Influences of the Pennsylvania German Dialect on the English Spoken in "Pennsylvania Dutch Country" as a Regional Identity Marker

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I. Introduction

This paper examines the influences of the Pennsylvania German
dialect on the English spoken in a rural region of Pennsylvania known as
"Pennsylvania Dutch Country." The English of this region, inhabited
mainly but not exclusively by Americans of German or Germanic descent,
exhibits distinctive patterns strongly influenced phonetically,
syntactically and lexically by the Pennsylvania German dialect. My thesis
is that these Pennsylvania German influences serve not only as an ethnic
marker in the speech of those speakers of German descent, but also as a
regional marker, separating denizens of this region of Pennsylvania,
through their speech patterns, from inhabitants of the surrounding areas,
who use a more standard American English. To support and expand this
thesis, I use as an apparent counterexample the English spoken by Old
Order Sectarians (i.e. Amish and Mennonites) of the region, who lack
Pennsylvania German influences in their English.
II. Background: Pennsylvania Germans and the Pennsylvania German Dialect

Beginning in 1683 with the founding of Germantown, native German speakers began to settle in what is now Pennsylvania. Mass immigration began around 1710, peaked between 1749 and 1754 (Wokeck 1985), and continued in great numbers until the violent political situation both in America and in Europe cut the flow short near the end of the eighteenth century. The German of these speakers evolved into what is now Pennsylvania German; it is important to note, however, that this dialect is not descended directly from High German, but is the result of linguistic leveling of a number of German dialects which were brought into Pennsylvania during this time of intense immigration. Most of the settlers of Germantown and neighboring areas came from the Palatinate, a region in the central Rhineland, and spoke the so-called Palatinate dialect of German. Others were speakers of Alemanic, a Swiss dialect, and several other German dialects of the politically and linguistically diverse German-speaking region of Europe were represented. When these German-Americans wished to communicate with speakers who possessed different dialects, they often fell back on High German or English, one or both of which was understood by most (Eichhoff 1985, p 231); generally, however, speakers used native dialects to communicate. Revolutions at home and
abroad, in stopping the influx of German speakers to the Germantown area, left the Pennsylvania Germans time to mold the various dialects into a new German dialect, Pennsylvania Deutsch or Deitsch. This dialect, not to be confused with High German, contains the influences of the Palatinate and Alemanic dialects as well as the English of the eighteenth century. (Eichhoff 1985)

The Pennsylvania Germans were, from the beginning, a not-so-homogenous group. They came to America from German-speaking areas of Europe, but were of different ethnic backgrounds: the majority were Palatines, but there were also Swabians, Alsatians, Westphalians, Hessians, Silesians, and Lower Rhinelanders, as well as Huguenots and Swiss and Austrian Protestants who had emigrated to what is now Western Germany following the Thirty Years' War. (Wolf 1985, p42-43) Most of these ethnic groups had begun to assimilate to one another even before leaving the homeland, and upon reaching America, where they were all grouped together as "German" or "Dutch" by outsiders, the assimilation process was accelerated. The Germans of Pennsylvania fast became a group with a strong sense of self-identity.

It should be noted, however, that even in Pennsylvania, one cannot speak with confidence about a solid homogenous Pennsylvania German ethnic group. The German immigrants to the New World left their native Europe for a variety of reasons: some to escape religious and other forms
of persecution, and others simply to find profit and opportunity in America. Because these settlers were diverse not only in their origins but also in their motives, they did not form a coherent German-American society, or even a Pennsylvania German one, upon reaching the shores of the New World. While some of the immigrants settled in Germantown and remained there, creating a busy urban environment, others fled further to the secluded farmlands of what are now Lancaster County, Berks County, and the surrounding areas. It is this more isolated area which is now known as "Pennsylvania Dutch Country."

