Dialect Geography in South Dakota: The Eureka Dialect

Christie Steiger Delfanian

Follow this and additional works at: https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd

Recommended Citation
https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd/4260
DIALECT GEOGRAPHY IN SOUTH DAKOTA:

THE EUREKA DIALECT

BY

CHRISTIE STEIGER DELFANIAN

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Arts
Major in English
1985
DIALECT GEOGRAPHY IN SOUTH DAKOTA:
THE EUREKA DIALECT

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Dr. John Taylor
Thesis Advisor

Dr. Paul Witherington
Major Advisor

Dr. Ruth Alexander
Head, English Department
DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this thesis to the people of Eureka. Without their cooperation and kindness, this work would not have been possible.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Chapter

1 - History of the Germans in Eureka .................. 1  
2 - Methodology ........................................... 13  
3 - Phonetic Markers in Eureka Speech .................. 22  
4 - Effect of Interference from German on the Morphology,  
    Syntax and Semantics of the Eureka dialect .......... 41  
5 - Lexical Features of American origin in Eureka speech .. 66  
6 - Recommendations for Future Studies .................. 81

## Appendix

A - Maps of Main Trade Routes and Townships;  
   Eureka's Introduction to the Researcher ................ 88  
B - Revised Response Form ................................. 92  
C - Description of Informants ............................. 116  
D - Pronunciation Word List ............................... 123  

Glossary ..................................................... 127  

Works Cited .................................................. 130
In the late nineteenth century, diverse social and economic conditions in Europe caused immigration to America. The European experiences of these pioneers continued to influence their reactions against the pressure to assimilate into a Midwestern culture. Of the German people who settled in the Dakotas, the German-Russians, particularly those who homesteaded in the Eureka, South Dakota area, formed one of the most culturally cohesive communities. When two major railroad companies were recruiting settlers for the Eureka area, the Germans from Russia were looking for an escape from the increasing pressure to blend into Russian society.

These Germans originally had gone to Russia in search of land. Anton H. Richter, a South Dakota State University German professor and a scholar of the German-Russians in South Dakota, says that because of the traditional division of land among the sons, these farming people were very poor and grabbed at the opportunity to own land. John Pfeiffer, a German-Russian historian, describes how in the late 1700s and early 1800s Czars Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great invited rural, agricultural Germans to cultivate the undeveloped land of South Russia (306). This was part of an overall push to lure German merchants, engineers and other professionals to this area to develop it and to create a buffer against the Asiatic tribes (307).

In the historical account of one Eureka family, Adam Joachim tells that to encourage the immigration of the German farmers, the Russian
government promised each family 162 acres of land, a sum of money, oxen, and farming and building supplies. The Czar also granted the Germans exemption from military service and a 10-year tax suspension. The immigrants were allowed to establish their own churches and schools and were granted local control of civil government affairs (Joachim, 1). These provisions in essence allowed them to preserve their German culture while living in Russia.

Czar Alexander I also encouraged the German immigration movement creating a second wave of settlers, according to Pfeiffer. The two immigration movements resulted in the organization of 181 colonies in South Russia (Pfeiffer, 305), among them Odessa and Glucksthal. Some of these names appear on the McPherson County township map in Appendix A. Though the early immigrants no longer identified with their ancestral Germany, they also never embraced the Russian culture (307). Using the farming techniques of their ancestors, the Germans lived in villages working the tracts of land surrounding the settlement. In these isolated, cohesive agricultural communities, Richter says the residents preserved their German identity allowing no intermingling through marriage with the Russians (190).

But this changed when Czar Alexander II came into power. In June 1871, the Russian government revoked the German colonists' rights to autonomy, according to Pfeiffer (309). The men were required to serve in the army and to pay taxes. The Russians gave the farmers only two alternatives--accept the conditions or leave the country. Once the pattern of resistance to outside social pressure had been established, the Germans were unwilling to settle for less than autonomy. Rather than
lose their cultural identity, many of these people chose to immigrate to America in hopes of establishing a similar, culturally-isolated society. The movement of Germans into the Dakotas began in 1873 and lasted until the beginning of World War II (Pfeiffer, 309).

In the Dakotas, the stage was also being set for the recruitment of these agricultural people. In the early 1800s the Sioux Indians were pushed west of the Missouri River and the railroads then moved in to develop the region.

Though the legislature established a bureau of immigration to attract settlers, the railroads seemed to be the most aggressive in promoting the Dakota territory. Because of the area's proximity to North Dakota, the settlement of Eureka was influenced by the building of both the Northern Pacific and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railways. According to The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest, the Northern Pacific, which completed its track through Fargo and Bismarck first, established tours and sent agents to the East to recruit settlers (11). The company went so far as to advertise in German language newspapers in the United States and abroad. These promotions portrayed the Dakotas as a land offering "golden opportunities for existence" and painted a picture of happy people living in a good climate, according to Richter. But the big draw for the Germans again, Richter says, was the availability of land.

The other railroad, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, meanwhile influenced the development of Eureka in another way. According to Eureka 1887-1937, the town's jubilee book, the company decided to extend its east-west line running through Aberdeen and Roscoe to the
north and south in an attempt to connect the two capitol cities, Pierre and Bismarck (17). This brought the railroad tracks directly through Eureka.

The combination of this means of access to the area and the promotional material made Eureka a prime spot for settlement by the Germans from Russia. These immigrants became one of the first groups of permanent settlers to accept an invitation to the Dakota territory, according to Richter (190). Expecting to find living conditions and laws similar to those in Russia, the Germans established settlements according to religion, the church being a chief institution for cultural maintenance, Pfeiffer says (317). Those inhabiting the Eureka area were primarily evangelical protestants--Lutherans.

But as Richter explains, these immigrants soon found that the settlements could not be organized in the same manner as in Germany or Russia because the Homestead Act provided that each family must live on the land they farmed. This discovery was the first sign that the German-Russians' cohesive cultural unit might undergo some significant changes in South Dakota. Nevertheless, the Germans were well equipped for farming in the Great Plains because the land was similar to that of Russia as far as soil conditions and climate (Richter, 191). These immigrants brought with them the "Turkey red, hard wheat," which became the basis of America's wheat farming industry and eventually transformed Eureka into a booming wheat center (191).

But the Germans did not move into a completely uninhabited and unnamed area. As Mary Worthy Breneman recounts in her book, *The Land They Possessed*, Americans of English heritage had set up businesses in
the small town which in the late 1800s was called End of Track. The jubilee book, *Eureka 1887-1937*, cites St. Petersburg as the next unofficial name of the town (18). Mrs. Otto Schick, a life-long resident of Eureka, says that what was then known as St. Petersburg is a section adjoining the town called "the school section." It is east of the current Eureka site and once sported a saloon, a store, a meat market and a machine shed also used for lodging. She recalls that local legend says that someone chose the name St. Petersburg "to honor his own village" in Russia. However, when the railroad was built it did not go through this section. According to Mrs. Schick, the legend says that land speculators actually named the town Eureka, which is Greek for "We found it." When the town was platted in 1887, this name was recorded.

The English-speaking residents of the settlement looked down on the incoming Germans referring to them as "Rooshans," according to Mrs. Breneman (31). But the heavy influx of these immigrants plus their financial success at farming made it necessary for the English to either accept them or move on. Calma Schamber Rettstatt, a former teacher in Eureka, says that many of the English did leave because they were unaccustomed to dealing with the German culture. Mrs. Rettstatt's father, attracted by the town's reputation as a wheat producer, came to Eureka to sell horses. She boasts that her ancestors were from France but fled to Germany during the French Revolution. She reasons that the town simply became so Germanized that the English, having made what money they could, left for greener pastures. Theodore F. Straub, a life-long Eureka resident of German-Russian ancestry, says that as the Milwaukee Railroad stretched farther north the English-speaking people
simply moved on (32). Germans then took over the positions and businesses the English had owned.

The German farmers prospered and grew wealthy. Their farming methods and strains of wheat were so successful that by 1892 the town became known as the wheat capitol of the world, according to an article in *Life* magazine. Because of its position at the farthest end of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, it became the "funnel into which the wheat fields of the Dakotas emptied." The town supported 42 grain elevators, which handled about 4,000,000 bushels of grain per year ("Eureka, World's Wheat Mart," 20). Faced with this type of growth, Eureka might have become a trading center attracting all types of people. This would have rapidly broken down the cultural cohesiveness of the Germans. But as the railroad expanded farther north, the town's reputation deteriorated and the Germans once more had the isolation they needed to maintain their closed cultural system.

External social pressure was nothing new to the Germans and the short boom experience had little impact on their institutions of socialization. With the English gone, the Germans used their native language not only in church and school but for business transactions. Theodore Straub recounts how in the early 1900s all church services and Sunday School classes at the Zion Lutheran Church were conducted in German (36). In the first six years of grade school students began to learn English but the bulk of the schoolwork was done in German (Straub, 41). It was when Straub went to the Eureka Lutheran College, established in 1910 for seventh through twelfth grades, that English was emphasized (39). It seemed as though the more education one got, the greater the necessity
to learn English. But the education of the children often took second place to the parents' need for help with the farm work. As a result, most German farm children received only a minimal education allowing for as little English as possible.

A German language newspaper served as another link in the chain of cultural and language maintenance. The Eureka Post, started in 1890, was printed in both English and German versions by 1902 (Richter, 203). To show the relative importance of the German version, Richter surveyed the Feb. 28, 1906 issues. The English paper was four pages long and contained local, state and national news, while the German issue filled eight pages and included national and international news in addition to anecdotes and a serialized novel (203). The German newspaper provided what Richter calls a linguistic lifeline (194).

