have interacted on equal social footing, with no clear notions of the prestige of one group of speakers over another. Given the egalitarian nature and frequency of interactions among German speakers in colonial Pennsylvania, we might reasonably suggest that numerical superiority (i.e., of the Palatine immigrants) was the most important factor influencing the outcome of the leveling process.

This is not to say that there was no variation in colonial Pennsylvania. As Seifert (1971, 20) is careful to point out, we can speak of a single PG dialect only "if we bear in mind that the processes of dialect leveling [in colonial Pennsylvania] were not carried to their complete and ultimate conclusion." In other words, regional variation has existed in PG from the outset. The earliest evidence we have of these patterns is in Reed and Seifert (1954) and Seifert (2001), which describe variation in some two hundred lexical, morphological, and phonological features across 87 speakers, mostly men born in the late 1800s. The resulting isoglosses divide the "southern" counties of Lancaster, Lebanon, and York, from those to the northeast. Analysis of PG variation within Pennsylvania forms part of the following chapter.

During the 1800s, the number of PG speakers grew to several hundred thousand in southeastern Pennsylvania. By mid-century Haldeman (1872, 4–5) reports that it was still possible to get along in that part of the country with little knowledge of English, even though there were also clear signs of language shift as some children used English with their parents and German with their grandparents (cited in Louden 2001, 17). Some nonsectarian PG speakers moved out of Pennsylvania in the 1800s, but these were not numerous or cohesive enough to have a lasting impact in the form of enduring communities in other states, though there were exceptions, for example, in West Virginia (Van Ness 1990). By contrast, the PG-speaking Amish and Mennonites of southeastern Pennsylvania began moving west after the American Revolution, eventually establishing dozens of thriving settlements in what was to become the American Midwest.

1.5. AMISH AND MENNONITE MIGRATION WITHIN EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH–NINETEENTH CENTURIES AND TO PENNSYLVANIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

In order to understand linguistic developments in PG in the twenty-first-century Midwest, we must start in sixteenth-century Europe. The present-day Amish and Mennonites form the two largest groups emerging out of

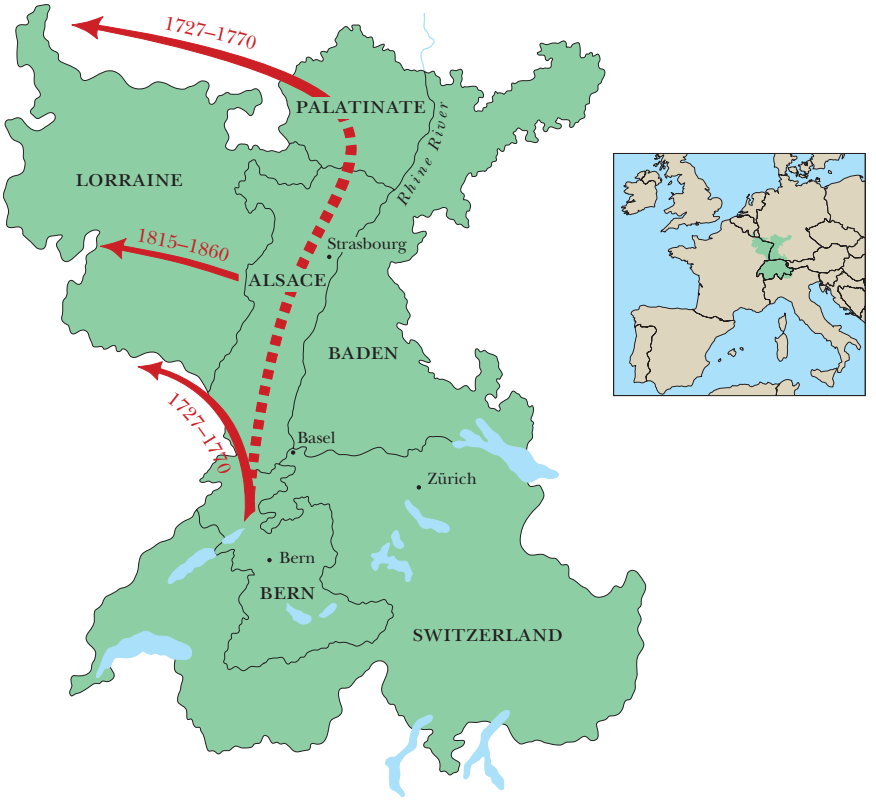
the Anabaptist movement, or Radical Reformation, which began in Switzerland in the 1520s and spread north along the Rhine River as far as Holland (the Radical Reformation also emerged independently in some parts of northern Europe). Known in the upper Rhine River area as the Swiss Brethren during much of their early years, many Anabaptists (literally, "re-baptizers," so named because of their conviction that baptism must be a choice reserved for adults)[9] eventually adopted the name *Mennonite* because of the influence of Menno Simons, an early Dutch Anabaptist leader. By refusing to baptize children, Anabaptists were refusing both a rite of membership in the church and a rite of citizenship, and so were adopting a radical stance of separation of church and state—a stance which earned them harsh reprisals from both religious and civil authorities. In the late seventeenth century, disagreements over the practice of church discipline led to a division in 1693 among Anabaptists in Switzerland and Alsace, with the more conservative group taking the name *Amish* from their leader Jakob Amman.

