The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

Department of Germanic & Slavic Languages & Literatures

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG AMISH-MENNONITES IN KISHACOQUILLAS VALLEY, PENNSYLVANIA

A Dissertation in

German

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2011

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides an analysis of religious identity and language behavior in an Anabaptist settlement in central Pennsylvania. Kishacoquillas "Big" Valley, Pennsylvania is home to a variety of Anabaptist congregations ranging from conservative Old Order Amish to progressive Mennonites. Uniquely, each of these congregations traces its lineage to a shared Amish beginning in the late eighteenth century. Due to the geographic location within a narrow and level valley, congregations began to construct ethnoreligious identities, which not only defined themselves, but separated them from other congregations. As a result, differing interpretations of the traditional Anabaptist tenet of "separation from the world" emerged. Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, a group wishing to pursue more progressive changes chose to adopt meetinghouses for worship and less conservative hair and dress styles. They soon adopted a hyphenated religious identity as Amish-Mennonites – binding them to their Amish roots, but pronouncing their more progressive Mennonite aspirations. By the 1930s, these congregations ceased using Pennsylvania Dutch for the in-group and archaic German for worship. Today they identify only as Mennonites and Pennsylvania Dutch ceases to be a marker for their new religious – and less exclusive or sectarian – identity.

A second group, similarly arising from Amish origins in 1911, currently identifies as Amish-Mennonite. This group has adopted similar religious goals as the first group, especially Sunday school, mission work, and evangelism. They

are currently undergoing language shift with only a thirty-minute German-language hymn sing in the more conservative of the two congregations remaining.

By relying on an oral history interview project, participant observation, and sociohistorical sources, this dissertation examines the changing ethnoreligious identities of the two groups. Employing Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) early assertions that language acts are acts of identity, the language behavior of each group is analyzed as part of their changing expressions of religious identity. Further, the religious identities of residents of Big Valley are viewed from a poststructural perspective: their identities are both multiple and dynamic.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee, Richard Page, Carrie Jackson, Mike Putnam, and John Lipski, for their careful guidance and support at all stages of graduate school. Richard has been a pillar of support since I started applying to grad school. He involved me in his own research projects and held strong enthusiasm for my own. He epitomizes the role of the advisor and mentor, and for this I am very thankful. Carrie took a keen interest in both my research and teaching. She offered a critical eye to my work, but never devalued even the roughest of ideas. Mike lent his expertise with German-American studies and always offered thoughtful advice. John introduced me to sociolinguistics, planted an early appreciation for minority language studies, and taught me a great deal about fieldwork.

Julia Kasdorf in the English Department at Penn State has been a constant source of inspiration – I will miss our idea-sharing meetings over coffee. Barbara Bullock and Jacqueline Toribio at the University of Texas-Austin were immensely supportive during the entire process. Fellow Germanists, Mark Louden and Joe Salmons at the University of Wisconsin-Madison provided comments and critiques of my work and were always available to answer my questions. I thank Jackie Esposito, Penn State University Archivist, who showed a strong interest in my progress and was always there to offer a hug or laugh. Jackie gave me the opportunity to work on both the John A. Hostetler and Gertrude E. Huntington

Papers housed in the Penn State University Archives – it was from Trudy and John that I learned the most about being a field researcher. Betty Hartzler, Lorne Yoder, Zelda Yoder, and all of the narrators deserve the greatest credit for this work. Through their patient guidance, I came to learn about and appreciate the Big Valley. Richard and Dorothy Beam have been major sources of support since my freshman year at Millersville. They introduced me to my first Amish and Mennonite contacts and helped me rediscover a language of my childhood. I thank all of the "office ladies," who put up with years of my questions and problems – they deserve sainthood. And, of course, my cohort in the Burrowes Building cubes… you all brightened my days and made every moment of this process enjoyable!

DEDICATION

For my parents, who never questioned the importance of their children's education. They gave endless amounts of love and support for which I am eternally grateful.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Important work by Fishman (1964, 1985, 2001, 2002) on immigrant bilingualism in the United States has shown that usually within three generations the immigrant population will assimilate linguistically to mainstream English monolingualism. In stark contrast to the typical pattern of language shift in the United States, the Old Order Amish and Hasidim are two bilingual communities that robustly maintain their heritage languages in the absence of continuing migration. These groups have strong ethnoreligious identities. Important for the maintenance of those ethnoreligious identities is the preservation of a hagiolect and a vernacular: archaic German and Pennsylvania Dutch, Hebrew and Yiddish respectively (Fishman 2001, 2002). Although their religious sectarian lifestyles have countered the process of linguistic assimilation, this study will examine an Amish population that is in the process of language shift and a population that was historically Amish and has completed the shift.

1.2 Current study

The Anabaptists are a religious group with roots in the Radical Reformation of 16th century Switzerland. As a sectarian group, the Old Orders maintain strong

group boundaries. Entrance into the group is only possible with formal adult baptism – after years of reflection and weeks of instruction. They believe in separation from and nonconformity to the world. Each Old Order Anabaptist group achieves this in a variety of ways including (but not limited to) plain dress, traditional language use, and rejection of certain technologies. This study focuses on several Anabaptist groups inhabiting an isolated valley in Central Pennsylvania.

175 miles west of Philadelphia and 144 miles east of Pittsburgh is a rural section of Pennsylvania's Appalachian range called Mifflin County. Mifflin County was created in September 1789 with Lewistown as the county seat. Located within Mifflin County is a stretch of limestone rich soil about 30 miles in length and ranging in width between two and five miles, bound on two sides by Jacks "Front" Mountain and Standing Stone "Back" Mountain (Hayes 1947:12; Kauffman 1991:38-41). The topography of the settlement is very important in describing the shift situations that have occurred throughout its history. The settlement is contiguous with moderately dense spatial cohesion within the networks given the interrelatedness of much of the population. One resident recounted the density and relative isolation of the Amish-Mennonites in the earlier part of the twentieth century in his memoir. For him, although the Stone Valley settlement was only 10 miles away from Big Valley, the people were markedly different, in this case linguistically:

> I remember that the Stone Valley farmers were different than Big Valley people… Some of their words and accents were different than the German

> descendants in Big Valley. In my young Amish age, going over to Stone Valley was somewhat like going to a 'foreign' country (Kanagy 2006:34).

Big Valley has four towns within its limits: Belleville, Milroy, Reedsville, and Allensville. The 2000 United States Census lists the population of Belleville at 1,386, Milroy at 1,386, Reedsville at 858, and Allensville at 756 (*U.S. Census Bureau* 2000a-d). Surprisingly very few residents indicated farming as their occupation on the census.[1] The largest occupation group was in production, transportation, and material removing for all four localities. Big Valley is part of the Mifflin County School District, which is divided into two geographical areas: Lewistown area and Indian Valley. Indian Valley has five elementary schools, one middle school and one high school. Additionally, private faith-based educational programs are offered in Big Valley at a number of Amish parochial schools (grades 1 – 8), Valley View School, Pleasant View School, and Belleville Mennonite School. According to the 2000 census, 24.1% of the population over 25 living in Allensville had less than a ninth grade education, Belleville had the second highest percentage at 16.1%. Only Milroy exceeds the national average of high school graduates (86.0%). Each census designated place, though, falls well below the national average for individuals with at least a bachelor's degree (24.4%). Belleville, Milroy, and Reedsville are all below 10% of their populations, while Allensville is at 2.4% (*U.S. Census Bureau* 2000a-d).

In particular, this work analyses two major religious shifts in Kishacoquillas "Big" Valley's Anabaptist history. Although the only Anabaptist

[1] I assume that a large portion of Amish residents of Big Valley chose not to complete the 2000 census.

group in Big Valley until the mid-nineteenth century was the Amish, in the late nineteenth century several Amish-Mennonite congregations and the conservative Old Orders emerged. Since then, the Amish-Mennonite churches have moved on a continuum toward religious assimilation with mainstream Mennonitism and disassociation from the Old Orders. At present all of the former Amish-Mennonite congregations of the nineteenth century shift now identify as Mennonite. For the Amish-Mennonites, the religious shift away from the more conservative Amish pervades all parts of their lives. The shift precipitated changes in dress, acceptance of technology, religious ritual and traditional language use. The congregations who have assimilated the most since their formation in the early nineteenth century are referred to as Maple Grove, Allensville, and Locust Grove Amish-Mennonites (and occasionally as "former Amish-Mennonites").

The second, and most recent shift, created two fellowshipping congregations of Beachy Amish(-Mennonites): Valley View and Pleasant View. The original congregation, Valley View, began in 1911 as a progressive splinter group from the Old Order Amish. As with the earlier group, religious changes bring additional cultural changes. The present changes are not as dramatic, as much of the shift is still in its infancy. Since 1954, they drive dark-colored cars and they have used electricity in the home since 1948. Unlike the Old Order Amish, they worship in a meetinghouse. However, complete assimilation is absent. Fairly conservative dress (particularly among women, e.g., head coverings) is still expected of the membership. Traditional language use gave

way to English-only liturgy in the 1980s. The congregation does, however, maintain a thirty-minute traditional German-language hymn sing on the last Sunday of the month. Today there is an increasing focus on youth activities sponsored by the church and mission programs for outreach ministry. The congregations, which are in the process of assimilation to mainstream Mennonitism, but retain much of their Old Order practices, are referred to as the Beachy Amish-Mennonites.

Paralleling the continuum of religious difference and distance from "the world," is an apparent linguistic continuum ranging from stable bilingualism with diglossia to unstable bilingualism without diglossia. The Old Order Amish in Big Valley retain the archaic German of Luther's Bible translation for written liturgy, Pennsylvania Dutch for in-group discourse, and English with outsiders and non-liturgical writing.[2] Almost all assimilated Mennonites are completely monolingual English speakers. The Beachy Amish (or Amish-Mennonites), however, are transitional, in that they stopped using Luther German as a hagiolect and Pennsylvania Dutch as their in-group variety within the last three decades.

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[2] Although Frey (1945) claims the Amish have three languages in their linguistic repertoire (Amish High German, Pennsylvania Dutch, and English), other research notes the inability of the Old Order Amish in the production of standard German (Huffines 1997:93). When I refer to German in this work, I mean the "idea of a German hagiolect," rather than the actual production of German. Old Order Amish worship services are, at most, in a higher register of Pennsylvania Dutch. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Both the Maple Grove groups of the nineteenth century and the Valley View groups of the twentieth century spoke Pennsylvania Dutch as their in-group language.[3] Pennsylvania Dutch (often called Pennsylvania German) is the result of dialectal leveling in eighteenth century Pennsylvania. The groups responsible for this leveling included not only the Anabaptists (Amish and Mennonites), but also Lutheran and Reformed groups originating in central-southwestern Germany. Most studies of Pennsylvania Dutch have been structural, both phonological and syntactic (e.g. Haldeman 1872; Reed 1947, 1979; Louden 1988; Keiser 2001). Considerably less frequent are studies of a sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological nature (important exceptions include: Huffines 1980; Williamson 1991; Kopp 2003; Louden 2003). No large-scale or comprehensive studies on language shift among either the sectarians or nonsectarians exist. The lack of large-scale studies on language shift, especially among sectarians,

[3] I will not go as far as Fishman (2006:21) and speculate that this constitutes a co-sanctifed vernacular. Some researchers (Anderson & Martin 1976; Huffines 1997; Johnson-Weiner 1992:37, 1998:182) note the non-sacred nature of both German and Pennsylvania Dutch and the disloyalty to both as well. For Huffines (1997:65) Amish disfluency in German is a contradiction, as it hinders the religious groups in its "religious understandings." I disagree with Huffines in this point, in that the only "religious understanding" the Amish would be hindered by is Biblical literacy and not religious understanding in worship services. Moreover, Amish religious life is not so much dictated by "religious understanding" as much as "cultural understanding" and the function of the community as a redemptive one (Hostetler 1993). Amish society is not necessarily a Biblically literate society. Personal, individual interpretation of Scripture is generally discouraged.

warrants the exploration of this phenomenon. Additionally, any study on an Anabaptist population, given the wide diversity of the Anabaptists with differing customs, rituals, behaviors and separatist tendencies (Burridge 2002:204), will provide unique insight into a variety of language behaviors. Moreover, this study teases apart concepts such as sectarian and nonsectarian, which have become commonplace in Pennsylvania Dutch studies.

The goal of this study is to document the shifts (cultural, linguistic, and religious) as they have occurred and are occurring within the speech communities. The primary questions under investigation in the present study are:

> What is the relationship between language and (ethno)religious identity among the Anabaptists in Big Valley and what role does that relationship play in language shift among the Amish-Mennonites?

This work will show, on the basis of sociohistorical data, an ever-present connection between religion and language in Big Valley. Additionally, it will demonstrate that although Pennsylvania Dutch is an important symbol of religious identity for the Old Order Amish, as a social system, it is vulnerable to social pressures for change. This dissertation will examine the breaking points in identity, and which facets of identity are abandoned to suit other changes in the negotiation of a changing Amish-Mennonite sectarian identity. Additionally, narratives from the individuals will show the construction of identity and the formation of language ideologies, which have further pulled these groups from their Old Order sectarian origins. Using several research instruments, the

community and the individual speakers will be analyzed to determine *why* language shift occurred here. Importantly, the study will draw on LePage's assertions of language as an act of identity and the filtering processes of language ideologies for attitudes and behaviors to provide a theoretical backdrop.

1.3 Scope

Language, as Haugen (1972) reminds us, has "life, purpose, and form," which are manifested and shaped through the interaction between the speakers of a particular language, their social environment, and processes of enculturation and re-enculturation throughout their lifetimes. Inevitably, in studying the displacement of one language by another, one needs to fully assess this ecology to understand the motivations behind the shift and the resulting / concomitant changing constructions of identity. Most studies of language shift present a taxonomical-typological list (cf. Clyne 2003 for a discussion) of factors affecting community-specific shift. However, theoretical advances have analyzed the ecology of language as a function of domains (cf. Pauwels 1986), social networks (cf. Stoessel 1998), language attitudes (cf. Garrett et al. 2003), core values (identity structure) (cf. Smolicz 1979), and ethnolinguistic vitality (cf. Giles et al. 1977).

This study seeks to explain shift as a result the role of Pennsylvania Dutch and German in the formation of religious identity among Anabaptists in Mifflin County. Contributing to this is a changing discourse within congregations concerning religious thought, which precipitates religious change and the groups'

distinctiveness from neighboring Anabaptists. As those in-group boundaries become more blurred, open and weak networks abound for the members of a congregation that is becoming less ethnically homogenous and more welcoming to outsiders.

This project will lead to a better understanding of *why* and *how* some sectarian groups shift languages while others do not and, in turn, further our understanding of the ecology of language maintenance and shift in multilingual communities. Assessing the linguistic landscape incorporates macro- and micro-sociocultural and sociopsychological aspects of a speech community, and by applying identificational considerations, this dissertation gives an historical and current study of language shift of a conservative sectarian population in northern Appalachia. In studying groups, which do not perfectly fit into a sectarian / nonsectarian dichotomy, this study expands research in Pennsylvania Dutch studies by exploring how religious identity affects language behavior.

1.4 Initial considerations

Defining key concepts can be both useful and unwieldy. A carefully defined central aspect of any field can be a dissertation itself. In the interest of avoiding confusion and setting a starting-off point, I offer these definitions. However, I hope to refine my (and the community's) interpretations of some of them through descriptive analysis in the later chapters. Repeatedly in this dissertation, I use the terms "ethnicity," "ethnic identity," "religion," "(ethno)religious identity," and "sectarian." All warrant elaboration beyond understanding them as "primitives"

or referring to entries in standard dictionaries. To leave the terms at that would be a disservice to the following discussions that are important in examining the negotiation of identity and the sociocultural setting. I reserve defining the terms "language maintenance" and "language shift" until chapter 2. Likewise, a thorough discussion of "identity" is in chapter 2.

Anthropologist Ronald Cohen defined *ethnicity* as

> a set of descent-based cultural identifiers used to assign persons to groupings that expand and contract in inverse relation to the scale of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the membership (1978:387).

As such, ethnicity is a way of identification. Several disciplines agree that ethnicity is socially constructed, contextually situated among other social variables and both self- and other-constructed (cf. Fought 2006:3ff). Moreover, I feel that we can add to the definition an element of fluidity. A more holistic approach to ethnicity will be adopted in this discussion. The construction of ethnicity is not only social, contextual, and interactional, but also changing and changeable. Importantly, for the discussions in the following pages, the social construction of ethnicity with boundaries between insider and outsider will play a huge role in the changing ethnicities of the Amish-Mennonites. These groups exist because they are different from each other; they have different behaviors, whether cultural, social, verbal or otherwise. Although boundaries for separating ethnicities can be useful, they are not impermeable or consistently strong. Moreover, these boundaries are not isolated from the dominant group (Barth

1969:11). In fact, the lack of isolation from outsiders will come to the fore in this analysis as one of the defining factors in redrawing these ethnic boundaries.

Royce (1982:18) defines *ethnic identity* as "the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group." Ethnic identity is the affective, cognitive, and behavioral bent toward or away from a particular ethnicity. Again the same cautions apply as for defining ethnicity. Moreover, the focus on ethnic identity in this dissertation demands an emic perspective. The construction and negotiation of ethnic identity will be forefronted as meaningful to the narrators and community members. An identity that is *ethnoreligious*, then, building from the definitions above is one which intimately links decent-based cultural identifiers and religion. For those with an ethnoreligious identity, religion is pervasive, (to a large extent) inherited, and exclusive.

Religion and (ethno)religious identity are enormously indicative characteristics of the community under study. *Sectarian* is a highly charged and debated term in the sociology of religion. I rely on Troeltsch's (1931) early definition:

> The sects… aspire after personal inward perfection, and they aim at a direct personal fellowship between the members of each group. From the very beginning, therefore, they are forced to organize themselves in small groups, and to renounce the idea of dominating the world. Their attitude towards the world, the State, and Society may be indifferent, tolerant, or

> hostile, since they have no desire to control and incorporate these forms of social life (331).

A sectarian group is one that breaks off of mainstream religious denominations and maintains a distance from certain societal expectations, e.g., military service, community integration, education and the like. This is perhaps one of the key features of sectarians: the rejection of dominant societal trends and expectations. For the community under study here, their negotiation of being "sectarian," i.e., the amount of distance from the world will be scrutinized. I do not see a clear-cut or even dichotomous relationship between "sect" and "world." Lewis (2002) argues for a third category called "established sects" (e.g., Quakers), which persist for generations, all the while incorporating those distancing measures into their lives. But even a tripartite separation is not sufficient. In this work, I prefer to speak of "degrees of sectarianism." Hand-in-hand with these degrees of sectarianism are notions of boundaries, similarly understood from the discussion of ethnic boundaries. Boundaries, and their reconstructions and transgressions, can point to the degree of sectarianism of a group. Although often missing from definitions of "sectarian," this point is taken with Dawson's (2009:540) recent suggestions for the inclusivity or exclusivity of membership to be used in working through typologies of sect, cult, and church. While a sect or cult is exclusive, a church may be rather inclusive. Therefore a more holistic understanding of sect is given by Wilson (1990), relying on social systems within Christian traditions. He characterizes a sect as a relatively small, voluntary, and exclusivistic movement, which rejects "dominant traditions of society" (Wilson 1990:1f). The

exclusive nature of the religious movement is strengthened with a procedure or ritual of admission to the group, processes of testing, and an ever-present expectation of disciplinary action in response to breaches of membership guidelines. Implicit in this understanding of "sect" is the notion of "boundaries" or, at the very least, guidelines. Membership in a sectarian group requires not only ritual admission, but a consistent set of checks-and-balances to negotiate one's religious orientation as coinciding with the religious identity of the sectarian group. For Wilson (1990:2), and for my purposes here, sectarian membership is the member's "primary source of social identity." Directly because of those checks-and-balances throughout one's sectarian life, all aspects of life are filtered through the expectations of group membership. In other words, all aspects of the human experience are gauged against the norms of the sectarian group – testing their validity and applicability to maintaining sectarian identity. Sectarian group membership is built on ideologies of practice, linguistic and otherwise.

Although Amish society is foremost a "sectarian society," there is some contention over the reliability of the term. "Folk society" is a term used in anthropology and sociology for isolated communities, which display strong cohesiveness (Redfield 1947). Based on Amish distinctiveness, small size, homogenous culture patterns, and self-sufficiency, Hostetler (1993:8-18) conceptualizes the duality of Amish "sectarian society" and "folk society." As I use rather broad definitions of ethnicity and sectarian, both already containing notions of distinctiveness and the homogeneity of sociocultural patterns, I will

not employ the term "folk society" in this work. In the interest of scope, I will limit my analysis of Amish society and culture to its sectarian aspects. Naturally, though, the merits of viewing Amish society through both lenses are certainly of note (cf. Huntington 1956).

As with sect, *religion* will surface as an important source of social identity for the Amish-Mennonites discussed in this dissertation. Defining religion is another monumental task, about which much ink has been spilled, e.g., Platvoet & Molendijk (1999) and Droogers (2009). To start, I will use the more traditional definition of religion from Durkheim (1976):

> A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them (47).

This dissertation relates the intracacies of religion to social and psychological processes, as urged by Geertz (2002:81). Religion for this work is only indirectly important as it informs our notion of sectarian. The definition of sectarian includes nothing to intrinsically relate it to the "sacred." I view a sect as being a religious movement, one whose beliefs and practices are said to be sacred and, by virtue of their sectarian nature, reject the worldliness of the dominant society. As such, religion itself is not some independent identificational property. I closely adhere to the positioning of religious practice, particularly in social identity, that Morris (2006:7) describes:

> Religious beliefs and values, ritual practices, and organization structures are thus seen as the products of social processes and wider social structures – patterns of social relations. Religion is not therefore an autonomous realm of social life but is intrinsically related to such issues as health, gender, social identity, and the wider political economy, and to such social processes as globalization and intergroup relations (7)

By viewing social systems, such as language, as linked to religion, identity or sectarian identity, the data in this work function as insights into larger constellations of society and culture than are usually found in studies on language maintenance and shift.

Naturally, these definitions are not without their drawbacks, shortcomings, and even ethnocentricities. The idea of "sect," adopted here, is valid by-and-large for European Christian traditions. As such, these provisional definitions apply well to the groups under discussion in this study. I will attempt to discover how the Amish-Mennonites have constructed their identity and the role that language plays in their construction of identity. Importantly, I will show how they position themselves vis-à-vis the other Anabaptist groups in the valley.

1.5 Overview

This dissertation is an ethnography, following the inductive analysis of culture and detailed observation in a time of cultural change (cf. Boas 1920; Malinowski 1922; Mead 1928; Benedict 1946). Chapter 2 gives an overview of the relevant literature in language maintenance and shift studies, as well as a critique of a

variety of research methods. Chapter 3 presents background literature on social and cultural studies related to the Pennsylvania Dutch language of both sectarian and non-sectarian speakers. Chapter 4 introduces the methodology used for this project by explaining the adopted research instruments. Chapter 5 introduces the Maple Grove groups and not only presents background information on the Anabaptist and Amish-Mennonite movements in a broader historical context, but also couches those histories locally into the Big Valley Amish-Mennonite story. Complementing the archival data on the local setting, individual stories and memories are discussed. Chapter 6 extends the examination to the Valley View groups. The dissertation concludes with a summarizing chapter and suggestions for areas of future research.

Chapter 2

Language Maintenance and Shift

2.1 Introduction

The investigation of language maintenance and shift can involve branches of psychology, sociology, linguistics, demography, history, and others. In addition, subfields of linguistics-proper have been deployed in language maintenance and shift studies, e.g., sociolinguistics, sociology of language, psycholinguistics, phonology, morphosyntax, etc. Case studies of language maintenance and shift have employed diverse approaches. They are thus often difficult to compare, and no general theory of language maintenance and shift has emerged. This chapter examines major factors involved in the process of language shift and reviews methodologies used to elucidate the importance of each in various case studies.

2.2 Language maintenance and shift as fields of inquiry

Although scholars disagree on the exact implications involved in a definition of *language shift*, basic tenets can nonetheless be extracted into a workable definition for the purposes here. Dorian (1982:44) defines language shift as a "gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members." Wolff (1992:114) adds a "value" element in her definition by considering the "relative weight" of the functions of the languages involved. Furthermore, Clyne (1991:54) differentiates between situations of language shift:

(1) a shift in the main or dominant language, (2) a shift of the language of one or more domains, and (3) a shift of language in one of the skills (reading, writing, speaking, and listening). For Clyne (1991), then, language shift is not necessarily a shift in domains, but can occur at any level of language use within those domains. For our purposes here, we adopt Salmons' (2005:131) definition: language shift is the abandonment of "one language for another over time, so that former speakers of X become speakers of Y." Here, *language shift* refers to the patterns of language use (following Pauwels 1986:43; Fase et al. 1992:4; Jaspaert & Kroon 1993:298) as opposed to change in language proficiency, which is termed *language loss*.[4] Additionally, the added component of macro- and micro-social levels as offered by Milroy (2001:48) explain language shift at the community level and language attrition (loss) at the individual level.

Language shift is distinguished from its opposite *language maintenance*, where a language remains "despite competition with the dominant or majority language" (Pauwels 2004:719). This definition presents a more adversarial view of language contact with a power differential and inferred pressure on the minority language. However, language maintenance may occur in a relatively complementary and diglossic situation, where speakers perceive both varieties as being of equal strength. The definition of language maintenance is (drawing from Salmons (2005), above) the transmission of one language over time, so that

[4] Other terms frequently used in the literature are language attrition and language decay. Clyne (2003:5) defines language attrition as predominately psycholinguistic and a subset of language attrition.

speakers of X remain speakers of X. Although Dorian (1980:92) claims that language maintenance studies may be more important than explaining language shift – considering the pressured competition between the languages in certain contact situations – language shift studies are nonetheless important for the understanding of related dynamics between society and language use. Although these distinctions appear to be very clear, they result in some confusion and conflation of terms in studies, allowing for a less than accurate portrayal of instances of language shift in some case studies (as will be discussed below).

In reviewing language shift approaches, a caveat is necessary. As Silva-Corvalán (1994) carefully notes in her preface on language use among Spanish-English bilinguals in California, the theoretical framework of the research influences the researchers' presentation of the results. Likewise, one expects that the choice of an approach to language shift will also influence the analysis of the results. Reviewers of the seminal study by Gal (1979) concerning German and Hungarian maintenance and shift in the Oberwart Valley show this bias. Martin-Jones (1989:117), an opponent of the social network analysis, interprets Gal's results to favor age as more important in shift than network patterns. However, Govindasamy & Nambiar (2003:28) relying on the same data find a strong correlation between social networks and language maintenance: "For most informants in the study, the more peasants there were in their social networks, the more Hungarian they used…" Thus depending on the theoretical bent and intention of the researcher, data from other studies may be skewed to best fit their approach. Just as there can be no one factor which causes shift or

maintenance, there is (as yet) not one approach (nor one corresponding methodology) which can best capture the shift or maintenance situation across all instances in all speech communities.

2.3 Research traditions

Language shift has been studied from a variety of research frameworks. Milroy (2001:39) invokes language use, behavior, and choice at both the community and interactional levels. Fase et al. (1992:7) find that only language choice in intragroup communication is a necessary starting point for inquiry into the shift, whereas Dorian (1981:47) sums up a major impetus of language shift to be simply pragmatic. Clyne (2003) and Myers-Scotton (2006) offer a brief list of models used for language shift studies. Clyne (2003) lists four traditions: (1) taxonomic-typological, (2) ethnolinguistic vitality, (3) predictive and reversing, and (4) core values. Myers-Scotton (2006:71ff) lists three more broadly defined models for studying language shift: (1) horizontal or vertical multilingualism, (2) social network analysis, and (3) ethnolinguistic vitality.

Some research suggests that a measurement of language shift (even predictive measurements) is possible (Mackey 1980, cf. Fishman 1964:43). However, the complex arrangement of language use in society renders any measurement or formula (like the one proposed by Mackey 1980) less viable. Comprehensive descriptions of the language situation in a specific community have proven to be a more popular means of determining the rate and extent of shift. Although each speech community has its own unique history, demographic

composition, linguistic history, political situation, etc., generalizations are still possible and fruitful for discussion.

2.3.1 Typological approaches

In his seminal work on language shift, Fishman (1964:50) lists a number of extralinguistic factors, which influence language shift: urbanization, industrialization, nationalism, nativism, and religious revitalization. Since Fishman's early listing of general extralinguistic factors, a slew of researchers have developed lists (less frequently rankings) of factors contributing to language shift in their respective speech communities. Each has developed a specific list, one that cannot be applied to any other speech community. For example, Kipp (1979) in studying German shift patterns in Australia found that proximity to an urban center was most important with more emotional and individual factors ending his list of seven factors. Brenzinger et al. (1991) studying language shift in Africa found urbanization to be only secondary in importance to change in economy, while Dixon (1991) looking at aboriginal language shift in Australia finds external pressures from a dominant white society to be the cause for shift. Kenrick (1993) does not explicitly explain the shift from Romani to Czech to be the result of external pressure, but rather of intermarriage between speakers of the two languages as leading to the choice of speaking Czech instead of Romani. In Anabaptist speech communities, research has attributed language shift to causes ranging from lack of a standard orthography (Huffines 1985), World War I and generational change (Buchheit 1985), and a decrease in dense social

networks (Enninger 1992) to the allowance of upward social mobility (Wolff 1992) and changes in group identification (Johnson-Weiner 1992). These studies will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Although the list of possible factors influencing language shift are many when considering the uniqueness of each community, several researchers have identified an exhaustive list of factors that seem to occur repeatedly in all typological studies on language shift (cf. Romaine 1995 and especially Kloss 1966, 1984). However, no one factor can be seen as the single cause of language shift (Mackey 1980:39). A combination of factors, reaching what Holdeman (2002:201) calls a "critical mass," determines whether language shift occurs and to what extent shift happens within domains, skills, etc. In fact, many researchers criticize the typological method, because it fails to show the combination and interactions of a list of factors (Baker 2001; Myers-Scotton 2006:89; Clyne 2003:52; Pauwels 2004:727, and it is even statistically critiqued in Martín 1996).

Additionally, a list of factors does not have *direct* influence on the shift process; the factors influence mediating concepts of attitude, vitality, identity and the like (Jaspaert & Kroon 1993:306). Moreover, Clyne (2003:69) and Edwards (2004:467) claim that exhaustive lists of factors are too vague in their presentation and fail to detect the underlying complexities involved regarding their impact in the society. Edwards (2004) claims that some of the traditional lists (e.g. Haugen's typology) lack psychological, educational, geographic, and historical components making seemingly exhaustive lists not exhaustive enough.