The Germantown Pennsylvania Germans and those who settled in outlying areas quickly showed themselves to be different not only in their urban versus rural ways of life, but also in their degrees and rates of assimilation to the predominantly English language and culture which surrounded them. Writing of the Germantown society in particular, Wolf stresses that it was a very stable one during its early years (up to the beginning of the twentieth century), due to the fact that its core was built on a small group of families who remained in the area, while other parts of the population moved elsewhere. She adds that "although the stable family groups were varied in respect to their original ethnic derivations, they eventually built the homogenous culture of peculiarly local character that came to be identified with Germantown." (Wolf 1985, p74)

In most ways, the settlers of Germantown readily assimilated to the
English-dominant society of the New World (Yoder 1985, p42). This assimilation was not a complete one, however; not only because the Germans of Germantown long retained their Pennsylvania German dialect, but also because they retained, in private, many of the traditions and visible symbols of their German background. Wolf writes that "the assumption of two different cultural faces in Germantown - a public one of assimilation and a private one of ethnic tradition - may well represent a solution created by many urban eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans to the problem of group identification." (Wolf 1985, p71). In addition to speaking Pennsylvania German at home and English with the English, these people designed the furniture for their public rooms with an English influence on them, while those designed for areas of the home restricted to family use were generally simpler and more clearly German.

Generally, however, the Germantown settlers assimilated far more quickly to the dominant culture and language than did their more rural counterparts. Because of their isolation geographically and culturally, the predominantly English culture of the surrounding areas took some time to have an effect on the rural Pennsylvania German society and language. George C. Struble, writing in 1935, explained this isolation as follows:

They came to this country in colonial times, colonized in large groups, and their folk ways and their religion and their peculiar dialect set them apart from the other Germans who
came later. Very early they cut themselves loose from all ties to the homeland, and this (though it sounds paradoxical) as well as their cultural and linguistic isolation caused them to cling tenaciously to the old ways. (Struble 1935, p.164)

According to Struble, the Germans of rural Pennsylvania early became an isolated group, not only from the culture they had left behind, but also from the one they had settled in the midst of.

It is this group of Pennsylvania Germans, the rural farm-country settlers, who are commonly called the Pennsylvania Dutch, and on which this paper will focus. The term “Pennsylvania Germans” will be used here to designate only the German immigrants who settled in these outlying areas between the founding of Germantown and the end of the eighteenth century, and excludes both the Germantown area settlers of the colonial period and the German immigrants who arrived in Pennsylvania during the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century.

Within this group, of course, there are different social groupings. Most of these are based on religious beliefs. There is a strong division in the Pennsylvania German society between so-called “church” and “sect” groups; the former are world-accepting, while the latter are world-denying. The major denominations of the “church” groups are the Lutheran and Reformed (United Church), although there have been various splits throughout the past three centuries. The members of these church groups
form the main part of Pennsylvania German society, and are not averse to progress or to interaction with and assimilation to the English-speaking society which surrounds them. The major groups within the sectarian groups are the Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren, who form a sort of counterculture, clinging to old ways and keeping separate, to varying degrees, from the mainstream Pennsylvania German society, and from Pennsylvania society as a whole. (Wolf 1985, p44).

Today, the Pennsylvania Germans are bilingual to varying degrees; Huffines (1986) divides them into four categories, which form a continuum from fluent German to monolingual English speakers. On one end of the continuum stand the Old-Order Amish and Mennonites, who use Pennsylvania German and English in mutually exclusive situations. Huffines' next group consists of Sectarians who are not as conservative as the Old Order Sectarians (i.e. the Old Order Amish and Mennonites), and differ from them in their level of contact with native English speakers, but not significantly in their level of bilingualism. Another group is made up of individuals whom Huffines calls the Non-Sectarians. This group is further divided into two subgroups, the native Pennsylvania German speakers, and the nonfluent bilinguals and native English speakers. The non-sectarian native Pennsylvania German speakers are usually older, and possess varying degrees of proficiency in both Pennsylvania German and English. And the fourth group, at the opposite end of the spectrum from
the Old Order Sectarians, consists of Pennsylvania Germans and residents of the region who are almost exclusively monolingual English speakers, or who have comprehension but not speaking knowledge of Pennsylvania German. Each of these groups uses Pennsylvania German in a different way, if at all: the Old-Order Amish and Mennonites possess a stable diglossic situation in which Pennsylvania German, High German and English play distinct roles; the non-sectarian native Pennsylvania German speakers use German with peers but generally do not pass the language to their children, as English is the dominant language of the surrounding area and is taught in the schools; and the native English speakers often do not use Pennsylvania German at all.