Two centuries of war and persecution pushed many Swiss Anabaptists, both Amish and Mennonite, north down the Rhine River valley into Alsace, then the Palatinate, and eventually Hesse-Kassel.[10] Swiss Anabaptists were specifically invited to settle in the Palatinate in the 1670s. In 1671 some 700 persons left Canton Bern, Switzerland, for the Palatinate, and by the end of the seventeenth century over a thousand Swiss Anabaptists had moved to the Palatinate. At the time, perhaps only Alsace had more Swiss Anabaptists living within its borders (Luthy 1988, 112–13; Nolt 2003, 22–27). During these decades in the Palatinate, there must have been some degree of dialect mixing and leveling resulting from the contact between Swiss Anabaptists, other new arrivals, and the local speakers (see sec. 1.1), processes which then continued following immigration to Pennsylvania.

In the early 1700s, facing heavy taxes and little opportunity to own land, many Anabaptists in the Palatinate, along with some from Switzerland, joined the large wave of Germans who chose to leave for the New World. These formed part of the first wave of German immigrants in colonial Pennsylvania (see secs. 1.3 and 1.1 and figure 1.4). Others remained or moved on to more tolerant lands in the Netherlands, Hesse, and, in the late 1700s, eastern Europe and Bavaria.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Hesse had the densest population of Anabaptists in Europe—though still perhaps not many more than a thousand total (Gerlach 1990, 2–3). The principalities of Waldeck and Wittgenstein—some 100 miles north of the Palatinate near the city of Kassel in the present day region of Hesse—allowed religious minorities to settle on their lands in the early 1700s. As early as 1732, Amish families of Swiss and Alsatian origin moved from the Palatinate to this area to become

FIGURE 1.4
Places of Origin of Amish and Paths of Their Migration to America
(Hostetler 1993, 32)



tenant managers on noble estates, and many followed (Luthy 1988, 115; Reschly 2000, 22). This region straddles the northern boundary of the Rhine-Franconian dialect and the southern boundary of the Westphalian dialect.[11] The Amish remained in Waldeck for nearly a century and became well integrated in the local society before land became scarce in the 1830s, sparking an exodus of several hundred Amish to America or other parts of Germany. Upon departing in 1833, one young Amish man reflected on the "long [...] intimate association" that his family had experienced with the people of Waldeck (Reschly 2000, 24). After such long, intense contact with the locals, it would be surprising if the Waldeck Amish had not shifted from their Alemannic or Palatinate varieties to the Waldeck varieties by the time they set sail for America as part of the wave of Amish immigration from 1815 to 1860.

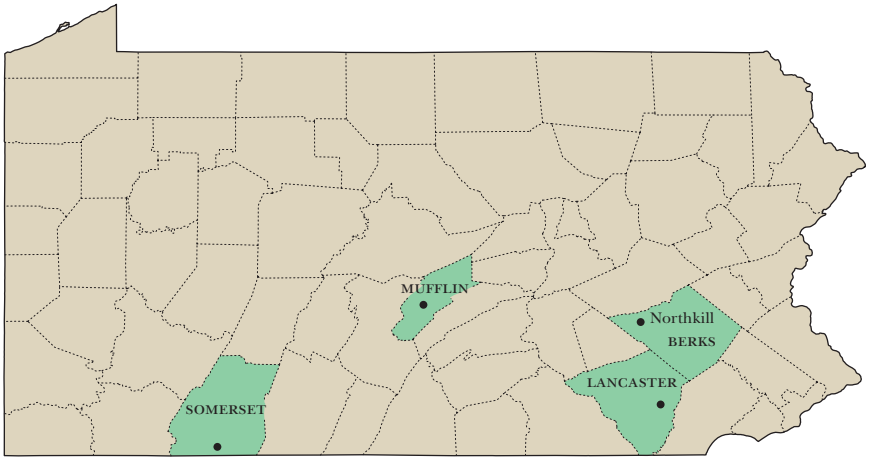
Other European sources of the mid-nineteenth-century Amish immigration to North America include Alsace, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Bavaria, and the Palatinate. Most of the Amish who remained in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century eventually unified with neighboring Mennonite congregations, and by the early twentieth century, there were no Amish congregations in Europe (Gerlach 1990, 3).