However, his own listing of 33 factors (Edwards 1994) is difficult to apply, needing "at least 150 independent cases… to enable statistical analysis" (De Bot & Stoessel 2002:1). Current trends tend to broaden lists of factors to incorporate macro- and micro-interactional levels of abstraction, e.g., Clyne's (2006) "sociolinguistic typology." In the same vein, Edwards' (1992; 1994; 2010) "Sociology of Language Framework" attempts to view language maintenance and shift in light of the "social currents" impacting the language situation. In viewing the social currents, not only is the framework more ecological, but also more informed by looking at the language situation from a variety of disciplines. In his Sociology of Language Framework for Minority (and other Languages), eleven disciplinary perspectives (geography, sociology, religion, etc.) are cross-tabulated with three broad categories. The three categories relate to speaker, language, and setting. The typology has been critiqued for its lack of certain aspects – Edwards (2010:101-3) has addressed several of these complaints. Aspects that are missing from the typology include more anthropological aspects, such as language as ritual or performance. Additionally, there is a lack of questions regarding agency of the speech community. For example, while the attitudes of the majority group toward the minority group are solicited, the attitudes of the minority group toward the majority group are missing. Future studies will need to show the feasibility of Edwards' (2010) framework, and perhaps assist in developing a weighted scale.

2.3.2 Social network approaches

A social network, as defined by Milroy & Milroy (1992:5) is a "boundless web of ties that reaches out through the whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely." A social network is a basic exchange relationship, which receives norms, pressures, and form from society at both macro- and micro-levels. Relational characteristics describe the form of the social network, i.e., multiplexity, intensity, demands, structure, density, time and space, and durability (Stoessel 1998:23-28). A dense and multiplex network (e.g., an exchange network of relatives and close friends, cf. Milardo 1988) is most likely to maintain language. A loose network is most likely to influence language shift as it is the least likely to resist linguistic and societal impositions from the dominant society (Milroy 1987:212; Milroy 2001:42). In any analysis of language shift, the social network provides examination of the individual and their interaction with the linguistic environment. The addition of such interactionist perspectives to language shift analyses may further explain how traditional sociolinguistic and sociopsychological factors operate to affect language behavior (Milroy 2001:61; Hulsen et al. 2002:30).

Several recent studies that have drawn from Milroy's influential treatment of the subject highlight the advantages of using a social network analysis. Social networks are "natural" to both the researcher and the members under study (Goetz 2001:79). It is a level of analysis, which is familiar to both and understandable for information elicitation from the community, i.e., members are clear on who they interact with and who their relatives are. Schooling

(1990:159), in his study of language shift in Melanesia, found social networks to be appropriate in shift descriptions, because they are universal, practical, can produce quantificational analyses (through counting network ties and estimating density), and suggest language use, domains, stability and attitudes. Moreover, when properly used (with for example implicational scales as in Gal 1979 and Li 1982), social networks elucidate both the macro and micro levels of social structure, showing both social and stylistic variation (Goetz 2001:11ff).

Social networks (as mentioned briefly above) suggest at some of the typological factors commonly associated with language shift. By incorporating social networks into a language shift description, then, the researcher has the ability to move away from a laundry list of factors and pinpoint more exactly the mediating cause of the shift through an analysis of the social networks. Socioeconomic factors surface in social network analyses, e.g., among the Otavaleños who have experienced a change in regular interaction by selling textiles in a neighboring town (Milroy 2001:46).[5] Social networks also hint at domains of use, as noted by Fishman (1980:5), "open networks" work against the social compartmentalization of domains and, as Gibbons & Ramirez (2004:104) note, many of the domains listed in Fishman et al. (1971) correspond exactly to

[5] The importance of economic viability and change in social networks has created the need for a better analysis. Milroy & Milroy (1992) have adopted Højrup's model of "life modes," which has been used in analyses by De Bot & Stoessel (2002) and Goetz (2001). Studies in the "Wisconsin School" (e.g., Salmons 2005a,b; Lucht 2007) examined just such connections with verticalization, horizontal structure, networks, and life modes.

network ties. Urbanization and changes in occupation explain the loosening of social networks (Goetz 2001:208) and the demographic and geographic concentration of minority speakers in one area is also closely linked to both language maintenance and social networks (Fishman 1989:244; Zentella 1997). Gibbons & Ramirez (2004:142) in their study of Spanish shift in Sydney, Australia found a close correlation between language proficiency and the density of social networks. Thus the "deliberate creation" of network contact structures was linked to attitudes toward language as a means of solidifying with or distancing from minority language contacts (cf. also Garrett et al 1999:321f; Wei 1994:32).

Moreover, the link between social networks and identity has been described by Smolicz (1979) looking at immigrants to Australia, who formed primary networks with those of the same ethnic affiliation. Contributing to the ethnic solidarity formed by social networks is the vitality of the group – a link found to be important in several studies, e.g., Allard & Landry (1994:24) and Milroy (2001:43).[6] In light of the advantages of incorporating a social network model into a description of language shift, several studies have found significant correlations between the social network and the maintenance or shift of the minority language (e.g., language shift in modern Europe (Milroy 2001:45), German migrant workers (Klein & Dittmar 1979), Spanish in the United States

[6] Myers-Scotton (2006:75) notes that a study by Hogg & Rigoli (1996) did not find a correlation between ethnolinguistic vitality and density of a same language social network, though the data are problematic in that all informants were schoolteachers.

(Zentella 1997), French Mennonites (Wolff 1992), and Jewish immigrants to the United States (Peltz 1990).

Despite the advantages of social network models in describing shift situations, there are some disadvantages associated with social networks. Milroy and Milroy (1992) note that studying social networks may not be applicable in some situations, when, for example, speakers are mobile. Additionally, social networks work best for speech communities that are "economically marginal, or powerless, or resident in homogenous and territorially well-defined neighborhoods" along with "a strong sense of ethnicity" (Milroy & Milroy 1992:6). Mukherjee (2003:117) claims that networks focus on group variation and ignore the individual's involvement in shift situations, "muffl[ing] the rich cadences of human interactions" – Mukherjee seems to miss the fact that network analyses can in fact focus on the individual and it is from an individual that networks are "anchored."

Martin-Jones (1989) finds that social networks (or what she refers to as the "micro-interactionalist perspective") put too much emphasis on the speakers' / group's freedom of language choice – a sentiment that is contradicted by Gibbons and Ramirez (2004:106). They claim that, in reference to attitudes, social network ties are both positive and negative, meaning that just because a speaker may have constant contact with a member of the social network they may not have a "good" relationship which influences the choice of language with the person as well as the stigma applied to that language. Several studies, cited in Govindasamy and Nambiar (2003), e.g., David (1996) and David and Noor

(1999), found that despite the close-knit and dense social networks in a Sinhi community in Malaysia and in a Portugese community of Kristang speakers, the younger generations are shifting away from the ethnic language. Additionally, Govindasamy and Nambiar (2003) find the same negative correlation between language maintenance and dense networks in their study of a Malayalee community in the Klang Valley. Thus social networks alone cannot explain shift. Even studies which focus on social networks admit that elicitation of other factors (e.g., attitudes) make for a more global analysis of the shift situation (Stoessel 2002:123).

2.3.3 Domain approaches

Domain research is closely associated with the work of Joshua Fishman (e.g., Fishman 1970) though previous research has also highlighted this as a significant component in bilingual communities (Haugen 1956; Weinreich 1953). A domain is "an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships" (Romaine 1995:30). As such, domains are "socially diagnostic" revealing the *who* and *where* of language use (Myers-Scotton 2006:110). Domains are important for language shift studies, because a shift situation is revealed by a shift in language use within domains. When the L2 becomes more appropriate in an L1 domain, then the process of shift is underway (Fasold 1984).

The number of domains in a community is not firmly established (de Vries 1992:215), though Mackey (1966) lists five, as does Fishman (1970): family,

friendship, religion, education, and employment, while Clyne (1982) lists fourteen and Stoessel (1998:160) lists seven (family, home, friends, neighbors, work, school, and church). Pauwels (1986:13) works with five domains, separated into three macro-domains: family, ethnic community (friendship, organized religious contact, organized secular contact), and transactional. Edwards (1997:34) creates a macro-domain analysis with a bipartite distinction: domains of necessity and voluntary domains, while a common distinction is drawn between the public domains and the private. Keeping such macro-domains in mind is useful, when considering the assertions made by Fishman (1972) that language maintenance correlates mostly with domains of "intimacy" and not "status."

An important aspect of domains is the functional separation of each domain. In turn, the power of the variety used in that domain maintains separation from another variety creating boundaries not only between domains but also between interlocutors (Johnson-Weiner 1998; Bradley 2002; Myhill 2004; Sole 1990). This strict and restrictive functional separation is known as *social compartmentalization* in the tradition of Fishman (1972, 1980, 1989).

Unfortunately, many researchers (including Fishman) dwell heavily on the functional aspect of domains and significantly overlook the frequency aspect of domains. In an earlier study, Mackey (1962:565) lists a number of individual uses of language subsumed under one of the domains (e.g., counting, praying, cursing, dreaming). The choice of language is not necessarily completely dictated by the *where*, but also by pragmatic and situational aspects. For example, a

language (regardless of domain) may be used for humor, effect, frustration, secrecy, etc. (Huffines 1980; Williamson 1982; Fishman 1989), moreover the variety may also be used with certain interlocutors within a specific domain, making an ad hoc distinction of the functional separation of language use defined by domains only part of a rather complicated story. The debate on whether the function or the frequency is more influential in shift remains, and will not be decided here (cf. de Vries 1992:215; Jaspaert & Kroon 1993:302).

Determining which domains are the best indicators of maintenance or shift across all speech communities is a complex endeavor. Irish is confined to public domains (e.g., festivals) (Watson 1989:45), while Sorbish is kept out of service domains (Norberg 1996b:13). Home domains have claimed heritage languages like Sorbish (Norberg 1996a), Yiddish among Ultra-Orthodox Jews (Fishman 2001:97 and Peltz 1990:59), Norwegian in the United States (Haugen 1989:69), Scottish (Dorian 1981:105), Pennsylvania Dutch in Berks County, Pennsylvania (Moelleken 1983:175f), Pennsylvania Dutch among the Amish (Johnson-Weiner 1992:32, citing Luthy (p.c.)), and German in Australia (Kipp 1979:59f). Though survival of the heritage language in the home domain does not necessarily correlate with language maintenance (cf. Clyne (1991) where language use in Australia is better predicted by looking at communication with the extended family rather than in the home domain). Of course each of these language situations cannot allow for ready comparison, as each is unique in its own stage of maintenance and shift.

The religious domain is important for language maintenance among Jews (Fishman 2002). It has been claimed to be a strong factor in the shift of Scottish Gaelic by Watson (1989:52), shift of Nubian to Arabic in Egypt (Rouchdy 1989:99), and of Midwestern German (Keel 2003:309). As Clyne (1991:131) states, "[r]eligion and a community language may be linked in two ways: as the most private of the domains, and as a collective domain intertwined with identity, ethnic culture, and group cohesion."

Additionally the language of the school domain influences maintenance or shift (e.g., for German-Americans (Kloss 1966:217), for Texas German (Salmons 1983:190), for the Punjabi Sikh in Malaysia (David et al. 2003:23), and for Yiddish (Myhill 2004:143). Again there is a discrepancy among speech communities. Zepeda & Hill (1991:138) found that indigenous inhabitants of the Americas point most frequently to education as the "serious threat" to minority language maintenance, whereas Anderson & Martin (1976:75) state that Anabaptists see no correlation between language and the establishment of their (mostly English-only) parochial schools in the twentieth century.

Domain approaches have the advantage in revealing patterns of language use in a speech community. They allow insight into the social situation and the cultural values that are assigned to differing domains and values put on the language employed in those domains. Domains are easily discernible through observation (e.g., religion) or through direct questioning as they are easily understood and familiar concepts to the researcher and the informant. In Pauwels' (2004:723) view, domains are essential in studying language

maintenance and shift by revealing both the strongest and the weakest areas of social interaction in a speech community.

A critical analysis of domain approaches also reveals several drawbacks. Martin-Jones (1989:108ff) sees a domains framework as unable to handle individual variation (also cf. Sankoff 1971) and variation over time. Domains may not be universally important in language maintenance and shift as in a Lusaka case study where socio-economic status and topic are more important than domain (cited in Myers-Scotton 2006:79).

Domains are not universal (Fishman 1972; Allard & Landry 1994). Several studies have shown that a traditional list of domains (like Fishman's mentioned above) does not have parallels across all cultures, e.g., language choice among gender lines within the home domain in Amazonia (Aikhenvald 2003) and the western belief that the language of the school promotes its language maintenance (Marley 1993:275). Clyne (2003:69) finds that a domain approach is "quasi-implicational" relying too strongly on institutions within the community. Others, like Eckert (1980, cited in Martin-Jones 1989:112) find that sometimes it is not the domains themselves, but their very existence and strict functional separation, which can lead to language shift – a point of contention in the current literature on domains, diglossia, and the notion of power (cf. Romaine 2002).

2.3.4 Language attitude approaches

Language attitude research has come a long way since Fishman's (1964:60) seminal article, where he mentions both the importance and lack of knowledge

about "language oriented attitudes and emotions." Since then many studies have included language attitudes as either the complete approach or partial approach to their analysis of a maintenance or shift situation. While our knowledge of language attitudes and implementation of language attitude methodologies have vastly advanced, we are nonetheless still at a loss to explain the role of language attitudes in language maintenance and shift, as there exist possibilities for negative attitudes with shift or maintenance and positive attitudes with shift or maintenance, that direct correlations cannot be made. Myers-Scotton (2006:120) defines language attitudes as "subjective evaluations of both language varieties and their speakers." Myers-Scotton (2006:110) also makes a distinction between language attitudes and language ideologies (the conscious assessment of language), yet she unites them under one term "ethos" (108).

Most researchers (Edwards 1982; Baker 1988:113; Cargile et al. 1994:221; Garrett et al. 2003:3; Batibo 2005:97) agree on the tripartite structure of language attitudes: cognitive, affective, and behavioral (though behavioral is termed "action" by Baker 1988 and "connotative" by Batibo 2005). Attitudes function in several ways. Some researchers (e.g., Baker 1988:134ff, citing Katz 1960) present an extensive list of four functions of attitudes: (1) instrumental, (2) ego defensive, (3) value-expressive, and (4) knowledge. Instrumental describes a reward-oriented goal, ego defensive explains the need for inner balance of the psyche, value-expressive is more personally related, and knowledge is for the person's own need to enhance their knowledge. Most researchers focus on two macro-functions: (1) integrative (a language is used for interaction with other

language speakers) and (2) instrumental (motivation to learn the language based on external factors, like utility).

Language attitudes are useful measures of degree of shift or maintenance in both indigenous communities both in language contact situations (Adegbija 1994; Lasagabaster & Huguet 2007), in dialectal contact situations (e.g., Soukup 2001), and immigrant contexts (Conklin & Laurie 1983; Schooling 1990:82ff). Additionally studies focusing on another approach, like Kaufmann (1997) and Stoessel (2002) with social networks, find that language attitudes are not to be ignored.

Positive attitudes influence language maintenance of Spanish in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Mejías et al. 2002:138). Negative attitudes influence language shift from Hungarian to German (Gal 1979), from Breton to French (Kuter 1989), from Gaelic to English (Mertz 1989), from indigenous languages in Tanzania (Batibo 1992), and from Sorbish to German (Norberg 1994, 1996a, b). Most of these studies indicate a power struggle between the majority and minority language cultures and that the economically more viable majority language influences the prestige of the speakers and their attitudes toward their own language. Nowhere is prestige more important in code choice than in the Vaupes, where certain speakers refuse to read even lower registers of dialect (Grimes 1985:398).

Though the "trend" at first may posit a correlation between positive language attitudes and language maintenance on the one hand and negative language attitudes and shift on the other, this approach is not tenable in all

instances, making the research of language attitudes extremely context-specific. Although favorable attitudes toward Irish are consistently reported, shift to English is the norm (Watson 1989:44; Romaine 1995:43). Positive attitudes toward Arvanitika for group identity result nonetheless in shift due to negative attitudes for prestige, etc. (Sasse 1992:14). Silva-Corvalán (1994:206) also comments on the divergence of positive attitudes toward Spanish and the negative correlation in behavior, i.e., negative language loyalty and failure to maintain despite positive attitudes.

Language attitude approaches offer insight into explaining linguistic variation and change (Garrett et al. 2003:12, citing Labov), but also reveal the more complex sociolinguistic issues at stake in the communities. As such, they are often windows into the larger social processes influencing society (e.g., sociopolitical contexts (Dailey et al. 2005:28). Their relevance and association with other approaches has been already mentioned, but the influences in language use, domains, and networks is clear (Bradley 2002:4), as one will not usually involve oneself in a network of minority language speakers if the speaker harbors negative attitudes toward that language, nor will the speaker be inclined to use that language if they harbor negative attitudes toward the language.

A final advantage of language attitudes is the powerful predictive value that they may show for language maintenance or shift and the viability of maintenance measures within a given community. The behavioral and predictive aspect of attitudes has been shown important for Spanish-English bilinguals

(Silva-Corvalán 1994:188) and for the Pennsylvania Dutch (Kopp 1993, 2003:100,109; Louden 2003:12), among others.

There are several disadvantages to using language attitude approaches toward shift studies. Attitudes are dependent upon other factors (e.g., sociohistorical contexts (Adegbija 1994:112f; Bradley 2002:2). Attitudes may be difficult to find in these complexities and the causes of attitudes may not be fully discernable in less-than-adequate descriptions of the speech community. Important is the distancing of language from attitude, as most language attitudes are formed not concerning the language itself, but are based on a "stereotypical perception of a group" (Romaine 1995:289).

Attitudes are also changing. Although debatable, some claim that attitudes are never constant since they are constructed in a given situation as a social act (Baker 1988:140; Gibbons & Ramirez 2004:195, citing Potter & Wetherell 1987). Romaine (1995:316) also insists that language attitudes are apt to change over the long term as in, for example, a case of "resurgence of ethnicity."

Lastly is the dissonance between language attitudes and behavior. It has already been shown that there may exist a contrast between language attitudes and language loyalty, and although the predictive power of language attitudes is seen as a factor, the real possibility of dissonance between language attitudes and the exact behavior of the group must be taken into consideration as well (Baker 1988:113; Clyne 1991:31).

2.3.5 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Ethnolinguistic vitality describes the "sociostructural factors that affect a group's ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective entity" (Giles et al. 1977; Allard & Landry 1994:21). The model grew out of a core concept of Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations (1974; 1978) and Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory, namely concerning the maintenance of "distinct and active[ly] collective" identity. It was later supplemented with Giles' theory of interpersonal accommodation through speech (Giles & Powesland 1975; Giles & Johnson 1981, 1983). The model incorporates the macrosocial, interactional and microsocial elements of language behavior and use in describing the shift situation as a result of a number of interwoven social elements and levels. Vitality, according to Giles et al. (1977), "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations." Status, demography, and institutional factors assess this vitality. Status factors include prestige, economic, historical and political capital; demographic factors include population, concentration of speakers, birthrate; institutional factors include legitimacy attributed from the larger society, particularly within media, education, and government (Giles & Johnson 1987:71; Cargile et al. 1994:226). Each of these factors is gauged on a continuum from high to low. Thus higher levels for each of these factors cause a greater chance of language and distinctive cultural maintenance in multilingual settings. These factors, however, are all objective and focused nearly completely on macrosocial aspects of language. Follow-up empirical testing on the model showed that low levels of perceived ethnolinguistic vitality also contributes to the

possibility of language shift (Giles et al. 1985; Giles & Johnson 1987; Johnson et al. 1983). These findings led to the incorporation of subjective measures aimed at assessing the cognitive, affective and behavioral aspects of a speech community. The subjective characteristics of ethnicity include the emotional belongingness to the ethnic group (cf. Norberg 1996a; Edwards 1985; Fishman 1989:25; Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1999). A Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire more fully incorporates those subjective aspects of the community (Bourhis et al 1981).

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model stresses the interactive and complementary nature of the speaker and the environment. By focusing on intergroup behavior, especially at the social psychological levels, the model views a group's distinctiveness as a motivation for cultural, ethnic, and linguistic maintenance, which, in turn, determine the vitality of the ethnic group. Incorporating both the subjective and the objective facets of an ethnic group, the model is three-tiered with several sub-factors. Macrosocial aspects assess legitimacy and institutional support. Microsocial aspects assess attitudes, population concentration, endogamy and dense networks. When at higher levels, these will increase ingroup vitality and in turn (for groups' strongly identified with language) language maintenance (Giles & Johnson 1981). At the sociological level, the vitality of the language is gauged according to demographic, political, economic, and cultural capital. At the individual level, the particular language behavior, attitudinal information and competency are assessed. Linking both levels is the socio-psychological level, which examines the interpersonal contacts, or network structure. Importantly, by applying this conceptual model to both

larger societal constructs and smaller more (socio)psychological behaviors, research inquiry into the larger (i.e., non-community specific) workings of language maintenance and shift may be elucidated. These levels are represented in Figure 2-1, with only some of the possible aspects of each. Although the levels are here discreetly represented, they are not independent or even exclusive:

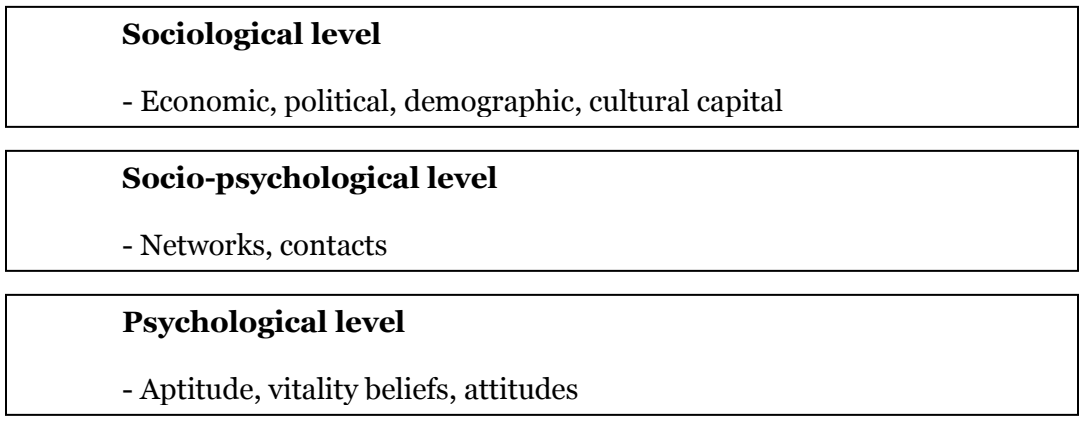

Figure 2-1. Macro-, interactional-, and micro-levels of abstraction in the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model.

Several scholars criticize Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model for the ambiguity and complexity (abstractedness) of the factors (Husband & Khan 1982). Clyne (2003: 69) questions the motivations behind including the components in the model. Typologists like Edwards (1992) have noted that questions pertaining to history, religion and education are severely underrepresented in the questionnaire. Regardless, the model formed the basis of many investigations of language shift (e.g., Johnson 2009; Yagmur 2001; Allard & Landry 1994; Bourhis & Sachdev 1984; Giles et al. 1985; Pittam et al. 1991; Willemyns et al. 1993; Yagmur et al. 1999). A more refined version of the ethnolinguistic vitality model, the Self-

determination and Ethnolingusitic Development (SED) model, includes complex issues related to individual determination, motivation, and cultural socialization. The SED Model can help researchers investigate areas neglected in previous models like private and public enculturation, cultural socialization, and individual choice (Landry et al. 2007).

2.3.6 Verticalization

The "Wisconsin School" advocates understanding language shift as being precipitated by changes in regional structure (Salmons 2005a, b; Lucht 2007; Wilkerson & Salmons 2008, 2009; and Bousquette forthcoming). This approach is based in Warren's (1973) Theory of Community Structure and the Great Change, where increased modernization caused a restructuring of society from horizontal (or local) structure to vertical (or national) structure. The Great Change affected many areas of society including education, press, labor, medicine, etc. It is through this "replacement of local structures by higher level organizations" that formerly horizontal domains and networks are supplanted by external and vertical ones (Salmons 2005:136). This is not, however, to imply that the dominant culture infiltrated the language situation. The social processes at work in American society affect the labor structure and in turn a shift in networks (Lucht 2007; Bousquette in preparation).

2.3.7 Core values

Language may not have the same amount of importance for one group's identity formation as for others, who may attach greater importance on ritual or food. Working within Australian communities, Smolicz (1984, 1992) emphasizes the role of cultural baggage attached to language. For communities in which language maintenance is key, the groups are said to have language as a "core value." With language as a core value, groups are less likely to compromise that aspect of their identities. As such, language holds a symbolic purpose for the group, which is not unlike Fishman's (2010) assertions of a co-sanctified vernacular for ethnoreligious communities. A group negotiates new cultural inputs so as to maintain core values, while dropping others (Smolicz 1992:278). Several researchers find the issue of core values to be enlightening in explaining the maintenance of one cultural artifact (whether language or not) instead of another (e.g., Bentahila & Davies 1992; Somerhalter 1999; Govindasamy & Nambiar 2003). Clyne (2003) argues that assigning symbolic power to language assumes a rather "monolithic view of communities," which is a good point. The role of the individual in determining his or her own core values may in fact trump the role of the group. Importantly, however, I will not describe the shift of language over time among Amish-Mennonites as a result of its non-symbolism for the group, but rather as a "descent-based cultural identifier," or marker of ethnicity of the group, and therefore already a core value (Cohen 1978). I believe that severing those "descent-based cultural identifiers" and the creation of a new

religious identity dictated the loss of language in this community. A more thorough discussion will appear in the analysis chapters.

2.3.8 Language and identity

Sociological and sociopsychological aspects of assessing a shifting situation are insufficient in that they often isolate social categories and fail to see the interdependency of those categories. Since this study relies not only on interviews and archival data, but also on observation, a more holistically social scientific approach is useful. In viewing the religious and identity shifts, I take the poststructural approach to social categories (Gal 1993, 1995). Unlike sociolinguistic studies that study variation at the lexical or sentential level, analyses here are formed at the discourse level. In so doing, this study strives to incorporate the notion of context as integral in understanding the construction of social categories (both temporary and lasting) (Duranti & Goodwin 1992). In other words, I am less concerned with structural variation (i.e., sociolinguistic) as exhibiting ethnicity and sectarian identity (cf. Fought 2006). I am more concerned with sociology of language and linguistic anthropology approaches to identity (Kulick 1992; Schieffelin et al 1998; Fishman 1999; Bailey 2001, 2002; and some contributions to Llamas & Watt 2010). The driving focus is on finding identity in language, rather than language in identity (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2010; Johnstone 2010).

I prefer the definition of *identity* proposed by Kroskrity (2001):

> the construction of membership in one or more groups or

categories

Such a simple, yet complex definition is necessary considering the social scientific work on identity, which encompasses social psychology, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, not to mention humanistic approaches to identity. I assume, moreover, that memberships are constructed through language and social behavior. It is important to note, however, that not only the language choice itself constructs membership, but also communicative practice factors heavily into the mix. This is best exemplified in Fuller's (2007) study of bilingual students and code-switching, where she found that:

> Constructing identity is not a simple formula of using Spanish to index a Mexican identity and English to index an American or Mexican-American one; each code has multiple meanings which may vary according to the speaker and social context (125).

Thus a simple mapping, in this instance, to correlate sectarian identity with language ability is not feasible. This remains one of the most salient arguments against ethnolinguistic vitality, namely that there cannot be a one-to-one mapping of language and identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004b). My concern here is the construction of religious identity among Anabaptists and the ideologies about language and, importantly, the role of language in the construction of that religious identity. In a poststructural account, emphasis is on the contextual fluidity of identity construction, realizing that those behaviors may be multiple, non-exclusive, and at times contradictory (Gal 1993; Urciuoli 1996; Kroskrity 2001; Bailey 2001). I view the identities as socially, politically,

economically, culturally (and religiously) embedded. I discuss the negotiation of identity as a fluid and agentive means of positioning oneself within or against societal fabric (Gal 1989, Heller 1985, Woolard 1985).

Two early theories on language and identity provide the starting blocks for our discussion on the role of language and identity. Giles' (1979) accommodation theory, which predicts that an individual, under certain favorable conditions, will accommodate his/her speech to either demonstrate their membership or foreignness to a particular group. Le Page's (1968, 1978) theory on identity took the individual first in the analysis and gauged their production of verbal features to be a feature of an expression of their own identity without the agency of the group at first. Regardless of which approach, "language acts are acts of identity" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Features of language, which connect both the individual and the social group together, informing both the individual identity and the social identity. Human interaction elicits, by its very nature, a social bond (Joseph 2010). In other words, the narrator (participant) is not the sole author of their identity, as they are constructing that identity verbally and non-verbally with the researcher. *A priori* factors of ethnicity or race do not determine social identity, rather identities are constructed through discourse (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Blackledge & Pavlenko 2001).

Identity is fluid, never stationary, and situated in context, being negotiated among interlocutors and (assumedly) within the individual's own mind. This view of identity is consistent with the most recent research from several social scientific and humanistic disciplines, in finding that identity is constructed and

not essential or in-born and that identity is performed and not simply possessed (Joseph 2010). By couching the situation in a larger context and making the situation more ecologically accessible, we note that the active construction of identity is an ever-present process, rather than the production of a vowel to mark "working, lower class" as is found in sociolinguistic, for example.

Naturally for this study in looking at a group defined by its ethnicity, we can draw similar conclusions between the link of language and ethnic identity. In fact, Fishman (1997) calls these links "obvious." Recalling from chapter 1, the definition of ethnicity is:

> a set of descent-based cultural identifiers used to assign persons to groupings that expand and contract in inverse relation to the scale of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the membership (Cohen 1978:387).

We arrive at the conclusion that language can be one of those cultural identifiers that assign people to a group. Language can provide an effective means of showing the distinctiveness of a group, separating the in-group from the out-group (Conklin & Laurie 1983; Grimes 1985; Fishman 1989; Giles et al. 1997; Stoessel 1998). Although several studies have shown the importance of language maintenance for cultural purity, such as Mukherjee's (2003) study on older women in a Malaysian-Bengali community, I am not willing to go as far as Fishman (1989:224), who argues that cultural continuity depends on mother-tongue continuity (and vice versa).

The linkage between language and ethnic identity is not an absolute and certainly not stagnant, as Fishman's (1989) circularity suggests. Myhill (2004)

notes, for example, the replacement of Hebrew with Yiddish as a stronger marker of ethnicity for Ashkenazie Jews. Further many studies have found that cultural identity can remain in spite of language shift (Pandharipande 1992; Marley 1993; Romaine 1995; Norberg 1996b; Alba 2004; Louden 2006; Fuller 2008). Salmons (1983) in a study on Texas German concludes that the allegiance to Texas German is cultural and not linguistic. And although language can carry much more cultural baggage than dress or dance, Dorian (1994:114) concedes that after language is gone, something else can replace it as a cultural identifier.