III. The English of “Pennsylvania Dutch Country”:

A Brief Description

The English of the area of rural Pennsylvania inhabited mainly by those of German descent, commonly known as “Pennsylvania Dutch” (from Pennsylvania Deitsch) or “Dutchie”, has been the subject of a number of studies, most of them descriptive. The region of Pennsylvania settled by the Germans has distinctive speech patterns which are plainly influenced by the Pennsylvania German dialect. This influence manifests itself in not only the phonological aspects of the English of its speakers, but also in its
syntax and lexicon.

It is necessary, when discussing the aspects of the English of this region which distinguish it from standard American English, to note that it has been influenced not only by Pennsylvania German but also by the variety of English which was prevalent in Pennsylvania at the time of the area's isolation, i.e. the late eighteenth century. Most examples of this influence occur lexically, giving the English of the region an old-fashioned flavor in comparison to Standard American English; a few of them are listed below:

1) The more frequent use of *fetch*; for example, "It fetched $4 at the sale. I didn't think it would fetch that much."; "I'll tell him to fetch you."

2) The term *flitting* for 'a family moving.'

3) The use of *mind* in the sense of 'remember'; for example, "I mind me that he used to talk about it."

4) The use of *common* in the sense of 'unpretentious,' the opposite of 'stuck up,' or 'big feeling,' and not as elsewhere in American English today in the sense of 'vulgar' or 'unrefined.'

5) The use of the term *skitters* for 'diarrhea.'(Buffington 1968)

6) *sloppy*, careless, untidy; *slop bucket*, a pail or a swill bucket for "sloppy" garbage; *slop rag*, a cloth or rag for wiping up spilt water or other liquid; *slop the pigs*, give the pigs liquid food.
7) redd up, tidy up; redd off the table, clear off the dinner things from the table.

8) flitch, bacon. (Kreider 1962)

In addition to some of the examples given above of eighteenth-century English influences on the English of Pennsylvania Germans, Struble gives the following:

11) sad, in the sense of heavy . . . cakes which don't rise properly are spoken of as sad cakes.

12) hutch for a chest of drawers.

13) frock for any sort of dress. (Struble 1935)

Other distinguishing features of the English spoken in the Pennsylvania German regions can be divided into phonological, syntactic and lexical groups; most are clearly related in some way to the influence of the Pennsylvania German dialect. An extensive list of these features compiled by Huffines (1980) will be given here, with contradicting or additional examples from other researchers provided in some cases.

In the area of phonology, there are several clearly Pennsylvania German-influenced features:

1) /ɪ/ realized as [i] as in tongue, oven, nothing

2) /ʌ/ realized as [a] as in country, comfortable, nothing

3) /ɪ/ realized as [i] as in itch

4) Loss or reduction of the offglide in the diphthongs /ay/ as in
fire, /aw/ as in house, /ow/ as in boat, /ey/ as in say (i.e. [far], [has], [bot], [se])

5) /v/ realized as [β] or [w] as in veal, vinegar
6) /w/ realized as [v] as in week, Howard
7) /dʒ/ realized as [ʃ] as in jump, job
8) Devoicing of stop consonants, especially in final position, as in lag, rob, bed
9) Devoicing of fricatives [v] and [z] as in save, raise
10) /θ/ realized as [s] as in think, cloth
11) /ð/ realized as [d] as in then, mother
12) Postvocalic /r/ realized as [ɾ] as in better, part

Buffington (1968, p 34) notes that the voiced dental spirant is difficult for some speakers in words like measure ([ʃ] replaced by [s]), and Struble (1935, p 166) provides three further examples of phonological features of the English spoken by the Pennsylvania Germans:

1) Failure to pronounce the [g] in the English [ŋg]
   ex: “finger” [fiŋɡər] pronounced [fiŋər]
2) Unvoiced continuant [x] for English final /k/
3) [ʃ] for /s/ in initial /st/ or /sp/ combinations
   ex: “steep” [stip] pronounced [ʃtɪp]
A further prosodic characteristic is the intonation pattern prevalent in this region of Pennsylvania. This intonation is one of the first aspects of the English of natives of the region which is noticed by outsiders, as noted by Page (1937), who calls it the "Berks County accent", and writes that it