The most important fact about the Amish and Mennonite migrations to colonial Pennsylvania is that they mirrored in large part the general migration patterns in terms of motives, numbers, and demographic profile. Mennonite and Amish immigration peaked when immigration from the Palatinate peaked, though they remained a minority among the more numerous Lutheran and Reformed settlers, constituting about 5% of the total German-speaking population in 1775 (Kuhns [1901] 1971, 160; MacMaster 1985, 60; Louden 1989, 73). Their small numbers and the degree to which they were incorporated into colonial society (see sec. 1.4) suggest that the Amish and Mennonite immigrants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries acquired the same emerging Pennsylvania German dialect as their neighbors. As the new nation of the United States extended its territorial claims across the continent, the Amish in America, or crucially, one subset of Amish in America, would again follow general migration patterns and join the push to the western frontier.

1.6. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIVIDE: THE BERKS COUNTY AMISH MOVE TO LANCASTER COUNTY AND SOMERSET COUNTY IN THE LATE 1700s

The first documented arrival of Amish in Pennsylvania was in 1737, though some individual families probably arrived a decade or so earlier. In the mid-eighteenth century, the largest Amish settlement was at Northkill in northern Berks County, Pennsylvania, with about two hundred settlers at its peak (Nolt 2003, 74–75). The other major settlements were also in Berks County at Maiden Creek and Conestoga (Morgantown). Even though today Lancaster County has a very large Amish population, in the colonial years the Lancaster Amish settlements were small and outnumbered by the Amish in Berks County. Northkill remained the largest Amish settlement until after the Revolutionary War, when its people made the choice either to move south to better farmland in Lancaster County or to head west to the new frontier in Somerset County, Pennsylvania—specifically southern Somerset County and across the border in Garrett (formerly Allegheny) County, Maryland (see figure 1.5). As inconsequential as it may have appeared

FIGURE 1.5
Map of Some Major Amish Settlements in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century



at the time, the dissipation of the major Berks County Amish settlements serves as a watershed point in the history of the Amish in North America (Keiser 2000, 2001, 118–21; Louden 2001, 44).

Those Amish who moved to the Lancaster area in the late 1700s found an agricultural paradise, and most never left. Those who chose Somerset County formed the vanguard of Amish settlers in the Midwest. It is out of and through Somerset that most of the Midwest Amish settlements were founded.[12] Thus, the moves to Lancaster County and to Somerset County effectively and quite literally divided the North American Amish "family tree" into two main branches, and there are, in fact, certain surnames which are found almost exclusively in one or the other areas. For example, Lancaster names *King*, *Stoltzfus*, and *Lapp* are nonexistent among Holmes County, Ohio, Amish. Meanwhile, European Amish names of nineteenth-century immigrants (e.g., *Gingerich*, *Swartzentruber*) are not represented among the Lancaster Amish (Hostetler 1993, 245; Leroy Beachy, pers. comm., Mar. 15, 2000).

Though we do not have detailed linguistic profiles of these two groups of early American Amish in the years when PG was in its formative stages, it is probable that the Berks County Amish who moved to Somerset County retained some features of PG as it was emerging in Berks County, while those Berks County Amish who moved to Lancaster eventually adopted features of (Alemannic-influenced) Lancaster County PG. To be sure, as Amish moved from Somerset to the Midwest during the nineteenth century, they

carried with them a linguistic heritage in many ways similar to that of the Lancaster Amish. Still, throughout the nineteenth century, ties of family and friendship were forged and strengthened between the Midwest Amish, while ties with the East weakened.

The focus, in this section and the following section, on the histories of only Amish communities in the Midwest is, admittedly, taking a limited view of the development of PG in the Midwest since in some areas, for example, Holmes County, Ohio, both Mennonites and Amish were present among the early settlers. However, so many Amish congregations in the Midwest eventually became affiliated with the Mennonite church that they outnumber those Mennonites of non-Amish background. In Ohio, for example, the majority of Mennonite churches have Amish beginnings (Stoltzfus 1969, 71). Thus, by studying the history of just the Amish settlements, we can get a reasonably good picture of the events important to the development of PG in both Amish and Mennonite communities in the Midwest.