Equally as tenuous and debatable are the links between language and religion. Fishman (2002) contends that

> Nearly three quarters of the languages extant today are viewed by some portion of their historically associated speech-and-writing communities as sanctity-linked (124).

Of course, the world is filled with examples of the intimate link between language and religion. The Qur'an is read only in Arabic for conservative Muslims and often religious identity in India corresponds to language spoken (Spolsky 2003). Yet religion cannot be the only factor in preventing language shift or ensuring language maintenance. Religion did not save the culture of the Navajo (Spolsky 2003). While religion did maintain French in Canada to a certain extent, it did not save French in South Africa (Mackey 1980). Likewise, speaking Pennsylvania Dutch is not the only, nor the only necessary cultural identifier of Anabaptist religion. Old Order Mennonites in Virginia do not speak Pennsylvania Dutch, nor use German in worship services, for example, though their sectarian lifestyles

remain intact. Neither Pennsylvania Dutch nor German has religious meaning to the Anabaptists. An Amishman who speaks only Pennsylvania Dutch would only function appropriately in face-to-face communication (Johnson-Weiner 1997). Even then, the necessity of the language is debatable as English is increasingly used as a sort of lingua franca among Norfolk community Anabaptists (Johnson-Weiner 1998).

This dissertation does not seek to elucidate the religiosity of Pennsylvania Dutch among the Amish-Mennonites, but rather to explain how Pennsylvania Dutch figured into their conceptualization of their identity. What happened when Pennsylvania Dutch no longer counted among those cultural identifiers for identity? In such a compact (geographical) space, how can a group maintain cultural identifiers for their changing religious identities in light of neighbors who maintain similar identifiers yet different identities. The search in Big Valley will be the search for those constructions, and not necessarily only the search for distinctiveness. Dominant culture did not cause language shift, nor did external pressures force a change in ethnicity. The Amish-Mennonites today still reject many of the cultural identifiers from mainstream society. The abandonment of language will surface, through the research instruments, as a means of distinguishing changing religious identity and ethnic identity within the context of Big Valley. Particularly poignant is the study of the Amish-Mennonites, who in their hyphenated existence pose the richest accessibility to research the complexities of language and identity, or as Joseph (2010:17) remarks: “It is for those at the margins that identities matter most.” The marginal groups,

pressured by authenticity, legitimacy and distinctiveness on all sides are most aware and most fragile in expressing identity. Therefore, explicit attention in both the interviews and observation will be paid to language ideologies constructed within Amish-Mennonite identities (cf. Schiefflin et al 1998; Woolard 1998; Irvine & Gal 2000).

Language ideologies are the "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath 1989:53). Naturally, Heath's definition extends to individual as well. Importantly these ideologies will not solely be about language, but also comment on socially and culturally embedded practices (Kulick 1998). Language ideologies envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology. Through such linkages, they underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very notion of the person and the social group, as well as such fundamental social institutions as religious ritual, child socialization, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling, and law (Woolard 1998:3).

Language ideologies surface in other studies on Pennsylvania Dutch to elucidate the role of language in the social and cultural lives of the individuals (Schlegel 2004). It is not through these macrosocial elements that shift occurs, but rather these filters of beliefs held by the individual group members that incite participation in internal or external pursuits (Gal 1995, 1998). These codes whether language or communicative practice gain meaning and imply power. Given that Old Order identities maintain Pennsylvania Dutch and German, while

progressive Mennonites have shifted from both, the Amish-Mennonites need to create a different ideology about language than those other religious identities.

Ideologies about language link together an individual's identity and the group's identity. In so doing, language acts and their accompanying identity create boundaries between in-group and out-group. By creating these boundaries, the individual projects their own conceptualization of the group and how that group distinguishes itself from others. This model, based on the early theoretical work of LePage (1968; 1978) and LePage & Tabouret-Keller (1985), functions well with the community under scrutiny here. The Amish-Mennonites are a sectarian community, which stresses the exclusivity and rigidity of membership. Moreover, as an ethnoreligious group, their ethnic identity in religious practice pervades all of the social and cultural systems present in their lives, from language to dress. This study represents divergence from a study of the Old Order Amish and looks to uncover the changing discourse around their new religious identities. Given the uniqueness of the population, further scrutiny into the role of ethnoreligious identity and language shift benefits from analyzing the complexities of language and identity. As a result, these early theories of language and identity and the later conceptualizations of language ideologies inform the analysis of data in this dissertation.

2.4 Conclusion

Obviously the field of language maintenance and shift has benefitted from a variety of disciplines and theoretical approaches. Most of the research questions

why. Why is a language no longer spoken by a group of people? And why is a language still spoken by a group? Based in LePage's assertions that an individual's language acts are acts of their identity, the analysis of the data in this study will show how individuals change and maintain group identificational patterns. The unit of analysis will be the language ideologies, which they assert and exhibit in their lives. Much debate over the appropriateness of instruments and theoretical approaches has surfaced. Following a review of language maintenance and shift studies in Pennsylvania Dutch studies, a review of the instruments commonly used to assess a language use situation in a multilingual context appears in chapter 4.

Chapter 3

Pennsylvania Dutch Language Maintenance and Shift

3.1 Introduction

As an immigrant population, and (in part) a socioreligious minority, the Pennsylvania Dutch present novel case studies for informing the broader discipline, as they extend well beyond the three-generation model of language shift. This chapter presents the sociohistorical and sociodemographic information related to the Pennsylvania Dutch speech communities. Then it reviews the most important contributions to language maintenance and shift on Pennsylvania Dutch. Emphasis is given to the studies on social and cultural aspects of language.

3.2 Pennsylvania Dutch speech community

The Pennsylvania Dutch community is an ethnic group in America that traces its origins to a large number of Germans and Swiss who immigrated to pre-Revolutionary America. By the end of the seventeenth century, William Penn and his fellow Quakers had founded their "Holy Experiment" in the New World and welcomed their first batch of German and Dutch immigrants (Mennonites) on the *Concord*. The group settled just outside of Philadelphia in Germantown and proclaimed Francis Daniel Pastorius its leader. Pastorius and Penn worked

together to advertise the colony and welcome new immigrants to farm. Pastorius wrote home, assuring the freedom of religion, that "Penn would 'compel no man to belong to his particular society [Quakers], but he has granted to everyone free and untrammeled exercise of their opinions, and the largest and most complete liberty of conscience'" (Parsons 1976: 33). Penn himself went to Frankfurt and advertised the prospects of Pennsylvania to the Germans. Advertisements for the Germans came not only from immigrants and Quaker missionaries, but also from Germans who went to Pennsylvania on business and returned. The following is a contemporary German account of the colony:

> Die pennsylvanische Freiheit reicht so weit, daß jedermann mit all seinem Vermögen in Handel und Wandel, Haus und Güter, frei von allen Beschwerden und Anlagen ist…Dieses ist auch zu bewundern, daß die jungen Leute, welche in diesem neuen Lande geboren wurden, sehr gelehrsam, geschickt und kunstreich sind…Das Land Pennsylvania ist ein gesundes Land, hat meistenteils guten Grund und Boden, gute Luft und Wasser, viel hohes Gebirge und auch viel eben Land…Das Land ist auch sehr fruchtbar und wächst alles Getreide sehr wohl (Mittelberger 1997: 105 – 113).
>
> [The Pennsylvania freedom extends so much that everyone, replete with his possessions from wheeling and dealing, home, and goods, is free from all complaints and assets… This is also amazing considering the young people, who were born in the country, are educated, well-mannered, and daedal… Pennsylvania is a healthy state and has generally good soil, air

and water. There is plenty of high mountains, but also enough even group… It is also very plentiful and all grains grow there well.]

The economically poor Germans and religiously persecuted Anabaptists must have been enamored by such accounts of plentiful harvests, clean water and air, and good education – all of it affordable and ripe for the picking.

Thus began a "great migration" to Pennsylvania in three waves, stretching from 1717 to 1754, with the largest groups entering the colony between 1727 and 1741.[7] Settlements from Germantown moved westward into the other counties. In 1712, a group of Mennonites headed for the Pequea Creek in Lancaster County, which is still a large Anabaptist foothold. Earlier than the Mennonite settlement in Lancaster was the Berks County settlement in 1704. These settlers originally settled Schoharie, New York, but headed down the rivers and streams eventually landing on the banks of the Tulpehocken Creek. Whether sojourning briefly in New York or for longer periods in England, it was clear that these groups had set their hopes on Pennsylvania. The settlement was limited to the area between the stretches of Philadelphia and the Blue Mountains.

With them, the immigrants brought their own dialects – a "standard" German had only recently been popularized with the printing of Luther's Bible, but pronunciations were still very much a local assessment of the written form. When these speakers settled and established language pockets (*Sprachinseln*), their local dialects leveled out, came in contact with English, and developed what

[7] Louden groups the three waves of migration into: 1683 – 1710, 1710 – 1727, and 1727 – 1775 (1988: 72).

is today known as Pennsylvania Dutch. Most scholars define Pennsylvania Dutch as a language which most closely resembles that of the eastern Palatinate, but has some influence from Alemannic, other German dialects, and English (Haldeman 1870: 80; Buffington 1939: 276).

Many of the settlers lived in close-knit groups with only some interaction with other towns, e.g., the Swiss Mennonites in Lancaster, the Moravians in Bethlehem, etc. The creation of closed *Sprachinseln* could have fostered varied dialects and a non-homogenous language. However, Seifert (1971:18) notes that "with a little practice, accompanied by patience and good will, communication was quite possible." Although speakers in certain areas, cut off by the hills and valleys of southeastern Pennsylvania held on to the idiosyncrasies of their particular German dialect, mutual communicative comprehension was not sacrificed in the history of these people. Several scholarly accounts note the phonological, lexical and morphosyntactical differences in Pennsylvania Dutch.[8]

There are three distinct groups of Pennsylvania Dutch. The so-called "church people" are members of the Lutheran, Reformed, Schwenkfelder and related Protestant denominations, who primarily immigrated from areas near or in the Palatinate. In most accounts, they are referred to as "nonsectarians." The

[8] Buffington notes a number of differences across the entirety of Pennsylvania, but maintains that the speaker who said "*Dr Hund gauzd*" would understand the speaker who used "*Dr Hund blafd.*" (Buffington 1949: 251 – 252). Reed also notes other differences: "Alemannic features of grammar and pronunciation, though rare in Lehigh County, occur with noticeable frequency in Berks County (especially along its western border), despite the fact that the dialect of both counties is predominantly Franconian" (1949: 62).

sectarians are members of one of the Anabaptist groups, either Amish or Mennonite. A third group, the Moravians, are often described as being somewhere (religiously and socially) between the sectarians and nonsectarians. Today, there are over 200,000 native speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch (almost all Old Order Amish and Team Mennonites). Most studies on Pennsylvania Dutch exclude Moravians, as they shifted earlier to English monolingualism. Recent research (such as that of Burridge, Williamson, and Huffines), following Huffines (1980) separates Pennsylvania Dutch speakers into sectarians and nonsectarians due to the linguistic and vast sociocultural differences between the groups. Particular attention in this chapter is given to the Anbaptist (sectarian) speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch.

3.3 Anabaptist history

The Anabaptists began as a reactionary movement to the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth century Europe.[9] Three students (Georg Blaurock, Felix Manz, and Conrad Grebel) of Swiss Reformer Huldrych Zwingli demanded more radical reform than the position taken by their teacher. In addition to the Protestant norms advocated by Zwingli, the students advocated adult, or believers', baptism, separation of church and state, and pacifism (among other things). Zwingli, informed by political astuteness, refused to meet their demands. As a result, the three men baptized each other into a new church in the Limmat River in Zurich,

[9] For a more comprehensive review of Anabaptist history cf. Hostetler (1993), Snyder (1995), Kraybill & Bowman (2001), and Nolt (2003).

Switzerland in 1525. Re-baptizing an adult was a violation of Swiss law, but this became a hallmark of the early members of the movement: the re-baptized, or Anabaptists.

Although each of the original members died within a year of their baptisms, their ideas spread through Europe and the new religious movement, in direct violation of European law, went underground as early Anabaptists worshipped secretly in homes, caves, and forests. Partly because of this secretive and fractured early existence, several early groups of Anabaptists formed. Already in 1528, a group of Anabaptists moving eastward across Europe, decided to renounce all personal property and live communally. Forced into a near-constant eastward migration this group called Hutterites settled in Ukraine and Russia before migrating to the United States' Dakota Territory in the 1870s.

Other groups formed as well. In 1693, a bitter schism arose between the Swiss Anabaptists and a group of Jakob Ammann's followers in the Alsace. Ammann disproved of the Swiss Brethren's apparent lack of discipline and drew contempt with prominent leader Hans Reist. Ammann's group formed a more conservative branch called the Amish, upholding strict ban (social avoidance) of disciplined baptized members and following Dutch Mennonite rituals of feet washing and communion twice per year. The larger group of Anabaptists, including the Swiss Brethren, in Europe took their name from an early leader in the Netherlands as Mennonites. The Hutterites, Mennonites, and Amish, constitute the largest branches of Anabaptism today. Several smaller groups as

well as a number of religious movements influenced by the Anabaptist movement exist, e.g., the Brethren.

Following years of persecution in Europe, constant migrations, and poverty, the Anabaptists were drawn to the promises of religious freedom and agrarian pursuits in William Penn's American colony. In 1737 on the ship *Charming Nancy*, the first Amish surnames appeared ship lists, though earlier Amish immigrants are likely. Initial settlements began circa 1738 in Northkill, Berks County and Old Conestoga, Lancaster County. The history of the Anabaptists in America is a history of schisms. Differences in opinions, religious interpretations, and even personal dissatisfactions have plagued the Amish. Often these differences arise in opposing interpretations of "separation from the world" – in maintaining a sectarian identity. In other words, how separate must the group be to still be distinctively "Anabaptist"? Patterns of dissention among Amish groups lead to the formation of different affiliations. Differences in length of hair for men, size of headcoverings for women, allowance of technological innovations, or buggy color present themselves as some markers of these affiliations. Therefore, these symbols of cultural identifiers change to distinguish one ethnic group of sectarians from another.

An increased frequency of splits within the Amish occurred after more than a century of existence in the United States. With an increase in farming, communication, and population, the once-isolated Amish settlements sought consensus at a national level among believers. From 1862 until 1878, a General Ministers' Conference (Diener-Versammlung) convened to form consensus on an

interpretation of sectarian life and culture for the Amish. No consensus was reached for many issues (including strictness of shunning), and the meetings were disbanded. During this time, Amish groups chose one of three paths (Hostetler 1993:280ff). Some favored a more progressive route, including distancing from traditional Amish ways, increased use of English in religious services rather than a German hagiolect, and less plain dress. Examples of these groups include the Egli Amish (Defenseless Mennonite Church) in 1866 and the Stuckey Mennonites (Central Conference Mennonites) in 1872. Groups favoring moderate changes, less progressive than the Egli and Stuckey groups, allied with Amish-Mennonite groups formed in 1888 (Indiana-Michigan Amish Mennonite Conference), 1890 (Western Amish Mennonite Conference), and 1893 (Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference). By 1927, these three groups would all merge into the Mennonite Church and increase their distance from traditional Amish life. A third path, chosen by those who wished to preserve traditional Amish discipline, plain dress, a strict interpretation of separation from the world, and the German hagiolect were called the Old Order Amish. Kraybill & Bowman (2001:105f) note ten characteristics of all Old Order Amish today: (1) horse-and-buggy transportation, (2) horses and mules for fieldwork, (3) plain dress, (4) beard for adult (married) men and shaven upper lip, (5) headcovering (prayer cap) for women, (6) Pennsylvania Dutch for the in-group, (7) worship in homes, (8) education limited to eighth grade in private parochial schools, (9) rejection of public line-bound electricity, and (10) no ownership of television or computers.[10]

[10] The authors rightly identify that all of these characteristics are not without exceptions among

Later splits in the Amish church, formed Conservative Amish-Mennonites in 1910, who favored more traditional stances than the Amish-Mennonites, but less traditional than the Old Orders. Unaffiliated groups, such as the Beachy Amish Church arose in 1927, just as the former Amish-Mennonites were joining mainstream Mennonitism. And in 1966, the New Order Amish, stressing Biblical study and telephone use, split from the Old Orders. The result of these splits, founded usually in an "ongoing struggle to define to the church and its role in the secular world," has created such rich diversity among a group of people often thought to be fairly monolithic (Johnson-Weiner 1998:377).

Today, sociocultural identifiers separate the Amish from the world. As an ethnoreligious sectarian group, these identifiers strengthen and emphasize the role of the group over the individual. Moreover, they define the exclusive nature of the group. Adult baptism is still a main tenet of Old Order Amish life. Youth are typically baptized in their late teens and early twenties. In a way of keeping boundaries distinct, the Amish also make use of the ban, or excommunication and social avoidance, in the hope of bringing the transgressor back into the redemptive community. All Amish groups are pacifists and refuse to take oaths of allegiance.

Their worship services are held alternate Sundays in the homes and barns of the membership. Beginning with a hymn (sung slowly and without musical accompaniment), the ministers hold brief counsel concerning the organization of the coming service. The second hymn is always the *Loblied* "Song of Praise"

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all Old Order Amish in the world.

located on page 770 in their archaic German hymnbook, the *Ausbund*. Accommodations for the worship service are simple. A travelling bench-wagon supplies benches and seating is based on gender and age hierarchies. The Old Order Amish observe communion twice a year (once in the fall and again in the spring). At this time, after weeks of reflection and a preparatory day of fasting, the entirety of the congregation must be in harmony. Ministers are selected by lot and each congregation (also called the district) is served by a bishop, one or two ministers, and a deacon. The bishop officiates at baptisms, weddings, funerals, and ordinations. The ministers are in change of delivering sermons, and the deacon functions as financial officer and assistant in Sunday worship.

Nearly all Old Order Amish speak Pennsylvania Dutch as their first language and learn English (systematically) upon entering school in first grade. In their worship services, the Old Orders have archaic German hymnals and Bible translations, though spoken liturgy most closely resembles Pennsylvania Dutch, or perhaps a higher register of Pennsylvania Dutch.[11]

The Amish typically do not vote, but do not discourage praying for political leaders. They follow early Anabaptist tenets, which dictated a strong separation of church and state. Their depiction in media is variable. On the one hand, the Old Orders draw tourists and interest groups from the outside intent on curiously observing them. This "domestication" complicates what Weaver-Zercher (2001) has termed the "Amish paradox." Contemporary American society often views the Amish as both "peculiar" and "morally superior."

[11] Very few Old Order Amish districts speak a Swiss dialect instead of Pennsylvania Dutch.

Amish dress is plain, though the specifics vary considerably from group to group. Amish men typically wear solid-colored trousers (black or brown), with solid-colored button-down shirts. Hats, either straw or fabric, are required, though removed indoors and at worship. Amish women wear solid-colored dresses held together with straight-pins. They wear an apron and a cape (a triangular piece of fabric that attaches at the back waist and is drawn over the head to attach at the front waist). A headcovering, usually a white prayer cap with strings, is required throughout the day. Most Amish are slow to accept newer forms of technology and they discourage reliance on electricity. As a sectarian group which sees itself as non-conforming to the outside world, they do not engage in evangelistic pursuits. Mission work is usually not a central aspect of Amish life, though volunteerism and aid at a local level do factor strongly into some congregations and some individuals.

Nonconformity to the world is an area of variable interpretation for the Amish, as each group determines the amount of distance from the outside world differently. It is often this single area of the Amish belief system that falters under pressure for change within a congregation. Although this description of the Old Order Amish is representative, it is by no means exhaustive or entirely accurate for all religious groups, who identify as "Amish":

> Amish people today differ in whether they resist or embrace evangelical theological language, in their preferred German dialect and degree of comfort with English, and in their understanding of excommunication. (Nolt 2008:379).

Although Amish practices vary considerably, they agree on the construction of an ethnoreligious identity, which separates them from the world. The construction varies from congregation to congregation, but they still employ similar cultural identifiers with dress, worship, transportation, and language as strong markers of in-group identity and out-group disassociation.

3.4 Pennsylvania Dutch maintenance and shift

Researchers interested in the Pennsylvania Dutch have long studied their unique social and cultural patterns. However, given the three-generation model from Fishman, linguists are interested in the Pennsylvania Dutch for a different, yet related reason. For an immigrant population to maintain a heritage language for centuries on foreign soil in the United States is extraordinarily unusual if not unique. In a seminal article on German-American language maintenance, Kloss (1966:206) mentions a number of factors which contribute to the maintenance and shift of the German language in the United States. Of the factors, one is traditionally singled out to be the most important for language maintenance: religio-societal insulation. The groups which seek to preserve their separate identity from the world for religious reasons have done so with language. Although Kloss' (1966) typology is meant to assess a wide variety of minority languages, his focus is primarily concerned with German-American sectarian groups. Socioreligious isolation played an important role in the maintenance of Pennsylvania Dutch for the earlier generations, but increasing urbanization and integration of the nonsectarians start to result in language shift. Later

researchers also tried to reconcile the long-time maintenance of Pennsylvania Dutch in contrast to wide-spread immigrant language shift in the United States. Huffines (1985) pointed out the important role that school, church, and the press can play in the maintenance of an immigrant language. However, as an unwritten language, Pennsylvania Dutch did not fare well for long-term and large-scale maintenance efforts among nonsectarians. For the sectarians, as Louden (2006) argues, socio-religious identity is "most significant in ensuring the future use of a German variety." Importantly he points out that much of the history of language survival among these nonsectarian groups was done largely by doing nothing at all, or "maintenance by inertia." Louden (2006) asserts that no more than 40,000 fluent nonsectarian speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch remain, while it is still the L1 of nearly all Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites.

Just short of twenty years after Kloss' initial study, Pennsylvania Dutch studies enjoyed a resurgence of interest from social and cultural perspectives, while examining issues of syntax and phonology. Huffines (1980) wrote of domains of language use for the Pennsylvania Dutch community and importantly made a distinction in her literature between sectarian and nonsectarian speakers. Not only religious orientation, but also sociocultural function of Pennsylvania Dutch in those groups is markedly divergent. Huffines' (1986) distinction between sectarians and nonsectarians was perhaps best elucidated in her Ethnic Boundary Model (figure 3-2), which positioned two perpendicular axes representing continuums from hard linguistic to soft linguistic and hard non-

linguistic to soft non-linguistic markers of ethnicity. Sectarians represented the hard linguistic (holding fast to German in worship and Pennsylvania Dutch in the in-group) and the hard non-linguistic (holding to plain dress and other social practices of separateness). Nonsectarian speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch were found in a quadrant demarcated with hard linguistic, but soft non-linguistic as they did not have outward markers of their ethnicity like the plain sectarians.

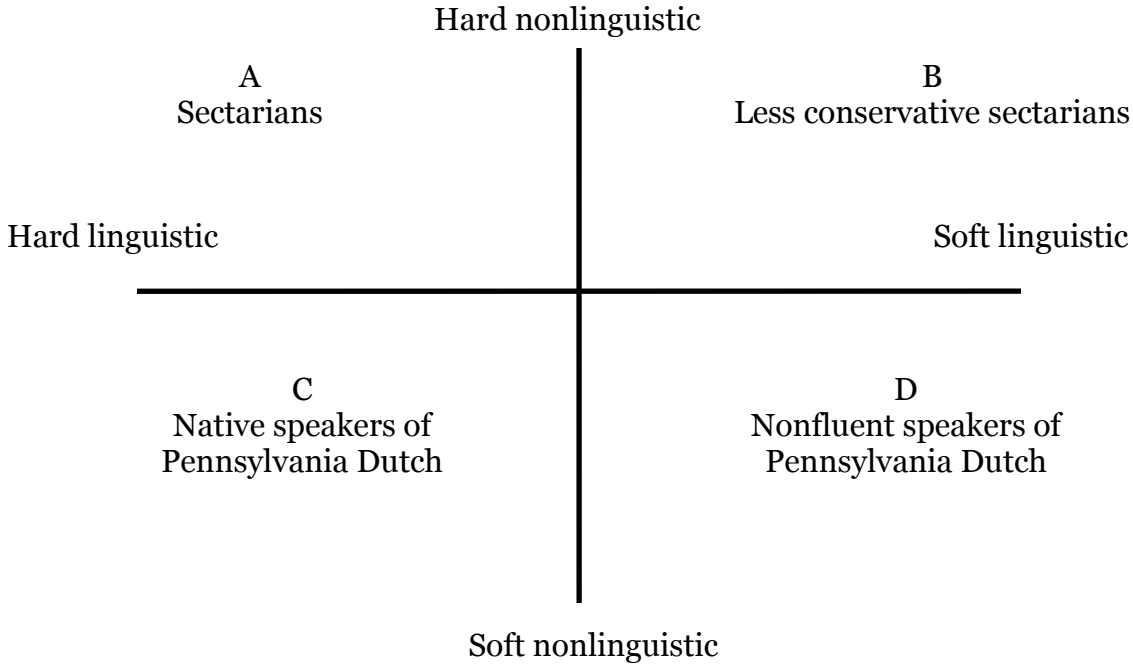

Figure 3-1. Huffines' (1986) perceived linguistic and nonlinguistic boundary continua.

Unfortunately Huffines' (1986) model does not necessarily provide ample room for discussion of sectarian groups, who choose not to use German in worship or Pennsylvania Dutch for the in-group. According to the model, they would be "less conservative sectarians." While the Old Order Mennonite groups in Virginia

may not be the most conservative of sectarians, it is up for debate whether one can call them "less conservative sectarians." For this reason, attention to groups not easily placed within the dichotomous sectarian and nonsectarian categories is necessary. The analysis chapters in this work, which provide insight into groups located between sectarian and nonsectarian, represent a significant departure from earlier studies on Pennsylvania Dutch.

Much of Huffines' additional work was on language contact in both syntax and phonology of Pennsylvania Dutch. She made extraordinary head-way in linking both the linguistic and the sociocultural. Huffines (1991) showed that the members of the shifting variety of Pennsylvania Dutch (the nonsectarians) chose to maintain the language as distinct as possible from English. In maximizing the distance from the majority language, the speakers retain archaic forms, which the more communicative sectarians often lose. Huffines (1986) and Kopp (1993) also remark on the English of the Pennsylvania Dutch and the marking of ethnic identity on their English for the first generation of nonsectarians nonnative speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch. The English of the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Dutch is more likely to retain features associated with so-called Pennsylvania Dutch English, e.g., final devoicing. In contrast the English of Pennsylvania Dutch sectarians lacks many of these features. By marking their English, the language their group shifted to, they preserved linguistic features of ethnic identity.

Inspired by the work of Kloss on reasons for German-American language shift, later research sought to explain why the Pennsylvania Dutch nonsectarians

shifted to English monolingualism. Often attitudinal data supplied information regarding the source of the shift. Huffines (1980) examined language loss among the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Dutch and traced its path from holding a negative social value to a null social value, all the while being used only among the elderly or as a secret language of adults. Williamson (1982) also stresses this point. The viability of transmission also became an issue of prestige. Not only was Pennsylvania Dutch a barrier to understanding parents and older generations, it was also a barrier to social, educational, and economic success. Dorian (1980) found similarities between negative prestige attached to Pennsylvania Dutch and the negative attitudes toward Scottish Gaelic in Sutherland. She also views urbanization and a weaker farming economy as important factors in the demise of Pennsylvania Dutch among the nonsectarians. Louden (2003) found that Pennsylvania Dutch schoolchildren were stigmatized. They were seen as "handicapped" and unable to speak (proper) English. During school consolidation in the 1920s and 1930s, Pennsylvania Dutch children had much greater exposure to monolingual English children than previously. Pennsylvania Dutch parents believed that their Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking children were at an educational and social disadvantage (Williamson 1982; Moelleken 1983).

Relatively few systematic studies on language attitudes and PG exist (Kopp 1993, 1999, 2003, Williamson 1982, 1991, i.a.). Both researchers (Kopp and Williamson) drew data from language attitude questionnaires, but Kopp (1993) also relied on matched-guise tests for language attitude information. The general findings were that Pennsylvania Dutch is considered as an inferior language (and

arguably by some not a "real" language at all) and that it is not appropriate for "public and professional spheres" (Kopp 2003:106). Negative attitudes and feelings of low prestige and inferiority among sectarian Pennsylvania Dutch influencing language shift are well documented (Kloss 1966:249; Huffines 1980:55; Dorian 1980:87; Williamson 1982:68; Moelleken 1983:180; Huffines 1985:244; Williamson 1991:74; Kopp 1993:277; Louden 2003:5,7). However, almost all native speakers disapprove of the current language shift and consider language maintenance efforts good, but futile. Moreover, the belief in the inferiority of Pennsylvania Dutch to English and the notion of the "dumb Dutchman" are prevalent only among native speakers. In fact matched-guise tests found that the younger generation of Pennsylvania Dutch descendants found speakers with a marked "Pennsylvania Dutch English" to have a higher status due to their bilingual abilities (Kopp 1993). These positive attitudes towards Pennsylvania Dutch from the younger generation are nostalgic and probably inspired by the current language death situation. They want to speak with older persons at a more intimate level. Positive attitudes toward Pennsylvania Dutch have also influenced its maintenance among sectarian speakers (Anderson & Martin 1976:76) and also among nonsectarian overhearers (Schlegel 2004:161).

The language behavior of the sectarians is less understood. Although, these groups are often associated with language maintenance, the possibility for language shift is not denied. In work on the sectarians, Huffines (1997) points out the lack of allegiance to Pennsylvania Dutch or German aside from the

religious implications. She notes that the Amish are willing to shift from Pennsylvania Dutch to English in the home, if German is no longer used in worship (Huffines 1997:65). Anderson and Martin (1976) and Johnson-Weiner (1998) draw similar conclusions.

Maintenance of Pennsylvania Dutch for the sectarians is an active process in the construction of their identity (Johnson-Weiner 1998:383). Although the language is not regarded as resistant to change, it still holds an important place in the current negotiation of Old Order sectarian identity. In fact, too much English use is not favorably accepted (Johnson-Weiner 1998:382). Use of English is associated with the outside, while the unwritten (and hence less valued) vernacular fits their ideas of a humble life more perfectly. Similar aspects are found in Raith's studies on the Anabaptists in Big Valley. He posits that two major factors contributed to language shift there: (1) functional loss of the language and (2) and increase in mission work (Raith 1997:113). Naturally these two factors could be drawn together to assert that a large part of the functional purpose of the minority language, in this case Pennsylvania Dutch, was to preserve in-group boundaries, social cohesion, and sectarian identities. These boundaries, however, became blurred with the increasing awareness and desire for a more integrative, outreaching religious orientation. These issues are discussed in the remainder of this dissertation.