... has an almost immediate effect on the newcomer, who finds himself following the adage 'When in Rome ...'. There is a quality, difficult to analyze, which makes imitation easy. When, in one family, Iowans and New Englanders alike find themselves speaking with a 'Berks County accent' within a year, the point is demonstrable. Yet it takes but a few months of absence to drive out these characteristics. (p 204)

Struble (1935) gives a lengthy description of this pattern, as does Huffines (1986), but in every descriptive study consulted for this paper the intonation pattern was mentioned. Here again we use Huffines' description:

1) Yes/no questions with a falling terminal pitch (the italicized syllable carries the sentence stress.)

\[ \sim / \sim \]

Was it in Eng land?
Did you get it?

Was it the auctioneer?

cf. Was it the auctioneer?

2) A rise-fall pattern where pitch peaks on an unstressed syllable following the sentence stress. This pattern is found in all sentence types.

We used it for doing dishes though.

Don't they sew it shut?

Was she in a hospital then?

There's too much glass on the road.

cf. There's too much glass on the road. (Huffines 1986, p 10)

Another intonational pattern mentioned by Buffington (1968) and Huffines (1980) is known as the "backwards question." We use Buffington's description and examples here:
This is the type of question generally asked when someone makes a statement which is startling or difficult to believe. For instance, if someone were to say, "President Johnson's gonna come to Selinsgrove next week," the listener would probably reply by saying, "Is he though?" or "Is he gonna come?" In other words, in this type of question the finite verb, which is in the initial position, takes the chief stress, and the rest of the sentence "slopes downward." (Buffington 1968, p35)

Struble (1935) argues that this pattern was taken from eighteenth-century English; Buffington believes that, since there is a similar pattern in the Pennsylvania German dialect, it is this pattern which has influenced the intonation of the area's English and "backwards questions," and not an older form of English.

Syntactic features of the Pennsylvania Germans noted by Buffington are repeated here (Buffington 1968, pp 39-40):

1) The impersonal construction is used much more frequently than in standard American English; for example, "It wonders me (Pennsylvania

The examples used by Buffington were used here in preference to those cited by Huffines because he gave the probable Pennsylvania German influence for each example; although most of Huffines'examples were the same as those given by Buffington, she did not elaborate on the background of these syntactic patterns.
German *es wunnert mich*) how he found that out." [SAE "I wonder"
].

"I'll have to take the apples out of the refrigerator so *it gives*
(Pennsylvania German *es gebt*) room for other stuff." [SAE "there is, will
be"]. "*It has* (Pennsylvania German *es hot*) people like that." [SAE "there
are"].

2) The reflexive construction is used more frequently than in
standard American English; for example, "Eat yourself done" (Pennsylvania
German *Ess dich satt.*) [SAE "Eat until you're full, satisfied."]

3) The adverbs or particles *already* (Pennsylvania German *schun*),
*once* or *oncet* [wanst] with an epenthetic *t* (Pennsylvania German *moll*),
*still* (Pennsylvania German *noch, als, dann un wann, ebmols*), and *yet* are
very often used redundantly; for example, "He has lost his respect for her
*long already.*" (Pennsylvania German *schun lang*). [SAE "He lost his
respect for her *long ago.*"] "I've been at places *already* (Pennsylvania
German *schun*) where they did that." [SAE "I've been places where they did
that.""]; no equivalent of *already* in the SAE gloss.] "Let me see that
*oncet*" (Pennsylvania German *moll*). [SAE "Let me see that *for a minute*"]
"We go to visit them *still* " (Pennsylvania German *als*). "She goes over to
visit them *still*" (Pennsylvania German *dann un wann, ebmols*). [SAE "She
goes to visit them *now and then.*"] "And then your mother was with *yet*
(Pennsylvania German *noch*) [SAE "And then your mother was *still with
us*"].