1.7. AMISH SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDWEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the westward spread of Europeans—now citizens of the new nation of the United States—across the Appalachian Mountains rapidly increased. As Euro-American conquest of native populations continued west, making available more and cheaper land, the Amish in the frontier settlement of Somerset followed, while those in Lancaster stayed put. There are striking parallels between seventeenth-century Amish migrations to the Palatinate and the nineteenth-century move west in North America, as Reschly (2000, 45) notes: "Amish farmers [settling in the American Midwest] participated in the same geopolitical process that had served them so well in Europe: securing conquered space to stabilize a growing nation-state and feeding industrializing cities."

1.7.1. HOLMES COUNTY, OHIO. The settlement of the Holmes County area in Ohio—currently the largest Amish community in the world—is an example of the importance of the Somerset Amish in the Midwest settlements. In 1809 four households of the Miller-Stutzman family arrived from Somerset. The next two years saw the arrival of nine more families, all related to the first settlers. Dozens more families moved from Somerset in 1812, 1815, and 1818, settling around and between the first settlers (Kaufman and Beachy 1990). This settlement pattern—in which a group with family ties would settle in an area and other Amish would move in later, filling in

the gaps to create a dense community—turned out to be typical of Amish migration in the Midwest (MacMaster 1985, 72 and n. 42).

Arrivals from the old southeastern Pennsylvania communities were few. So few, in fact, that when several families from Lancaster settled in Holmes County in the years 1826–48, they are described as "a little island of Lancaster County culture" (Kaufman and Beachy 1990, 18). The vast majority of Holmes County Amish settlers, some 90% by the estimation of Amish historian Leroy Beachy (pers. comm., Mar. 12, 2000), thus trace their origins to Somerset County, and only 5% to Lancaster.

As Amish moved farther west, the web of interconnectedness persisted. Family groups from Somerset along with their kin from the newer Ohio settlements set off for new territories as soon as the conquered land was opened for American expansion. There was one significant additional development: beginning around 1815 and continuing up through 1860, a new stream of European Amish immigrants joined the Somerset Amish in settling the frontier (Nolt 2003, 120–26). Most of these nineteenth-century Amish immigrants, whose number would eventually total 3,000, bypassed the old Lancaster settlement. Many landed in Baltimore and then followed the so-called National Road (roughly the route of today's U.S. Highway 40) to Somerset, where they were acculturated to North American Amish ways of speaking and living by residing in Somerset for a period of time. A few of them ended up in Holmes County, though perhaps making up only 5% of the founding settlers. Even today surnames typical of nineteenth-century Hesse-Kassel Amish, such as *Gingerich* and *Swartzentruber*, are underrepresented in Holmes County: these two names account for only 31 and 26 families, respectively, in the *Ohio Amish Directory* (1997), which includes some 5,000 families

It should be noted that many other nineteenth-century Amish immigrants never made strong associations with the American Amish who had arrived in the eighteenth century, at least in part because the new arrivals discovered the American Amish to be more traditional in their practices. As a result, many nineteenth-century Amish immigrants founded their own communities (e.g., Butler and Fulton Counties in Ohio and Tazewell County in Illinois), most of which eventually affiliated with the Mennonite church (Hostetler 1993, 65), though some, for example, the Swiss Amish of Adams and Allen Counties, Indiana, remain Amish. Settlements where nineteenth-century immigrants formed the majority remained outside the growing web of communities where PG was spoken.

1.7.2. KALONA, IOWA. The Amish settlement in Kalona, Iowa, founded in 1846 some four decades after Holmes County, illustrates the growing interconnectedness of Amish communities in the Midwest, as highly mobile extended family units often moved multiple times before and after arriving in Iowa.

The early settlers in Kalona arrived from Somerset County, Pennsylvania; Holmes County, Ohio; and Fairfield County, Ohio (see table 1.1). But only about half of the 99 adults arriving by 1860 (composing 51 nuclear family units that eventually included 326 children) moved directly to Kalona from these older settlements. Most had lived in Somerset and in one or more settlements in Ohio or Indiana before moving to Iowa. None list Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, as a former residence. For some families, Kalona too ended up being just another stop on the pioneer road: 10 of the first 51 family units moved on to new settlements after 5–14 years in Iowa. This high degree of mobility was the norm for Amish in the nineteenth century (Nolt 2003, 126–31).