3.5 Conclusion

The Amish represent a non-monolithic socioreligious minority in North America. Among those who define themselves as "Amish," there exists a variety of identificational processes aimed at defining their congregational body. A substantial portion of those processes involve language and either the adherence to or avoidance of heritage language patterns. Although researchers have contributed a moderate amount of scholarship on Pennsylvania Dutch, there is still much work to be done on the social and cultural aspects of sectarian identity and the interactions of that identity with language. Importantly, further elucidation on groups that do not fit into a sectarian/nonsectarian model is necessary. This work examines religious groups that were, at one time, allied with more traditional Amish groups, but have diverged from those religious identities significantly. These topics are the focus of the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This section reviews common research instruments used in assessing language maintenance and shift. These instruments elicit information regarding aspects of language maintenance and shift. For a fuller analysis, both advantages and disadvantages of the instruments are given. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the instruments used in this study.

4.2 Interviews

Interviews, whether structured, semi-structured, or free are a cornerstone of sociological and anthropological research.[12] Yakoubou (1994:53) distinguishes between four types of interviews: (1) informal conversational, (2) interview guide, (3) open-ended, and (4) closed. Pauwels (1986:43) explains that for macro-scale studies on shift, researchers should use written questionnaires and for micro-scale studies researchers should rely on "a detailed version of a language questionnaire" given during a personal interview. Moreover, Tandefelt (1992) found that interviews provided an additional source of recorded material that

[12] I have included "structured interviews" under "questionnaires, since these are more likely to be framed as questionnaires that are just administered orally.

could be used for further linguistic and discourse-related analyses. Recorded language data elicited while interviewing about language use patterns in domains allow for further study of loss in language proficiency as well as dialectal variation.

While Gibbons and Ramirez (2004) administered a questionnaire to the informants, they also posed interview questions before and after the questionnaire. The initial questions were more directed at language attitudes, while the follow-up questions allowed for the informant to elaborate on anything concerning language use in domains, which may have been overlooked on the questionnaire or any area, which the informant felt warranted further discussion. Somerholter (1999) interviewed 30 ethnic Germans, asking them a series of background and linguistic domain use questions (based on a set of 26). Yakoubou (1994) used interviews in conjunction with observations and a questionnaire to examine the language shift among sub-Saharan African families in Western Pennsylvania. Her questionnaire was similar to Somerholter (1999) in that it provided only a partial structure to the interviews.

The usefulness of interviews in eliciting information on language use in domains is that they need not be limited to assessing domain data. Klatter-Folmer (1997:198) incorporates several areas into an interview including: personal linguistic history, language attitudes, use patterns, and perception of language proficiency. Similarly, Goetz (2001) in her study of the Dehong Dai conducted sociolinguistic, social network, and conversational interviews, with and added re-telling of a story if time permitted. Goetz (2001:86) relates how the

values of the community stepped forward in the interviews, eventually influencing the information that she obtained. She did not receive as much conversation data when two women interviewed a man. She attributed the lack of conversation data to the gender dynamics of the interview situation within an Asian context.

An interview with its aim at gathering information concerning social networks can be done in a rather "unobjectionable way" with less direct questions about a person's daily routine and encounters in special situations (Goetz 2001:92). Not only does this present a familiar and comfortable topic for the interviewer, other information such as language use in particular domains can be easily discerned from such questions. Goetz (2001:240), for example, began by having her informants talk about their daily routines, including any contacts and language behavior throughout the course of the day. A similar tactic, though more structured, was used by Wei (1994) in his study of a Chinese family living in Britain. Wei (1994:119ff) presented the interviewees with a number of social situations and elicited names of interlocutors at these situations. Less specific was a social network interview conducted by Govindasamy & Nambiar (2003), where they did not seek the names of the individuals, but rather asked the interviewees to give the proportion of Malayalees in their friend circles and at social functions, which they were likely to attend.

The interview has several disadvantages in language shift studies. Obviously a problem with interviews eliciting information on one's social contacts is the unreliability of self-reported data. Goetz (2001:91) points out that

interviewees found her questions "unusual" and were hesitant to answer. Moreover, interviewees had difficulty listing members of their social networks. Eckert (2000:80f) came to similar conclusions. She reminds us that people tend to remember those with whom they had the most recent interaction. Similarly, Eckert (2000:81) cautions that other dimensions, e.g., time and place, may affect how interviewees respond to questions about their social networks. She claims that different days, seasons, and times bring different associations with different contacts. This was most prevalent in her own study of high school students, where sports players' contacts during and outside of the regular playing season would possibly be divergent from those given in an interview at another time of the year. Moreover, Milroy (1987:41) is cautious to note that information elicited about social networks will most often be done *outside* of the social network. The isolated nature of questioning from outside the network may inhibit the interviewees' ability to recall language use and function. Briggs (1984:21) notes that interviews are not helpful in several ways. The interviewers may lack the norms of communication specific to that group and his or her questions may become "disruptive to the cohesion of the discourse" or even "inappropriate." It is also to be noted that the interviewer controls the interaction, allowing for less freedom on the part of the informant, which may be seen as a non-natural speech event (though Eckert (2000) finds problems with what a natural speech event is.) Eckert (2000:79), while praising the interview, finds that it should be remembered that the interview exists in an "ever-changing relationship with the community" and that each will be different. As such, Eckert (2000:79) made sure

that each interview was never the first encounter with the interviewee. Gorter (1987:46) found dissonance in answers for similar questions during his interview, further questioning the reliability of self-reported data.

Of consideration (though often neglected or taken for granted in some studies of language maintenance and shift) is the language of the interview. Goetz (2001:87) noted, with relief, that her interviews were conducted in Dai, as one of the informants agreed to participate when she learned that the language of the interview was to be Dai, recalling a previous negative experience with an interview in Chinese. Similar sentiments are presented by Gorter (1987:47), while Pauwels (1986:53) allowed her interviewees themselves to select the language of the interview.

Somerholter (1999:144f) found that her own attempts at eliciting information in interviews was hindered because she did not speak one of the languages available to the informants and that she was not a member of the community. Yakoubou (1994:59) reflected on the validity and reliability of this form of more qualitative assessment given that it is not easily replicated and the interviewee's responses may not necessarily be valid (more on the validity of self-reports will be covered in an upcoming section on questionnaires).

4.3 Participant Observation

As Gibbons and Ramirez (2004:106) note "[t]he methodology associated with network studies is typically ethnography, or participant observation," as it is the most accurate. Most studies on social networks have successfully relied on

participant observation (Gal 1979; Wei 1994; Yakoubou 1994; Zentella 1997; Heller 1999; Winter & Pauwels 2007; Raith 2003). Romaine (1989, cited by Mukherjee 2003:118) insists on using observation in assessing domains of language use, since observations elaborate on the language patterns discerned from questionnaires. Observations give a better "insight" into the entire language situation and may (from third party vantage point) readily remedy discrepancies, inconsistencies and mistakes made by self-reports on a domain questionnaire. This method was used successfully in shift research like that of the shift from Bengali in Malaysia in Mukherjee (2003) and the shift from Faetar to Italian in Nagy (2000:150).

One advantage of observational data is that it may be unobtrusively obtained without audio recording devices. Mukherjee (2003:110) found discrepancies between reported language use during an interview and observed language use (e.g., use of Bengali at a religious festival). By observing the actual patterns of language use, Mukherjee (2003) discovered discrepancies between language use reported during an interview and observed language use at a religious festival. He was able to follow up the interview and the observed behavior with another interview acting as a more specific guide toward observed behavior in an attempt at getting the reality of language choice in the domains of the speech community.

Goetz (2001:82) maintains that participant observation "complements direct questioning" and produces data that are "high in quality and documents [sic] a much more extensive range of speech styles than that provided by even the

most skillfully administered interview or questionnaire." For Pauwels (1986:54), the observational element was necessary in her study of immigrant dialects in Australia, because she needed to document language use during festivals and "ethnic-oriented activities."

There are also several disadvantages with observation. Wei (1994:71) lists several: observation is not always predictable, it may produce different results from questionnaire data, and the interviewees and interviewer may develop more than a research relationship. Although observations cannot be planned, the spontaneity and unpredictability of fieldwork is one of its hallmarks and certainly produces (when available) valuable data. The differences observed from questionnaires may result in incorrect information from self-reports, but unfortunately the researcher can only take from self-reports what the informants offer and merely comment on any discrepancies between reported and observed behavior. Eckert (2000:76) cautions researchers not to enter an ethnographic situation with preconceived categories or categories developed along the way in which to place informants as making conclusions throughout the ethnographic work creates too much of a defined viewpoint, which is "increasingly resistant to new observations."

Additionally, observation of language use in particular domains is even more intrusive (even without a recording device). While observing language use in religious domains (e.g., church services) may be welcomed by the speech community under study, other domains (e.g., home) may be less welcome for study. Moreover, the outside researchers will not only need to take up residence

with several families to actually observe the intricacies of language use in the home domain, but they will also face an even stronger observer's paradox with their constant presence interfering in the personal lives of their informants. Possibly the only way to remedy this feature is to equip homes with surveillance devices, requiring not only costly constant recording of "non-data", but also ethical questions and allowance from the community to be under surveillance. The familiar observer's paradox coined by Labov (cf. Milroy 1987:40), where the researcher may influence the results of the interaction or event by simply being present, is a constant concern. Kow Yip Cheng (2003) exemplifies this problem in her study where it was found, after researching mixed marriages, gender, religious domains and cultural domains, that the shift from Chinese to English in one particular family was based on maternal language preference. Unfortunately, Kow Yip Cheng's intimate familiarity with the group under study (her own family) and already positing the causes for shift at the start of the research have most definitely influenced her analysis of this micro-shift situation.

4.4 Questionnaires

For a macro-societal approach to studying language maintenance and shift, where a large number of informants are sought and mostly quantitative results are expected, a traditional sociolinguistic survey in the form of a questionnaire is the most appropriate measure (Lieberson 1980:11; Wei 1994:68). Perhaps its greatest merit is the ability for large numbers of a population to be questioned on their language use in a fairly unobtrusive and simple way. Most large-scale

questionnaires provide informants with a selection of answers, causing participants "to focus on the expected dimension" (Silva-Corvalán 1994:189).

Questionnaires can be adjusted to accommodate most approaches in assessing shift situations, e.g., networks, attitudes and domains. Pauwels (1986:50) devised different questionnaires for individuals and organizations for her study on Germanic dialect maintenance in Australia. Klatter-Folmer 1997 (based on Jaspaert & Kroon 1991) prepared a questionnaire to ask informants what language was spoken to each relative in New Zealand, the language patterns in several domains (family, family overseas, friends, clubs, public places, work, education, church, etc.), and their language patterns in personal activities (e.g. reading, singing, arithmetic, dreaming, spelling, expressing emotions, etc.). David et al (2003:7) also incorporate several sections to their questionnaire for inhabitants of Petaling Jaya: (1) demography, (2) dominant language, (3) self-perception of abilities in Punjabi, Malay and English, and (4) language of domains. Similarly, Jaspaert & Kroon (1993:297) tested 800 individuals on topics consisting of: language choice, the speaker's background, language proficiency, and attitudes. Though this study includes a section on domains it does not, unfortunately, include questions on frequency within the domains.

Social network information can also be elicited from specially designed questionnaires (Allard & Landry 1992; Cochran et al. 1990; Fishman et al. 1971; Gal 1979; Gibbons & Ramirez 2004; Milroy 1987; Schooling 1990; Stoessel 2002). The information elicited by Gibbons & Ramirez (2004) on Spanish in Australia included a social network questionnaire. Informants were presented

with questions asking about specific members of their social networks and their language use with, living proximity to, and similar social involvement with the target person of the network.

Fishman et al.'s (1971:630-655) exhaustive study of Spanish use in New York uses several questionnaires administered by a team of researchers. In their "study of conversations" they present a number of situations (e.g., "You are talking to someone in your church about how a son or daughter is expected to behave" and "You are talking to someone in your school about how to solve a math problem"). Informants were given a set of choices (parent, teacher, priest, friend, employer) and then asked to rate the frequency of Spanish or English use in that situation with that person. In an additional questionnaire contacts are given, but topic and language choice and place and language choice are asked. A final questionnaire presents place, topic and contacts and asks for frequency of either Spanish or English use in that situation concerning that topic with that person.

Schooling (1990:160-163) presents a loose set of questions implied for a structured (or possibly semi-structured) interview for his own work in Melanesia. The researcher begins by asking about the informant's family, their place within this family and language use (both intergenerationally and intragenerationally). Questions are then asked (moving outward) about neighbors and other close contacts, contacts at work and contacts in any "voluntary associations." He also recommends gaining a wider perspective of a community by talking to

community leaders and asking questions based on how many people use the majority and minority languages respectively, for what, etc.

Gal (1979) provides perhaps the most comprehensive list of situations and questions related to those situations concerning language use in Austria of Hungarian and German. Her situations are divided as follows: church, official business (doctor), work, shopping, school, kin, neighbors, pals, and entertainment. Some questions directly ask for names of members of the network (e.g., 60. "Who do you meet there [at an inn] usually? How do you talk to them?" and "What way do you talk if you meet friend (name) at the Wednesday market?"). The important aspect of Gal's (1979) approach was to ask the questions, and allow the informants to elaborate at will on their answers. Although few of the questions directly address frequency of language spoken in these situations, it is to be assumed that this issue would be discussed in at least some of the elaborated responses. The main problem with Gal's (1979) approach is the intimacy required to create such a workable questionnaire. Several of the questions (e.g. "What way do you talk to Mr. (name) who sells the frankfurters at the market?") require precise knowledge (on the side of researcher) of the entire speech community and its members in addition to the regular contacts of the particular informant. Again, such information is only obtained after extensive ethnographic fieldwork within the community.

Gorter (1987) provides generational data, but not frequency and not attitude. Holdeman (2002) produces another comprehensive questionnaire, over twenty pages in length. The questionnaire works for his study, as the community

was in the last stages of shift, and the project was readily endorsed by community (religious) leaders. As such, no attempt was made at anonymity in the project, providing not only the informant's name, but the genealogical information about their family. It was a last attempt to document this group. Unlike most questionnaires, Holdeman (2002) includes a section on ethnic identity and community identity. Vassberg (1993:182ff) designed two questionnaires (one for students and one for adults), which elicited information from various domains. She includes sections on frequency as well as information on internal domain variation (e.g., within media, questions relating to television, radio, newspapers are considered separately).

Often attitude questions are simply added into language use questionnaires to elicit information on domains and social networks (e.g., Marley 1993; Holdeman 2002; Dorian 1981). Other than circling or checking off statements, which the informant finds important, the most prevalent way of eliciting attitudes towards statements is by using an attitude scale. An attitude scale of strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree is the most common (Baker 1988). The benefits of circling the important statements force the informants to make a decision on the most or least important, while the inclusion of attitude scales for each item allow a more global and comprehensive assessment. Other questionnaires use semantic differential scales and informants are asked to check which language applies to the adjective given. Garrett et al. (2003:65) note that the researcher must be cautious in including exact opposites and to avoid "unidirectional scales," e.g.,

irritating / not at all irritating. Additionally, it might be better to allow the informants to check on a continuum the degree of adjective-ness between the two languages (cf. Baker 1988). Holdeman (2002:219-246) begins his language attitude questionnaire with statements about language use ('It is broadening to have more than one language'), intrinsic linguistic beliefs ('Russian is a very rich and expressive language'), and other identity constructs ('No one can understand the Old Belief properly without Russian'), giving the informant the opportunity to gauge their feelings about these statements on a scale from very important, important, to not important. He then gives several statements about general language use and asks the informants to mark whether they strongly agree with the statement, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or strongly disagree. Importantly, Holdeman (2002) includes sections on future language use and some hypothetical questions to gauge the speakers' willingness to maintain the language. Also enlightening is a section on linguistic confidence, where the informants are asked to indicate how they feel when speaking Russian and English and in what situations. Although his questionnaire is lengthy and mostly closed-item, he does have some questions, which ask for longer written responses from the informants.

Dorian's (1981) questionnaire III directly elicits language attitude information, again by providing statements and asking informants to mark when they strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or strongly disagree. An added section of the questionnaire lists several statements and informants are

asked to circle those, which they find important and draw a line through any which they think are unimportant for having Gaelic in their lives.

Several studies have used solely (or at least for the most part) attitude questionnaires. CILAR (Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research 1975) produced a 478 page report on its census-like attitude survey (Baker 1988:129). Vassberg (1993) used rather short attitude questionnaires in conjunction with attitude essays. Silva-Corvalán (1994:232-239) used a series of attitude questionnaires based on Dorian (1981) and Mejías & Anderson (1988). In addition to questions with an attitude scale, she includes several open-ended questions and similar statements to Dorian's (1981), where the informants must circle those, which are important to them.

In an international study of minority languages in Europe, Lasagabaster & Huguet (2007) present a small attitude questionnaire, which again presents two sections (one with statements to be rated as important, a little important, a little unimportant, and unimportant and the other with statements, which the informant must strongly agree or strongly disagree – with several options between).

There are some problems with attitude questionnaires and with attitude measurement in general. Baker (1988:116f) notes three distinct problems with attitude measures: informants may inflate their answers to appear more "prestigious," the researcher's own opinions and identity may influence the nature of the questions, and the intentions of the researcher may constrict the "complete range" of attitudes. The researcher's own intentions are often reflected

in the closed-items on an attitude questionnaire (Gibbons & Ramirez 2004:194). Moreover, closed-type questions only elicit information on the beliefs, but not the more psychological aspects, e.g., attitudes, which more open-ended and *why* questions elicit (Edwards 1992:48). Several studies using open-ended questions eliciting language attitudes, but adding an additional *why* element have shown very felicitous results (e.g., Gibbons & Ramirez 2004:224; Mukherjee 2003:110). Some studies (e.g., Lasagabaster & Huguet 2007:4) claim that by including attitude scales, they have added a qualitative element to their data, though the qualitative-ness of this method when compared to those mentioned above is rather weak. Romaine (1995:302) notes that there is little control over questionnaires (when they are simply mailed or handed out). The researcher also forfeits the opportunity to explain any terms or instructions – though the absence of the researcher certainly reduces the observer's paradox.

The questions on the attitude questionnaire have also come under scrutiny by some researchers. Romaine (1995:318) directly addresses the impersonal bent that many of the questions have, creating a perceived distance between the speaker and the language. Nurse & Walsh (1992:207) also remark on the content of the questions, which must be sensitive to the circumstances of the speech community. The researcher must, then, be aware of complexities in the speech community in order to generate questions, which are effective. They (Nurse & Walsh 1992:207) cite early studies by Lambert (1957, 1958), where he asked for ethnic identification of Vumba and Chifundi. Those whom he questioned

identified themselves as “Swahili” or “Shirazi,” which (as it turns out) do not represent the entirety of the population, but only the “local elite.”

Baker (1988:128) notes how including a question like “Do you think that the Gaelic language is important for the Scottish people as a whole?” is very problematic in that the inclusion of “important” may signify to the informant that an affirmative answer is the more acceptable answer socially. However, in closed-item questionnaires, this minor point cannot be avoided. A more global problem of attitude questionnaires is the inability to gauge “anticipatory behavior,” though Silva-Corvalán (1994:188) successfully incorporates this into her questionnaires. Although several attitude questionnaires (including Holdeman 2002) include sections on hypothetical questions, Garrett et al. (2003:27ff) warn against using hypotheticals as they present socially acceptable ideals and are heavily influenced by the intentions of the researcher and language planning.

Several researchers employ questions pertaining to language shift in questionnaires, which do not frequently appear on them and which are of importance to the shift situation. Gorter (1987:45, 51) advocates a question on language transmission and a question on migration. He points out that only in the transmission of a language from one generation to the next is the stability of maintenance assured. Unfortunately many questionnaires are rather ego-centric, focusing only on the abilities of the informants themselves. Additionally, more of the informant’s past should be taken into consideration.

Moreover, all information recorded on a questionnaire is self-reported. Romaine (1995:27) notes how "self-reports are subject to variance in relation to factors such as prestige, ethnicity, political affiliation, etc." Fishman (1991:52) is confident that self-reported data is reliable, as is de Vries (1992:216) concerning language use. Often respondents are tested on the reliability of their answers by inclusion of semi-reduplicative questions (Govindasamy & Nambiar 2003:38; Norberg 1996a:56), i.e. by exploiting an overlap in language choice and language situation in Norberg's (1996a) study of Sorbish in eastern Germany.

Quite possibly one of the worst areas for self-reported mishaps on a questionnaire deals with language proficiency. It has been stated elsewhere that language proficiency is important to language shift studies, since language proficiency can affect the domains and frequency of language use and is implicated in language transmission (cf. David et al. 2003:10). Some questionnaires ask for the abilities of the informant in each of the major skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing) on a gauge of excellent, very good, and non-existent (Pauwels 2004:724), though the extreme gap between non-existent and very good leave much room for speculation. At least in this instance speakers are given three choices as opposed to a common census question (e.g., "Can speak English?"), where a simple yes or no is expected (Sexton 2000:31). Not only are the expected responses constraining, so are the factors, as not only linguistic factors may determine the proficiency of a speaker as is the case in Western Kenya, where environmental factors contribute to perceived proficiency (Heine 1992). Moreover, the "lack of linguistic confidence" is a hallmark of

speakers in language death situations (Craig 1997:265). Questions of language proficiency are never objective and not always asked in such a manner retrospection can be discerned (Yakoubou 1994:69).

These problems have led several researchers, e.g., Gibbons & Ramirez (2004:49), convinced that self assessment is gauged only on vocabulary and grammar, to incorporate other means of assessing the proficiency of the informants. They (Gibbons & Ramirez 2004) included several measures of assessing language proficiency, e.g., a picture story task, a conversation, a self-assessment rubric, and a written proficiency test. Schooling (1990:18f) preferred to assess proficiency with an aural comprehension test, so as not to demand literacy in the language(s) under question, while Pauwels (1986:52) played a series of recordings allowing the respondent to identify with the abilities of one of the speakers (though we cannot ignore the fact that other attitudinal influences, similar to those in matched-guise testing would have also played a role in this self-assessment). The conflation of language shift and language loss is problematic. While both are certainly important to each other and while understanding the full extent of language loss may elucidate language shift, measures to the extent of Gibbons and Ramirez (2004) are not only unnecessary, but sometimes impossible in most studies on language shift.

Other researchers, e.g., Allard and Landry (1994:24), Fishman et al. (1971), Silva-Corvalán (1994:203), note the contrast between language use reported on questionnaires and actual language behavior. One way of remedying this is the inclusion of questions used to measure "committedness" to language

maintenance efforts (i.e., Fishman et al.'s (1971, chapter 5) commitment scale and Silva-Corvalán's (1994) questionnaire V.

Non-response to a simple mailed questionnaire is very common (Dorian 1981:158f; Gorter 1987:52). Typically some potential informants do not have the time to fill out a questionnaire, so results may be slighted towards the elderly (Dorian 1981:158f). Even directly handing an interview to an informant after interviews is not always immune to lack of response or lack of the quality of responses (Hulsen et al. 2002:38).

By simply sending out the questionnaires or leaving them behind, the researcher is unaware who actually filled it out and cannot be there to explain any confusion with instructions (Dorian 1981:157), as evidenced by lack of consistency among answers and problems estimating language use and proficiency. Dorian (1981:157) is also cautious to mention that a researcher is caught in a similar problem if they are present for the questionnaire, in that they might influence the responses or push the informant through the unfamiliar questionnaire without allowing proper reflection and thought about the items. However, Pauwels (1986:52) is quick to mention that the presence of the researcher allowed more cooperation from the informant and reduced the number of missed / skipped questions.

Terminology is an additional problem on questionnaires. Marley (1993:272) notes that his informants were confused with the term "language" as they did not consider Catalan to be a language but rather dialect / patois. Similarly, Daan (1997:247) remarks that although the first question asked of the

informants was “Do you speak Dutch, Frisian or a dialect?” no measure was taken to elucidate any of these terms. Questions may be misleading, like from the 1986 Australian survey, which failed to consider lingua franca other than English (Clyne 1991:39f). Some questionnaires ask about the speakers “main language” and “mother tongue.” Questions, which, according to Yakoubou (1994:68ff) and Romaine (1995:27), are misleading. Informants may forget their mother tongue and they may have more than one main (or dominant) language which is variable over time. Are informants supposed to comment on their current linguistic behavior or that of ten years ago? Problems with terminology may lead only to frustration – both on the part of the researcher and the informant. Marley (1993:276), for example, notes how many times a question needed to be asked before even eliciting a response.

Questionnaires vary in their length and comprehensiveness. Fishman et al. (1971:613ff) provide thorough questionnaires eliciting information on language use in domains, attitudes, background information, etc. In addition to general questions aimed at eliciting language use (e.g., how much Spanish do you speak with Spanish-English bilinguals), they also inquire about language use in certain domains: school, work, church, neighborhood, and home. Importantly, they provide interlocutors (differentiated by age, profession, gender), time (before or after class), and frequency in their rubric. Schooling (1990:130ff) produces a much more compact and less comprehensive questionnaire – a function of the fact that he intended his questions to be conversation starters (18). Although he includes domains: media, religion, home, etc., he does not

include frequency constraints across the board. His questions seem to already elicit the information that he wanted, i.e., the in-depth questioning about religious language on the communal questionnaire, where he asks for the language of several parts of a religious service (Schooling 1990:131).

Silva-Corvalán's (1994) questionnaires, although under the heading "attitude questionnaires," inevitably contain information about domains. While she does include frequency (on a scale: always, usually, often, sometimes, never, and does not apply), her questions may not always be applicable to other shift situations, in that she includes many which would draw comparison with the immigrant country and the country of origin. Moreover, questions on literacy would exclude those who are illiterate in the other language. Dorian's (1981) questionnaire is both comprehensive and concise. She includes both frequency and function in a readily accessible format. Pauwels (1986:120ff) presents a list of situations (actually relating to domains and partially to networks) and asks the informants to answer with the language or dialect they would use in that situation. Although ripe with information on function (i.e., domain), no consideration is given to frequency. Furthermore, the specificity of the questions might lead to false conclusions. Unlike the specific network questions used by Gal (1979), Pauwels (1986) just mentions "a close friend" and "a shopkeeper," which has the disadvantage of the researcher not knowing the linguistic background of this person – it may not even be a matter of choice in a bilingual domain. Moreover the descriptions are very lengthy and cumbersome.

The absence of a temporal aspect on questionnaires is a major problem. Lieberson (1980:12) admits that due to time and financial constraints, researchers are forced into observations of a language situation in one moment of time and cannot possibly afford long-term observation of a language situation. As a remedy, he suggests incorporating retrospective questions, i.e., questions which directly ask about past language use patterns and abilities. This method is not without its problems (from Lieberson (1980:16) himself) – retrospection on questionnaires reduces reliability for the recall of the informant and the validity of their statements cannot be easily corroborated as in, for example, participant observation. Additionally, questions on former language use will only gain insight into the language behavior of "survivors." De Vries (1992:219) remarks that in questioning members of a speech community about their past abilities, one cannot take into consideration the members of the community which have (since that moment in the past) died or moved away.

Above all, it seems that questionnaires pose a dilemma. How many questions are too many for the informant? How few questions will appropriately gauge the language situation? The above discussion of the pros and cons of a number of specific questionnaires point out only that no questionnaire is perfectly suited for every instance of shift and that no questionnaire can be a perfect measure of the processes involved in shift.

4.5 Matched-guise tests

Lambert et al. (1960) were the first to use a matched-guise test (MGT) in an investigation of language attitudes. By playing recorded guises (French and English recordings of the same speakers) for a number of informants, the researchers were able to isolate one variable and gauge the attitudes of the informants based on semantic differential scales. This method has since then been highly influential and has produced a number of studies, as it is fairly simple, unobtrusive, and gives reliable results. Romaine (1995:289) notes the greatest advantage of the initial MGT, that "the same person was thought to be less friendly, less intelligent, less well educated, etc. when speaking French than when speaking English." The text of the guises is supposed to be "factually neutral" (Garrett et al. 2003:54), though some researchers have taken free rein with these restrictions by using spontaneous speech (54) and using different speakers for each variety (53).

An additional advantage of the MGT is the control of other variables and isolation of language (Gibbons & Ramirez 2004:193). Moreover, its application to a theory of language shift and language attitudes is seen in the fact that most studies have found clustering of the results around "status" and "solidarity" (Myers-Scotton 2006:128). Other merits of the MGT are presented by Garrett et al. (2003:57) and Giles and Billings (2004): (1) the rigorous and elegant design, (2) the generation of follow-up studies, (3) repeatedly showing the "main dimensions" of evaluations (e.g. solidarity and status), (4) fostering cross-

disciplinary work, and (5) elucidating the role of language in "impression formation."

There are, however, several disadvantages with using an MGT methodology in studying language attitudes. Aside from more practical design problems, e.g., Kopp (1993) – where he found that a clock ticking in the background on some of his guises was discovered by an informant – there are several problematic areas of the MGT design. Edwards (1982) reasons that the MGT does not show an attitude toward language, but an attitude to a "representative speaker" of that language. The texts used in some studies for the MGT were not at all neutral and the "message content," though rarely examined, is highly influential in attitude formation (Giles & Billings 2004:198). For example, Luhman (1990), although including semantic differentials on education, had his speakers discuss their experiences at the university. Garrett et al. (1999:345) found that content directly influenced the results by using dialect to tell humorous stories. It seems, therefore, rather unhelpful for studies using free-range of topics on the matched-guise to make sweeping conclusions about language attitudes (e.g., Kopp 1993, where speakers spoke about things ranging from farming and butchering to school).

Not only the content, but also the context influences attitudes (Myers-Scotton 2006:130). MGT studies rarely account for the "immediate context" and the "wider context" (Gibbons & Ramirez 2004:194). Recalling that the initial study using the MGT was given at a time when the French in Quebec were a "disadvantaged majority" and did not account for the acceptability of French in a

bar or in a classroom (something which may be controlled by the MGT, but often is not) (Gibbons & Ramirez 2004:194).

Given that the informant relies on content and context, MGTs do not completely limit the variables affecting attitudes (Cargile et al. 1994:215; Myers-Scotton 2006:130). Additionally, other problems such as gender stereotypes were found to influence results (Alford & Strother 1990:492), whether the speaker on the guise was a man or woman.