But this linguistically isolated situation could not continue indefinitely. During World War I, the nation was gripped by a fury of anti-German hysteria. In 1917 a federal law required all foreign language newspapers, unless explicitly exempted, to file English translations of all articles dealing with the war (197). The German version of The Eureka Post had already merged with the Dakota Freie Press, published in another city, but the Eureka Rundschau, founded in 1916, was subject to this law (203). However, this did not affect the longevity of the paper and by 1923 it was the only German newspaper published in the state. It was not until 1928 that the newspaper discontinued publication (196).

Darrell R. Sawyer calls the anti-German sentiment of World War I a "thrust towards a purified America" which eventually became an
attack on the German language (483). This assault took on two forms, one through wartime agencies and the other through antagonism at the local level (483). In Eureka it was the wartime agencies that had more effect on the people when during February 1918 all German alien males were required to register with the federal government (461). Even further, by June 1918 this ruling was extended to all German females and ultimately to American women married to German aliens (461). The State Council of Defense also proclaimed that all schools must abolish instruction in the German language, and later applied the same restriction to all religious instruction (483).

But the most blatant abridgement of basic democratic rights came when the government put restrictions on daily personal communication. On July 6, 1918, an order prohibited the use of German on the telephone or in public gatherings of three or more people (486). Though such a ruling would be difficult to enforce in a small community like Eureka, this act violated the Germans' basic First Amendment right to free speech. But those who devised these edicts had overestimated the affluence of the Eureka Germans. Ironically, the restrictions on telephone conversations did not affect them because few of the farmers could afford such an extravagant device. But rulings regarding more public means of communication did create changes in Eureka. Theodore Straub recalls how United States government agents advised Edward R. Isaak to close his wireless station in Eureka. It was not reopened until after Nov. 11, 1918 (Straub, 53).

Several Eureka residents remember the effect these rules had on their lives. Andrew Stoebner, a Eureka farmer, insurance man and
banker, tells how all the business records which had been handled in German had to be translated into English. Straub recounts how at the bidding of government officials all the town's churches were padlocked because the services and lessons were conducted in German. He calls this the "cruelest blow that could be administered to the German people of Eureka," because most were loyal church members. Also, much of the social activity centered around the church (52). Undaunted by these inconveniences, the Germans simply conducted church services in their homes using their native language.

Basically this reaction was characteristic of the community. Publicly English became the accepted language of communication, but in their homes the people spoke German. This action forced everyone in the town to have a working knowledge of English and advanced the process of assimilation.

But the German-Russian population felt less pressure in Eureka than in other communities. Paul O. Kretschmar, an attorney in Eureka, tells how as a young German boy in Ashley, North Dakota, he felt as though he was under suspicion. In a mild incident of prejudiced action, his teacher seated the English children in the choice seats near the stove and windows, while the Germans were relegated to the less attractive seats. Speculation about the perpetuation of such discrimination helped Kretschmar make his decision to open his law practice in Eureka rather than in a more Anglo-Saxon community.

Despite the outside prejudices, the Germans reacted strongly against injustices within the community. Straub tells how Dr. E. E. Snow, a local dentist, accused some of the Eureka Germans of being
disloyal to America. The informant was harrassed so much that he eventually lost his business and left Eureka (Straub, 54). Though the Germans were outwardly Americanized, an attack on a community member was judged an attack on them all. Language as a form of cultural maintenance had decreased but the cohesiveness of the community unit became even more important.

The subject of war bonds, though, gave the Germans some headaches. The amount of money spent on war bonds became linked with the extent of the community's loyalty to America. Former Eureka farmers Fred Odenbach and Christian Schumaker remember feeling obligated to buy bonds. Odenbach says the banker forced him to buy war bonds or be put in jail. Schumaker recalls that someone dressed in red collected the money that he felt obligated to give to the war effort.

A more indirect competitive pressure weighed upon the town as it tried to meet its bond quotas. According to Sawyer, in McPherson County, the editors of the Eureka and Leola newspapers proclaimed the relative loyalty of each community on the basis of the money spent on bonds. The newspapermen made claims and counterclaims to prove which German community was most committed to the war effort (Sawyer, 466).

Though the restrictions of World War I took the German language off the streets, the pressure did not cause complete assimilation. After the war, the populace went back to worshipping in German, a practice which continued until the 1930s. Merchants also conducted business at least partially in German until the 1970s. Werner Straub, brother of Theodore Straub, says even in the 1980s some of his older customers prefer to bargain at the family furniture store using German.
By World War II, the Germans had been accepted as Americans. Many Germans had enlisted in the United States armed forces during World War I and had proven their loyalty, consequently little pressure existed during World War II. Even so, in a town with a population in 1981 of just over 1,300, the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) chapter has nearly 180 members (Commercial Atlas, 473).

Few of the Eureka teen-agers speak German now but most of them can understand the language. In another generation this, too, will be lost. But what remains of the German influence is evident even in these teen-agers' speech. The maintenance of the German language for so many years has created a dialect island with people in surrounding counties able to identify and stigmatize Eureka speakers, even though the people in these counties also come from a similar German ancestry. The combination of Eureka's out-of-the-way geographic location, with the nearest main highway 20 miles west and little railroad traffic (See Appendix A), and the tendency of its people to remain in the town created a situation convenient for cultural maintenance that the other communities did not have.

Theodore Straub notes in his autobiography that the German-Russian background had given "the populace a brogue, undetectible to oneself but definitely noticed by people from outside the area" (41). He could be referring to the use of a pitch rise with certain vowel sounds in addition to the sound changes created by interference between the two languages which are part of the Eureka dialect. (See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the phonetic system.) Outsiders react to these
dialect differences which the Eurekans view as accepted patterns of speech.

Among the younger Eurekans, 19-year-old Michele Schnabel says that at Northern State College the other students often comment about her phrasings. Classmates stigmatize her for using not as a tag question at the end of a sentence, such as we could do this, not? The older Eurekans tend to replace not with the German gel (See Chapter 4).

In one or two more generations, such markers will probably be erased due to the natural linguistic leveling process of assimilation. That is why it is important to record the existence of this dialect island and to preserve the characteristics of its speech patterns for future linguistic analysis.
Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

To record and analyze the dialect of Eureka, I first needed a pattern to follow. Harold B. Allen's *The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest* (LAUM) is by far the most extensive work done in dialect research in this section of the United States. Allen, an advocate of the school of linguistics called American Structuralism, patterned his atlas after the dialect work done by Hans Kurath in *The Linguistic Atlas of New England* (31-32). Taking the cue from these scholars, my study represents a simplified analog of Allen's monumental work.

Since I considered the dialect of only a single community, certain aspects of Allen's study had to be adjusted to accommodate my narrower scope. In delineating the techniques used to develop my questionnaire and to select the informants, I note those instances in which my work differs from that of Allen. I also add information which might be useful to future dialect researchers doing studies similar to this one.

**Developing the Questionnaire**

Allen's questionnaire, derived from the standardized format first developed by Kurath, consisted of 578 questions in 32 categories. His fieldworkers were furnished with two books, one with the questions and another with blank pages numbered to record each response. Completion of the entire questionnaire took the interviewer three to four sessions for each informant (Allen, 26, 27, 32).
In Chapter 4 of LAUM I, Allen gives a listing of the categories and responses used in the atlas interviews but not the questions. Looking further, I found that those responses discussed in the Lexicon, Part B of LAUM I, often included the question the interviewers asked or an approximation of it. This covered most of the questions concerning lexical items, but for those which probed for verbs or items essential to phonetic analysis, I needed to construct my own questioning sequences. At times, comments included in the listing of responses gave me clues as to the approach taken to elicit the key items (Allen, 31-38, 149-407).

I tried in as many instances as possible to use the same wording in my questions as Allen's interviewers did. For example, the responses for 5.4 in the category "weather" are listed as "thunderstorm, thunder shower, tempest, storm, electric(al) storm" (32). The lexicon under this number says, "For a rainstorm accompanied by wind, lightning, and thunder, two principal terms appear: thunderstorm and electric(al) storm" (153). Using this I phrased the question, "What do you call a rainstorm accompanied by wind, lightning and thunder?" This way I was fairly certain to ask the question in much the same manner as the LAUM interviewers had; however, this wording also created another problem. The use of thunder and storm within the question may very well lead the informant to the response thunderstorm. But because the responses of the Eureka informants will be compared against those from the LAUM respondents, I have opted for retaining the atlas wording so I can be sure that any differences in the responses can be attributed to the dialect of the area rather than to the wording of the question.
A second example illustrates other points to consider in the questioning process. In the weather category, Allen lists "drought" in italics meaning the interviewer must note the pronunciation, brackets around "get terms for short and long periods," and then two other responses, "drought, dry spell" (32). Looking at the listing in the lexicon, I found "Three principal responses came in reply to a question about a rainless period: drought, drouth, and dry spell" (153). For this inquiry, I used, "What do you call a time when there is no rain?" I followed this up with "Are there differences in the word used based on how long it lasts?" to test for any secondary differentiation. I also made sure to record the responses using a cassette tape recorder so that I could later transcribe the pronunciation of drought in broad phonetic terms.

Rather than making up a book of questions, I put them on four by six index cards using the categories as dividers much as one would set up a recipe box. This way I could switch easily from one topic to another without the awkwardness of shuffling through pages. This was also convenient when I needed to omit a section or a series of questions since I could simply pull the cards. On the response sheets, I used a check-off system with the most common responses listed and with additional space available to write in new responses and comments.

Because I intended to interview more than one person per session, I needed a fast way to record the responses. To do this, I used a pen with four ink colors so each respondent at a single interview could be recorded in a different color. I filled out the biographical
information in the pen color for that informant. The only drawback was that switching ink colors became tedious.

Though my first questionnaire duplicated all the questions asked in Allen's survey, I knew I had to eliminate some questions or complete sections both to accommodate the narrower scope of my work and to formulate a questionnaire that could be easily completed in three to four hours. In doing this, my first two sessions became experimental in that I gradually whittled the form down to focus on 346 questions in 20 categories. The categories appear below in the order presented in the interviews.