TABLE 1.1
Former Residence(s) of Adult Amish Settlers to Kalona, Iowa 1846–1860
(data from Lind 1994)

Somerset Co., Pa.	
directly	28
via Fairfield Co., Ohio	10
via Holmes Co., Ohio	7
via Fairfield Co., and Holmes Co., Ohio	2
via Fairfield Co., Ohio, and Elkhart Co., Ind.	2
via Fairfield Co., Ohio, and Butler Co., Ohio	2
via elsewhere in Ohio	1
via elsewhere in Pennsylvania	2
Holmes Co., Ohio	
directly	23
via Fairfield Co., Ohio	2
via Mifflin, Pa.	3
via elsewhere in Pennsylvania	1
Fairfield Co., Ohio	
directly	5
via elsewhere in Pennsylvania	1
Other Ohio	2
Other Pennsylvania	2
Elkhart, Ind.	2
Unknown	4
TOTAL	99

Connections with multiple communities in the Midwest often drew families from different settlements to a new one. William and Helena Gingerich Wertz arrived in Kalona in 1846 from Fairfield County, Ohio. Over the next 14 years, they were followed by her parents and three adult siblings with their families, all from Fairfield County; the family of a brother of her sister-in-law, from Holmes County; and finally the family of a sister of one of her other sisters-in-law, from Elkhart County, Indiana. In Kalona, fully two-thirds of the first 99 adult settlers were part of some extended family unit, and 13% had two separate extended families represented in Kalona.

These general patterns of frequent relocation along with extended family continued through the mid-nineteenth century. The Somerset County and Ohio settlements continued supplying the majority of new arrivals in Kalona up through 1872, when the settlement was 25 years old, but these were joined by more and more Amish from other Midwest settlements in Indiana and Illinois.

In contrast to Holmes County, Kalona has a significant percentage of European-born Amish among its early settlers. Nearly half were born in Europe, with the principality of Waldeck in Hesse the most frequently cited European place of birth (see table 1.2). The family names of Amish who arrived during the colonial period make up about half of the family names represented in Kalona by 1869; the rest are nineteenth-century immigrant names (Lind 1994, 356).

Given that PG in Kalona does not appear to have any features that might be traceable to Waldeck dialects—especially those with Low German features—the Kalona settlement provides an example of the apparent linguistic assimilation of nineteenth-century Amish immigrants from Europe into PG-speaking Amish communities in North America. Had the Waldeck/Hesse immigrants traveled directly from Europe to Kalona without stopping in PG-speaking Somerset, things might have turned out differently. Several other communities founded by nineteenth-century Amish did retain distinctive dialect features, for example, Alsatian in Fulton County, Ohio, and Bernese Swiss in Adams County, Indiana. However, many of the nineteenth-century Amish immigrants—including nearly all those who eventually settled in Kalona—landed in Baltimore and followed the National Road to Somerset, Pennsylvania, where they remained for as few as 4 and as many as 35 years before moving on to Iowa. Daniel Schoetler is perhaps typical of this group. Born in Germany in 1810, he left Waldeck in 1833 and emigrated to Somerset, where he lived for seven years and married Helena Schwarzendruber, also a native of Waldeck. In 1840 the Schoetler family moved to Butler County, Ohio, for two years, then to Fair-

TABLE 1.2
Birthplaces of Adult Amish Settlers to Kalona, Iowa, 1846–1860
(data from Lind 1994)

Europe	
Waldeck or Hesse	18
elsewhere in Germany or "Germany"	14
Alsace	3
Holland	1
"Europe"	3
TOTAL	39
North America	
Pennsylvania	
Somerset/Allegheny	21
elsewhere in central/western Pa.	4
"Pennsylvania"	3
TOTAL	28
elsewhere	
Holmes County, Ohio area	6
"United States"	1
Ontario	1
TOTAL	8
TOTAL	36
Unknown	24
TOTAL	99

field County, Ohio, for seven years, before moving to the new settlement in Kalona in 1850. Five years later, Helena's parents followed from Somerset.