Finally, Garrett et al. (1999:322; 2003:57-61) give a laundry list of additional problems with the MGT: (1) it is ecologically invalid (reducing language to a context-less recording), (2) the replaying of the same text exaggerates contrasts, which may not have been as salient to the hearer beforehand, (3) speaking a non-standard dialect may be seen as "bad grammar," thus the attitude is one of prescriptivism, (4) the inability to control intonation characteristics and discourse patterning characteristic to certain varieties, and (5) the accuracy of the variety renderings by the same person may in fact not be valid.

Unfortunately, the polarizing effect of dogmatic approaches in either direct or indirect methodology camps has an unfortunate impact on the field. Pieras-Guasp (2002), in an attempt to reconcile both direct and indirect methodologies unfortunately does nothing more than strengthen the divide. By using a direct questionnaire and MGT for 54 school students, he finds conflicting results between the two. Although he eventually advocates complementary methods for eliciting attitudes, his preference for the MGT comes through in his

strong critique of questionnaires and often misguided praise for the MGT. His contradictory results may in fact reside in the fact that his MGT included several semantic differentials, which were unidirectional (e.g., intelligent / unintelligent) and his own belief that an MGT does not fully expose the purpose of the study to the informant (a debatable point). His intentions are clear, in that his own importance given to language planning forces him to critique an attitude questionnaire, because it does not fully capture this aspect (though we are not completely sure / convinced why). Again, the theoretical and ideological bent of the researcher must be taken into consideration before fully accepting or rejecting their results.

4.6 Additional instruments

Sociohistorical information is usually included in a non-systematic way in most studies on language maintenance and shift. A brief section on the sociodemographics of the speech community under study is often thought to be more than sufficient. A clear and thorough analysis of the social and cultural history of the speech community, particularly within their given context, is necessary for a complete picture on the language situation. There are several sources of sociohistorical data: oral history interviews, recorded group histories, church histories, maps, census records, genealogical records and the like. Pauwels (2004:725) mentions collecting narratives for linguistic and sociolinguistic information about shift and loss. These narratives can be written as diaries or be verbal. Smolicz (1992:282) also finds merit in written memoirs of

the speakers and their language behavior, as it eliminates intrusion from a researcher and allows the informants to elaborate on their own thoughts and attitudes. Unfortunately, the motivation for a number of informants to produce such detailed responses may be lacking and quality of the data will be varied across speakers. Nevertheless, such essays or written memoirs have been praised in the literature for their insight into the shift situations (Raidt 1997, Vassberg 1993). It is important to note that despite the initial reluctance on eliciting lengthy written responses may in fact prove to be very helpful. Raidt (1997) received 300 questionnaires returned for her study of Dutch in South Africa – 285 of them included a letter explaining their own language behavior.

Although Romaine (1995:26) warns that census information (like large-scale surveys) will give different information than "detailed ethnographic case studies," I remain positive of the use of census information in explaining a language shift situation. It is useful given that it (following Lieberson 1980:26) can "facilitate" any data already obtained (shifts in occupations, language use, in- and out-migration patterns). In certain instances, though, census data can foster the entire foundation of a well-structured study on shift (Lucht 2007). Lucht (2007) managed to show how occupational opportunity allowed for the weakening of networks and ultimately the decline of German in Lebanon, Wisconsin. It has been the misfortune of several studies of language shift not to have at their disposal readily available historical and census information (demolinguistic information) to supplement their synchronic data (e.g., Batibo's

(1992) work in Tanzania and Nurse & Walsh's (1992) work with Chifundi and Vumba).

A plethora of studies of contact situations have used census information to provide additional data (usually) on language use in a given area (e.g., Haugen 1989 for Norwegian based on the U.S. census, Solé 1990 for Spanish in the U.S., de Vries (1992) for Swedish based on the Finnish census, Clyne & Pauwels (1997) for minority languages in Australia, Drapeau (1998) for aboriginal languages in Canada, and Sexton (2000) for historical Louisiana French use). Census data show language use diachronically (e.g. Clyne 1991, for Australian censuses 1976 and 1986). Kipp (2007) discerned more clearly domain-based issues from the Australian census in 1986, as it contains a question pertaining to "home language." De Vries & de Vries (1997:122f) have shown the extensive nature of census data in Canada, giving insight into ethnic origin, mother tongue, home language, and the ability to speak official languages. And additionally, Romaine (1995:29) notes that the Philippine census in 1960 even has a question concerning the "degree of bilingualism" (i.e., Can you carry on a simple conversation in Tagalog, English or Spanish?).

Additionally, many studies use census data in tandem with other historical information gleaned from public or church records, personal records, published histories, etc. (e.g., Neale 1971 for Asians in Narobi, Nurse & Walsh 1992 for Chifundi and Vumba, Winter 1992 for language shift in Gweno, Srivastava 1989, Holdeman 2002 for Russian Old Believers in Erie, Pennsylvania, Marley 1993, and David et al. 2003 for Malaysia).

Although census data are readily available to the public (with certain exceptions) and historical information is likewise readily accessible, there are several disadvantages to this methodology, most importantly accuracy. Census records and other historical information suffers in no small measure from tainted accuracy in both self-reports, vagueness of questions, and sociopolitical discrimination. Williams (1992) notes that Welsh census data do not include any information about the exact ability to speak Welsh, nor the function or frequency of its use. Pauwels (2004) echoes this assertion, but remarks on problems such as under-/overestimation and difficulty with terminology. In a similar vein, Clyne (1991:39) also hints at this problem of linguistic inflation. Romaine (1995:26) notes other disadvantages with census data. She argues that while large samples are easily obtained, the extent of the questioning is limited by time and money and that certain linguistic aspects (e.g. code-switching) cannot be inferred. Problems with terminology also plague census information. Romaine (1995:27) points out that the 1981 Indian census reported 107 mother tongues, whereas in 1961 it was 1,652 – an aspect not explained by large-scale shift, but by changes in exact terminology to languages and dialects. A similar problem occurs in Pennsylvania Dutch speaking enclaves, where confusion over the terms Pennsylvania Dutch and Dutch accounts for the large reported Holland Dutch populations in many areas of Pennsylvania and Canada (de Vries & de Vries 1997:125; Burridge 2002). Solé (1990:44) also warns against taking census data at face value, considering that the (im)migrational histories of non-homogenous groups will differ. Finally, Goetz (2001:18) found that many local accounts of the

Dehong Dai were "colored by the ideological assumption of the superiority of a Chinese culture 'center'." It remains important, then, to treat census and other demolinguistic information with considerable caution.

4.7 Research instruments for this study

When choosing a methodology, one must bear in mind that all methodologies have shortcomings (see Garrett et al. 2003 for a discussion of methodologies related to language attitudes.) The goal, then, is to use the best methodology for the population and the research questions that are being investigated. Interviews are the most appropriate method for studying the shift situation among the Amish-Mennonites. Particularly for a socioreligious minority group, whose main tenet is separation from the world, an interview would be more welcome than a questionnaire. Questionnaires are (and were) met with caution and apathy. Observation, noting all of the difficulties from previous sections, would also facilitate a better understanding of the language shift situation. The ability to observe these Anabaptists in activities such as worship, church functions, the parochial school setting, and other community events are necessary in uncovering sociocultural changes distinctive to this community. Sociohistorical information is also helpful in looking at the shift situation given the diachronic nature of the study itself. The Amish-Mennonites are an historically-minded people, who value genealogy and history. The readily available public records provided further insight into the shift situation. In the end, the advice of Enninger (1987) and Johnson-Weiner (1998) in their work among the plain

Anabaptists holds true: “In this culture, the choice the field worker has is to work on the basis of obtainable data, or to gain no insights at all” (Enninger 1987:149-150).

To elicit answers to the main research questions and depict the language situation as a process of shift conditioned by a change in identification, a triangulation of methods will be used: semi-structured interviews, sociohistorical data, and participant observation. Importantly, each of the instruments forms crucial parts of any ethnography (Murchinson 2010). The hallmark of this work is intimate fieldwork, understood both within the realms of sociology (Anderson 1923 (and others of the early “Chicago School”); Grills 1998) and cultural anthropology (Robben & Sluka 2007). The research and each instrument are described in detail below. Each instrument was submitted and approved for compliance with the policy of the human subjects by the Institutional Review Board on 15 January 2009 (IRB #24018 and #30133).

4.7.1 Interview

The interview was chosen as a major component of this study as it maintained the elements of social interaction, which have been so pivotal in working with the Anabaptists of Big Valley. In her study on oral history work in Africa, Elizabeth Tonkin (1992) stresses the important work being done in the social sciences toward discovering social identity:

> Anthropologists have increasingly become interested in how selves are constructed and what social conditions support or constitute what kind of

> self, but according to their sense of the word, their approaches and conclusions are often very different (132).

For her, the construction of social identity, and the re-negotiation of identities throughout one's life are a major goal of an oral history project. By narrating their past, the participants can actually comment and reflect on who they were and who they became. This important facet of the oral history approach was a major impetus in including it in this dissertation.

Oral history interviews have become popular genres of collecting social and cultural evidence in sociology and anthropology (Levy & Hollan 1998; Brettel 1998), far beyond their initial workings in history. An early sociocultural promotion of the oral history interview was in folklore research (cf. Sharpless 2006 for a review). The advanced technology aided the recording and housing possibilities for oral history interviews so much so that in 1979 the Oral History Association formulated a set of (what would become the) *Evaluation Guidelines*. These guidelines were closely adhered to in this project. Additionally, volumes dedicated to the methodology of the oral history and the procedures of conducting an interview were intensively consulted (Somer & Quinlan 2002; Ritchie 2003).

Larson (2006) distinguishes four genres of oral history: subject-oriented, life history, community history, and family history. Subject-oriented are most frequently attributed to famous individuals, or people about whom there is a larger potential interest. Life, community, and family histories all factored into the interviews in this study. But perhaps the greatest strength of the oral history

interview is revealing the everyday history of a person or a community. Indeed Pennsylvania has been shown to be fertile ground for such oral histories focusing on ethnic groups and small towns (Oblinger 1978). The oral historian can ecologically approach the subject matter, investigate the context and elicit memory from the setting's inhabitants. The interviews in Big Valley were started with the social environment in mind. Care was taken to ensure not only that we would learn of social relationships, but also of ritual, culture, history, and change.

The interviews are based in the Oral History Project of Mifflin County Anabaptists (begun in 2005), whose goals were to preserve the memories of Big Valley Anabaptists in a locally accessible archive, to provide a resource for scholars at Penn State University, and to explore language attitudes of Anabaptists constituting a wide-range of cultural and linguistic practices (cf. Page & Brown 2007). In cooperation with the Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society and Penn State University Libraries, interviews were conducted with fifty-one residents of Big Valley. Most of the interviewees were members of either the Maple Grove Shift or the Valley View Shift. Importantly, all interviewees have undergone changes in church affiliation. Some switched from conservative to more progressive churches upon marriage, while others maintained membership in a congregation that changed denominational affiliation, e.g., from Amish-Mennonite to Mennonite. The interviews were open-ended with questions focusing on everyday life, verbal behavior, worship, and cultural changes. The oral history interviews were conducted chronologically so that participants described social, cultural, and language behavior changes from childhood to the

present. The focus was to gather as much descriptive detail related to religion and society in their childhoods and then compare those to aspects of their lives today. As such, the oral history interviews place the motivational and affective language attitudes "in the context of the relevant interpersonal and intergroup histories" (Cargile et al. 1994).

Naturally, as with any instrument, one must view the oral histories with caution. Much has been written on the validity of memory as evidence for an oral history, as our memories change and are changed over time (Grele 2006; Hoffman & Hoffman 2006). I take the approach by Tonkin (1992:1): "Literate or illiterate, we are our memories." Any memory, real or imagined, can tell us multitudes about a person. In looking at the memories given to us by the Big Valley narrators, I hope that we can formulate a picture of their dynamic negotiations of self throughout their lifetimes, with the impinging pressures of ethnicity and tradition. Of course legal issues and ethics are a topic for serious consideration in oral history interviews (Sommer & Quinlan 2002; Ritchie 2003; Shopes 2006). All narrators for this project appear without identifying information. Consent was received for all of the interviews and the Institutional Review Board at Penn State University approved all procedures and documents.

All interviews are digitally audio-recorded, and nearly all have been video-recorded. Transcripts and digital recordings of the interviews are housed at the Mennonite Heritage Center in Belleville and at the Penn State University Archives. All interviewees were assigned a number and will be referred to by that number throughout this dissertation. Incorporation of interview excerpts will

lend an often missing voice to participants in ethnographies (Robben & Sluka 2007:19). The appendix shows the interviewees' numbers, birth years, childhood religious affiliation and current (at the time of the interview) religious affiliation.

4.7.2 Participant observation

Participant observation is central to cultural anthropology and sociocultural linguistics (Dewalt et al. 1998). An early description of participant observation is as follows:

> Soon after I had established myself in Omarkana Trobriand Islands, I began to take part, in a way, in the village life, to look forward to the important or festive events, to take personal interest in the gossip and the developments of the village occurrences; to wake up every morning to a new day, presenting itself to me more or less as it does to the natives… As I went on my morning walk through the village, I could see intimate details of family life, of toilet, cooking, taking of meals; I could see the arrangements for the day's work, people starting on their errands, or groups of men and women busy at some manufacturing tasks. Quarrels, jokes, family scenes, events usually trivial, sometimes dramatic but always significant, formed the atmosphere of my daily life, as well as of theirs. (Malinowski 1922:7f).

Although the field of anthropology has changed since Malinowski's description of what constitutes insightful observation is still informative. Importantly, the observer must be nonjudgmental, sensitive, observant, good at listening, and

expect the unexpected (Dewalt et al. 2008:266f). Everyday interaction is highlighted and not ignored in participant observation.

Ethnographic observations took place in many domains of language use within the community. Ongoing involvement in the community first occurred in 2005 and continues until today. Examples of observational venues included: grocery stores, fieldwork, worship services, hymn sings, during interviews, local restaurants, and schools. The many hours of tea and pie, putting up corn for the winter, and even informal chit-chat contributed immensely to the larger picture. Observations of language use – context, interlocutor, etc. – yielded invaluable data on the language situation. Additional observations of dress, worship style (instruments, liturgy), transportation choices, and occupational limitations supplemented the picture of cultural change as it happened and is happening among the Amish-Mennonite movements in Big Valley.

Naturally the famous observer's paradox mentioned in chapter 2 stands out as a major disadvantage of this instrument. Additionally, the evidence offered from these observations is not without bias on the side of the author (Dewalt et al 1998:287). It is therefore important that the researcher be as thorough as possible, and support any observational data with other sources. An added problem in this study was the language ability of the interviewers. Most interviewers had near native fluency in standard German, one had a near-native fluency in Pennsylvania Dutch and one had a native fluency in Pennsylvania Dutch. Care was taken in each instance to withhold the ability to speak Pennsylvania Dutch until the interview switched from English to Pennsylvania

Dutch. In so doing, the interviewers limited the influence of their own language backgrounds on the sentiments of the narrators.

4.7.3 Sociohistorical sources

Other sources of information on the language situation in Big Valley are also readily available. Church and historical records housed locally aided in placing the shifts within their historical contexts (Peachey 1930; Stroup 1938; Hayes 1947; Hostetler 1948, 1949, 1951; Kaufman 1950; Maple Grove Dedication 1956; Mook 1962; Yoder 1963; Kauffman 1991; Allensville Bicentennial 2006). General information on the first Amish-Mennonite religious shifts (Umble 1933a, 1933b; Beachy 1955; Schwieder & Schwieder 1977; Miller 1983; Yoder 1987, Yoder 1991; McGrath 1994), of which Big Valley was an integral player, provided historical and theological understanding of the shifts. Letters and field notes contained in the John A. Hostetler Papers, housed at Penn State University Archives, provided information on the social situation in Big Valley during the 1950s through 1970s. Newspaper records, including the *The Budget* written by the Anabaptists (including the Amish-Mennonites) themselves, were scoured to find "insider" reports on changes within the community. Additionally, several members of this community have published memoirs or literary collections (Peachey undated; Hochstetler 1964; Yoder 1999; Yoder 2000; Mohler 2005; Spicher 2005; Kanagy 2006). This sociohistorical and sociodemographic information provided additional insight into cultural and social changes that have coincided with language changes in the community.

4.8 Conclusion

The three instruments used in this study included oral history interview, sociohistorical and archival information, and participant observation. These instruments suited both the language situation and the speakers in the community. Data gleaned from each of these instruments is presented in the following two chapters. Importantly, the data are couched within language and identity theories discussed in chapter 2. From their analyses, a more comprehensive picture of language shift is observable among the Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley.

Chapter 5

Maple Grove, Allensville, and Locust Grove Amish-Mennonites

5.1 Introduction

Big Valley is one of the most diverse Anabaptist communities in the world. Community members express this diversity through a variety of sociocultural differences. This chapter discusses the sociocultural identities of Big Valley's former Amish-Mennonite congregations. It traces the history of the former Amish-Mennonite congregations in Big Valley and presents data from the oral history interviews, supported by observations and archival material. The sociohistorical and archival information includes published memoirs and historical information gleaned from church histories. The oral history interviews include members from a variety of church memberships, who grew up in the wake of the Amish-Mennonite shift in the early twentieth century. The information in the oral history interviews is supplemented with observations from attendance at worship services, visits at their homes, and participation in a variety of community-sponsored activities, including auctions, festivals and the like. Non-sourced information is from those personal observations. The first part of this chapter presents the early history of the Amish-Mennonite movement both in Big Valley and beyond. Subsequent sections on the three major Amish-Mennonite congregations at the turn of the twentieth century give sociohistorical

information on the cultural changes each underwent in the process of dropping their Amish-Mennonite affiliation and joining Mennonitism.

Following the discussion of these sociocultural changes, a number of ideologies about language (for the most part taken from the oral history interviews) show how the narrators engage in the changing discourse about their religious identities. In line with the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), the glimpses into the oral history interviews show identity both self- and other-ascribed. In so doing, the analysis of their language ideologies and underlying language attitudes show how the narrators project their inner desires via social action to construct their identities. Thus not only are sociocultural aspects shown to change, but also the manner in which "[t]he individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985:109). Although Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) focused largely on structural (syntactic and phonological) patterns of language behavior, here our attention is drawn to larger discourse. The final section of this chapter examines the talk about those patterns of language behavior as acts of identity. The role of their initial religious identity and movement to a new religious identity will emerge as a significant reason for their language shift.

5.2 Amish-Mennonite origins

Because of the rich limestone soil of Big Valley, the land beckoned farmers from eastern and southern Pennsylvania. Most of the settlers of the region in the mid-eighteenth century were Scottish and Irish, though by the end of 1791, several Amish names appear on tax lists (Peachey 1930; Kauffman 1991:54). Due to an increase in travel routes following the American Revolution, farming societies in southern and eastern Pennsylvania found ready access to the central parts of the commonwealth and Pennsylvania's stretches of Appalachia. Additionally, the increasingly liberal bent of the Amish in the lower Pequea region of Lancaster County motivated more conservative families to move to isolated regions in newer settlements (Kauffman 1991:58). By 1795, ten more Amish families appear on historical records. Later immigrants to the Big Valley settlement also included those moving from failed Amish settlements in nearby Centre and Juniata Counties (Hostetler 1951). As more Amish families settled Big Valley, the new settlement required a bishop to administer religious rites and provide guidance. In 1806 Bishop Hannes Beiler arrived and served until his death in 1842. Following his death, the growing Valley was divided into three congregations (Upper, Middle, and Lower Districts), so that the needs of individual districts could be better managed. Problems abounded among the Big Valley Amish. Kauffman (1991:85) notes that church troubles, in addition to illness, land and viable marriage-partner scarcity, had forced some residents to leave Big Valley, such that by 1860 seven new settlements elsewhere were composed of Big Valley Amish. In spite of illnesses, large families steadily increased the population of

the rural Valley. Moreover, the new restructured districts separated the Valley's Amish. This separation, yet geographic closeness, led to several internal disputes between and within the new districts. One dispute within the Middle and Lower Districts created a non-Old Order faction and has been termed the "Great Schism" in local history.

The Great Schism occurred in the 1850s as a result of debates concerning stream baptism (Yoder 1991:158-9; Hostetler 1948, 1964:286). Bishop Solomon Beiler of the Middle District and Bishop Abraham Peachey of the Upper District were the two main players. Solomon Beiler of the Middle District wanted to institute stream baptism among his congregants, while Abraham Peachey of the Upper District preferred to keep the traditional practice of pouring water over the head of the baptismal candidate in the home.[13] This disagreement culminated in 1863 with a split. In response, the Beiler group members started cutting their hair and beards shorter and trimming them more uniformly. Finally they decided to build meetinghouses, instead of holding onto the practice of worshipping in the homes of congregants.[14] Meetinghouses and less conservative appearance were occurring as a trend at a national level as well within traditional Amish communities. Nationally, several other groups with meetinghouses

[13] Baptism was only one of the major disagreements. Another important disagreement between the two was the charge that Beiler's deacon, Samuel Yoder, was preaching more than his station required or necessitated (Yoder 1991:158-9).

[14] One rare exception of meetinghouses among the Old orders is an Old Order Amish group in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, which operates a meetinghouse for worship (Kraybill & Bowman 2001:295, fn. 10).

started having annual conferences as early as 1865. It was not until the 1880s and 1890s that those conferences formally referred to themselves as Amish-Mennonites (Yoder 1991:171, 207). In creating a hyphenated identity in name, the Amish-Mennonites positioned themselves between their Amish roots and their increasing attraction to progressive Mennonitism. Although both Amish and progressive Mennonites accept the same confession of faith, their interpretation of separation from the world is divergent.[15] As such, Mennonites are less sectarian than the Amish. By the end of the nineteenth century, the former Beiler congregations had firmly rejected the Amish punishment of social avoidance and had joined the Mennonite movement of evangelism and revivalism, called the Quickening or Awakening (Yoder 1991:260). Although still retaining the Amish part of their name, they were rapidly becoming Mennonite.[16]

5.3 Non-linguistic changes

As the Beiler group grew apart from the Amish, smaller factions within the group began to decide their own degrees of sectarianism. Each of these sub-groups,

[15] Members of mainstream Mennonite churches today are indistinguishable from congregants at other Protestant churches. They still believe in adult baptism and pacifism, but no longer mark their socioreligious identity with plain dress or traditional language for worship.

[16] In this chapter, the Amish-Mennonites of the early twentieth century later became Mennonites. They are members of different congregations than the Amish-Mennonites discussed in the following chapter, who have not made the change to Mennonite. In this chapter, I use the term Amish-Mennonites or former Amish-Mennonites. In the next chapter, I refer to those congregations as Beachy Amish-Mennonites to distinguish the two.

Maple Grove, Allensville, and Locust Grove, is discussed below. The following sections chart their own trajectories toward progressive Mennonitism and show the widening gap between their own identities and traditional Amish practices. The information is from church histories, supplemented from the oral histories and personal observation.

5.3.1 Maple Grove Amish-Mennonite

The Beiler group from the Great Schism built two meetinghouses, one in Belleville, built in 1868, and the other in neighboring Allensville, built in 1869. Although building a meetinghouse was already unlike the more traditional groups, more cultural changes followed. In the 1870s, the congregation in Belleville instituted a Sunday school in German. They began mission work to New York City in 1893. Three years after they began mission work, worship services were in both English and German. By 1900 both the Sunday school and the worship services were in English. In 1904, the congregation, along with the one at Allensville, joined the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference. The congregation became a national focal point in 1908, when the first Bible conference of the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference was held there (Kaufman 1950; *Maple Grove Dedication Program* 1965, 1975). Organized congregational activities like a sewing circle began in 1909 and the beginning of evening services necessitated the need for electricity in the meetinghouse in 1912. By 1915, the congregation broke further from Old Order tradition and ceased choosing clergy by lot. In 1927, the “Amish” part of their hyphenated denomination was dropped

and the Mennonite General Conference met in Belleville.[17] Mission work continued locally with the building of Mission Sunday Schools, like one at a neighboring village in Barrville in 1935. In 1938, the congregation built a higher pulpit and in 1954 a renovation project for the church brought in a stove, refrigerator, lamps, curtains, and expanded the seating capacity to accommodate over 400 (*Maple Grove Dedication Program* 1965, 1975). In the 1950s and 1960s headcoverings disappeared and women started cutting their hair:

> **Narrator 5**: Well, it's like here at Maple Grove. Everybody had a covering on and they didn't have any hair cuts. Finally one woman got a haircut. Well, no one said anything about it. And another did too – and then another did too. And there's only about one or two who don't have their hair cut and wear a covering now.

By the 1950s and 1960s, Maple Grove had become nearly completely separate from its Old Order roots. The individual projection of Narrator 5 is one of disassociation with most of the changes underway. The gradual changing of outward manifestations of group identity, like dress, balanced tension between the members urging change and the members wanting to hold onto some traditional aspects of the culture. If the progressions moved too quickly, the congregation would have simply undergone another split.

Not only did Maple Grove end selection of ministers by lot in the early twentieth century, they have since changed their clerical hierarchy. Ministerial

[17] The Mennonite General Conference was an early national level organization aimed at unifying the early Mennonite churches in North America.

duties of the church are vested in all members (*Maple Grove Sunday Program* 2010) and instead of bishops they have overseers (#4).[18] This is unlike the Old Order pattern, which selects ministers by lot and prescribes a clear "chain of command" among clergy. Each Old Order congregation has a deacon, one or two ministers, and a bishop. Amish congregations function autonomously, though some congregations may fellowship (exchange ministers, intermarry) with each other. Mennonite churches, on the other hand, typically join larger national organizations.

An early hymnal used in worship services until the 1950s was the *Church and Sunday School Hymnal*, which includes hymns on non-resistance and other Old Order and Anabaptist tenets. German hymns (in older script) are included as an appendix, including the *Loblied*. However, the current hymnal is *The Hymnal*, which only includes English-language hymns. A piano and organ accompany worship, though every few months they revive a cappella (four part harmony) singing. The Amish model of singing in unison without musical accompaniment is no longer practiced nor revived on occasion.

5.3.2 Allensville Amish-Mennonite

The congregation at Allensville arose in tandem with the Belleville congregation (later Maple Grove). Unlike the Amish, who discourage organized group Bible study, Sunday schools were the norm for the early Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley. The Sunday school at Allensville began early and used the Bible in the

[18] Narrators' numbers correspond to the appendix.

1880s, followed by lesson books in the 1890s (*Allensville Bicentennial* 2006). Although the church was officially designated "Amish-Mennonite" in the early twentieth century, congregants ignored the name-connection to their sectarian roots:

> **Interviewer**: When did they change their name from Allensville Amish-Mennonite to Allensville Mennonite, do you know?
>
> **Narrator 4**: We always referred to it as Allensville Mennonite from little up. But the A[mish]-M[ennonite] was always on the sign.

In 1932 an addition expanded the church in Allensville, while outreach mission churches began in Rockville in 1936 and Mount Union in 1938. Although services were all in English, prior to 1950, Allensville was still more conservative than Maple Grove with no instrumental music, a capella singing, and gender segregation in worship (#8, 18). Gradually in the 1960s, women stopped wearing headcoverings and families started buying televisions (#4, 27). Certain aspects were still taboo, like wearing the color red (#36) and not wearing cape dresses for Sunday worship (#36). In fact, Narrator 29 claimed that she was "kicked out" of Allensville for having lace on her dress. However, worship changes did occur. Ministers were no longer chosen by lot and in 1969 the first non-Allensville member was ordained as minister.

Like Maple Grove, the Allensville congregation used the *Church and Sunday School Hymnal* until just after World War II, though now uses *Life Songs*. Very different from the Old Order slow-singing, music at Allensville went at a quick pace:

Narrator 9: The singing was slow and dragging before that. But then [the songleader] wouldn't allow that.

Interviewer: He speeded it up?

Narrator 9: He speeded it up. Yes. And when I hear it on the radio out of Lancaster, sometimes they drag out and so I say: you need [the songleader], boy!

Although the church did not have musical accompaniment in the first half of the twentieth century, they now have a "worship team" with guitars and drums.

Outreach continues to be a core value of the congregation, even as far as Japan (#22). Importantly, "outreach," literally the opposite of "separation from the world," is the term used by congregants of these churches today. The church continues to have converts from the Old Order Amish and, as evidenced by the horse-and-buggy tie post in the rear of the church building, still attracts Old Orders for funerals, weddings, and baptisms. In the 1980s there was considerable remodeling to the church. Most recently, the Allensville Mennonite Church dropped membership in the Allegheny Conference (of which Maple Grove is still a member) and joined the Conservative Mennonite Conference (*Allensville* 2011).

5.3.3 Locust Grove Unaffiliated / Amish-Mennonite

Not all congregants accepted the changes underway in Big Valley among the Amish-Mennonite groups. Just short of the twentieth century, in 1899, a group disapproved of such rapid changes as shorter haircuts, four-part singing,

meetinghouse renovations and the inclusion of English. This group formed a conservative congregation called Locust Grove with Abraham Zook as the bishop (Kauffman 1991:121-2). Locust Grove, although initially unaffiliated, later joined the Conservative Amish Mennonite Conference in 1910.

In the early years of Locust Grove, ministers were ordained by lot (#10, 19). The first minister not chosen by lot was Erie Renno, who was made preacher in 1951. However, his selection brought disagreement among some of the membership (#33). So great was the disagreement that when he garnered the same number of votes as a fellow minister for the position of bishop in 1958, the church chose to select the appropriate man by lot. Paying the ministers came later than voting them in, and even that was a very sensitive issue for the membership (#33). Today women are included in worship leadership, though none are ordained (#33).

Dress at Locust Grove was conservative. Women were expected to wear cape dresses with their hair up and covered (#9, 19). Any changes were gradual:

Narrator 7: I wore a cape dress until we had younger children, I think.

Narrator 6: What made you quit?

Narrator 7: Well everybody else did.

Co-congregants negotiated changes in the church, which affected the religious identity of the group. By dropping her cape dress, and allying with others, they became less sectarian and focused on creating a new Amish-Mennonite identity (cf. Le Page 1978). Thus, their identities fell more in line with progressive

Mennonitism. Narrator 11, who joined Locust Grove, from the more liberal Maple Grove commented:

> **Narrator 11**: I had girlfriends at Locust Grove Church and they were telling me how they had to wear black stockings and they didn't dare do this or that… everyone wore a covering when I joined there.

Narrator 11 still wears a headcovering and plain dress, though many of her co-congregants do not. Though she chose not to participate in their identity, she is clearly in the minority. Changes in dress, in particular, as an outward manifestation of religious identity were easier for some. Narrator 49 tried, as a girl, to avoid wearing the traditional black stockings by choosing a color closest to black. That small change, adopted by many of her peers in the church, later progressed to just beige stockings, which she wears today. Today, there is generally no difference in dress between members of Locust Grove, Maple Grove and most mainstream Protestant churches. Narrator 1 reasoned it was a matter of early religious socialization:

> **Narrator 1**: They were very strict on that. And I'm not sure why, well from Amish background I guess… But I think we found to our dismay or regret that some of those things did not make anybody any better. Dressing a certain way doesn't make a person better.