- time
- typography
- emotions
- weather
- animals
- illness/death
- dwelling
- crops
- social life
- the farm
- food/cooking
- religion
- kitchen
- fruits/vegetables
- greetings
- farm implements
- fauna/flora
- activities
- clothing/bedding
- family names

The questions in these categories dealt primarily with lexical items and some verb forms associated with these words. This revision brought the interview time to a comfortable three hours. The revised response sheets appear in Appendix B.

About one-half of the interviews in the atlas also included a seven- to eight-minute voice recording of spontaneous speech (Allen, 27). In most cases, I recorded some spontaneous speech, usually anecdotal information regarding the topic under discussion as a result of the questioning.
Classification of Informants

Allen grouped his informants into three classes based on age and education, but tried to avoid interviewing people whose grandparents or parents were neither native born nor English-speaking (24). In my study, the main criteria for division into three classes is education with age providing two groups within each classification. Most of the informants speak both German and English at home, which is characteristic of the community as a whole.

Allen put older people with no more than eighth grade education in Class I. Originally, I set the education ceiling for Class I at the sixth grade level because in Eureka the students went to the town's Lutheran College for seventh through twelfth grades, where the teachers emphasized the use of English. But after interviewing the Wiedemeiers, I felt that Philip, by virtue of his life experiences and speech characteristics, belonged in Class I. So I raised the education ceiling to seventh grade to include him in the appropriate class. The Class II informants, consequently, include those with anywhere from an eighth grade education to a high school diploma. Those with education beyond high school make up the Class III informants. These people had to leave the community to enroll in an institution of higher learning; therefore, they should have encountered reactions to their Eureka dialect and would be more aware of language differences.

In The Linguistic Atlas of New England, Kurath used two subdivisions within each classification to denote the degree of cultural sophistication (Allen, 24). In this study, the subdivisions seem natural because the ages of the informants fall easily into two groups. For
example, in Class II the ages of the informants are 71, 68, 45 and 39. It seems logical that the 71- and 68-year-olds would be likely to exhibit speech characteristics not present in the speech of the 45- and 39-year-olds, yet in education they belong to the same class. The subgroups allow for discussion of these anticipated differences. Relevant biographical information on each informant appears in Appendix C.

Selection of Informants

In beginning my search for informants, I knew I needed at least 12 people to get a comparison within each subgroup. As a starting point, I used the names I had obtained from the tapes in the University of South Dakota project The South Dakota Experience: An Oral History of Its People cited individually in Chapter 1. I first interviewed Edward and Rosa Hoffman, whose speech on the oral history tapes showed typical characteristics of the Eureka dialect. Though the Hoffmans' son traveled with the Metropolitan Opera and resided in a major metro area, any visits they made to large cities had relatively little effect on their speech patterns.

Because the oral history project focused on older residents, I needed to find sons and daughters of these people to get younger informants. The Rev. Ted Kranzler, curator of the Eureka Pioneer Museum, identified the descendants of people he thought would be willing informants. This led to my second set of interviews done with Otto and Lenora Schick. Otto is the son of John Schick, one of the speakers on the history tapes.
For selection of the remainder of my informants, I went to the Rev. Lloyd Miller, pastor of the Zion American Lutheran Church. His church seemed an appropriate source for names since a majority of the German-Russians who settled Eureka were Lutherans. The parish had also compiled a membership directory from which the pastor could select people he felt would meet the age and education criteria.

In addition, the Rev. Miller helped me choose respondents whose backgrounds would allow for as many linguistic comparison as possible. In interviewing Rosina Ackerman, Nancy Schnabel and Michele Schnabel, I compared three generations of the Ackerman-Schnabel family using the mother's line of descent in an effort to clarify the pattern of assimilation. I talked to the three women during one session because I hoped the discovery of differences in the terms used would produce anecdotal information and some analysis of the various responses.

The Coopers also represented a unique couple in that Dianna has been a lifelong resident of the area, while Ron, who is of Irish/Norwegian descent, came to the community as a high school teacher. Because of Ron's status as a nontypical Eurekan, both he and his wife are likely to be more aware of dialect differences because they have experienced them in their home as well as in the community. I was also curious as to whether Ron had picked up any of the dialectal items of the community.

Another one of the informants, Werner Straub, is the brother of Theodore Straub, whose autobiography I used as background on the community and who was interviewed on the oral history tapes. What sparked my interest in this family was that though they came from a traditional German background, they did not have the more easily identifiable Eureka
speech characteristics. Werner explained this by pointing out that both he and his brother had married Norwegian women.

**Auxiliary Informants**

In addition to the primary Eureka informants, I utilized information from two Eurekans now living in Brookings. Shirley Schliessmann, whose husband teaches speech at South Dakota State University, volunteered many phrases and lexical items characteristic of the dialect and which she became aware of through her spouse's reactions to them. Thelma Dittman helped me in my efforts to refine some phonetic descriptions and to doublecheck the accuracy of several lexical items.

And finally, Lisa Rupp, a native speaker of Swabian—the dominant dialect of German spoken in Eureka, added both to the phonetic and the lexical analyses. She was able to make connections between the Germanic forms used in the community and those present in the more current Swabian which she speaks. This gave the study a more accurate historical perspective on the changes that the dialect forms have undergone. Relevant biographical information on these three auxiliary informants appears in the last portion of Appendix C.

**Conclusion.**

With this as my base, the remainder of the study provides a description of the phonetic system and some of the lexical items of the Eureka dialect. These analyses focus on the characteristics which differ from those of the surrounding areas because this survey attempts to identify what makes the dialect distinctive.
The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest uses a system of phonetic transcription which allows the interviewer to record minute details of the sound production process. Because this study focuses on those salient features which an average listener can detect, the transcription can be done using a broader method which identifies the more phonologically distinctive forms.

Though some dialectology studies may use up to 20 characteristics in selecting the informants, only two elements need to be considered in this survey. Age and education are the key elements in the assimilation process taking place in the speech patterns of the Eurekans.
Chapter 3

PHONETIC MARKERS IN EUREKA SPEECH

The German language, which exists as an oral tradition in Eureka, exerts a tremendous influence on the phonetic makeup of the dialect. Virtually all of the sound changes identified in this study can be linked to interference between German and English.

Methodology

During the course of the interviews, I recorded those responses printed in capital letters in the questionnaire (Appendix B). These tapes allowed me to scrutinize the sound formations more closely than would have been possible if I had simply transcribed the responses during the interviews. In addition to the keyed responses, I tried to tape each informant during informal conversation, preferably when he/she was telling a story or describing a particular characteristic of the community. Because The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (LAUM) questionnaire is designed for speakers of nonforeign parentage, many of the salient features of the Eureka dialect cannot be detected within this framework. However, these markers did surface in the informants' informal conversation.

Though the length of each tape varies depending on the informant(s), the number of keyed responses recorded remains fairly constant. The differences in tape length occur for three reasons: 1) The questionnaire which I attempted to complete with the Hoffmans and the Schicks is longer than the refined form used for the other respondents; 2) The number of informants interviewed at one time ranges from one to three;
and 3) The rate of speech and the length of the responses varies depending on the informant. Some informants had difficulty remembering the term they used for an item, while others tended to illustrate each word with a personal experience.

The length of the tapes are as follows:

Edward and Rosa Hoffman 3 hours
Otto and Lenora Schick 2 hours
Ron and Dianna Cooper 1-1/2 hours
Rosina Ackerman, Nancy and Michele Schnabel 1-3/4 hours
Philip and Elfrieda Wiedemeier 2 hours
Werner Straub 1-1/4 hours

When I began analyzing the tapes, I found that the keyed responses in the revised questionnaire produced few of the salient features in the Eureka dialect. Consequently nearly half of the words used in this phonetic analysis are not items the atlas interviewers would have transcribed, but are terms which did occur in the course of the conversation about the questionnaire topics. Appendix D lists first, all the words transcribed and then those which contain examples of the major phonetic markers of Eureka speech.

Consonant Changes

In Eureka speech, pronunciation changes occur in both consonants and vowels; however, since those people outside of the community who react to these differences are not trained linguists, they are more apt to identify consonant changes. The most obvious sound changes would be those which do not occur normally in rapid conversational English.
Among them are devoicing of the affricate [ʃ] to [ʃ], and the fricatives [s] to [s] and [v] to [f]. These and other changes, especially those in the phonetic classification called the stops, can be attributed to interference between German and English. Table 3.2 on page 25 shows the consonants present in American English, while Table 3.3 on page 26 gives those used in the Eureka dialect.

The most straightforward reason for a sound change due to interference is that the phone simply does not exist in the native dialect of German. This happens in the substitution of [ʃ] for [ʃ]. Since the German language does not have the voiced palatal affricate, the Eurekans simply substitute the voiceless palatal affricate. This happens in initial, medial and final positions with the same regularity. Furthermore, this phenomenon is highly age-graded—the older the speaker the more likely he/she is to substitute [ʃ].

H. L. Mencken documents this sound change in The American Language, Supplement II, saying that among Germans "j" is often converted to "tch" (261), but he does not address the issue of age-grading involved in the leveling process. The [ʃ→ʃ] change follows a relatively regular assimilation pattern as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç/j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç/j</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1  ç/j  Leveling Process
### Table 3.2 CONSONANTS IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Articulation</th>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
<th>LABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>PALATOVELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>Labiodental</td>
<td>Interdental</td>
<td>Alveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives:</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals:</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids:</td>
<td></td>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels:</td>
<td></td>
<td>retroflex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All phonemes vary according to position within word.