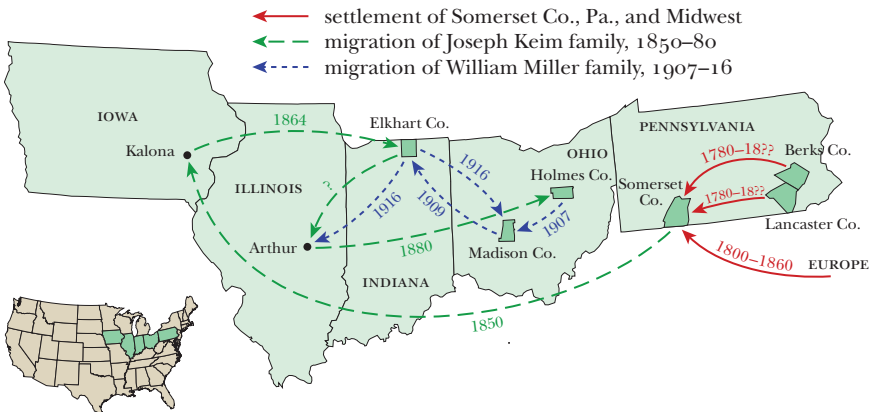
1.7.3. PORTABLE COMMUNITY. If the founding of PG-speaking communities in the Midwest in the early nineteenth century was marked by passing through the cultural and linguistic bottleneck of Somerset, the following years were characterized by constant moves between the new communities. Highly mobile extended families like the Schoetler's and the Wertz's were typical of Amish in the nineteenth century. Frequent moves often linked families to multiple Midwestern communities in much the same way that a strawberry vine spreads via its runners. Reschly (2000), the historian who coined the strawberry vine metaphor, links these nineteenth-century patterns to previous Amish migration in Europe and to the twenty-first-century Amish who continue to found new settlements: "Migration is common sense, an expected behavior, essential to what it means to be Amish. […]

The Amish exhibit the ability to migrate to multiple locations, retain networks of support among those locations, and create similar communities" (182, 183).

Another major Midwestern Amish settlement, Arthur, Illinois, founded in 1864, illustrates the growing interconnectedness of nineteenth-century Midwestern Amish communities, as its early settlers came from Somerset County, Pennsylvania, as well as Iowa, Indiana, and Ohio. One early Illinois settler, Joseph N. Keim, had links to all of these communities within his own family (see figure 1.6). Born in Somerset, Keim moved to Kalona, Iowa, around 1850 and served as a minister there. In 1864 friction in the church precipitated a move to Indiana and from there to Arthur, Illinois. His son Joseph W. Keim was born in Iowa in 1859 and, after living in Indiana and Illinois, moved to Holmes County, Ohio, where he married in 1880 and where his son began a prosperous lumber company (Kaufman and Beachy 1990, 44; Lind 1994, 119).

An extreme example of the Amish tendency to roam was Noah Troyer, who later in life gained fame as a "sleeping preacher," delivering sermons in a trance-like state in both German or English, depending on the audience (Reschly 2000, 132). Troyer was born in Holmes County, Ohio, in 1831 and as a child moved with his parents to Knox County and Champaign County in Ohio and finally to Indiana. As a young adult, Noah returned to Holmes County from Indiana to marry Veronica Mast (who, ironically, was part of the small contingent in Ohio originally from Lancaster, Pa.), and between

FIGURE 1.6
Major Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Amish Communities and Movements of Selected Families



1860 and 1875, Noah and Veronica lived in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana before moving to Iowa where they joined his parents and two brothers.

As illustrated in figure 1.6, a half-century later the "strawberry runner" pattern of Midwestern Amish settlement continued as the William Miller family moved from Holmes County to Madison County, Ohio, in 1908, then lived in Indiana from 1911 until 1916, when they returned to Ohio even as other relatives moved to Arthur, Illinois (Roman Miller, pers. comm., Mar. 24, 2000).[13] As Reschly (2000, 203) notes, even today "it is not unusual to meet elderly Old Order Amish who have lived in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, and many other states."

As a result of these many moves, it was—and still is—common for Midwestern Amish to visit friends and relatives in other Midwestern states. Amish young people in particular have, over the years, traveled to other Amish communities to visit and work for a season or longer. One man in the early 1900s traveled regularly to Indiana with other "boys from Holmes County" to do carpentry work and often spent the harvest season in Illinois husking corn at the lucrative wage of 40¢ per hour (Leroy Beachy, pers. comm., Mar. 15, 2000). Gingerich (1939, 246) says of the Iowa Mennonite churches with Amish roots: "There has always been visiting between the Amish Mennonites of the different States. Young people from the East came to the Iowa settlements each winter. Sometimes they stayed for a year or two, and if they were looking for mates, they usually found them and settled here permanently." Given that Iowa was farther west than most Amish settlements, "the East" could be understood to include nearly all other Amish communities, but in practice visitors from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, were few. Gingerich gives as examples visitors from Ohio, Ontario, and Somerset, Pennsylvania.