Narrator 1's changing interpretation of plain dress in his lifetime is very divergent from the Old Order belief that plain dress is an outward marker (and often one of the most salient markers) of religious identity. For the Old Orders dress marks nonconformity to the world, strengthens gender differences and roles, and re-

establishes the boundaries of group membership. Those who belonged to the Amish-Mennonite movement did not share that symbolism to the same degree as the Old Orders. Today, some of the older women of the congregation wear headcoverings, but the majority of this minority only wear the headcoverings on Sunday. Similar to dress, the early Locust Grove Amish-Mennonites retained aspects of worship, including gender segregation into the 1960s (#10, 17, 19, 25). This, too, would change as their sectarian identities changed; members no longer segregate by gender:

> **Narrator 6**: When we started to have a family worth the while, then we started to sit together. We were partly the instigator of change.
>
> **Interviewer**: So it wasn't like, one day you went to church and everyone mixed it up?
>
> **Narrator 6**: No families started that on their own.
>
> **Interview**: And you sat in the back? Or not so much?
>
> **Narrator 6**: Maybe not. Not the front seat anyway.

As instigators of change, Narrator 6's family was on the forefront of constructing church identity. For them, gender segregation in worship was no longer necessary for their religious identity. Moreover it was practical for the young family, whose parents and siblings were members at other churches in the Valley, to sit together at worship. The implications of this gendered integration, however, led to other changes such as the progression from a cappella (four part harmony) singing to singing in unison with musical accompaniment. They bought a piano around the early 1970s (#33), then an organ, and now they have a

"worship team" with guitars and drums. One Sunday a month, usually the second Sunday, they revive a cappella singing. Most narrators found the newer musical innovations a better addition to worship:

> **Interviewer**: What kind of music do you have today?
>
> **Narrator 6**: The Worship Team – they have a piano, organ, guitars and drums. Praise the Lord.

Narrator 6's religious identity has so much changed since his conservative youth, that "praising the Lord" with a variety of musical instruments stands in direct opposition to the Old Order model. Progressing evermore with increases in technology, hymns are typically not selected from hymnals, but are projected on the sanctuary wall with PowerPoint.

Within Amish society, participation in the military is a test of membership. Throughout their history, many Anabaptists have actually migrated out of areas to avoid drafts and conscription. As such, participation in the military was once a violation of their non-resistant stance. Several narrators participated in non-combatant roles during wartime like the Civilian Public Service for 1W service. Members have since changed that position. Narrator 19 questioned: "When that young man needed a church more than ever, why would they cut them off?" Today young members who join the military are included for prayer thoughts in the weekly newsletters (#29, 33). Although pacifism is still a tenet of Mennonite beliefs, it is not a test of membership as it once was. Moreover, the integration of the younger congregants into the church's organization and leadership occurs much earlier than among the Old Orders. Baptism happens before or just at the

start of high school. Although they retain the Anbaptist tenet of adult baptism, their interpretation of the age of an "adult" is different from more conservative Anabaptist groups. Interestingly, Locust Grove offers the option for new baptismal candidates to be immersed in a stream, similar to very evangelistic Protestant groups today.

Educational and career prospects for young people in the congregation changed as well. High school was not favorably received in the church, nor in many of the homes of the membership in the first half of the twentieth century (#1). Today, nearly all of the members in Allensville, Locust Grove and Maple Grove attend high school. In fact, the local Belleville Mennonite School attracts most of the children in these congregations. Although associated with Mennonitism, the school is vastly different from the one-room parochial schools of the Old Orders. Classes are separated by grade and a curriculum mirroring that of the local public school is present. Several of the younger generations attend college or postsecondary training. A few of the members also seek post-baccalaureate degrees. Today members of these three congregations include nurses, teachers, entrepreneurs, carpenters, photographers, doctors, and many other professional occupations. The changes in occupation have also brought with them a change in the socioeconomic status of the membership. Unlike their Old Order farming neighbors, members of these churches are more likely to have free-time and vacation outside of Big Valley. Thus their outside connections and networks are more open and increased.

5.4 Language and identity among the Amish-Mennonites

The Amish of the nineteenth century had three languages in their linguistic repertoire. The language of the home, within the in-group, and (to a large extent) the spoken liturgy at church was Pennsylvania Dutch. Archaic German is the language of the written liturgy, and English is used everywhere else.[19] Even as the Amish-Mennonites diverged from the Amish, elderly members still recall holding onto those linguistic patterns:

> My first years were rooted in the Amish way of life. Our spoken language was Pennsylvania Dutch (Deutch) [sic]. In worship we used Luther's German Bible translation and the 16th Century German language Martyr hymns (Kanagy 2006:8).

Although the author refers to his first years as "Amish," they were actually Amish-Mennonite, however linguistically the distinction between the Old Orders and the Amish-Mennonites is difficult to make. In some instances, even outsiders (adopted children) were taught the same language repertoire, so as to be easily assimilated into their group:

> Mother taught us children the Pennsylvania Dutch language. Since we were small, it was easy for us to learn. There were a lot of Amish people living all around us and in school so it was so nice to speak their language too (Mohler 2005:15).

[19] These domains are not mutually exclusive, as Pennsylvania Dutch is a non-written language, written notes, shopping lists and the like are in English (cf. Louden 2006).

However, as the Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley started to drop some of their ties to sectarian identity (discussed above), language behavior changed as well. These changes were often due to new attitudes, filtered through changed language ideologies. Pennsylvania Dutch became a marker of an increasingly smaller, exclusive in-group. Often parents at home and others would speak the language so that the children would be kept out of discussions. One narrator regarded Pennsylvania Dutch as a "secret language," i.e. a language which kept them from being part of the Amish in-group:

> **Interviewer**: What did you think about the Amish speaking Dutch at school? What was your reaction to that? Were you wondering, why are they speaking Dutch?
>
> **Narrator 18**: Sometimes they'd speak in Dutch, so that we wouldn't know what they were talking about.
>
> **Interviewer**: Kind of a secret language.
>
> **Narrator 18**: Like Mom and Dad, if they wanted to communicate something, they'd talk in Dutch so the kids wouldn't know what they were saying.

Linguistic separation from their peer group enforced an early problem in the social networks of Valley Amish and non-Pennsylvania Dutch speaking Amish-Mennonites. Lacking the linguistic fostering of these networks, the shared histories of these individuals blurred. The line was drawn at language between the Old Orders and their more progressive Amish-Mennonite cousins, further separating the religious and sociocultural gap between them. In fact, the

presentation of Pennsylvania Dutch as a "secret language" of the parents' generation was one of the most common threads in the oral history interviews (#4, 20, 28, 33).

The early generations of Amish-Mennonites were surrounded by choices that shaped identity. Although Old Order members would not claim that Pennsylvania Dutch is inherently "sacred" (Anderson & Martin 1976:76; Johnson-Weiner 1992:37), it functions as both an in-group tradition and a marker from the world. It maintains the early Anabaptist teachings of noncomformity, and, as an unwritten and non-literary language, it satisfied Old Order yearning for humility in all aspects of life. For many of the narrators, Pennsylvania Dutch existed simply out of tradition. Narrator 12 noted that it was not forbidden for them to speak English, "it just wasn't a common thing… If you grow up with something culturally, it sticks pretty deep." Narrator 13 went as far to say that speaking Pennsylvania Dutch at home was a "requirement" and that speaking English would breach social etiquette.

However, the growing divide between the narrators and their parents' generation increased. It seems that the children took their parents' progressivism further. They were cognizant of their parents' religious changes and enacted their own. Narrator 17, who started sitting with her family at church services instead of being gender-separated and chose to don less conservative garb as a new mother, also stopped the tradition of transmitting Pennsylvania Dutch to her children. In her words, she "got away from the Dutch after I had children." For her, the association of conservative dress and traditional religious

lifestyle fell in line with speaking Pennsylvania Dutch. Her new identity with new dress and a less rigid approach to the religious experience necessitated English – and all the Bible story books, Sunday school curricula, and mission opportunities it brought with it. These external manifestations of one identity linked further with language mirror those of hair styles linked with ethnic identity as given in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:210). In their analysis, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) found that participants in Central American speech communities made sharp distinctions between Spanish hair and Creole hair – linking the non-linguistic (hair style) with the linguistic, and in turn ethnic (Spanish or Creole). Thus, the symbols of religious identity have changed for the generation of the narrators. The features which index traditional Anabaptism – headcoverings, gender segregation, and language behavior – are vulnerable to change as the youngest members of the congregations construct their own religious identities.

In the nineteenth century, the parents of these narrators had dense networks – interacting largely with other Amish and fellowshipping only with other Amish. As such, for earlier generations in Big Valley, a partner who did not speak the language was a problem:

> **Narrator 38**: Well as a matter of fact, there was a problem with my dad marrying my mother because when we got to family reunions, they say Johnny, why'd you marry her and she can't even talk Dutch!?

Although this would have been a social stigma for his mother and father, it was not for him, nor for his children – all of whom married people who do not "talk Dutch." The lack of such a social stigma caused the "language issue" to fade into

the background for many members of the younger generations in Big Valley. With the opening of the church comes the increased possibility of associations with outsiders and "non-believers" and converts. Narrator 13 commented that "the more you associate together, the more you blend together." Indeed the fact that the Valley's former Amish-Mennonites are looking more outwardly invites the possibility of exogamy.[20] Narrator 13 notes that his siblings-in-law do not speak Pennsylvania Dutch, so his siblings had to resort to English at family functions and made that the language of their households. Narrator 16's mother was Amish-Mennonite (born in the 1890s), but she married a Lutheran and stopped speaking the language as a result. Thus, networks among the Amish-Mennonites of the late nineteenth century became open and less dense. Their everyday interactions could include members of many out-groups, and, being surrounded by monolingual English in the rest of Pennsylvania, they assimilated quickly.

Even if their parents insisted on transmitting the language to their infants, school proved to be the next hurdle. This time the children were not in rural one-room schools like the parents. Thus they were not given the security of learning English in first grade:

Narrator 6: It didn't take very long to learn it [English]. I think soon

[20] Exogamy is one of factors contributing to language shift among nonsectarian speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch (cf. Louden 2006).

> after I started school, I just continued Dutch more too. The same thing with our own children --- we talked Dutch to them first too, but it seems when they started school, it fell through.

The narrators who commented overtly on the role of English in their society, often put into comparison with Pennsylvania Dutch. For them, the common stereotype of a "dumb Dutchman" was a strong embarrassment, from which they chose to disassociate. Narrator 42 felt inferior in school and inferior in taking on the religious role of conscientious objector status during World War II. For him the negative prestige attached to Pennsylvania Dutch was very salient:

> **Narrator 42**: Yeah, people used to look down on that. Dumb Dutchmen. Dumb Dutchmen. We talked kind of backwards you know, and all this and that, but we's dumb. When we talked to them we had to talk English. They don't talk Dutch to us. We's dumb. We talked two languages.

The repetition of "dumb" and the emphatic expression on the non-standard "we's" drove his point further that his perceived inferiority in the community as a Pennsylvania Dutch speaker and as a member of an Amish-Mennonite congregation remained imprinted on his thoughts. Similar sentiments came from Narrator 26:

> **Narrator 26**: No, we wasn't allowed to talk Dutch in school.
>
> **Interviewer**: Oh yeah?
>
> **Narrator 26**: We had to talk English.
>
> **Interviewer**: What would happen if you talked Dutch?
>
> **Narrator 26**: "What did you say? What did you say?" We had to tell in

English what we said.

Interviewer: Oh okay. Yeah

Narrator 26: If we didn't know what you said, you were dumb as a stick.

Again, the association with not speaking English was that one was "dumb." Pennsylvania Dutch children – in the larger public schools – were linguistically handicapped. For Narrator 42, the prestige that came with learning English was considerably higher than Pennsylvania Dutch:

Narrator 42: But we talked English too. We learned. It was big stuff to talk English.

English was "big stuff." Thus the hierarchical relationship for Big Valley's Amish-Mennonites of the early twentieth century positions Pennsylvania Dutch as a lower priority. Language, unlike for the Old Orders, had gained prestige. With their widening networks and possibilities for outside interactions, the Amish-Mennonites did not want to stick with a "low prestige" language – a source of embarrassment for many of them. These sentiments align perfectly with similar instances of positive motivations for individuals to identify with groups as relayed in Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985:184). The building negative motivations – embarrassment, decreased peer in-groups at school, academic difficulties in school – were strong enough for the Amish-Mennonites to disassociate from their Pennsylvania Dutch traditions. As such, Pennsylvania Dutch represented a tie to the Old Orders, which, as they progressed into more mainstream Mennonitism, they wished to sever. Moreover, Pennsylvania Dutch represented a "learning disability" and social stigma of low prestige, which, as they opened their networks

and churches, proved to be hindering external legitimization of their religious goals.

Not only were dress, education, and personal lifestyles changing, but so too did their religious orientation. In turn, their changing religious orientation influenced language behavior as well. Changing religious orientation, like the increased emphasis on mission work and outreach, caused at least one couple (#10), who adopted two orphan girls, to avoid Pennsylvania Dutch in the 1940s. They thought it was not sensible to teach them Pennsylvania Dutch, given that their background was not (genetically) Pennsylvania Dutch. Exogamy and the introduction of non-ethnic Anabaptists opened up the churches and changed their sectarian exclusivity. This is in direct opposition to the sentiments of the narrator's parents (from the beginning of this section), who chose to teach him Pennsylvania Dutch in spite of his non-genetic ties to the group. Mission work, evangelism and changing religious goals are consistently cited as a major factor for language shift among Mennonites (Keel 2003; Raith 2003; Buchheit 1982:119; Bender 1959:290-1). Each of the churches discussed here – as they moved from Amish-Mennonite to Mennonite – participated in their own (and to an extent joint) ventures in mission work. Locust Grove's mission work includes mission Sunday schools at Woodland, Crenshaw and the Princeton Street Chapel in Mifflin County. Maple Grove created one at Barrville, and Allensville at Centre, Rockville, Otelia, and Boyer (Kauffman 1991). Even as early as 1874, the Amish-Mennonites contributed aid to Russian Mennonites (Kauffman 1991:262), thus sowing the seed for early collaboration with Mennonite churches worldwide.

This outreach continued into more local venues. Revivals and evangelism began in the early 1890s in Big Valley (Kauffman 1991:132). One resident, Jacob Hooley, recounts his experience at a revival in 1897 in Big Valley:

> Some omish weaman Sprang to their feet & Said the[y] felt so happy that the[y] were Shure of going to Heaven if they were to die. did you ever hear of such talk in omish churches. Such people you may set down as Religious Cranks as they have not Sense anough to Know that they are Blasfeaming the word of their maker (Yoder 1991:233).

This excerpt provides ample comparison between the Amish and "religious cranks." These "religious cranks" – those seeking more evangelistic and revivalistic outlets for their religious expression – were divergent from the Amish churches of their youth. In creating new congregations and basing the religious orientation on their changing needs, the groups became more drawn to progressive Mennonitism and further separated from the Old Orders. Big Valley's former Amish-Mennonites started believing in the assuredness of salvation and revivalist evangelism. Old Orders value humility and thus avoid speaking of assuredness of salvation. Old Order liturgy is also far more conservative than that of the former Amish-Mennonites. Today all former Amish-Mennonite groups in Big Valley actively pursue a mission-oriented agenda.

The shared histories, yet increasingly divergent narratives, of Valley Anabaptists lead to more separate viewpoints of the role of language in religion. Traditionally, Old Orders have used archaic Luther German for written texts in

worship services. In fact, the retention of this archaic language serves the Old Orders well for increased separation from mainstream society. The link between tradition and cultural language use resounded in several interviews:

> **Narrator 22**: In German, yeah. It's Luther German. Yeah. And these hymns in here are called the hymns of the martyrs. It's amazing how many--, these hymns of the martyrs sets kind of a climate in the Amish community. They remember their faith has come to them through people who stood for what they believed was right. What the Bible taught.

In relating to the interviewers the format of the Amish hymnal, the *Ausbund*, Narrator 22 notes the deep cultural and religious connection between language and tradition. For him, the deaths of the martyrs and the language of the text represent a deep understanding of tradition in Amish society. Similarly, Narrator 13 correlates the traditional German hymns of worship with dignity: "Just German songs. No, nothing foolish." Narrator 5 needs no reliance on religious texts, but still thinks that traditional language should remain – simply because "they come from Dutch background." These attitudes toward traditional language use were by far in the minority of sentiments expressed in the oral history project. This minority of congregants aligned themselves as the most conservative in their respective congregations, but each resigned themselves to the changes taking place in their churches. The threats of church schisms or shunning – found among the Old Orders – are absent in these churches.

The function of German as a language of religion lost ground. By the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, the last Sunday school (at Locust

Grove) was taught in German. Some narrators remember German worship services with the traditional *Loblied* sung at every service (#9). Typically though, German remained just as long as the ability to preach in it. Narrator 14 remembers "one old deacon" who still read German in her youth. Most of the narrators agreed that their understanding of English and lack of fluency in German created a need for this language shift. It was, by and large, a welcome shift in the religious domain. Again, the transitions were gradual within the congregations negotiating their changing religious identities. Concessions and compromises in language behavior were hallmarks of the early Amish-Mennonite congregations. During those transitional years in the 1910s and 1920s, the devotional (a shorter, earlier sermon) was often in German, but the main sermon was in English (#7). Finally, the move to English-only took place as the last of the oldest clergy died and the reliance on tradition became less important for the congregation's changing religious identity in the 1930s. In so doing, the lost connection of religion with an ethnicity forced the construction of a new religious identity. Today, no Mennonites in Big Valley use German at any part in their worship services.

With their disassociation from the Old Orders, the emerging Amish-Mennonites further separated Old Order language behaviors from their own, by expressing negative attitudes toward the diglossic nature of the Old Orders. As they focused their association with progressive Mennonitism, the changing motivations of the churches disassociated them with the Old Order. The identities of the early Amish-Mennonites are therefore situational and

constructed both by their own interpretation of faith, but also their distance from other interpretations of faith (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Although all Amish are proficient in both English and Pennsylvania Dutch, their abilities in standard German vary. While outsiders assume they use standard German in worship, they would only command a reading knowledge at best. Many outsiders conflate the presence of archaic German Bible and hymnals with spoken liturgy. Several Big Valley Mennonites see this aspect of Old Order as a hindrance to the Amish, both socially and religiously:

> **Narrator 2**: And the whole thing that's happening here in our community today is with the --- I mean the Black Top Amish and the White Top [Amish] --- is that their preachers still preach in High German and their people have no idea what they're talking about.

For her, linguistic ability goes hand-in-hand with church problems. Thus, a false understanding of linguistic behavior arises and with it a negative association to traditional language use. Another narrator echoed a similar sentiment:

> **Narrator 6**: German and Pennsylvania Dutch had similarities, but they are not the same.
>
> **Interviewer**: There are some differences too.
>
> **Narrator 6**: It still is. I think that's why the Amish have a lot of problems today. They aren't taught to read German like the older ones were.

Both narrators comment on the current situation of unrest and "problems" among Valley Old Order Amish. Although neither elaborated on these

"problems" – only hinting at further group splintering – both are adamant that the Amish groups' weak command of their chosen hagiolect is the source. It seems, then, that some Valley Mennonites consider Biblical literacy to be the source of "problems." This was another prevalent theme in the interviews. Narrators 8, 14, 17, 26, 37, and 49 all commented on their inability as children to understand worship liturgy:

> **Narrator 37**: Well, I wanted a car. I didn't want to battle horse and buggy. But that wasn't the main reason. A couple times I went to Locust Grove and there was a funeral and I decided I wanted to go to a church where I could understand what the preacher was saying.

At least one narrator viewed this problem as potential for his growing evangelistic zeal. As a respected former German teacher and one of the few who actively passed on the language to his children, he comments not only on the language situation of the Amish, but also the notion of evangelism prevalent in Mennonite communities:

> **Narrator 12**: Nobody is presently in our generation now teaching them [the Amish] the proper use of words, nor much less the meaning of them even in the [High German] Scriptures. They are not permitted to interpret the Scriptures. We're living in real mission field.

In Big Valley, then, we see a parallel change in both language behavior and religious thought, i.e., both a linguistic and theological shift. The change in theology from a non-evangelistic Old Order identity in Big Valley to one which actively seeks to convert has paralleled the shift to English monolingualism, a

feature observed in several other Anabaptist communities (Buchheit 1988; Johnson-Weiner 1992; Wolff 1992; Johnson-Weiner 1998). The theological aims of these groups have changed to a more evangelistic and mission-oriented nature. They find hagiolect literacy and interpretation of the Bible a major problem among Valley Amish. Raith (1997:113) goes so far as to call it a *Geheimsprache* for the religious goals of the former Amish-Mennonites.

Narrators gave positive attitudes toward German and Pennsylvania Dutch use only with regard to Old Order language behavior. In Big Valley, Amish-Mennonites only recalled instances when Pennsylvania Dutch was preferred over English in speaking with members of the Old Orders. These instances increase the association of Pennsylvania Dutch (and German) with the Old Orders. The former Amish-Mennonites (now Mennonites) are changing their religious identity, so traditional language use no longer applies to that identity. Even today, some elderly former Amish-Mennonites find it appropriate to speak Pennsylvania Dutch to their Amish neighbors, for reasons of utility to help restrict processes of language attrition. In this manner, the interaction is seen less a kinship or friendship, but more of a favor:

> **Interviewer**: Do you speak much Pennsylvania German?
>
> **Narrator 19**: When I have the opportunity, I go to the neighbors and we speak Pennsylvania Dutch. I guess it sounds strange to them.

And yet, the clear separation between the Old Orders and the early Amish-Mennonites rings through today. Narrator 11, although fluent in Pennsylvania Dutch, often shies away from speaking it to the Old Orders. She is not a member

of their in-group, and, as an outsider, feels uncomfortable encroaching on their linguistic boundaries:

> **Narrator 11**: Today, I just automatically speak Pennsylvania Dutch to them and they look at me, like "Who are you?"

Even when both conditions – a shared history and shared language behavior – exist, religious similarity is lacking. Some find this separation to be compounded by their own perceived shortcomings with a common language:

> **Interviewer**: If you'd run into an Amishman today, you'd talk English to him?
>
> **Narrator 17**: I do, because they'd laugh. I just can't as good as I used to.

Just a generation before, and even in her youth, Narrator 17 would have freely spoken to the Amish in Pennsylvania Dutch. Increasing separation of religious beliefs and social values, pronounced by an increasingly distant linguistic gap, has strengthened the divide between Valley Amish and Mennonites. In turn the Valley Amish-Mennonites recount a switch in the appropriateness of speaking Pennsylvania Dutch with the Amish. Although once a device for building solidarity, Pennsylvania Dutch now fulfils a completely different function as a language for practice. For Narrator 8, speaking Pennsylvania Dutch "just for fun," seems to be one of the lasting functions of the language among the Valley's former Amish-Mennonites.

By noting the correlation between maintaining a distinctive hagiolect and the other "problems today" (as Narrator 6 addresses them) the former Amish-Mennonites show a clear separation from the Amish in-group. Giles & Billings

(2004:196) note the tendency for negative attitudes to form in communities with a clear in- and out-group (2004:196). Indeed it is the social evaluation, which influences positive and negative attitudes toward certain linguistic features (Toribio 2002:9). In this case, the social evaluation of Pennsylvania Dutch and its lack of external currency within the dominant society have impacted the future of the language as a viable connection between former Amish-Mennonites and the neighboring Old Orders. Although at one time in their histories, Pennsylvania Dutch and German were strongly associated with their Amish-Mennonite identities, this is no longer the case:

> **Interviewer**: But you didn't associate Dutch with being Mennonite at all, those were two different things?
>
> **Narrator 1**: Well, years ago, I guess somewhat, but then not later.

Additionally, the less exclusive and less sectarian nature of the former Amish-Mennonite churches have removed the language barriers:

> **Narrator 6**: You see, we accept anybody today, back then it wasn't that way. An outsider didn't feel comfortable.
>
> **Interviewer**: By outsider, you mean someone who wasn't Mennonite or Amish?
>
> **Narrator 6**: Right, some English-speaking person.

Although Narrator 6 conflates both "outsider" with "English-speaking person" it is doubtful that a younger non-native speaker in this same congregation would make the same distinction. The association of Pennsylvania Dutch language use

with a Mennonite identity in Big Valley is swiftly disappearing, if not already entirely gone.

5.5 Conclusion

There is no longer stable bilingualism among Big Valley's former Amish-Mennonites and there only exists remnants of diglossia. The data presented point out concretely the reasons for the language shift. The changing religious orientation factored strongly into the picture: from more sectarian to less sectarian, from a religious identity rooted in part in ethnicity to a new religious identity no longer bound to a particular ethnic background. Dropping some symbols of Amish identity while maintaining others, these groups moved through a period of hyphenated existence as Amish-Mennonites. Later they would drop most of their Amish symbols, drop their hyphenated name, and construct their identities as clearly separate from the Amish.

Pennsylvania Dutch for the in-group was often not an option for many of the younger Amish-Mennonites in the 1920s and 1930s. For those who were exposed to it, the language was a source of embarrassment and high negative social prestige. German in worship services was a barrier to "Biblical literacy" and religious understanding. It was a barrier to change. These attitudes have an underlying ideology that these traditions of language are no longer associated with progressive Mennonitism or even progressive Anabaptism. In Big Valley, given the geographical uniqueness of the community and social linkages, traditional language use is viewed as an Old Order phenomenon. In turn, then,

Old Order is seen as something religiously undesirable, further diminishing the appeal of the Pennsylvania Dutch language. In line with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), the acts of religious identity in Big Valley are very much associated with language behavior. Given the close geographic proximity of the congregations, the boundaries between self- and other-projections of identity are more salient and more rigid as the gap between the Old Orders and the former Amish-Mennonites widens. The role of Pennsylvania Dutch for identity among the former Amish-Mennonites has shifted from the language of the in-group to the language of a conservative out-group. The former Amish-Mennonites continue to shape their new religious identities with English as both the language of their in-group and the language of their worship services.

Chapter 6

Beachy Amish-Mennonites

6.1 Introduction

Similar to the previous chapter, this one presents data from the oral history interviews, supported by observations and archival material, on changing ethnic boundaries and language ideologies. The sociohistorical and archival information includes predominately recollections from members of Beachy Amish-Mennonite congregations in their published memoirs, historical information gleaned from unpublished church histories, and weekly church activity reports published in the Amish and Mennonite newspaper, *The Budget*. The oral history interviews include eight interviews with Big Valley residents, who grew up in the Beachy Amish church but joined more progressive groups in their early adulthood and five interviews with current Beachy Amish-Mennonite members. The information in the oral history interviews is supplemented with observations from attendance at worship services and hymn-sings, visits at the homes of Beachy Amish-Mennonite members, noting technology present, dress, interactions with others, and the like. Non-sourced information was gleaned from personal observation; these comprehensive observations on their cultural change appear for the first time in print here. The observations were recorded in notebooks as temporally near to the events as possible; permission to record the

information was always obtained. Unlike the groups mentioned in the previous chapter, the inclusion of sectarian identity within their own ethnoreligious identity preoccupies many congregants in the Beachy Amish-Mennonite congregations. The current Beachy Amish-Mennonites construct ethnoreligious identities between Old Order Amish and progressive Mennonitism, roughly the same position as the previous chapter's Amish-Mennonites a century ago. As such, a number of cultural changes surface in the following discussion, not the least of which is a change in the language of the home and worship domains to monolingual English. Paralleling the language shift is a constant negotiation of sectarian identity couched within a changing religious orientation. The projections of the individuals discussed in this chapter show both the alliance with one group and the separation from another for the construction of identity (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). The role the ethnoreligious identity and movement to a new religious identity will emerge as a significant reason for the language shift among Big Valley's Beachy Amish-Mennonites. Importantly, this group represents one found outside the sectarian/nonsectarian dichotomy. Big Valley's Amish-Mennonites problematize the notion of defining sectarian culture among the Amish, who are no longer Old Order.

6.2 Beachy Amish origins

The Beachy Fellowship (Beachy Amish, Beachy Amish-Mennonite) formally came into existence in the 1920s in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. They are considered a fellowship and not a conference, as each congregation is

autonomous with a bishop and two ministers, who are chosen by lot (Schwieder & Schwieder 1977:47). However, the origins of the Beachy Amish extend back to the 1890s, when a group in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania refused to practice *Streng Meidung* (strict social avoidance) of Moses and Lena Hartz, whose son was excommunicated for dress code violations (Yoder 1987:102). Many Amish see strict social avoidance as an effective means of controlling their sectarian boundaries. As a social exclusionary method, it remains the strongest form of punishment for any cultural transgression.[21] The Amish group that refused to ban the Hartzes had long practiced social avoidance; they became opponents of the traditional punishment for social transgressors. The more conservative faction in the congregation, who upheld the banning of the Hartzes, saw the changing attitude as a major threat to the viability of the "redemptive community."[22] It divided the congregation and made even the strongest form of Amish punishment vulnerable to change. Years later, in nearby Somerset County, Pennsylvania a similar tension surfaced with strict social avoidance at its core. The resulting split would cause larger, national effects for the Amish movement. In effect, the rejection of social avoidance was the first step away

[21] Some Amish groups chose not to follow avoidance in its strictest sense, but still maintain a strong boundary between its communing membership and wayward congregants. Avoidance is a practice whereby members of the church community may not commune, eat, sleep with, or receive items from shunned members.

[22] Kraybill & Bowman (2001) believe that the Amish society functions as a redemptive community, i.e., one that follows the same sociocultural patterns and traditions toward salvation. However, the Amish view salvation as non-guaranteed.

from strong ethnoreligious identity and resulted in increased openness toward "non-believers."

Bishop Moses M. Beachy of the Casselman River District in Somerset County refused to shun members of his congregation who left his church to join the Conservative Amish Mennonite church. Opponents saw Beachy's move as embracing of members, who chose to live a less sectarian lifestyle. Members, through baptism as adults into the Amish church, make a serious promise to remain faithful to the community. Bishop Beachy, according to his opponents, was too accepting of former members, who had broken that promise. His district split at their April communion service in 1927 into two groups: those allying with Beachy and those against him. The more conservative members of Beachy's district eventually became the Yoder congregation and joined neighboring Old Order Amish districts. Beachy's group was more progressive and in successive years started allowing electricity, Sunday schools, and automobiles – all forbidden by Old Order membership. They developed into a new group, taking their name from the original bishop, and created a movement that was enticing to more progressive, less exclusivistic members of the Old Orders. At present, the Beachy Amish-Mennonite congregations total 155 with 9,142 members internationally (*Mennonite Church Directory* 2010).