Table 3.3 CONSONANTS IN EUREKA DIALECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
<th>LABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>PALATOVELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiodental</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdental</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolo-palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Manner of Articulation**

**Stops:**
- voiceless: p
- voiced: b

**Fricatives:**
- voiceless: f, θ, s, ʃ, ɣ
- voiced: ʃ, s/ʃ, ɣ

**Affricates:**
- voiceless: ʃ
- voiced: ʃ

**Nasals:**
- m, n,ŋ

**Liquids:**
- lateral: l
- retroflex: r

**Semivowels:**
- y, w

* allophones vary according to position within word

All Class I informants use [צ] exclusively, while only the older type A speakers in Class II do so. The assimilation process begins in the Class IIB and IIIA groups and reaches completion by the IIIB generation.

The Hoffmans, the Wiedemeiers, Mrs. Ackerman and Mr. Schick use [צ] in place of [ני] in all the responses elicited containing this sound. Most of the time an outsider can easily identify the sound change and figure out the target word, but some semantic confusion may occur when dealing with minimal pairs such as joke/choke. The key word a listener can use to separate the transitional speakers from this group is German. Those informants who use both [צ] and [ני] will respond with [Arman]. Of the transitional group, Mrs. Schick shows the highest frequency in use of [צ], but pronounces German with a distinct [ני]. Though most Eurekans are aware that their speech patterns differ from those of the surrounding area, they also are intensely proud of their German heritage. Because of this, German would most likely be a high frequency word, especially outside of the community. Consequently it has also become an indicator of the beginning of the assimilation process in Eureka speakers, the awareness and ultimately the usage of the standard pronunciation. Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Schnabel in Class IIB have progressed further in the assimilation process and use [ני] in more words than Mrs. Schick does. However, both Class IIB speakers occasionally revert back to the substitution of [צ], particularly in words such as [Yast] and [Yarki] which have a stressed central vowel.

As a member of the Class IIIA group, Werner Straub should also be a transitional speaker; however, he is an exception to the rule.
He was raised in a German-speaking home, but married a Norwegian; consequently the language was not carried into their family. Through this and his experiences outside of the community, Mr. Straub has become very aware of the sound changes which mark a Eureka speaker and seems to have almost entirely eliminated these shibboleths from his idiolect.

Michele Schnabel and Ron Cooper in Class IIIB use [y] in all instances recorded. Michele shows the characteristics of a speaker in whom the leveling process has been completed. Since Mr. Cooper is neither a native Eurekan nor a German speaker, he has not undergone assimilation. The test for Mr. Cooper is whether he might have inadvertently picked up some of the characteristics of Eureka speech or recognizes, consciously, the shibboleths and shifts toward what he sees as the more prestigious form. Such shifting would not be systematic, but would depend on his reaction to the person to whom he is speaking.

The second dominant phonetic change in Eureka speech takes place in the transformation of [z] into [s] in either medial or final position. The retroflexion or slight backward flip of the tongue creates a greater sibilance than is present in [s], thereby from a listener's standpoint drawing even more attention to the devoicing.

Dr. Richter says this occurs because the German language uses [z] only in an initial position. In response to this interference, a Eureka speaker will substitute [s] in the medial or final position, because this is one of the phones used in German in these positions.
Though the German language contains two allophones of /s/, \([s]\) and \([s]\), the \([s]\) seems to occur more frequently than \([s]\).

Diagramming the process of assimilation for this sound change is more difficult than for the first change for two reasons: 1) Because of the fine distinction between the two allophones, it is necessary to first make sure that both are part of the informant's sound system and then in which instances each is used; and 2) since 80 percent of the words transcribed containing this sound change are not keyed responses, the number of examples obtained from each respondent varies greatly. The following chart shows the leveling process in broad terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>(c/s/z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c/s/z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c/s/z)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 \(c/s/z\) Leveling Process

This follows basically the same configuration as the \([c \rightarrow y]\) change regarding the identification of Class IIB and IIIA as the transitional groups with completion of the assimilation process by the Class IIIB speakers. But a great deal more is going on in the transitional group in this sound change than is in the affricate devoicing.

Because of the uneven distribution of response numbers, this discussion will focus on those informants from whom more items were elicited. The most complete data arrays exist for Mr. Hoffman from Class IA and Mrs. Schick in Class IIIA.
Mr. Hoffman uses [s] exclusively in all the words initially transcribed. While perusing the tapes more closely paying attention to both allophones of /s/, I find that he uses [s] as an allophone of both /z/ and /s/ in the final and medial positions. This occurs following the tense vowels as in [goʃ], [leʃi] and [kloʃ], as well as lax vowels such as in [fəʃət] and [dəʃk]. He has generalized the rule to the point where all alveolar fricatives in medial and final positions become [s]. However, it is highly unlikely that this broad retroflexion is representative of the Class I and Class IIA speakers since he is the only informant who displays this characteristic. His wife, for instance, uses [s] in medial and final positions where [z] is the target such as in [zəsəs]; on the other hand, words containing the voiceless alveolar fricative have the standard pronunciation such as in [drəsər], [fəsət] and [sət]. The limited data from the other four speakers in this grouping also support the use of [s] for [z] in final and medial positions.

In the transitional group, Mrs. Schick uses all three allophones of /z/ — [s], [z] and [ʦ]. She is aware that in some instances /z/ is the target but tends to choose [s] more often than [z]. For example, she pronounces music as [myuʃi], yet uses [pɔyən] as in poison ivy. She is more likely to substitute [s] in rapid speech than in an isolated response. After a description of the two-legged garment worn on a person's lower body, she said [trɔzərs], while when using it in a sentence she preferred [trɔsərs].

Though the responses for the Class IIB speakers are limited, those obtained from Mrs. Schnabel exemplify the use of all three
allophones. She retains \([z] \) in \([z\#s] \), loses the retroflexion in \([ls] \)
and finally uses the voiced alveolar fricative in \([froz] \).

As noted before, Mr. Straub's linguistic awareness has eliminated most evidence of interference, but the one area in which he has retained a slight tendency toward devoicing is in the alveolar fricative. In the word \(\text{clothes} \), he uses \([s] \); however, this is the only word in the entire interview in which I could detect any pronunciation that would mark him as a Eurekan. Even this was so slight as to be imperceptible to most listeners.

By the Class IIIIB generation, any evidence of devoicing or retroflexion has disappeared. The leveling process has reached completion in Michele Schnabel, who uses \([z] \) to the complete exclusion of both \([s] \) and \([z] \) as allophones of \(/z/ \).

The third phonetic change involves devoicing of the labiodental fricative \([v] \) to \([f] \). Mencken records a similar "v to f" change as an earmark of what he calls a German-American dialect, but he does not describe the phonetic environment in which this occurs (258). To explain the reason for this sound change, the linguist must consider two areas involving interference between the languages. First, the German language has no allophone of \(/v/ \) which matches what most speakers would call the Midwestern American English \([v] \), according to Dr. Richter. The sound involves less contact between the upper teeth and the lower lip than would occur in the Midwestern \([v] \). Secondly, what is written in German as \(v \) is in fact pronounced \([f] \) as in \(\text{water} \ [f\text{ater}] \).
The Eureka speakers have melded these two rules creating one in which [v] becomes [f]. Because the data in regard to this change has not been taken from the keyed responses, the picture of the assimilation process is sketchy at best. Evidence concerning this change exists on the tapes of five out of the twelve informants — Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Wiedemeier, Mrs. Ackerman, Mr. Straub and Mrs. Schick. Of these, only Mr. Straub uses the voiced labiodental fricative.

In the examples used in this study, the devoicing seems to occur in the medial and final positions preceded by a lax vowel or the diphthong [ay]. Mr. Hoffman uses the devoiced phone most often with words such as [twɛlf], [kaɾf], [lɪf] and [drayf]. Mrs. Schick, Mrs. Ackerman and Mr. Wiedemeier agree on the pronunciation [fayf].

More research involving the eliciting of a variety of words containing [v] in initial as well as medial and final positions and testing for environment indicators such as tense and lax vowels would help in describing the assimilation process. But one must remember that a linguistic survey of this type involves an heuristic process in which the researcher must assemble data arrays from which to draw conclusions. Using this study, more accurate questionnaires can be designed to more precisely determine both the linguistic environments and the type of speaker in which these changes are likely to occur.

The last series of sound changes exists in the group of consonants called stops. According to Dr. Richter, in certain dialects of German what would normally be a voiced bilabial or velar stop becomes voiceless when it occurs either in a final position or before a consonant such as in sagt, zug, habt and gibst. Consequently in Eureka
Utterances such as [ʃɛts], [mɛldət] and [sɔt] show the likelihood of this. Mencken also touches on this aspect of German-American speech characterizing the changes as "d to t" and "t to dt", but he does not comment on the linguistic environment in which they occur (258).

**Vowel Changes**

Regarding the interference of vowels between the two languages, the assimilation process has progressed much more quickly than among the consonants. This phenomenon is not unique to Eureka speech, but appears in William Labov's study of phonetic shift among native speakers on Martha's Vineyard, an island off the coast of Massachusetts (1). He traces an age-graded increase in the tendency to centralize the diphthongs [aɪ] and [aʊ]. Labov finds that the movement toward centralization represents a conscious effort on the part of people in certain age and occupational groups to identify themselves as native islanders rather than summer visitors (22, 26). This shift, which occurs in less than a generation, serves as a basis for assumptions concerning the rapidity of the leveling process of vowels among Eureka speakers. Table 3.5 on page 35 diagrams the vowel system in American English, while Table 3.6 on page 36 depicts the vowels in the Eureka dialect.