The remarkably portable communities of the Amish in the Midwest set the stage for the diffusion of linguistic features between them. Even so, the mobility of "settlers" in the nineteenth-century Midwest was not a phenomenon restricted to the Amish, though they may represent some of the most extreme cases. Those who pioneered the Midwest were often pulled from one place to the next by the promise of more and cheaper land. The Ingalls family of *Little House on the Prairie* fame is but one example. As a child, Laura Ingalls Wilder moved with her family from Wisconsin to Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota between 1868 and 1879. Just as the eighteenth-century Amish immigration mirrored the general patterns of the time (see sec. 1.5), so too did the paths of Amish and Mennonite migration in the nineteenth century "fit the larger patterns of general national and international migration" (T. Schlabach 1988, 42).

1.7.4. CULTURAL DIVERGENCE BETWEEN MIDWEST AND LANCASTER AMISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Linguistic data from the nineteenth century are scarce, so it is difficult to assess the degree to which Midwestern PG was emerging as a separate entity. Still, in other cultural domains, economic, religious, and social divisions between the frontier Midwest and the established Eastern Amish were emerging by the mid-1800s. Lancaster arrivals to Holmes County in mid-century are described as having a "distinctive culture" marked by apparent wealth, stone architecture, furniture designs, and folk art (Kaufman and Beachy 1990, 18–22).

Too, the Midwestern Amish generally had a greater tolerance for diversity in religious practice. Midwestern Amish experimented with singing nontraditional hymns, building meetinghouses, having Sunday school, and relaxed shunning practices (T. Schlabach 1988, 211–12; Nolt 2003, 241–42). No bishops from southeastern Pennsylvania ever attended the national Amish bishops' meetings of 1862–1878, possibly because they were seen as a venue for change-minded Amish (T. Schlabach 1988, 217). It appears, then, that a pragmatic spirit, born of frontier living and perhaps the influence of progressive European Amish immigrants, distinguished the Midwestern Amish from those in the East, resulting in cultural divergence already in the nineteenth century.

To be sure, Amish in the Midwest still had deep connections with their fellow Amish in the East. Easterners did on occasion visit relatives and friends in the Midwest. Midwestern Amish often consulted with those in Pennsylvania with respect to questions of orthodox community practice, and in many cases, the conservative voice of the Eastern Amish won out. To a certain extent this remains true today as the Amish National Steering Committee, formed in 1966 to guide negotiations on military service with the Selective Service of the U.S. government and which continues to mediate many issues between the Amish and the government, has always had a chairman from Lancaster County (Kraybill 2001, 276). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, nationwide Amish connectedness was further aided by the availability of news from distant communities in national editions of "correspondence" newspapers such as the *Budget*, out of Sugarcreek, Ohio (Nolt 2003, 252). Still, today the *Budget* is read widely only in Midwest Amish communities, and parallel newspapers the *Diary* and *Die Botschaft* have emerged to serve as connections for Lancaster County Amish. Thus, even though a core pan-Amish identity was maintained across all Amish communities in the United States, a clear new sense of regional differences was developing as the twentieth century began.

1.8. THE FEW BECOME MANY: GROWTH OF AMISH COMMUNITIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

At the start of the twentieth century, the several thousand Amish in North America were a backroads oddity in a couple dozen locales. In the early 1900s, the Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, were only just starting to attract some popular attention alongside the much more numerous (by hundreds of thousands) nonsectarian "Pennsylvania Dutch" of southeastern Pennsylvania, while in the Midwest the Amish remained largely invisible to outsiders. Just 100 years later, the tables had turned. As the twenty-first century began, the last generation of nonsectarian PG speakers, the "Pennsylvania Dutch," were well past retirement age and nearly invisible to the public (though Pennsylvania Dutch identity and the related regional tourist industry remain strong). Meanwhile, the Amish in North America have grown rapidly, doubling every 20 years and currently numbering 250,000 (Young Center 2011c). This growth is the result of continued measured adaptation of Amish practices to changing economic pressures that has allowed the Amish to have large families and a high retention rate among children. In many communities, 90% of children born in Amish families choose to remain Amish upon reaching adulthood (Nolt 2003, 332).

Amish portable community also continued in the twentieth century as the explosive growth of Amish communities led to the practical need to find more land for farming or other economic opportunities (Luthy 1994, 244–45). Thus, out of a total of 410 current settlements, 350 have been founded since 1960—and over 200 have been founded since 1993 (Hostetler 1993, 370; Young Center 2011c). Although Amish have moved as far south as Florida and Texas, as far west as Washington, and as far east as Maine, most of the new settlements have been located in the Midwest and founded by Midwest Amish, in particular in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Missouri. Lancaster County Amish have also experienced rapid growth; however, up until the 1990s, their geographic spread was restricted to Maryland, Delaware, and central Pennsylvania.