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4) Many speakers follow the tense system of Pennsylvania German rather than the standard American English system. Action begun in the past but continuing in the present is usually expressed in Pennsylvania German by the present tense form, in English by the simple perfect or progressive perfect form. In the Pennsylvania German area, however, speakers often follow the Pennsylvania German usage when speaking English; for example, "This is the first time he did it since I'm here" (instead of "since I've been here").

5) The verb make has the broader use of its Pennsylvania German equivalent; for example, "Make breakfast." "Make the door open." [SAE "open the door"]; "Make the bucket empty." [SAE "empty the bucket"]; "Make the fire out." [SAE "put out the fire"].

6) The form would is used almost exclusively in contrary-to-fact conditional clauses; for example, "If I would be you, I wouldn't do that." [SAE "If I were you, I wouldn't do that."] "If he would be here, we'd go to Sunbury." [SAE "If he were here, we'd go to Sunbury."]

7) The verbs let and leave are frequently confused. This phenomenon is undoubtedly the result of the fact that in the Pennsylvania German dialect the verb losse has both meanings [. . .] ; for example, "Leave me go." [SAE "Let me go."] "I left him do it." [SAE "I let him do it."] "School has just left out." [SAE "School has just let out."] "I'll let my tools here." [SAE "I'll leave my tools here."]
Lexically, the Pennsylvania German dialect has also had some influence on the English of the area’s speakers. Huffines (1984d) writes that the major lexical contribution from Pennsylvania German to English has been in the form of loan translations; i.e., Pennsylvania German meanings and phrases translated into English. A few of her examples follow:

all (PG all) “all gone”
He’s going to have the cookies all.

cook (PG koche) “boil”
I leave that cook away until there’s only a little in.

dare (PG darrefe) “to be permitted”
There was a hill and we dare go sleigh riding.

hard (PG hatt) “completely”
Cause my mom, oh she’s hard Dutch.

sneaky (PG schniekich) “finicky” (about food)
I’m kind of sneaky when it comes to meat like that.

so (PG so) “as is, plain”
No, in lasagna, but not so. I don’t eat it so.

such (PG soddich) “a kind of”
It just had such a door, and this was a little loose.

what for (PG was fer) “what kind of”
I don’t know what for subjects we got. (Huffines 1984d, p32)
The examples given above of the characteristic speech patterns of the Pennsylvania German farm country show a great influence of the Pennsylvania German dialect on the phonology, syntax, and lexicon of the area’s English. The combined effect of the influences of the Pennsylvania German dialect on the region’s English sets this style of English apart from Standard American English. This difference is immediately noticed by outsiders, and appears in the speech not only of locals of Pennsylvania German descent, but also of those who have moved to “Pennsylvania Dutch Country” from other areas.

IV. Ethnicity Markers vs. Regional Markers

According to Giles, “intralingual speech markers in an outgroup tongue can be as important symbolizers of ingroup identity as a distinctive language itself.” (Giles 1979, p281). It could be argued that the German influence on the English of the Pennsylvania Germans replaces Pennsylvania German itself as an ethnic identity marker. Even in cases where a speaker has in fact little or no working knowledge of Pennsylvania German, he can present himself both to other Pennsylvania Germans and to outsiders as a member of that ethnic group, simply by
including aspects of Pennsylvania German in his English.

Giles defines an ethnic group as "those individuals who perceive themselves to belong to the same ethnic category," and adds that "sometimes such group identifications are thought to be based on a common set of ancestral cultural traditions, [while] at other times they will stimulate the creation of a unique set of cultural traditions." (Giles, 1979, p. 253). The Pennsylvania Germans represent an ethnic group distinct from other groups of German-Americans in that they have maintained separation from newer groups of Pennsylvania immigrants, and have retained aspects of the Pennsylvania German dialect in their speech throughout generations, while later immigrants have more readily adapted their speech patterns to mesh with those surrounding them.