The first and most evident vowel change in Eureka speech happens like the [y→ɛ] change because the low front lax vowel does not exist in the German language. Consequently, the Eurekans substitute the midfront lax vowel [ɛ] in words requiring [ɛ]. This can create an embarrassing situation for some Eurekans who prefer to call the
**Table 3.5**

**VOWELS IN AMERICAN ENGLISH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Parameters of Tongue Height

* * tense vowels; the remainder are lax

**Sources:**
Table 3.6
VOWELS IN EUREKA DIALECT

large, loosely woven, coarse container used for various farm products a **potato sack**. Michele Schnabel recounted how her college coeds made a game out of trying to get her to say **potato sacks**, which in Eureka dialect becomes "potato sex". Other Eurekans also recognize this phrase as a shibboleth and it has consequently become a topic of comment within the community.

The assimilation pattern established for this front vowel change shows the rapidity of the leveling process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ε/ə</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ε/ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ε/ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7  **ε/ə** Leveling Process

Looking at overall trends, the assimilation process takes effect in the Class I and Class IIA groups, much earlier than the changes in previous consonant markers did. The leveling has been completed by the Class IIA and IIIA informants in which the consonant assimilation would normally begin.

Mr. Hoffman, for whom I recorded the most instances of the use of [ε], responds with [ɛˈʃæ], [ɛfərˈmʌn] and [pɛˈɡæzə]; yet for **half**, he says [hæf]. This is the only instance in which he produced the low front vowel. Mrs. Hoffman shows use of both vowel sounds in one word; in an isolated answer, she carefully pronounces [ɛˈʃæ], while in conversation the word becomes [ɛˈʃæ]. She is aware of the
prescribed form yet lapses into the German variant in rapid speech. In the two responses from Mr. Wiedemeier, wax and blacktop both contain [ɛ]. This is also true in Mrs. Ackerman’s pronunciation of matches and rack, but in combination with a consonant other than the nasals or liquids the chances would usually be good for both Mr. Wiedemeier and her to use the low front vowel [ɛ]. Mr. Schick uses [ɛ] in the one example transcribed in his speech, afternoon, but eliciting of more words with this feature would also reveal the use of [ɛ].

By the Class IIB and III generations, the feature has been completely eliminated. No instances of the use of [ɛ] in place of [ɛ] occur in the six informants in these categories.

The last vowel change is barely perceptible with only four informants displaying this feature. Some dialects of German systematically round the low back vowel [a], according to Dr. Richter. Lisa Rupp, a speaker of Swabian—the primary dialect of the Eureka people, agrees with this description. The only two words in which this allophonic variant appears, barn and college, permit only a shaky hypothesis that the stops preceding the [v] may have an influence on its production. It is also possible that the liquid following the rounded allophone could also affect its formation. Mr. Schick displays this feature in its most rounded form pronouncing barn almost as if it were a homophone of born. This phonetic change, though not as marked in Mrs. Ackerman’s speech, occurs in the lexical item, loafing barn. Mr. Hoffman uses the rounded allophone in barn and college, while Mrs. Schick uses it only in college.
The only citation in linguistic atlas surveys concerning the use of this allophone occurs in the word *college*. In *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States*, Kurath and McDavid describe the use of a rounded low back [v] in Western Pennsylvania (104), but according to a table entitled "The Low Vowel Phonemes and their Incidence in the Vocabulary" (7), this phone could also be used in *crop, lot, frost* and *fog*, which is not the case in Eureka speech.

Further research into this allophone might reveal more about its properties and the environment which promotes its usage, but the studies must be done soon as chances are slim that it will remain in the dialect much longer. The feature does not occur in the Class IIB or III speakers.

**Pitch Rise**

The final carryover from the dialectal form of German spoken in Eureka involves a pitch rise on tense and/or rounded vowels. Mencken describes this phenomenon in *The American Language* as "diphthongization of o" (285). Mrs. Rupp, a secondary informant who grew up in Ulm, Germany, says this characteristic separated the Swabians in the northwest in a region from Stuttgart to the French border from others using the same dialect. The pitch rise has no significance as far as meaning, but may be a way of identifying those people from a certain region.

Production of the pitch rise begins with the vowel sound and moves into a more centralized [ɔ] on descending to the next consonant sound as in *[pɪpɔl]* and *[ɔrfɔnt]*. This element is present in
speakers in Class I, II and IIIA. Even Mr. Straub shows a pitch rise in his pronunciation of [sofə]. This may be the one remnant of the German language which remains the longest in Eureka speech because it does not create a direct conflict with the American English phonetic system; it is an indicator rather than a shibboleth.

Conclusion

The study of the phonetic structure of Eureka speech is not by any means complete. The basic problem in using the revised questionnaire in LAUM is that it is geared to the native speaker and does not test for those salient features which tend to be present in informants of foreign parentage. To refine this study for future researchers interested in interviewing people of German heritage, the questionnaire should be redesigned to test for those markers identified in this thesis as well as to find out more about the environments in which they occur.
Chapter 4

EFFECT OF INTERFERENCE FROM GERMAN
ON THE MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EUREKA DIALECT

Because the Upper Midwest was so recently settled and was populated by people of European heritage, Harold B. Allen found that he had to use some informants of non-English origin in the LAUM survey. In "The Use of Atlas Informants of Foreign Parentage," he compares responses obtained from speakers of native born parentage with those of foreign born ancestry. Based principally on lexical item data containing Midland and Northern speech features, Allen concludes that speakers of foreign parentage are "valid field informants" (24), meaning that their responses are "reliable indicators of regional speech" (22).

However, the data gathered in this thesis do not entirely support Allen's assumptions. Both the Anglophiliac bias perpetuated in the informant selection process and the construction of isoglosses encourage the linguist to ignore data concerning dialect islands such as Eureka, which do not conform to an established pattern. First, though many of the responses from the Eureka informants are similar to those from the LAUM informants in the surrounding counties, many others are not. And one must remember that the atlas questionnaire used in this survey tests for those salient features present in speakers of nonforeign parentage. Second, Eurekans are valid field informants in that they comprise a portion of the diverse population of South Dakota; however, they are representative only of their dialect island, not of the region as a whole.
Interference from the German has had a significant influence on the Eureka dialect at all linguistic levels—phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. The German influence comes both from the written High German and any of the four or five dialects, of which Swabian seems to be dominant, spoken in the community. The informants tend in many cases either to use a German loan word or to translate the word from German to English. These terms can be direct translations, cognates or may even have undergone transformation into forms such as calques due to changes within the German language or difficulties in the translation process.

Though the principal foreign influence on the Eureka dialect comes from German, some Russian loan words appear in scattered instances. The Russian influence is extremely minimal when one considers that the Eurekans' ancestors lived in Russia for five generations. This chapter will address these words of Russian origin before delving into the larger analysis of the effect of interference from German.

**Russian loan words**

Though the Germans' resistance to the pressure to assimilate linguistically into the Russian culture was very strong, some families did pick up a few words of Russian. Within the scope of this study, only one informant, Rosa Hoffman, admitted that her mother spoke some Russian and that she had consequently learned a bit of the language. Though she and her husband each used one word of Russian origin, neither acknowledged the non-Germanic nature of the word.
The Russian word Mrs. Hoffman retains deals with two foods prepared using cornmeal. What she says would be cornmeal pudding and cornmeal hash in English can also be described with one word, mamalika pronounced [mamalika]. Professor Harry Weber of the Department of Russian at the University of Iowa says this word relates directly to the Russian word mamalyga and to the Ukrainian mamaliga, which both originate from the Rumanian mamaliga. Consulting an etymological dictionary, he finds that all three words mean "thick porridge made from cornmeal." Mrs. Hoffman has widened the original word's semantic field to include anything made of cornmeal, bread or pudding.

Edward Hoffman's response of Russian origin describes a small pile of loose hay, smaller than a haystack. Trying to find the proper word, Mr. Hoffman said that now farmers would use a haybale, although he admitted that would not be loose hay; however, the older term for this is kapetsa pronounced [kapetsə]. Though this word is not as easy to identify as mamalika, Professor Weber says it is probably a derivation of the Slavic word kopa, meaning a haystack or a stack of rye. Two words with a similar meaning, kopetsa and kópitsa, closely resemble the lexical item Mr. Hoffman uses; however, the stress in these words occurs in the first rather than the second syllable. Professor Weber says this change in stress accounts for the use of an "a" in the first syllable of kapetsa rather than an "o" because 'in the original stem kopa, the "o", if unstressed sounds like an "a"'. Because Professor Weber does not use phonetic notation, it is difficult to predict the exact pronunciation of these letters, but in its absence this statement seems like a very logical explanation for the letter change.
However, Mr. Hoffman's use of *kapetsa* may be more of an idiolectal than a dialectal feature. The interview process itself seems to encourage secondary differentiation such as occurs in this word. Mr. Hoffman seemed to feel especially uncomfortable with a lexical void so in this case he uses *kapetsa* to fill the slot for a small pile of loose hay by differentiating it from *haystack*, its original meaning.

**German food names**

H. B. Allen in his work with the LAUM found that the vocabulary influence of foreign languages often appears in the names of food (139). This occurs basically because the new language, English in this case, has no word to describe the item. The Eurekans experienced this with the great variety of German breads. Blatchinda, Knoepfia, Kuechle, Kuchen and Strudels remain in the vocabulary because there are no English alternatives. Other items such as cheese buttons, potato bread and homemade noodles can be successfully translated.

In addition, the German language makes certain lexical distinctions which Eurekans feel cannot be accurately described in English. H. L. Mencken in his studies of German-Americans cites a dialect in Garret County, Maryland, which uses *snits* to mean sliced and dried apples or other fruit (II 160). According to the LAUM questionnaire, one might expect individuals of German heritage to use this anglicized form of *Schnitz*. Because of the folklore associated with the drying and slicing of apples, the Eurekans retain two words—*Apfel Schnitz* and *Drogge Apfl*. The distinction between the two is part of the folklore of the culture, according to Lisa Rupp, who grew up in a German Swabian
family (See Appendix C for biography). Droge Apfl means an apple cut in half or quartered and then dried. It is used in cooking rather than eaten alone and is never as carefully done as Apfel Schnitz. The custom accompanying Apfel Schnitz involves an almost ceremonial ritual in the frugal German family in which it is "a treat to share an apple with someone," Mrs. Rupp says. She remembers that the children would wait as her grandfather sliced the apple using his jackknife, never a kitchen knife, and cut each piece slowly. While telling a story, he would pass out the slices one by one as if he were doling out candy. Though the Eurekans no longer preserve apples in this manner, they prefer to use these two German loan words to retain this fine distinction which cannot be adequately captured in English.