The complexity of Amish growth in the twentieth century is exemplified by the Buchanan County, Iowa, settlement, which was founded in 1914 by Amish from Kalona, Iowa, following some disagreements over, among other things, the use of the telephone. The Buchanan County settlement eventually drew like-minded Amish from Kansas and Ohio, but growth was accompanied by steady out-migration, in particular to nearby southwest Wisconsin (see sec. 3.3.3). A single new settlement, founded in 1997 in Livingston, Wisconsin, just 100 miles to the east, has in just a decade grown to over 20 families, hailing from Buchanan County as well as from other

settlements in Wisconsin and Indiana: a classic example of the strawberry vine of Amish portable community.

The map of the Pennsylvania German language thus extends far beyond Pennsylvania, as the Midwest Amish, a once insignificant portion of the population of PG speakers, have become the majority and have remained highly mobile. These extensive cross-migration patterns, while relatively low in intensity and increasingly diffuse as the number of Midwestern settlements has grown (see sec. 3.3), have proved crucial for the diffusion of a sound change, the monophthongization of /aɪ/, across PG in the Midwest. That monophthongal /aɪ/, a twentieth-century innovation, should become a marker of a homogeneous Midwestern dialect of PG—and, furthermore, that it should not spread to Pennsylvania PG—is far from obvious, given the great distances separating the Midwest Amish communities and the low intensity of current contacts between them (again, see sec. 3.3). Elsewhere, I have studied this puzzle as a possible example of the Sapirian notion of drift, ultimately concluding that the intensity and duration of interspeaker contact required to catalyze apparent parallel developments may have lower than expected thresholds (Keiser 2009). The monophthongization of /aɪ/ is presented in detail in chapter 4.

In all of these Midwestern communities, PG is thriving. As the language used most frequently at home and for in-group communication (English is also used occasionally in these settings, and all schooling is conducted in English), all children acquire PG as their L1. PG is not wielded consciously as a tool to defend against cultural assimilation, but rather simply because, as they might say, "it's our way"—because to be Amish is to speak PG (Johnson-Wiener 1992).

1.9. REDUCTION AND RENEWAL OF DIALECT DIVERSITY

In some ways, the story of the Pennsylvania German language has been a story of continuing reduction in dialect diversity. First, there was the leveling of dialect differences in the dialect contact that took place first in the Palatinate and then in colonial Pennsylvania, leading to the emergence of PG as a distinct New World variety of German. Then, as the nineteenth century drew to a close and throughout the twentieth century, the shift of nonsectarian PG speakers to English all but eliminated the regional dialects within southeast Pennsylvania, outside Lancaster County. Now, in the twenty-first century, the majority of PG speakers are Midwest Amish whose cohesive dialect, made possible by the strawberry-runner-like connections

resulting from the Amish habit of cross-migration, links communities from Ohio to Montana to Arkansas.

But there remain a number of sources for dialect diversity in PG. First, the variation within Lancaster County is significant both along geographic (south vs. north) and sectarian (Amish vs. Old Order Mennonite) lines. Second, far from being a monolithic group, the Amish (and the Mennonites) encompass a wide range of groups with varying practices with respect to technology, migration, patterns of language use, and patterns of interaction with non-Amish and with other Amish groups. In Holmes County, Ohio, alone, these groups include the New Order Amish, the Beachy Amish, the Swartzentruber Amish, and the Andy Weaver Amish. Third, the myriad and far-flung new settlements open possibilities for new patterns of cross-migration, and thus possible dialect divergence. The Amish are as mobile now as ever: between 1992 and 2007 over 5,700 Amish families moved across state lines, and in just the five years from 2005 to 2009 there were 2,300 Amish families who moved from one state to another, as well as an unknown number who moved within the same state (Young Center 2011a, 2011b). Finally, since the 1990s, Lancaster Amish have started over 20 settlements in the Midwest, in Kentucky, Indiana, and Wisconsin—including two settlements near Fennimore, Wisconsin, and Platteville, Wisconsin, that are both just a few miles from the Livingston, Wisconsin, Midwest Amish settlement. What is more, all three of these Amish settlements in the Grant County, Wisconsin, area were preceded by an Old Order Mennonite settlement from Lancaster County. The chance convergence of Lancaster Amish, Lancaster Old Order Mennonites, and Midwest Amish in close proximity in their respective new settlements in the Midwest is a development that sets the stage for possible dialect contact between Midwestern PG and Pennsylvania PG.

The growth of the Amish population, the number of new PG-speaking communities, and their vast geographic spread are producing an ever-expanding area for linguistic fieldwork and analysis. One thing is certain: in the future, the story of Pennsylvania German will be told, in large part, in the American Midwest.