6.3 Big Valley's Beachy Amish

The Beachy Amish-Mennonites diverge in many ways from their Old Order traditions. As the Beachys are considered a fellowship, each congregation is

different, so particular attention in the following section is given to Big Valley's two Beachy congregations. The cultural aspects of their lifestyle are described below, using both sociohistorical and observational data from Big Valley. Information from the oral history project revealing language ideologies are in the subsequent section. These ideologies inform the Beachys' language behavior, which in turn informs the construction of their religious identities.

6.3.1 Non-linguistic changes

As mentioned above, not all Amish groups practice strict social avoidance. Some choose lesser or other methods of punishment for cultural transgressions. One such church, which lacked strict social avoidance, was Big Valley's Peachey church. The Peachey church (started in 1863), although identifying with the Old Order, was considerably more progressive than the other Old Order churches in Big Valley by the end of the nineteenth century. Not only with regard to member punishment, it was more progressive in dress, transportation and other outward manifestations of Old Order identity. Directly because of their sympathies with Amish churches which did not support strict social avoidance, the Peachey church offered counsel to both congregations in Lancaster and Somerset Counties during their schisms over social avoidance. Bishop Zook of the Peachey church in Big Valley initially offered support in 1919 to the Lancaster County congregation. Soon afterward, his congregants began defining their Old Order identity in a much different way than their Old Order neighbors in Big Valley. His membership embraced two suspenders instead of one, sweaters, zippered jackets,

narrower brimmed hats, and trimmed beards (Kauffman 1991:306). Originally known as the Zook church, their less sectarian appearance separated them from the Old Orders, but at the same time their adherence to buggy transportation and other Old Order norms separated them from the progressive Mennonite churches described in the previous chapter. As the group changed, it assumed the name of influential bishops, from the Zook church (in 1911) to the Peachey church and then finally the Spicher church (in the 1950s) after Bishop Jesse Spicher (Yoder 1963:1-2).

Under the leadership of Bishop Jesse D. Spicher in the 1950s, the church joined a growing movement, which mimicked the cultural changes adopted by Bishop Beachy's Somerset County congregation, mentioned above. This growing movement, or the Beachy Amish-Mennonite Fellowship, developed on a path that led them away from many practices that define Old Order identity. Now a Beachy Amish-Mennonite congregation, the congregants embraced a hyphenated ethnoreligious identity that was in constant negotiation with change. How much could they adopt from the progressive Mennonite movement, but still retain the traditional Old Order values, which they felt somehow obligated to maintain. Up to that point, Big Valley had two congregations of Beachy Amish-Mennonites, which worshipped (according to the Old Order model) in homes. The two groups united and built a large meetinghouse to accommodate their growing numbers (Yoder 1963:6). With the building of their meetinghouse and a new sense of presence in the Valley, the congregation adopted innovations further disassociating them from the Old Orders. Religious changes such as Sunday

evening meetings, English and "fast" hymn sings, growing opportunities for youth activity, and increased interest in outreach and mission work characterized the changing church (Kauffman 1991:307). All of these changes, and the potential of more on the horizon, caused a split in 1985. More conservative members of the congregation established their own meetinghouse on Green Lane in Belleville and called themselves "Pleasant View Amish-Mennonite." The remaining, more progressive side, called themselves "Valley View Amish-Mennonite." At present, the Valley View congregation has 165 members and Pleasant View has 142 members (*Mennonite Church Directory* 2010). Even today, the differences between the more conservative Pleasant View and the more progressive Valley View are noticeable in their acceptance and reluctance for cultural change, as is described below.

The Old Order, the progressives, and the Beachy Amish share "an Anabaptist commitment to the primacy of scripture as the guide to Christian life and Christian behavior" (Johnson-Weiner 2001: 232). However, the Old Orders frown on theological inquiry or group analysis of the Bible outside of its literal meaning. Sunday school, one such outlet for analysis of scripture, was a major point of religious change among the Amish-Mennonites discussed in the previous chapter. Likewise, the Beachy Amish-Mennonites soon adopted Sunday school for increased interest in reading and understanding the Bible (Beachy 1955: 128). Like the Old Orders and other Anabaptists, the Beachys accept the Dordrecht Confession of Faith, which presents the tenets of adult baptism, the importance

of communion, pacifism, and non-conformity. A former bishop of both congregations relates the extents of their non-conformity to the world:

> Parents, do we appreciate our heritage enough and are we thankful enough that we have the privilege to take our children to a church that takes a stand against the evil influences of radio, TV, evil habits, disrespect, mini skirts and teaching to respect the Sabbath (no going away on Saturday nights, but getting ready for Sunday)? (Spicher 2005:165-6)

Although the church rejects the use of certain technologies like the Old Orders, others like automobiles are completely acceptable. Thus for Spicher, an early bishop in the congregation, the bond between the Beachy group and its Old Order heritage is still strong and should be respected. However, the amount of change from the Old Order is significant.

Before the switch to English in the worship service, the worship service on Sunday morning mimicked the Old Order pattern to a certain extent. It began with a hymn, followed by the *Loblied*, followed by a devotional for about fifteen to twenty minutes, prayer, Scripture reading, sermon of about thirty to forty minutes, witness from other ministers, a prayer, a final hymn and then dismissal (#12). My participation in the worship services today show several disconnects with this Old Order-like pattern. Now worship services mimic those of some Mennonite churches in the Valley. Worship begins with a twenty minute devotional, followed by Sunday school, then the main sermon of worship. The more conservative Pleasant View does not have musical accompaniment, though Valley View does on occasion. Further opening up their sectarian boundaries,

both congregations invite outside speakers to their evening services (#3) and morning worship allows for an exchange of pulpits between the two congregations. The ministers are still chosen by lot following the tradition of the Old Order. Their sermons are based on several verses from Scripture, but there is no Old Order-like *Abrot* (a ministerial meeting before worship). Pleasant View also holds Wednesday prayer meetings (*The Budget* 21 Jul 2010, 26 May 2010, 9 Jun 2010), where, contrary to Old Order style, a group convenes to discuss scripture and collectively pray for individuals of the church and world. The congregations no longer use the Old Order *Ausbund* hymnal, as the language of the worship services is no longer archaic German. Pleasant View uses the *Christian Hymnary*, which includes hymns on salvation as well as the *Loblied* in German and English as the first hymn. It also includes English translations of hymns of the martyrs from the Old Order's *Ausbund* hymnal and some from Menno Simons (including the original language, whether German or Holland Dutch). The hymnal seems to function as an amalgamation of their Old Order roots and their increasingly progressive Mennonite tendencies. A supplementary hymnal for worship, *Zion's Praises*, includes hymns on nonresistance, feet washing, mission, evangelism, and salvation; it does not include any German. The congregation relies increasingly more on *Zion's Praises*. Neither church overtly shuns any transgression among the membership. Narrator 6 indicates that this movement away from shunning was a way in which the church "progressed." Today, there is no shunning, "unless they fall into some kind of serious sin. Then they're expelled" (#20). Expelling is not the same as shunning,

as expelling from membership simply removes the rights of membership from the individual. Shunning, or social avoidance, is an avoidance strategy in the hope of bringing the individual back to the congregation.

Among the Old Order, youth are valued, but as non-members of the church until their early adulthood baptism, they possess a very minimal role in the formal activities of the church. Organized, faith-based initiatives for young people (aside from Sunday evening hymn sings) are typically discouraged. Mennonite churches in Big Valley, on the other hand, readily integrate young people into worship, encourage their participation in outreach initiatives, and sponsor faith-based endeavors like camping weekends and socials. Again, the Beachy Amish-Mennonites find themselves somewhere between both groups in the involvement of youth in church activities. Youth are encouraged to participate more in the activities of the church, in fact they are baptized younger than the Old Orders, around age 15-16, maybe as young as 12 (Schwieder & Schwieder 1977:48). Importantly, Sunday evening hymn sings for the youth of the congregation remains an Old Order hold-over and an important venue for socializing with a peer group (*The Budget* 2010). Youth activities, including the hymn sings, have increased the frequency of church-sponsored events. Included in the Pleasant View column of *The Budget* are references to visits to ministers' homes (10 Mar 2010) and the preparation of a community supper for residents of Big Valley including those not members of either Beachy Amish congregation (5 May 2010). Earlier baptism means earlier membership and responsibilities to the congregation.

Both youth and adults have the option of attending Sunday school. Although debated at first, it is now very accepted in both congregations. Pleasant View uses the Christian Light publications. Although the older classes read the Sunday school curriculum in English they discuss it in Pennsylvania Dutch, the younger groups do not discuss Sunday school topics in any language other than English (#20). Although women may not officially participate in the leadership of the church, their presence (particularly as Sunday school teachers) is a pronounced difference from the Old Orders.

Education of the children in the congregation follows the Old Order pattern of employing private parochial schools staffed by their own teachers. However, these teachers are usually trained, unlike the Old Orders. Further education, particularly religious training is available at the Calvary Bible School in Calico Rock, Arkansas (Schwieder & Schwieder 1977:46). Popular publications among the Beachy Amish-Mennonites center on the *Calvary Messenger* and perhaps *Family Life* (Schwieder & Schwieder 1977:50).[23] In Big Valley, both Beachy congregations run their own parochial schools located adjacent to the meetinghouses. The Pleasant View School goes through eighth grade, while Valley View encourages more education. Valley View School has individualized schooling through the Christian Light Education series, a faith-based curriculum. Both schools attract some conservative Mennonite families as well. In line with

[23] *Calvary Messenger* is a Beachy Amish publication. *Family Life* is an Old Order Amish publication.

their hyphenated religious identity, they do not send their children to the Old Order parochial schools nearby, nor to Belleville Mennonite School.

Other forms of education are indicated in the weekly Pleasant View column of *The Budget* newspaper: Faith Builders for instruction on teaching (14 Jul 2010), a deacon seminar (2 Dec 2009), seminar on missions (31 Mar 2010), Spanish courses for the eighth grade graduates (26 May 2010), and a marriage enrichment seminar (20 Jan 2010). Such educational outlets are more indicative of Mennonite influence on their congregations. Additionally, Beachy Amish-Mennonites pursue occupations beyond the popular farming pursuits of the Old Orders. These occupations tend to mandate some manual talent, though if they require additional education it is most likely for nursing and teaching (Yoder 1987:279). The most popular occupations are skilled labor like plumbing and electrician work. There are some licensed practical nurses, but no professionals in Pleasant View (#20), while Valley View has more certified nurses and teachers. Doctors may be acceptable professions, but lawyers would not be accepted, due to the non-litigating, pacifist stance of the church. As such, not only is economic growth in career paths not a test of membership, but the congregation is less exclusive to outsiders, who may join and have such educational backgrounds.

Technology is consistently a point of contention, both for the Old Orders and the Beachys, in maintaining separation from the world. The Old Order reject electricity in their homes – further forbidding television, radio, and computer. Beachy members embrace some of those prohibitions, including radio and

television.[24] They have had electricity in their homes since the late 1940s. Computers are completely acceptable for business purposes, but the internet is not. Cell phone use "causes quite a bit of concern" (#20), though its usefulness in emergencies was mentioned in the Pleasant View column of *The Budget* newspaper (17 Feb 2010). Cell phones are fairly common among congregants in both groups.

Dress remains plain in both Beachy congregations, but not as plain as their Old Order neighbors. Men usually wear button-down shirts, trousers, and suspenders. Even plaids and prints for shirts are becoming acceptable in the more conservative Pleasant View. All women wear headcoverings, though they are smaller than the Old Order headcoverings. Their dresses do not have aprons, though the top half does have a cape. The cape is typically sewn on to the top half of the dress, though some of the older women in the church pin their dresses together with straight pins. Younger women (even older than middle age) close their dresses with zippers and buttons rather than pins.

The automobile was a point of contention among the Beachy Amish-Mennonites, even in their infancy. In June 1927, the majority of the Somerset group was willing to be without automobiles, but "rebellion" began by late summer (Beachy 1955:130). The Beachy church in Big Valley was slower to adopt automobiles. They adopted tractors in 1932 and later automobiles in 1954 (Stroup 1965:10; Yoder 1999:101; Yoder 1963:5). However, members in the Beachy church in Big Valley prior to 1954 were already getting cars, even before it

[24] Both are points of change in the congregations. Increasingly, radios in cars remain.

was allowed (#13). Before the adoption of automobiles the church had lost a considerable number of younger men who wanted to drive a car. In order to prevent a division in the church and the loss of more members, the ministry allowed black-colored cars (Yoder 1963:5). This move, consistent with conservative Mennonite populations, maintains the conformity of the community and reduction of pride from the Old Orders. No single member may deviate with color choice and vibrant, prideful colors are forbidden. The compromise allows worldlier acceptance of technology like the progressive Mennonites, but restricts individual expression to a certain degree. At present, the Valley View congregation no longer has a black car rule. Within the last decade, darker colored cars were a transitional compromise. Today, observers notice cars of all colors and makes in their parking lot for Sunday worship. For Pleasant View membership, black cars are still mandatory, though that is not without the possibility of change (#20). Some Pleasant View members do have black cars with metallic bumpers; most retain the traditional black-only rule.

Relationships among the churches are also evident in the daily lives of the membership. References to Maple Grove, Allensville, Valley View, and Beth-El are found in the weekly Pleasant View column of *The Budget* newspaper (7 Apr 2010, 30 Jun 2010, 30 Dec 2010). The column writer also acknowledges an exchange of pulpits (one minister preaching in another church) with Beth-El Mennonite (28 Apr 2010, 16 Jun 2010, 30 Dec 2010), as well as with other Mennonite churches (31 Mar 2010). Importantly, they do not exchange pulpits with the Old Orders, as the Old Order wish to maintain their own exclusivity in

religious practice. The growing amicability between the Beachy Amish and the Mennonites is notable. Although only baptized members can marry among the Old Orders, they also dictate that one marries someone from an affiliated and fellowshipping Old Order group. Among the Beachys, though, finding a partner often occurred across Anabaptist lines:

> The weekdays went quite well, but come Sunday we needed to decide which church to attend. Shall we go with my horse and carriage or shall we find someone with a car to take us to 'Miriam's church in the Valley' [Beachey]? (Peachey undated:19)

The use of the automobile and increased relations with people outside of one's usual networks resurfaces as a prominent theme in the histories of changing religious orientation. The acceptance of the automobile, itself a non-Amish characteristic, brought more non-Amish innovations to Beachy Amish life. Cars allow faster and longer distance travel. They are equipped with radios, air-conditioning, heat and are made in a variety of colors and models. By accepting cars, the Beachy Amish rejected the conformity of buggy design and the slow-paced life with horse-power. Not only could one travel and expand one's dense networks into open ones, but one could now travel to expand one's religious horizons. The allowance of cars eventually fed greater travel opportunities to revival meetings:

> After the Amish Church allowed cars for transportation in 1954, we could travel farther to revival meetings and have our souls fed from God's Word in a wonderful way. However, opposition to the Spirit-filled life began to

> grow from various churches in the valley. They tried to convince us that we were being deceived into believing in the sanctified experience (Yoder 2000:29).

Perhaps one of the greatest differences between the Old Order and the Beachy is the more "explicitly evangelistic" orientation of the Beachy fellowship (Johnson-Weiner 2001:246-7). A more outward religious orientation, including evangelism and mission work, emerges. Importantly, the Beachy Amish have incorporated national and international organization levels in their mission work, which arose as part of a larger revitalization of worship and interest-building among the youth (Beachy 1955:139). Some initiatives of the Amish-Mennonites include missions abroad, prison missions domestically, and Fresh Air missions (Matthews 2001). Two groups, the Mission Interest Committee and Amish Mennonite Aid, assist Amish-Mennonites and their outreach efforts (Hochstetler 1964:1). Amish Mennonite Aid workers focused mostly on Germany in the early years from 1958-1965, but then the focus shifted to Latin America. Since 1947 there have been missions in Latin America and increasingly more in Eastern Europe (Yoder 1987). Additionally, one Beachy Amish representative sits on the Mennonite Central Committee board (Schwieder & Schwieder 1977:49). Thus, the Beachy Amish view collaboration even with the most progressive Mennonites as a positive aspect of ecumenical outreach, which remains an important indicator of Beachy Amish identity vis-à-vis the progressive Mennonites. Mission work grew out of the revivalist movement, in which the Beachys participated shortly after being allowed cars:

> It was in this era that we became aware of a group of Amish who believed in holy living and in reaching out to other people both spiritually and materially. They even went to the extent that they were making plans to move and live in the poor country of Honduras to fulfil [sic] that aspiration. (Peachey undated: 25).

Pleasant View congregation has outreach missions in Ukraine and a prison ministry (#20, 3). Weekly *The Budget* column reports for the activities of Pleasant View give mission locations of Ukraine (30 Jun 2010, 19 Dec 2009, 26 May 2010), Russia (7 Jul 2010), and Kenya (24 Mar 2010, 19 May 2010, 7 Apr 2010). Importantly, outreach is a direct divergence from the exclusive nature of sectarian ethnoreligious identity. The Beachy fellowship wishes to become more active in mission work and lessen the exclusive nature of their congregations.

6.3.2 Language and identity among the Beachy Amish-Mennonites

The language situation of the Beachy Amish-Mennonites represents an area rich for the study of the role of language in ethnoreligious identity. As noted above, the cultural changes, which defined the Beachy ethnoreligious identity, were many and pervaded all aspects of their lives. At first, the Beachy Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley maintained the Old Order pattern of language behavior. Archaic German was the language of written liturgy. It connected both the Beachys and the Old Orders to their roots in the Radical Reformation and reminded them of the struggles of the early martyrs in their church. As an archaic form of German, it separated them further from Protestant churches both

in Pennsylvania and abroad. Within their in-group, they maintained Pennsylvania Dutch – a low prestige vernacular, which further separated them from the "English" outsiders. However, as their cultural changes continue to integrate them into a less sectarian world, it becomes less necessary for the Beachys to maintain these traditional linguistic markers of their identity. In ceasing to use the language, their "acts of identity" fall more in line with their neighboring mainstream Mennonites. All of these elements, cultural and linguistic activities, construct their new religious identities. Although German continued in use, the building of their meetinghouse in the 1950s signaled the decline of its role in worship. The increasing role of English was certainly a factor in the amicable split between the conservative and progressive congregations in the 1980s. Although Valley View chose to fully incorporate English in their worship services, Pleasant View held on for longer. Today Pleasant View still has remnants of German language use in worship.

One of the largest problems affecting the Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley was the lack of education in archaic German. Previous attempts to maintain German were upheld by a German School held in the hamlet of Whitehall and several Amish-Mennonites and Beachy Amish recount the influence of the Saturday school in learning German (Yoder 1963:37; Kanagy 2006:24, 92; Kauffman 1991:222; Yoder 1999:48). Today the Old Orders operate their own parochial schools with German instruction included as a part of the curriculum. Although the Beachys also operate their own parochial schools, the increased reliance on Sunday schools for religious education, led to the introduction of

English language instruction due to the better availability of English-language Sunday school curriculum. However, the increasingly more progressive religious orientation (mentioned in the previous section) changed the curriculum of the Sunday schools to adopt standardized lessons, which were in English. The congregations in Big Valley were considerably late in their acceptance to English compared to other Beachy congregations in North America. Even as early as the 1950s, Beachy (1955:139) notes the declining emphasis on German, particularly for funerals and young people's singings. Importantly, the youth singings became a bastion of English language growth (Yoder 1987), affecting not only the allegiance to German in worship, but also the language of these casual meetings for young people. Thus, when the young people gathered, they spoke more English among themselves rather than Pennsylvania Dutch.

Formerly, German and religion were closely bound. A former Beachy Amish-Mennonite recounted that tie in his memoir:

> Sunday was the Lord's Day; no more work was done than necessary. It was a day to learn the German language; we attended church every two weeks, and services were always held in German (Yoder 2000:15).

Although both for the Old Orders and the Beachys, German carries no sanctified status (as related earlier), the language still figured strongly into the definition of their ethnoreligious identity. On Sunday, they would gather in plain garb, sing the hymns of the martyrs, and envelop themselves in the traditional language. Through these social actions, they constructed and negotiated their ethnoreligious identities. Yet the importance of German does not guarantee its

stability, when participants choose to project a different identificational mapping with a different religious orientation. Lacking the rigorous instruction in the language of earlier generations, they found the language to be a barrier to religious understanding. One Amish-Mennonite wrote in his memoir:

> It reminds me of the portion of a beautiful German song that still rings in my mind and goes like this --- 'Als ich auf jordons ufer shtand und shuete seelinch hin, zu Canan's shone und lieblich land vo meini schetzi." (Peachey undated: 52)

The attempt is certainly neither archaic nor standard German, and elements of his Pennsylvania Dutch shine through at parts. German has become nostalgic for the Beachys in Big Valley. It linked them with their past and once strengthened their commitment to sectarian lifestyle. With their changing religious orientation, however, the language failed to fulfill their growing needs for Biblical literacy and outreach. In short, the prospects of carrying a Luther Bible on missions in Honduras were not practical. The language of worship had to change to assure the religious viability of the group. In fact, Peachey later concedes in his memoir:

> We were singing those precious old German hymns but with our minds and understanding far from the depth and meaning of the words we were uttering (Peachey undated: 11).

Although he calls them "precious" and "old," adding to the nostalgic effect, they ceased to actually understand the meaning of the words. Peachey reveals in this instance not only his changing personal identity – one that seeks to understand

written liturgy, but also his changing social role – one that seeks to open to inclusive religiosity (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985:14). The Beachy Amish believed, much like the Amish-Mennonites at the beginning of the twentieth century, that the removal of German in liturgy would increase understanding to facilitate their changing religious needs. These language changes in the fledgling congregations caused considerable stirs. In 1979, Bishop Jesse D. Spicher left for Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania after Sunday school was held in English and the trend to switch from German to English in worship was inevitable (Kauffman 1991:307, Yoder 1987:350). Several families joined him:

> About that time my parents, along with several other families decided to separate themselves from the opposing faction of the congregation rather than stay and bicker and haggle over church standards… and located in Snyder County near Selinsgrove about fifty miles east of the Big Valley (Peachey undated: 15).

In constructing identities, individuals have the ability to project their own "inner universes" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In so doing, some ally with the group and others disassociate. Thus one group chose physical action – leaving for Selinsgrove – to maintain traditional sociocultural markers of identity.

In order to lessen such schisms, changes in the churches were generally gradual. Congregants negotiated the delicate balance between tradition and progression. In the transition period from German to English, it began in the hymn singing, when one of the songs was in English and another in German (#3). Sermons were still preached in German (or rather Pennsylvania Dutch)

depending upon the preference and abilities of the minister. Currently, Pleasant View still has a hymn-sing at the end of the month on Sunday evening. Thirty minutes are in German, and the additional thirty minutes are in English. This is the only German-language remnant among the Beachys in Big Valley.

Although all of the Beachy narrators for the oral history project speak Pennsylvania Dutch, only one couple speak the language on a regular basis to each other. The rest of the narrators speak English most of the time with their spouses and housemates, even though twenty years ago, they would have spoken Pennsylvania Dutch exclusively. The language capabilities in Pennsylvania Dutch of the oldest generations of Amish-Mennonites are attriting. Narrator 13 agreed that the youth of the Beachy Amish-Mennonite congregations in Big Valley no longer speak Pennsylvania Dutch, because of the lack of language transmission between younger parents (in their twenties) and their children.

Unlike the Mennonites from the previous chapter, who used Pennsylvania Dutch as a secret language, some (now elderly) Beachys used English as the secret language. An older couple at Pleasant View used English as the "secret language" at home, since their children spoke "mostly" Pennsylvania Dutch as preschoolers:

> **Narrator 20**: Yes, we spoke mostly Dutch, but when they were small, Mom and I would speak English so they couldn't understand what we said. But after a while that didn't work anymore.

Although this strategy worked at the start, it failed when the children attended school. As both Beachy congregations grew, their affinity toward education and

increased economic opportunity increased (as mentioned above). The role of English in secondary, post-secondary, and future careers became more evident. The narrator mentioned above and his wife finally concede to this point in this interview:

> **Narrator 21**: It was nice that they could speak English.
>
> **Narrator 20**: Yeah it was. They could too.

Although it was good at the start for the children not to speak English – so the parents could use it as a secret language, the increasing possibilities with English were advantageous. This pattern is very much unlike the Old Orders, who discourage overuse of English at home (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1992). Unlike the Amish-Mennonite pattern from chapter 5, one Beachy Amish-Mennonite man used his abilities in Pennsylvania Dutch to communicate with the Old Order Amish at school. However, the result was not necessarily one of fostering friendships, but of developing a better ability in English:

> **Narrator 13**: When I went to school, there was only one family that came to school and two boys didn't speak English. I remember that well, I was the interpreter. I would sit down with them and explain what the teacher said to them.

Thus English quickly became a tool for these children in consolidated public schools. After they left school, the role of English continued to be important in their lives. Increased interest in literacy, both Biblical and popular, is characteristic of the Beachy Amish-Mennonites interviewed for this project. All of their homes had small libraries of both novels and magazines, very much

unlike the Old Orders. Narrator 20 spoke about the plethora of reading choices available to him:

> **Narrator 20**: Well, yes, I read quite a bit. I like to read. I always did. I like to read church history. And recently my oldest son in New York, he gave me a book to read which I don't know if you have ever read it, called *Blood Brothers*.

English, the language of education, the language of increased contact with outsiders, is now the native language for most younger Beachy Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley.

Along with the role of English in education arose greater prestige for the language. Although the Old Orders speak Pennsylvania Dutch directly because of its low prestige value, "low prestige" for the Beachys became an undesirable. Narrator 43 commented that Pennsylvania Dutch is "too common" for the members of her congregation today:

> **Narrator 43**: But a lot of the Amish of our church they don't speak Dutch. They could if they wanted to, but they all speak English.
>
> **Interviewer**: Why's that?
>
> **Narrator 43**: Well, I don't know. I guess it's too common for them.

Although the Old Orders value the "commonness" of Pennsylvania Dutch, a shift in cultural identification with the language surfaced among the Beachys. She is not certain of this attitude, but her thoughts are nonetheless valid for discussions of identity (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 207). Thus by not speaking Pennsylvania Dutch, the Beachys are allying their religious identities more with

mainstream Mennonitism and less with conservative Old Orders. As such, the choice of code becomes an act of identity for the individuals of the group. Although Narrator 43 does not agree with this act of identity, she nonetheless recognizes it as a growing trend. Her sentiments diffuse from those of majority of her co-congregants, and, in so doing, she constructs an identity that is more "old-fashioned."

The increasing gap between the Old Orders and the Beachys in Big Valley was a consistent theme in their interviews. Narrator 26, who left before the Beachys adopted cars, viewed their buggy-rule as culturally stagnant:

> **Narrator 26**: I said I don't go to the church where I talk Dutch. And, well, why did you ever leave the Amish church? I said I wasn't going to drive in the back of a stinkin' horse. I wanted a car… And I said that's what I got. Oh he says, well you can talk Dutch. It's a shame that you ever left the Amish church. Oh no I said, not for me it isn't. Might be for you, but not for me.

For him, language loyalty was less important than the car and the other opportunities that the car brought with it. He does not regret his decision, even though he still is able to speak Pennsylvania Dutch. He does not see the connection between Pennsylvania Dutch and his changing religious identity as strong as it once was. His attitude toward the symbolism of Old Order identity (buggy transportation) and the language bound to that symbolism is evident. In this excerpt, the narrator constructs an identity with a third party and shares his attitude of Old Order cultural norms. In so doing, he focuses his own identity,

and diffuses from the sentiments of his interlocutor (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985:181).

It was, of course, no small matter to bring English into a traditional language domain. The senior-most minister at Pleasant View reflected on the effects of bringing English into the worship services:

> **Interviewer**: As you look back, was that the right decision, or was that yielding to the ways of the world too much, to bring English into the worship services completely?
>
> **Narrator 3**: Well, that's a little difficult. In one sense, it brought other things along.
>
> **Interviewer**: Good or bad?
>
> **Narrator 3**: Well, perhaps, I'd say good. But on the other hand, sometimes it made a difference in our approach to some things. Life goes on, you know. But basically I'd say it was the thing to do.

For him, although he dresses plainly, still acts as minister of the congregation in elderly age and regularly speaks Pennsylvania Dutch with his wife at home, his views on language and religion have changed. His hedging is evident in the beginning of his response; his reluctance gives way to concession by the end. Perhaps it is even resignation on his part, that the changing world is simply a matter of fact. The attitude that change is imminent remains foremost in the minds of these narrators. For them, their whole lives have been about negotiating their sectarian identities. For them, the headcovering, plain dress, and language were parts of their past and some became relics of their changing

religious identity. Their children, however, will not face the same choices. With the current youngest generation, the only language they will associate with religion is English.

In line with the assertions of Johnson-Weiner (1992:34), it is the willingness of the group and their changing world-view that brings them closer to English use. As such, the Beachy Amish-Mennonites themselves are responsible for the language shift and not pressures from dominant cultures. While they sought a language for Biblical literacy and opened up their congregations to mission work, Pennsylvania Dutch and German shifted functions within the congregations. Although Raith (2003:63) asserts that it was the loss of archaic German in worship that caused the loss of Pennsylvania Dutch, this cannot be the sole cause and it is not the attempt of this dissertation to limit the cause to a single one. A major role in the language shift among the Beachy Amish-Mennonites was a change in their religious identities, which continue to change today. They survive because of an "interpretive process" (Schwieder & Schwieder 1977:50), which allows them to place boundaries around acceptable and deviant social behavior. As such, a constant questioning exists: "Is there now enough about him, maybe two-toned car, white sidewalls, etc. extra to show that he believes in nonconformity" (Spicher 2005:156). In Big Valley, the trend for Amish-Mennonite groups is to change their ethnoreligious identity so much so that they are increasingly more similar to progressive Mennonitism and less associated with their Old Order roots. The task is then to make a sharp distinction between the Old Orders and themselves, even if that requires severing

the strong ties to traditional language use. A minister of the Pleasant View church stated that his church "progressed":

> **Narrator 3**: Well, in a sense we always belonged to that church, we never changed church. We were known as an Amish church but then later on as the church progressed, I'll say progressed --- I suppose would be the right word.

Importantly, for him, although the church "progressed" from certain Old Order beliefs, they still "in a sense" always were members of that same church. Narrator 20 also hedges on a response regarding the naming of his own Pleasant View congregation:

> **Interviewer**: Are there other changes would you say, and what changes are taking place in the Amish church these days?
>
> **Narrator 20**: I don't know much about the Amish church, but –
>
> **Interviewer**: Oh I mean Pleasant View is also Amish?
>
> **Narrator 20**: Well…
>
> **Interviewer**: Isn't it Amish?
>
> **Narrator 20**: Yes, it's Amish-Mennonite.