Although the Eurekans are well known for their Wurst, this word can be translated into sausage with apparently no cultural loss. Mencken in The American Language, Supplement 2, says that in Kansas two German loan words are used relating to sausage, blutwurst and schwartemagen (151). But the Eurekans have adopted the English versions of these items, blood sausage and head cheese, respectively. The only German loan word present in describing varieties of sausage occurs with braunschweiger, which has been marketed under this name so that the use of this word has become common in the Midwest.

In association with the making of bread, the Eurekans say they now use yeast, but informants in all classes except IIIB remember the use of a homemade variety called everlasting yeast. None of the informants interviewed for the LAUM used this term, but some respondents to the mailed questionnaire, which is designed to double-check the accuracy
of the interviews, did use the term. Two respondents in Minnesota, ten in North Dakota and five in South Dakota selected **everlasting yeast**; however, no Nebraskans or Iowans used the term. Consequently the LAUM concludes that this is clearly a Northern feature (285). Checking the backgrounds of the respondents in South Dakota and North Dakota, I find that nearly all the counties cited as having a respondent using **everlasting yeast** also have at least one person of German or German-Russian heritage, most of whom still speak the native language (108-114).

Pursuing this, I checked with Mrs. Rupp and Dr. Richter as to the German term for this yeast made of potato water, sugar and salt. Mrs. Rupp says the German word for this yeast is **Dauer Hefe** and describes **Dauer** as meaning "ever" and **Hefe** as yeast. Dr. Richter characterizes **Dauer** as something that "lasts a long time." The combination of these two definitions produces the **everlasting yeast** of which the Eurekans speak. Because of the apparent lack of contact with persons who used terms such as **potato yeast** (Kurath, Map 290) for this substance, the Germans simply tried to translate the lexical item from their native language to English. Though this term has become a Northern feature, its beginnings can most likely be traced to the German settlers.

**Translations from German**

Sometimes in an attempt to anglicize a word yet retain some of the old German flavor, Eureka informants will simply and literally translate the word. Some are direct translations and cognates, others have undergone semantic changes into calques, and still others exhibit phonetic changes.
In discussing the terms used for bedroom, Mrs. Schick identified the Germanized version as *sleeping room*. Both Dr. Richter and Mrs. Rupp agree that this is a direct translation of *Schlafzimmer*. The LAUM cites *sleeping room* as a minor variant which occurs in the eastern half of the Midwest, though an informant from Brown County in South Dakota says she has heard the term used in her community (166). *The Linguistic Atlas of New England* (LANE) also records the term as a general one used by two informants in northeastern Massachusetts and as a variant with secondary differentiation from *bedroom* as described by nine New England informants. Two informants, one from Rhode Island and another from Massachusetts, describe a *sleeping room* as an upstairs bedroom, while four people, two each from Maine and Massachusetts, identify it as a downstairs bedroom. Three other informants say a *bedroom* is smaller than a *sleeping room* (Map 337). For those speakers who secondarily differentiate the word from *bedroom*, *sleeping room* represents a calque because the semantic field has been narrowed from that of the original term. However, since Mrs. Schick specifically points out the Germanic influence on *sleeping room*, chances are slim that the Eurekans know of the word as part of New England speech.

The most culturally rich answer in translation came as a response to the names one would call a child born to an unmarried woman. Mr. Schick volunteered the term *catch colt*, which he labeled German slang. The LAUM says *catch colt* is a South Midland term found in southern Iowa (344). Hans Kurath in *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* identifies a variant spelling, *ketch-colt*, as a term restricted to several small areas in central New York State (77). Mrs. Rupp explains
the folklore calling the term "a bit of a joke." In Germany the birth of a child out of wedlock was not stigmatized as much as in the United States, she says. Because the only heated room in the house was the kitchen, the bedrooms were usually very cold. When a person caught a cold and had to stay in bed, the best way for her to keep warm was with another body next to her. Consequently the reason an unmarried woman became pregnant was simply explained, according to Mrs. Rupp, by saying "she caught cold." Hence this phrase with the expected devoicing of the [d] (see Chapter 3) in translation became the noun catch colt. Another more conventional explanation of this, Mrs. Rupp says, is that if a person has illicit sex, it often takes place behind the bushes where a person can catch cold. Therefore, if a woman begins to gain weight, people say she probably caught cold somewhere.

The last translation example involves first the substitution of one German verb for another as a result of a phonetic change and finally the transformation to English. Two Eureka speakers, Mrs. Cooper in Class IIB and Mrs. Schick in Class IIIA, explained how they somewhat jokingly would call the dishrag a playrag, a direct translation of their German word for this item, [spiləmbə]. The formation of this word, according to Mrs. Rupp, is a total misnomer. The German word for any kind of rinsing off which is used to denote washing dishes is spülen, [spüliən], while the root word meaning to play is spielen, [spielən].

Mrs. Rupp then explains that the Swabian dialect uses spiala, [spíla], for washing dishes. Through time, the diphthong quality in the first syllable has been lost leaving [spíla], which can be interpreted as the conjugated form of the German spielen, to play. The consequent direct
translation produces playrag. Because the German of the Eurekans is an oral tradition heavily influenced by the Swabian dialect, the German word spülen has disappeared and the semantic field of spielen has been widened to include both meanings.

**English words of German origin**

In some cases the Eurekans do not have to choose either a German or an English word but can find a term which is semantically and phonetically similar in both languages. When this happens, most speakers will select the anglicized German word over a more common Midwestern term.

In an attempt to find a word for the first thin coating of ice, Mrs. Schick used crust. She then identified this as a variant of the German Kruste. Mrs. Rupp explains that this term can have a much broader meaning than is implied in a crust of ice. According to Cassell’s German Dictionary, Kruste can also mean "scab, scale, incrustation or scurf" (280). However, in the absence of a more suitable English noun, Mrs. Schick drew upon her German to produce an English word, which is a calque of the original word because of its more narrow semantic field.

One English/German term has stoutly resisted the effects of assimilation and held on to become accepted as a Northern speech feature. Eureka speakers in all age groups prefer cluck, a variation of the German Klucke (Betteridge, 266), over the more anglicized terms, setting or brooding hen. Only Mr. Cooper, whose linguistic awareness has caused him to purposely differentiate his speech from that of the community, produced the word setting hen. The remaining 11 informants and an auxiliary teen-age informant, Mrs. Cooper's daughter Faye, use cluck.
The LANE takes no specific stand in describing the lexical item, cluck. The study says one Connecticut farmer justifies his use of clucking hen because "she goes round clucking," while another informant says he heard the word cluck from people of German ancestry (Map 214). In The American Language, Supplement 2, Mencken lists cluck as one of the words present in the argot of Middle West farmers (748), but does not discuss possible links with German. Kurath, on the other hand, draws a clearer pattern in his study of the Eastern United States. He records the terms cluck and clucker in Pennsylvania and attributes their usage to borrowing from the dialect of German spoken there (33). He also finds that clock and less commonly cluck are used in an area extending from Delaware to Ohio, but says the terms rarely occur beyond these boundaries (33).

Based on LAUM research, Allen rejects Kurath's assumption and claims that cluck represents a Northern speech feature because of its high frequency in Minnesota and North Dakota. He denies the theory which interprets cluck as originating from the Pennsylvania German kluck because only two of the LAUM informants who use the term are of German ancestry (254). One of these two informants is a retired farmer from Dickey County, North Dakota, who was born in Russia to German parents (80). This county shares its southern border with McPherson County in South Dakota where Eureka is located.

Adding further fuel to the fire, the findings of this researcher suggest that there must be a link between the Germans of Eureka and those of Pennsylvania because of their use of cluck. Rather than rejecting the claims of Kurath and Allen, I propose that the term enjoys
popularity among people of German ancestry because of its Germanic homophone; however, the word has subsequently been adopted by others in the communities in which these people live. Consequently cluck is no longer a marker of German ancestry, but has become common enough among the population to rank as an accepted Northern speech feature.

The next example involves not only the Germanic influence but the pejorative nature of one form in the semantic field. Though Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary cites both ram and buck as cognates of similar Old High German words (184, 973), the Eureka speakers identify only buck as being from the German Buck as in Shafbock or sheepbuck (LAUM, 249). Consequently the informants usually prefer buck over what they perceive as the more anglicized form, ram. However, in the word selection process, the older informants may also be reacting to another force. Kurath and Mencken outline the early existence of buck as a taboo word. Though some LANE informants prefer the use of ram, twice as many say they can use the word buck anytime, while they would never use ram in the presence of women (Map 200). Mencken addresses the issue more directly saying that the use of the older term buck as a euphemism shows "the lingering strength of Puritan prudery" (113).