Previous writers on the subject of the English of the Pennsylvania Germans (Huffines, 1984a) have argued that, since these influences continue to be evident through generations of Pennsylvania German-Americans, and even in the speech of non-Germans who settle in the area, they are not merely an "accent" caused by adapting native language patterns to those of the host/dominant language, but can be seen as an expression of the German ethnicity of the speakers. Indeed, they have become markers of a regional identity. The English of these speakers contrasts with the English of a later wave of German immigrants (mid 19th century) which, through greater contact with native English speakers
in urban areas, lost the greater part of its German influence within a few generations. This new group of immigrants was not readily accepted by the Pennsylvania Germans, who called them “New Germans,” “European Germans,” Deitschlenner, or Deutschländer. (Yoder, p 51) The nineteenth-century German immigrants had a different sense of ethnic identity from the Pennsylvania Germans, who from the very beginning of their stay called themselves Americans or Pennsylvanians. These newcomers, wishing to create a replica of German bourgeois society in urban America, called themselves not Americans, but German-Americans. (Yoder 1985).

We have established that the Pennsylvania Germans consider themselves to be, and therefore are, of a different ethnic group than the later waves of German immigrants. The Pennsylvania Germans, in calling themselves “Pennsylvanians” rather than “German-Americans”, stress the fact that they are first natives of the Pennsylvania German area of Pennsylvania and only second of German descent. This fact, combined with the knowledge that many of the typically “Pennsylvania Dutch” speech patterns noted above can be found in speakers who are relative newcomers to the area, or have no German ancestry, leads to the assertion that the influences of the Pennsylvania German dialect on the English of bilingual and monolingual English speakers of the region can be seen as markers not merely of German ethnicity, but of a regional identity as well.
V. The Old Order Sectarians: A Group Apart

Beyond the differences between the ethnic and regional speech patterns of the Pennsylvania Germans, on the one hand, and the fully assimilated German-Americans, on the other, further distinctions can be drawn in the speech of subgroups among the Pennsylvania Germans. Huffines (1986) has pointed out different degrees of Pennsylvania German influence on the English of each of four groups of Pennsylvania Germans. She first divides Pennsylvania Germans into Sectarians and Non-Sectarians, and then subdivides each group: the Sectarians into Old Order Sectarians, who have a stable diglossia, and less conservative sects, who have greater contact with English-speaking neighbors; and the Nonsectarians into native Pennsylvania German speakers, who learned Pennsylvania German as a first language, and nonfluent Pennsylvania German speakers, who have little or no working knowledge of the Pennsylvania German dialect. The English of the Old Order Sectarians, according to her evidence, shows a far lesser degree of German influence than does that of either the completely bilingual or monolingual English speakers. Before looking into this paradox, let us look as Huffines' findings, presented in the following chart:
Table 1
Summary of Pennsylvania German Subgroup Language Behavior

PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Orders</th>
<th>Less Conserv. Sects</th>
<th>Native PG Speakers</th>
<th>Nonfluent PG Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diglossic</td>
<td>diglossic with some overlapping</td>
<td>nondiglossic</td>
<td>nondiglossic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>code switching ability for transactions</td>
<td>code switching ability</td>
<td>code switching ability</td>
<td>no code switching ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fluent PG with extensive borrowing</td>
<td>fluent PG with frequent code switching</td>
<td>fluent PG with extensive code switching</td>
<td>nonfluent PG or monolingual Eng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prescriptive Eng.</td>
<td>Less prescriptive Eng.</td>
<td>nonfluent Eng.</td>
<td>fluent Eng. with PG influence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Huffines :1986, p 11)

As Huffines shows in her chart, the Old Order Sectarians demonstrate prescriptive English, i.e., a variety of English which is both learned as a second language and used only in formal situations. The less conservative sects of the sectarian groups, because of their greater contact with outsiders, use a less prescriptive form of English, although English is still learned in schools as a second language, and generally the Pennsylvania
German dialect is still used with all but outsiders. Nonsectarian native Pennsylvania German speakers, most of whom are older speakers, and who generally do not speak only Pennsylvania German at home, show a more natural, if not completely fluent, use of English. And the nonfluent Pennsylvania German speakers and monolingual English speakers, while using only English, exhibit a large influence of the Pennsylvania German dialect in their speech.