For this narrator, he not only distances himself and his familiarity with the Amish (here the Old Orders), but aligns his own church with its hyphenated identity: Amish-Mennonite. As such, Pleasant View is still very much Amish-Mennonite. Their plain dress and restrictions on transportation, occupations, and other aspects maintain the separation from the world, which their new sectarian identity requires. The lasting remnants of the German hagiolect exist only next to

an English hymn sing of equal time length. As younger members, who participate in English-only hymn sings each week, grow within the church, I expect that the German hymn singing portion will be eliminated. Valley View, on the other hand, is rapidly approaching more progressive Mennonitism and is considerably more outwardly positioned (inclusive) than its sister-congregation.

The reason for shift was due to their reevaluation of self, and not an impinging dominant culture (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1992:27, Buchheit 1982:112). For the Beachy Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley, the role of religion in defining their identity had consequences for language use. Changes in their religious orientation, e.g., becoming more outward and opening up ethnoreligious boundaries, necessitated an increase of English for both mission work and Biblical literacy and teaching. In turn, the increased use of English in all domains is an indication of "the rejection of the Old Order identity" (Johnson-Weiner 1998:384). Although Johnson-Weiner (1998) was working with Amish-Mennonites in New York, the implications extend to Pennsylvania's Big Valley as well. A growing religious and cultural divide exists between Old Orders and the Beachy Amish-Mennonites. Although earlier German-American studies of shift factored socioreligious insulation as paramount for language maintenance, the data here show that the stability of religious identity is more important. In Big Valley, a change in religious identity (e.g., toward mission oriented and evangelistic tenets) has led to language shift. Thus the individuals of the Beachy congregations in Big Valley pattern their linguistic behavior to match those of mainstream Mennonites, while at the same time look to disassociate themselves

from the Old Orders (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985:181). They see archaic German and Pennsylvania Dutch as the languages of the Old Orders and the ethnoreligious identity that the Old Orders construct. Beachy Amish-Mennonites exist in a time of great change. Although they maintain parts of sectarian identity, they have adopted aspects of less sectarian Mennonitism. Perhaps, then, their religious identities are no longer rooted in ethnicity. Recalling the definition of ethnicity from chapter 1 (cf. Cohen 1978), the Beachy Amish-Mennonites are certainly severing some of those "descent-based cultural identifiers" from their Old Order roots and have increased their inclusivity with outsiders and, to a certain extent, with non-believers.

6.4 Conclusion

Relying on first-hand observations, supplemented with sociohistorical data from published memoirs and church histories, the diachrony of the Amish-Mennonites emerged as a changing narrative of constant negotiation and construction of identities. In line with the changing sociocultural patterns of Beachy life, traditional language use factored as an element from which they chose to distance themselves. Further in line with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), the choice of disassociation with the Old Orders and increasing association with progressive Mennonites are conscious acts of projection from the individual members to define the group's distinctiveness within Big Valley. At this juncture, the gap between the Old Orders and the Beachys is widening, while it narrows between the Beachys and the progressive Mennonites. As these gaps in religious

identities among the Beachys widen and narrow, the distinctiveness of the Beachys will fade and they will assimilate to mainstream Mennonitism in their future.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This dissertation sought to answer the questions: What is the relationship between language and ethnoreligious identity among the Anabaptists in Big Valley and what roles does that relationship play in language shift? Using elements from over six years of ethnography in the community, the data were analyzed through a lens of language acts as acts of identity. This concluding section reviews the major themes of the project and proposes areas for future research.

7.2 Language and the Amish-Mennonites

Language functions as an important marker of ethnoreligious identity for Amish-Mennonites in Kishacoquillas Valley, Pennsylvania. Through language, they were able to maintain religious distinctiveness. The Old Order Amish as a sectarian religious population require exclusivity of membership and a lifetime of constant negotiation to ensure that the group's ethnoreligious identity will survive. Survival, for the Old Orders, is of the utmost important, for it is through their group's cohesion that they find salvation and define themselves both religiously and culturally. As a redemptive community, the Amish submit to the goals of the

community, live their lives as other community members live, and allow religion to pervade every aspect of their lives. The Amish way is a total religious experience, separate from the outside world. In maintaining boundaries between the world and themselves, the Old Order Amish have formed a distinctive religious identity with language as a core value and symbol of that identity. For the Old Orders, their Pennsylvania Dutch vernacular – both unwritten and rich in lexical items for agriculture and home, but not for technology – forces humility and low prestige. The archaic German of their written liturgy connects them with the lives of the martyrs in their early church history, separates them mainstream Protestants in America, and prevents deep scrutiny of scripture beyond the literal level.

This dissertation has shown that the Anabaptists are a diverse people. Certain groups, who do not view religious distinctiveness and exclusivity as fundamental to their religious identity, choose to open their group's cultural boundaries. They seek to evangelize, to study scripture formally, and to participate more fully in outreach ministries throughout the world. For these groups, the world is not a wholly separate entity. The Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley represent one of these groups. The early Amish-Mennonites of the nineteenth century arose concurrent with the Old Orders and defined themselves in opposition to older religious practices. They chose Sunday schools for religious instruction and, due in part to the lack of instruction in German and of German materials, increasingly brought English into worship. Their children went to consolidated public schools and were often times in the minority of first-

graders who could not speak English. Their vernacular Pennsylvania Dutch was a barrier to education. As education became more popular and (post)secondary education fully embraced by the former Amish-Mennonite churches in the 1950s and 1960s, they saw speaking Pennsylvania Dutch as a barrier to economic growth and outward / upward mobility. Being guarded from the language as a "secret code" between father and mother or quickly shifting to monolingual English early in their childhoods, the former Amish-Mennonites would not gain the proficiency to transmit the language onto their children and grandchildren. After these first generations, language will cease to be a choice of religious distinctiveness and other cultural traits will supplant it (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1998:389). For the former Amish-Mennonite congregations, the use of Pennsylvania Dutch does not play a role in the formation of their new religious identity. Instead even native speakers of the former Amish-Mennonite congregations view the use of Pennsylvania Dutch as a marker of Old Order identity.

The later Amish-Mennonites of the twentieth century, or Beachy Amish, are going through many of the same identification negotiations as their earlier religious siblings. The more conservative congregation in Big Valley, Pleasant View, still holds on to the last of German in worship with a thirty-minute hymn sing on the last Sunday of the month. All other hymn singings, both in church and at youth gatherings on Sunday evenings, is in English. Only the oldest of their clergy have knowledge of German, though heavily attrited. While the Old Order value the low prestige of Pennsylvania Dutch, one narrator in the Beachy

Amish-Mennonite congregation lamented that her co-congregants thought Pennsylvania Dutch was "common." Certainly this growing sentiment is a departure from the Old Orders. Although both churches still operate their own schools, small progressions toward more worldly educational pursuits is evident. Valley View permits education past eighth grade and allows post-secondary education at Bible colleges or through correspondence courses. Pleasant View, although maintaining a more conservative hold on education like the Old Order Amish, has adopted a more mainstream faith-based curriculum, which attracts conservative Mennonite families outside of their church group. Occupations are still limited within both congregations, though teachers and nurses and other professionals are slowly increasing in number. Outward manifestations of identity in both dress and transportation are also increasingly more divergent from their Old Order roots. Capes are no longer pinned onto dresses, but rather sewn; peplums (*Leppli*) are smaller to non-existant. Cars remain black at Pleasant View, while Valley View's parking lot on Sunday morning resembles any other church parking lot in the Valley.

Fishman (2006) notes that modernization often causes language shift. In certain respects, this is true of the Big Valley Amish-Mennonite congregations. Increased availability of English publications, increased mobility, economic growth and the like are all aspects of modernization. He goes on to attribute language shift in religion as a result of modernization via missionary work and conversion. While this is certainly true of some religious groups in the world, the situation in Big Valley is different. External forces, both religious and secular,

have certainly influenced the language shift in Big Valley, but in the end the groups themselves allowed and, to an extent, fostered the shift. It was not an outside force, which came and converted them *en masse*, eliminating their linguistic and cultural difference. At first (and particularly for the early Amish-Mennonites) an increase in revivalism certainly pushed their religious identities into a different realm. However, the vast majority of participants in this study fondly recalled those revivals and saw them not as a pressure from the outside, but as an "awakening" of their internal religious lives. It was the groups' own growing interest in outreach participation that led to their language shift. The Amish-Mennonites wanted to become more open, less exclusive, and more evangelistic. They saw these as positive changes to their religious identities and they saw English as a means of spreading their religious aspects further. The "symbolic value" of these languages has changed for the Amish-Mennonites (cf. Fuller 2005). Unlike Fishman's (2006) analysis, where missioners are blamed for shifting the language of indigenous groups, Big Valley's Amish-Mennonites are the missionizers.

And yet, I am hesitant to claim that the Big Valley Amish-Mennonites exist because of language *shift*. Unlike many other language shift situations in the world, the Amish-Mennonites negotiate their religious identities not only through language shift, but also through language *maintenance*. The close-knit communities within Big Valley operate social networks of varying densities. Although many worship separately, most residents are familiar with names and residences – or at least they know who one's parents are. In such a place of rich

Anabaptist diversity, the need for maintaining ethnoreligious distinctiveness among Amish-Mennonites requires not only language shift, but language maintenance. Though they still maintain some aspects of sectarian identity, they require the sectarians to maintain their language distinctiveness. In maintaining Pennsylvania Dutch and archaic German, the Old Orders in the Valley – although religiously related to the progressive groups – provide an "other" to further define Amish-Mennonite religious identity. Through Old Order language maintenance and Amish-Mennonite language shift, negotiations of religious identities continue.

7.3 Identity and the Amish-Mennonites

In his early work on the Anabaptists in Big Valley, John Hostetler (1993:293) viewed each congregation as part of a religious and cognitive continuum. His model presented each of the following congregations within concentric circles from small to large: Old School (Yoder), Old School (Zook), Byler Church, Peachy Amish (Renno), "New Amish," Beachy Amish (Valley View), Beth-El Mennonite, Holdman Mennonite, Allensville Mennonite, Locust Grove Mennonite, Brethren in Christ, Maple Grove Mennonite, and Protestant. His idea was to show the levels from "low church" (retains most traditions) and "high church" (more wordly). Hostetler's (1993) work, however, was largely representative of the Anabaptist community of the 1950s through the 1970s. As a result, his continuum no longer describes the religious situation in Big Valley. More divisions within the Old School church have given it more than three

groups and the New Amish are no longer active in Big Valley.[25] Additionally, his conceptualization is far too discrete in relative placement of the congregations, lacking any indication of the similarity between neighboring congregations on the continuum. For example, the Byler Church fellowships (to a certain extent) with the Renno Church but not with the Old School (Zook) Church, and this important difference is in no way represented in Hostetler's continuum.

Based on the information in this dissertation and the ethnographic experiences within the community, I propose a more recent conceptualization of Big Valley's Anabaptist continuum. As noted by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:239-240), ethnic identity can survive total language loss. The interdependency of language and culture is such that not only does one language not equal one culture, but also the culture can survive without its traditional language. However, cultures are not stagnant and one's cultural identity is certainly fluid to change over time. Generally, conceptualizations of identity still provide assessment of the speech community, even though this may be done stereotypically. I am hesitant to place the congregations of Big Valley on a religious continuum, but doing so will show the amount of cultural and linguistic change within the last forty years. Building from Hostetler's (1993) cognitive religious continuum, I propose the following revision:

[25] Although Hostetler (1993) mentions the three Nebraska Old School groups (Zook, Yoder, and Rufus), only the Zook and Yoder groups are on his continuum. Recent divisions may actually increase the number to four or five (Donald Kraybill, personal communication).

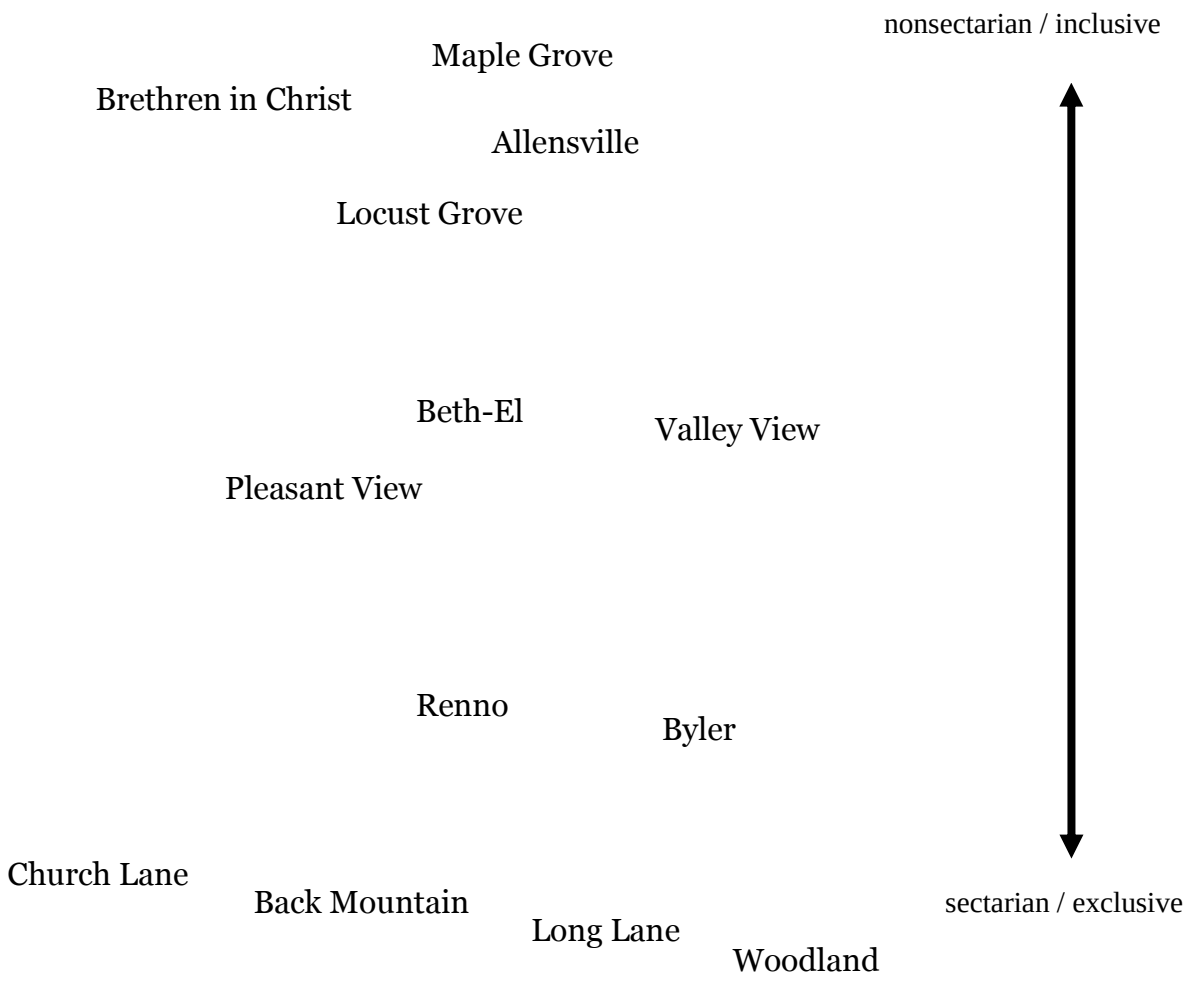

Figure 7-1. Degrees of sectarianism in Big Valley.

This figure does not portray as static a situation as Hostetler (1993), nor does it present macro-groupings as Raith (1997). I placed each congregation in terms of sectarianism with relative to other congregations. The closer the congregations are then the more likely they fellowship together. As such, one can see the four varying types of sectarianism among the most conservative Nebraska Amish. Moreover, although the Renno and Byler Amish groups are not at the same level of sectarianism, they do overlap a bit – suggesting that there is some

intermarriage and interworshipping among the two. The closeness of Pleasant View and Valley View Amish-Mennonite congregations with the conservative Beth-El Mennonite is clear, but so are the differing degrees of sectarianism among the three. I've placed Allensville and Locust close together, as each is now a member of the Conservative Mennonite Conference. The most progressive church is Maple Grove, as a member of the Allegheny Mennonite Conference.

I disagree with Raith's (1997) conceptualization of Big Valley Anabaptists as belonging to one of a tripartite grouping: conservative, transitional, assimilated. I draw particular reservation with his terms "transitional" and "assimilated." Although in the history of Big Valley, as well as in other areas (cf. Beachy 1995:139; Fuller 2005), the Beachy Amish are transitional in that they are between the Old Orders and the progressive Mennonites. This distinction devalues the identities of the Amish-Mennonite groups, as well as suggests that the other religious identities in the Valley (and elsewhere) are somehow impermeable to change and transition and are thus more stable. Although some of the narrators referred to their religious identities being between Amish and Mennonite, none called them transitional, or saw themselves on the path toward full Mennonitism:

> **Interviewer**: So that is a kind of outreach? That is not a traditional Amish…
>
> **Narrator 3**: Not the Old Order, no. I was just thinking here a little bit

> ago, in our group of churches, which is getting larger and larger, we sort of find ourselves halfway between Mennonite church and the Old Order Amish church.

Figure 7-1 provides a snap-shot of the religious continuum in Big Valley as a generalization. The figure is not perfect, as it does not show the dynamics behind identity negotiations. We fail to see, for example, the closer relationships between Valley View and the conservative Mennonite groups. We also fail to see Valley View's connection to Pleasant View in exchanging ministers, or even Pleasant View's outreach suppers at the most progressive Mennonite churches. The figure also fails to show the movement of one church along the continuum over time. Not all churches in Big Valley have charted a path from conservative to progressive as such a continuum implies. Several congregations, including Locust Grove and Beth-El, have actually gone from progressive to conservative in their histories. Moreover, I do not view even the most progressive Mennonites in Big Valley as "assimilated." I agree with Johnson-Weiner (1998:390), who notes that "worldly Mennonites share an ideology of pacifism, outreach, and activism distinct from that of mainstream society." I see the core tenets of Anabaptism, still present in progressive Mennonites as a distinctive aspect of new religious identities. As a result, I have placed a continuum on the right of figure 7-1 that extends from sectarian/exclusive to nonsectarian/inclusive. Importantly, the continuum ends extend beyond the congregations in Big Valley. I do not view even the most conservative Old Orders to be completely exclusive, nor the most progressive groups to be completely inclusive.

I also do not draw a distinction between the end of sectarianism and the beginning of nonsectarianism. As stated above, I do not agree that the Mennonites (the nineteenth century Amish-Mennonites) in Big Valley are completely nonsectarian. A more difficult question to answer is that regarding the sectarian nature of the Beachy Amish in Big Valley. Although Fuller (2005:803) claims that the "critical feature of Plainness" is speaking Pennsylvania Dutch, she rightly concludes that religious identity among the Beachy Amish can still be "plain" without that language. As a result, the Beachy Amish hold onto other elements of plain lifestyle with plain dress, headcoverings for women, limited occupations, and limited educational opportunities. They retain elements of their former Old Order lives with the ministerial lot selection and conservatism with some technologies. At the same time, they are participating more in outreach efforts and engaging more in mission work throughout the world. They are certainly not as exclusive as they once were, but their ties to the Old Orders limit their inclusivity. A former bishop of the congregation wrote about this duality in a sermon:

> Maybe our fathers with their broad-brimmed hats and white flowing beards in their nonconformed humble way of life, shunning all appearances of evil (even to the wristwatch) had a little more insight and wisdom than we like to admit with their strictness in contending for the faith once delivered to the saints (Spicher 2005:157).

For him, the changes in his church are cause for reflection on the traditional ways. He notes the changing identification of the Old Order with "strictness" and

humility, but questions the results in their faith and religious orientation. Such negotiations of religious identity will continue in Big Valley. Regardless of the narrators' feelings about less conservative dress, language behavior and the like, even the most conservative narrators praised two religious changes in their church lives. First, the role of Sunday school was a important change to their churches, which brought English Bibles and English-language Sunday school lessons. Moreover, it created leadership opportunities for women and openly valued the interpretation and study of scripture. Second, outreach and mission work both within the Valley and beyond are hallmarks of all churches there except for the conservative Old Orders. One of the former Amish-Mennonite churches (Allensville) even includes "evangelizing the world for Christ" as one of its missions on the church website (http://www.allensvillemennonite.org). Likewise, the more conservative Locust Grove has shed its sectarian stance of exclusivity, announcing on its website that "our doors are always open for you" (http://www.locustgrovemc.org).

7.4 Areas of future research

This study ushers in a variety of future research opportunities. A more thorough discourse analytic approach can be applied to the data. Such a narrower analysis, including silence, gaze, and intonation, will reveal strategies of identification that are missing from the initial analysis. Additionally, perceptions of the various churches from other churches need to be explained further. For example, many of the narrators commented that the current Amish-Mennonites all drive black

cars. This cultural trait is only applicable to the more conservative Amish-Mennonite congregation, but the idea of sociocultural characteristics remains as each group constructs the others' identities. Perceptions of change are therefore important areas of further scrutiny.

All of the interviews were recorded in English, though Pennsylvania Dutch conversations occurred if the narrator was able. Structural linguistic analyses of Pennsylvania Dutch and of Big Valley's variety compared to other forms warrant elaboration. Moreover, the entire corpus of central Pennsylvanian English in contact with Pennsylvania Dutch for centuries provides a trove of data for research into dialectal American English and work on contact linguistics. Since many of the speakers were attrited in Pennsylvania Dutch, work on attrition and the affected areas of the grammar are possible in the future.

From a cultural stance, the further evolution of the groups in Big Valley is a subject for future study. The progression, if any, of the Amish-Mennonites to completely Mennonite should be observed and documented over subsequent years. The formation of new religious identities, such as the previous formations of new Amish-Mennonite groups in the Valley in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are expected, given the close contact of the Anabaptist groups there. Future studies will need to assess those movements as they unfold. Additionally, the connection between identity and language among Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley should be compared to language use and identity among other Amish-Mennonites and even the New Order Amish (cf. Huffines 1996). This will achieve a more holistic view of Anabaptist culture in America.

Perhaps an area of special interest is the role of gender in the linguistic and cultural shift in Big Valley. This issue did not surface in the analysis, but its importance is worthy of future research (cf. Fader 2007). Johnson-Weiner (2001:249) has noted the more progressive change in women's roles in Beachy Amish congregations compared to more conservative groups. Certainly the role of women in Big Valley's Amish-Mennonite cultural shift extends to the nineteenth century, when women were directly involved in some of the earliest missions (Kauffman 1991:267) and assumed leadership roles in the Sunday schools (Kauffman 1991:137). The role of women and their progression to a more central role in the formation of religious identity should be examined more systematically. Given the unique geography and settlement history of Big Valley, the future will hold a plethora of research opportunities for a variety of scholars in linguistics, anthropology, sociology and the like.

7.5 Role of language in identity

Although this dissertation has invoked "identity," the idea described here is really an identification process. These identification processes are interactional and situational. Everyone relies on others, self, and the context of the moment to express alliance with or distance from a group or particular identity. For this reason, the data in this dissertation were largely discourse-based with excerpts from the oral history interviews. By providing the context and situation of the interaction, we can more closely find the ideologies about language, which influence identification processes (cf. Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2009). This

method is not without its disadvantages – many of which were addressed earlier. Although the ideologies may not be authentic or representative of the entire group, the processes of identification that they convey still provide valuable information regarding the role of language in expressions of ethnoreligious identity. As such, the individual projections for group symbolism are instructive here (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985:247).

As noted earlier, a culture does not equal a language. Thus one cannot expect that ethnicity and language are somehow linked exclusively. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) note, however, that religion often serves as support for ethnicity, such that when language ceases to be important for ethnic distinctiveness, the religiosity of the group maintains their ethnic distinctiveness. Increasingly popular studies in the sociology of language and religion echo those sentiments. Kamwangamalu (2006) in his study of language maintenance in South Africa found that English and Afrikaans are replacing the indigenous African hagiolect because of the larger currency of English and Afrikaans. The avenues opened by these larger and more utilitarian languages (as viewed by the indigenous population) influenced the shift away from African hagiolects. Similarly, Chew (2006:224) in her study of language, religion, and society in Singapore, found that because of the higher status applied to English, Christianity is preferred to Taoism there. Surprisingly, Buddhism, which has traditionally used Sanskrit has since broadened to include both English and Mandarin in worship for greater popular appeal. The considerable increase in Buddhist practice is readily noticeable.

Language loss does not to result in a loss of religious distinctiveness. For Amish-Mennonites in South Carolina, Fuller (2005) notes several factors contributing to religious shift, including the need for electricity to run air-conditioning in the hotter climate. Similarly in Big Valley, language loss did not directly contribute to acceptance of electricity as much as an increase in evening worship services did. Yet language's role in identification processes is still an important one. At once it can be the major distinguishing factor between religious groups, and then it can be something seemingly abandoned in favor of other cultural traits. For the Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley, language's role in their ethnoreligious identity is an extremely important one. While they may not have seen the actual language loss as a greater threat than what that language loss entailed (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1992), they still rely on language to maintain religious distinctiveness. For the Amish-Mennonites, their definition of religious identity has always included language. The role of language has changed, however, depending on the changing nature of their religious orientation – an internally motivated quest. This dissertation supported (in part) and elaborated on Raith's (2003:62) assertion about the former Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley that "[t]he reason for abandoning the minority language(s) was, thus, to emphasize the principle of expanding religious aims." I have systematically described those "expanding religious aims" with an ethnographic study to include not only those who have undergone language shift, but those in the process of shifting. By leaning on the contributions of the sociology and anthropology of religion, the analysis focused on degrees of sectarianism in Big Valley and the

language (and other sociocultural) boundaries that mark religious identities. Importantly, this study moves the discussion of Pennsylvania Dutch maintenance and shift beyond the sectarian/nonsectarian dichotomy. The new religious identities for the Amish-Mennonites in Big Valley no longer dictate an ethnic tie to religious practice. They have become less sectarian, but remain somewhat distant from mainstream Protestantism with their adherence to Anabaptist tenets. For Big Valley's Amish-Mennonites, losing Pennsylvania Dutch and archaic German meant opening up to the world and pursuing a less exclusive religious endeavor. Yet, having the neighboring Old Orders maintain both languages remains equally as important in defining their new religious identities as both separate from the world and separate from strict sectarianism.

APPENDIX

#	Birth year	First church affiliation	Current church affiliation
1	1914	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Barrville Mennonite
2	1915	Zook-Speicher Amish	Locust Grove Mennonite
3	1919	Zook-Speicher Amish	Valley View Amish-Mennonite
4	1919	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Beth-El
5	1920	Zook-Speicher Amish	Maple Grove Mennonite
6	1924	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Locust Grove Mennonite
7	1925	Renno Amish	Locust Grove Mennonite
8	1930	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Barrville Mennonite
9	1913	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Allensville Mennonite
10	1920	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
11	1921	Maple Grove Amish-Mennonite	Locust Grove Mennonite
12	1915	Zook-Speicher Amish	Brethren in Christ
13	1945	Renno Amish	Beachy Amish (*in Missouri*)
14	1919	Zook-Speicher Amish	Locust Grove Mennonite
15	1915	* Mennonite	Locust Grove Mennonite
16	1919	mainstream Protestant (Lutheran)	Brethren in Christ
17	1919	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Locust Grove Mennonite
18	1928	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
19	1925	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Locust Grove Mennonite
20	1938	Zook-Speicher Amish	Pleasant View Amish-Mennonite
21	1937	Zook-Speicher Amish	Pleasant View Amish-Mennonite
22	1915	Zook-Speicher Amish	Allensville Mennonite
23	1922	* Mennonite	Allensville Mennonite
24	1926	Peachey-Renno Amish	Maple Grove Mennonite

25	1923	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
26	1936	Peachey-Renno Amish	Allensville Mennonite
27	1921	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Beth-El
28	1933	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Allensville Mennonite
29	1926	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
30	1933	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
31	1937	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
32	1939	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
33	1943	Locust Grove Conservative Mennonite	Locust Grove Mennonite
34	1928	* Mennonite	Locust Grove Mennonite
35	~1940	* Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
36	1933	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Allensville Mennonite
37	1931	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Allensville Mennonite
38	1943	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Allensville Mennonite
39	1937	Allensville Amish-Mennonite	Allensville Mennonite
40	~1920	Protestant	Brethren in Christ
41	1941	Zook-Spicher Amish	Brethren in Christ
42	1932	Zook-Spicher Amish	Allensville Mennonite
43	1920	Zook-Spicher Amish	Pleasant View Beachy Amish
44	1936	Locust Grove Conservative	Locust Grove Mennonite
45	1937	Locust Grove Conservative	Locust Grove Mennonite
46	1938	Locust Grove Conservative	Locust Grove Mennonite
47	1938	Locust Grove Conservative	Locust Grove Mennonite
48	1931	Locust Grove Conservative	Locust Grove Mennonite
49	1919	Locust Grove Conservative	Locust Grove Mennonite
50	1940	* Mennonite	Maple Grove Mennonite
51	1941	Zook Amish	Maple Grove Mennonite

List of narrators for the oral history project. A (*) denotes church affiliation outside of Big Valley

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EDUCATION

2004-2011 PhD in German / Applied Linguistics and Linguistics, Penn State University

2000-2004 BA in German, minors in Slavic and Classical languages, magna cum laude, Millersville University

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

2004-2011 Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of Germanic & Slavic Languages & Literatures and Program in Linguistics, Penn State University

2010-2011 Candace & Patrick E. Malloy Graduate Assistant, University Archives, Penn State University

2002-2004 Research assistant, Deutscher Sprachatlas, Philipp-Universität Marburg, Germany

2000-2004 Research assistant, Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

2011 Kasdorf, J.S. & Brown, J.R., eds. *The House of the Black Ring* by Fred Lewis Pattee. University Park, PA: Penn State Press

2011 Brown, J.R. No homo. *Journal of Homosexuality* 58: 299-314.

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2004-5 Beam, C.R. & Brown, J.R., eds. *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary: Volumes 1 & 2 –A- B*. Center for Pennsylvania German Studies: Millersville University.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS AND POSTERS

2010 "Ethnolinguistic Vitality among the Hutterian Brethren," Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference 16, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

2008 "Negative Complementation in Latin." Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages 38, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (with Hilary Barnes & Eva-Maria Suarez Büdenbender)

2007 "Attitudes toward Amish multilingualism," The Amish in America: New Identities & Diversities, Elizabethtown College, Pennsylvania (with Richard Page)

2007 "Language contact and the retention of V2 in Pennsylvania German," 6th International Symposium on Bilingualism, Hamburg, Germany (with Richard Page)

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