The effect that the taboo nature of ram has on the assimilation process can be more clearly seen when comparing the rates at which leveling occurs in buck/ram and sawbuck/sawhorse. Mencken views sawbuck as a German loan word associated with the Pennsylvania German dialect (208). Both Dr. Richter and Mrs. Rupp confirm that the Eureka speakers are most likely reacting to the German equivalent Sägeböck. The earlier LANE research shows that both sawbuck and sawhorse occur in New England
but that sawbuck is considered the older, more proper term (Map 200). Consequently, the only major difference between the two lexical fields is the sexual connotation of ram/buck and the accompanying pejorative nature of ram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>buck</td>
<td>buck/ram</td>
<td>buck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>buck</td>
<td>buck/ram</td>
<td>ram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 Buck/Ram Leveling Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>sawhorse/sawbuck</td>
<td>sawhorse/sawbuck</td>
<td>sawhorse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>sawhorse</td>
<td>sawhorse</td>
<td>sawhorse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Sawhorse/Sawbuck Leveling Process

The illustrations depict how the assimilation process towards the more modern term has taken nearly one generation longer in the case of buck/ram than it has for sawbuck/sawhorse. In the buck/ram configuration, the Class I speakers use buck exclusively, while the transitional Class II speakers could produce either word. Though the data from this study would indicate otherwise, the Class IIIA speakers are probably also part of the transitional group. But the interesting part about the buck response in Class IIIA is that Mr. Straub supplied this answer. Based on his previous lack of marked features of Eureka speech, I would have
expected him to use ram. However, in this case, his sensitivity to the pejorative nature of ram overcame his tendency to produce unmarked items. By the Class IIIB generation, the speakers are no longer aware of the taboo flavoring of ram and use the term exclusively.

In Table 4.2, the assimilation process begins with the Class I speakers and extends to the Class IIA informants. Although the Wiedemeiers in Class IB use sawhorse, it is likely that speakers in this group would use both terms. In this and other lexical areas, I find that the Wiedemeiers are not very representative of the Class IB speaker. Among the Class IIB and Class III groups, sawhorse has become the dominant term.

The selection of either reins or lines for the leather straps used in guiding a horse also involves overtones beyond the Germanic counterparts. Though both terms have German alternatives, Leine covers a much wider semantic field than does Reimen. According to Cassell's German Dictionary, Reimen means strap and can be used in a compound to denote harness straps (381). Leine, according to Dr. Richter, can represent anything from a rope to a clothesline. Although Reimen/reins is the more accurate term, most Eureka speakers prefer the more phonetically similar Leine/lines and identify it as the anglicized German term; however, these same people also use reins.

Other research concerning this lexical field shows that some speakers use both terms because of secondary differentiation. One LANE informant describes the functional difference saying that lines are for driving a team of horses, while reins are for riding (Map 117).
The LAUM also records the Dickey County informant as making these same distinctions (270). However, the Eureka informants insist that the two words have exactly the same semantic characteristics.

Because many Eurekans prefer the anglicized German lines, one would expect the leveling process to occur in much the same manner as in Table 3.1 with the transitional stage among the Class II or IIIA speakers. In this case, the IA informants use both terms and with a larger sampling, the IB group would also show this characteristic. The existence of both terms in three generations of speakers suggests the other criteria must influence the word selection process. This leads to the probability that a phenomenon called code switching might be affecting the reins/lines leveling process. The Eureka speakers prefer lines because of its Germanic link, yet the form produces confusion and possibly ridicule from people outside the community. Consequently, among his peers in the community, a Eurekan would use lines, while among a group of outsiders, he would switch to the unmarked form, reins. Because certain Eureka speech patterns are stigmatized in the outlying areas, the cultivated speaker must command two separate sets or codes--one which is acceptable within the community and another
which he must use to avoid labeling outside of the community. The Class IIIB speakers who do not use lines have totally accepted the Midwestern term over the anglicized German one.

The final example of the influence of German on English words in Eureka concerns an inflection rather than a reaction to the lexical item itself. Auxiliary informant Shirley Schliesmann identifies the use of hairs rather than hair in a sentence such as "I have to wash my hairs" as a form stigmatized outside the community. Mrs. Rupp says the Eureka speakers must be reacting to the usage rules involved with the German Haar. This singular form appears only in such instances as one gray hair or a hair in one's eye; the dominant form is the inflected form Haare, according to Mrs. Rupp. Because of the widespread use of the plural inflection {-e}, the Eurekans tend to also inflect the English form with its plural morpheme {-s}. However, this phenomenon is not unique to Eureka; it occurs in Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin, but as in many parts of South Dakota, hairs is usually considered a shibboleth.

Use of German words to fill lexical gaps

When Eurekans have no English word for an item or cannot remember the word, they are likely to resort to their native language. The selection of a German word may or may not help the person produce an equivalent English term.

In searching for a word to describe a traveling minister, Mr. Hoffman used [raysɔbriːdɪ], which both Mrs. Rupp and Dr. Richter interpret as a variant of the German Reise Prediger. Because the German people lived in villages and worked the land in tracts surrounding the
settlement, there was no need for this type of clergyman, Mrs. Rupp explains. Consequently, Mr. Hoffman did not draw on an established German word, but translated the words \textit{traveling preacher} into German rather than leaving this lexical slot empty.

For a movable closet, Mrs. Hoffman could recall no English word so supplied \[\text{sunk}\] in her native dialect. Mrs. Rupp and Dr. Richter agree that this is a variant of the German word for a wardrobe, \textit{Schrank}.

Selecting a general term to identify small living things considered undesirable caused Mrs. Schick to hesitate until she thought of the term, \textit{Kafa}, which she then translated to produce an English response, \textit{bug}. Mrs. Rupp explains that \textit{Kafa} is the Swabian word which carries the generic meaning \textit{any bug}. The German equivalent would be \textit{Käfer}. In this example, Mrs. Schick used her native dialect to help her recall the appropriate English term.

\textbf{German Verb Forms in Translation}

Though nouns bear the brunt of the German influence, some verb forms also pay homage to the Eurekans' origins. As in previous cases, many of these terms involve an attempt to capture some of the Germanic flavor of the words.

Mrs. Hoffman explained the sound that an animal produces by saying, "the cow makes a moo." Dr. Richter identifies this as a simple German construction which one might hear from a child; \textit{Die Kuh macht Muh} is an informal phrase that would be spoken rather than written. In analyzing this, one must also consider that the German spoken in Eureka is nearly 200 years old because the original speakers moved from
Germany to Russia in the late 1700s. Since then the German language has evolved becoming more diverse, which would make the Eureka dialect of German much simpler in comparison.

A verb phrase which would confuse an outsider occurs when a Eurekan asks someone to "spill the garbage." Auxiliary informants, Mrs. Schliessman and Thelma Dittman (See biographies, Appendix C), say this phrase, which means to take out the garbage, is very common in the community. Mrs. Rupp says that the German word for this action is verschüttten. Cassell's German Dictionary interprets this word as "spill, upset" (527). Thus in retaining the German flavor of the verb, Eurekans also create a form easily identified and stigmatized outside the community.

The final unusual verb form represents the application of German morphological rules. Mrs. Schick and Mr. and Mrs. Cooper report that a common way for a Eureka farmer to describe a good crop would be "It busheled pretty good." Dr. Richter says that the shifting of a verb to a noun and vice versa occurs frequently in German and contributes much to the development of the language. The Eurekans simply generalize this practice to their English forms. However, English as a Germanic language also tends to drift in this same manner, consequently a functional shift such as busheled would not necessarily be stigmatized outside of the community.

German influence on syntax--prepositions and modifiers

Based on the data, I feel that the Germanized adjectives, adverbs and prepositions, though still present in the Eureka
dialect, will soon cease to exist as a result of the leveling process. Only the Class I informants use any of these forms in conversation; Class II and III speakers produce them when asked about phrases they consider unique to the community. Most of the latter informants have either lived outside of the town or had extended contact with outsiders.

Of the two adjective phrases identified, the use of *strange* to describe a shy child represents the one which will most likely resist assimilation longer. Michele and Nancy Schnabel and Mrs. Ackerman agreed that "*He's strange*" enjoys tremendous popularity as a descriptor in Eureka dialect. Michele explained that she did not realize there was anything unusual about the statement until she used the phrase in the presence of her college friends in Aberdeen. The Rev. Lloyd Miller, pastor of the Zion American Lutheran Church, has lived in Eureka about 10 years and says this is one of the phrases his children have learned from their Eureka playmates. According to Mrs. Rupp, the Eurekans have developed this phrase in an effort to capture the feelings conveyed by the original Swabian verb, *defremdalat*. This intransitive verb carries the complete meaning, "scared of strangers," and comes from the Swabian verb, *fremdlen*, Mrs. Rupp says. The Swabian inflection {alat} shows that the speaker regards the child as very dear and precious to him. This verb form can be traced to the German adjective, *fremd*, which *Cassell's German Dictionary* defines as "strange, unknown, unfamiliar" (165). Consequently by interpreting the word as equivalent to the adjective form *strange* and using it as a predicate adjective, the Eurekans attempt to capture the mixture of feelings conveyed in the original Swabian verb.
The final adjective phrase concerns a way of describing a quantity without giving a number. Mr. and Mrs. Cooper say some Eurekans use *pretty many* in colloquial expressions such as "pretty many cows," meaning quite a few. Mrs. Rupp says that in Swabian the word to denote such a number would be *schon viel*. Though the general meaning of this term is "a healthy amount," she says, the direct translation would be the Eureka phrase, *pretty many*.

Confusion about the proper English term to replace a German adverb creates dialectalized forms in two cases recorded in this study. Two auxiliary informants who now live in Brookings but were born and raised in Eureka described nonstandard usages of *first*. Mrs. Schliessmann said "First, it's -- o'clock" means that *now*, it's -- o'clock and would be used if a person was in a hurry and realized it was not so late as he first thought. Mrs. Dittman depicted the usage a bit differently explaining that "It's first at -- o'clock" means it's not until a certain time. Mrs. Rupp says this is probably a response to the Swabian interpretation of *erst* as representing "not until then"; another Swabian word, *zerscht*, carries the semantic properties of the English *first*. Cassell's German Dictionary lists zuerst and erst, the German forms of the Swabian words, as meaning "first" (141, 590). Because Swabian exists only as an oral tradition, the Eurekans' frame of reference had to be the German *erst* or *first*. Consequently the Eureka speakers selected this English word as an appropriate substitute for the Swabian *erst*. Therefore, *first*, as used in the Eureka dialect is a calque because the original semantic field of the English word has been altered.
Some Eureka informants' lack of knowledge about a lexical item triggered the usage of the final adverb phrase. All Class I informants produced the sentence "I don't know how they called it" when confronted with a lexical void. This phrase stems from confusion about which English word should be substituted for the German adverb *wie*. Cassell's German Dictionary defines *wie* as "how, in what way, to what extent (566). Mrs. Rupp says that the verb which *wie* modifies tells the listener whether the term means *how* or *what*. She illustrates this by using the adverb in two sentences and translating them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wie heisst das?</td>
<td>What is its name?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Wie ruft man das?            | How do you call this? (meaning what does it say?)