It is reasonable to attribute this lower degree of Pennsylvania German influence among the Sectarians to the fairly stable diglossic situation in the Old Order communities. Fasold, in *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, defines "broad diglossia" as:

... the reservation of highly valued segments of a community's linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments (which are learned first with little or no conscious effort), of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate. (Fasold 1984, p 53)
In the Old-Order Pennsylvania German communities, English and Pennsylvania German are used in very clear-cut situations: English when in contact with non-Amish, for education, and for business, and German in church and at home. The two languages can coexist peacefully, because they pose no threat to one another socially: each language serves a purpose in the society, and no need is felt by the speakers to replace one with the other.

Why would these more conservative groups of Pennsylvania Germans, which could be expected to have a greater desire for ethnic markers in their speech, exhibit fewer of the Pennsylvania German-influenced patterns in their English than the more “mainstream” speakers of the area? Several answers are possible. The most obvious of these is that the stable diglossic situation maintained by these speakers already gives them the Pennsylvania German dialect itself as a symbol of ethnic identity; thus there is no need for aspects of this dialect to be manifest in the English spoken by these speakers. Secondly, situations in which the Sectarians generally use English are, however, in the presence of outsiders; it would seem that their knowledge of Pennsylvania German would not serve as a strong ethnic marker in these situations: since they lack Pennsylvania German influence in their English, their English would not necessarily distinguish them from the outsiders. Therefore it could also be suggested that the non-linguistic aspects of their culture, such as
plain dress and "old-fashioned" technology, which serve as a visible ethnic identity marker, may make any Pennsylvania German influence in their English unnecessary as such a marker. Thirdly, since the Sectarians learn English as a second language in English schools, and go on to use the language in inherently formal situations, it is to be expected that their English would be more prescriptive than that of speakers who learn and speak English informally.

I would like to add to these possibilities a fourth: By their very definition the Old Order Sectarians are separatist groups, wishing by their way of life to distinguish themselves from mainstream Pennsylvania German society. The Old Order Amish and Mennonites have retained customs and technologies more like those of rural nineteenth-century society than those of modern America, and their strong religious values also separate them from the norm. Hostetler (1985) writes that, although the Old Order Pennsylvania Germans can be distinguished from the surrounding society by their appearance alone,

... the term "plain people," however, refers to more than simple clothing or broad-brimmed black hats. Beneath the surface these people share a value system radically different from that of worldly society. (Hofstetler: 1985, p106)

It is not just their style of dress, but also their strict religious and moral code, which separates the Old Order Sectarians from their neighbors. And
it is, in part, in order to separate themselves from these worldly structures that they adopt the old-fashioned way of life that they do. The fact that the Sectarian groups are, by definition and design, separate from the Pennsylvania German community, and from the society of the general area, supports the assertion that, as opposed to the mainstream culture of this area of Pennsylvania, in which a certain speech pattern with a strong Pennsylvania German influence is an ethnic if not regional identity marker, the lack of such a pattern in the English spoken by the Sectarians serves as an identity marker for these speakers as separate from the norm.

VI. Conclusions

In this paper I have described the distinctive speech patterns of the region of Pennsylvania known as “Pennsylvania Dutch Country,” which are strongly influenced by the Pennsylvania German dialect. These patterns, which are quite noticeable to the outsider, can be seen not only as an ethnic identity marker in the speech of those who are of German descent, but also as a regional identity marker in the speech of its speakers who have no German ancestry. In support of this theory, I brought up the fact that inhabitants of this region who are not of Pennsylvania German descent exhibit these patterns in their English. It was also mentioned in
support of this theory that the English of a later wave of German immigrants and their descendants in Pennsylvania, who had a different sense of ethnic identity from that of those earlier immigrants who settled in rural Pennsylvania, does not exhibit the same patterns, or the influence of Pennsylvania German. Finally, the English of the Old Order Sectarians was described. The English of this group, who live as a counterculture within the area in question, does not contain a strong, if any, influence of the Pennsylvania German dialect. This absence of influence of the ethnic-marking language on the use of the dominant culture language can be accounted for by, among other factors, the wish of the Sectarians to be seen as distinct from the Pennsylvania Germans and others who inhabit their region. Since the strong Pennsylvania German influence on the English of the region as a whole is the norm for that region, the Old Order Sectarians may exclude this influence from their English in order to exclude themselves from the mainstream society which such an influence symbolizes.
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