However, somewhere in the development of the Eureka dialect the meaning of "How do you call it?" became synonymous with "What is its name?"

An example of the awkwardness created by this occurred during my interview with Mr. Hoffman. I first asked him what animal says moo, and he replied, a cow. I then followed this inquiry with "how do you call it" meaning what sounds does a farmer produce to call his cows at feeding time. Mr. Hoffman looked at me as though I was hard of hearing and again replied, a cow. If I had known the proper German sentences, there would probably have been no confusion, but the merging of the two English forms caused him to interpret the two questions as synonymous.

The final syntactic classification, the prepositions, represents the most semantically elusive of the three parts of speech considered in this section. The Eureka speaker who wishes to use German as a reference
point from which to select appropriate English prepositions finds that the semantic field is difficult to define.

In the first set of examples, one German word, *von*, produces two Eureka prepositional forms. According to Mr. Cooper, his wife sometimes says that she "watched TV of a night," meaning last night. Mrs. Rupp explains that though this structure is rather archaic in German as well as English, the German preposition *von* causes the substitution of *of*. During the questionnaire interview, Mr. Hoffman recounted a personal experience and ended the story saying "That's all I saw from her." This, too, is a translation, according to Mrs. Rupp.

Dr. Richter describes the German sentence as "Das ist alles das ich von ihr gesehen habe." The two English interpretations of the one German preposition occurs, Dr. Richter says, because *von* can mean either *from* or *of*. Both of these terms are among the variety of English words which Cassell's German Dictionary says may be used in place of *von* (541).

Based on this, the Eureka speakers tend to choose the word which they feel is closest to the meaning of the German term.

Both Class III informants identified the final example of a Eureka prepositional form. Class III informant, Michele Schnabel recalled the negative reactions of her coeds when she asked them to "sit on the car" meaning to sit in the car. In a similar instance, Mr. Cooper described how the utterance "put the groceries on the car" caught his attention. This substitution of *on* for *in* also occurs in the Pennsylvania German dialect. Mencken gives a related example of this in the sentence "He sings on the choir" and explains it as an
English variation of the German *an* (220). *Cassell's German Dictionary* verifies this defining one of the English equivalents of *an* as *on* (20).

**Translation of German idioms**

The two examples in this section illustrate the attempts of both the Pennsylvania Germans and the Eureka speakers to retain certain German idioms by translating them to English. The first case involves the development of basically identical phrasings, while the second represents divergent methods of attaining the same goal.

Mencken in *The American Language, Supplement 2*, reports that the Pennsylvania German usage of *all* to mean that the supply has been exhausted also appears in the dialects of Garret County, Maryland, and some areas of Virginia (230, 160). In the LAUM survey, Allen includes a question which helps determine whether the Pennsylvania German *all* has progressed as far as the Midwest. He concludes that "all informants in the Upper Midwest" prefer to use *gone* or *all gone* and therefore dismisses the question as nonproductive (II, 58). But this thesis study shows that the phrase is alive and well in Eureka, South Dakota. Speakers in all three classes respond to the atlas question with "the oranges are all." Because this is the common atlas phrasing, these sources do not record the primary anglicized phrase, *It's all*, which then leads to the Germanic version. Mrs. Rupp says *it's all* can be translated into two German sentences--*Das ist alles* meaning *It's finished* or *Es ist alle*, or *It is all*. But the question of whether the Pennsylvania German *all* arises from the same German structure cannot be answered because Mencken does not examine the possible Germanic origins of the phrase.
Though both the Pennsylvania Germans and the Eurekans make an attempt to find an anglicized form for a widely used German tag question, they settle on vastly different English phrases. Mencken tells how the Pennsylvania Germans will end a sentence with a tag question using the slang form of the copula as in "'It's a nice day, ain't?" and "'You'll do that, ain't you will?'" (II, 205). The Eurekans prefer a shorter version—the older speakers tend to use gel?, while the younger ones prefer not?. Mrs. Rupp recognizes gel as a Swabian word, and Cassell's German Dictionary lists gelt as a dialectal tag meaning "Isn't that so?, isn't it? or don't you thing so?" (185). The not form probably comes from the German tag, nicht wahr? or isn't that true?, according to Mrs. Rupp. Dr. Richter explains that though neither gel nor nicht would be considered upper class speech, both appear in current usage in certain regions of Germany. He says that in an attempt to find an anglicized term for gel, the Eureka speakers seized upon nicht because it could be more easily translated to a similar one-word tag question, not. Consequently within the context of the Eureka interview, Mrs. Ackerman would says "Washcloth, gel?" to inquire whether her daughter and granddaughter would use the same term, while Mrs. Schnabel and Michele would use not in a similar position. Because Mencken does not explore the Germanic origin of the Pennsylvania German phrase, one cannot ascertain the degree to which the dialects of the Eurekans and the Pennsylvania Germans compare.
Conclusion

The basic dialect of Eureka owes much of its identity to the interference from and influence of the German dialects spoken there. The retention of German loan words and anglicized versions of German terms shows the strength of the Eureka speakers' pattern of resistance to assimilation which began with their experiences in Russia. This inbred pride and purposeful maintenance of the dialect combine to create this dialect island, which has only in recent generations begun to succumb to the pressures of assimilation.

In comparing the responses from the Eureka informants with those from other dialect studies, one must also consider the Anglo-Saxon bias present. When Allen, Kurath and Mencken record a word which may be of Germanic origin, the work stops there; they seldom pursue their research to find out exactly what has triggered this usage. These atlas studies most often dismiss the words as products of another culture rather than regarding them as elements which enrich the English language and whose roots warrant their attention. America is a land of immigrants and its speech should and does reflect the backgrounds of its inhabitants.

Another bias which one should consider in comparing this study with other atlas work involves the reaction of the informants to the interviewer. Unlike the atlas interviewers, I maintained the role of an insider, someone with a German-Russian background similar to their own. This becomes especially important when dealing with a dialect which is stigmatized outside of the community. I stressed that my maiden name was Steiger and that my grandparents John and Suzanna were much like the people of Eureka--German-speaking farmers. Consequently
I feel that my informants were more willing to use their true speech patterns rather than correcting or even hypercorrecting the forms to impress an outsider.

Based on these assumptions, it is likely that American English bears the marks of its people's ancestry more than the atlas surveys would indicate. Studies that allow for the use of atlas informants of foreign parentage done by linguists who are willing to acknowledge these contributions would lend much to the study of dialect geography.
Chapter 5

LEXICAL FEATURES OF AMERICAN ORIGIN IN EUREKA SPEECH

In assessing the strengths and weaknesses of atlas informants of foreign parentage, H. B. Allen concludes that "native stock" speakers would be more likely than those of non-Anglo-Saxon heritage to retain Eastern terms as relics (24). He bases this assumption on a spot check of some minor East Coast terms. Allen goes on to say that he suspects that further studies would show that "a major factor in the . . . reduction of dialect diversity" has been the existence of large pockets of people with non-English-speaking backgrounds (24).

However, the features of the Eureka dialect bring both Allen's assumptions into question. As previously discussed, the Eurekans' ancestors maintained their own German culture resisting the Russian pressure to assimilate for nearly 100 years. A pronounced increase in this pressure caused them to move to America, where their descendents continued this pattern of linguistic separatism developing a dialect of English different from that of other settlements in the area. The Eurekans' foreign background led to an increase rather than a decrease in dialect diversity in South Dakota. In addition, the people began to interpret the traditional resistance to linguistic change as a justification for the retention of old word forms. Though this began as an effort to maintain as many Germanic items as possible, the movement also extends to older forms or relics originating from American English. The Eurekans' background actually promotes retention of American relic forms.
Relic forms

To select those lexical items which should be considered relics, I consulted the LANE, A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, and the LAUM. If Kurath or Allen describes a term as old-fashioned or obsolescent, the word falls into the relic category.

The oldest relics include those which appear in the LANE but not in the study of the Eastern United States and briefly if at all in the LAUM. Two such lexical items occur among Eureka speakers. Informants in all classes recalled various definitions for wether lamb, but only Mr. Hoffman in Class IA produced the word when discussing terms for a female sheep. The rather large semantic field of Eureka speech in which the wether lamb roams shows the term enjoys only infrequent usage and will soon disappear from the lexical pool. Mr. Hoffman described wether lambs as "the young ones." Mrs. Cooper in Class IIB said she remembered the term in the context "sell the wether lambs," while her husband, a Class IIIB informant, defined a wether lamb as a ewe who has lost her lamb. Fourteen LANE informants from Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts described a wether as a castrated male sheep (Map 200). The Oxford English Dictionary uses the same definition for a variant form, wether sheep (332). This coincides with Mrs. Cooper's notion that these lambs are sold, most likely for slaughter. One LANE informant also used wether or bell wether to denote a "female sheep who leads the flock" (Map 200). Mr. Cooper may be drawing indirectly upon this definition. Mr. Hoffman seems to combine the two recognizing that the animals are young yet associating the word indirectly with the female rather than the male gender. The LAUM adds to this confusion defining
the bellwether as a male leader (407). A South Dakota informant also supplied the variant bell ewe for the female lead sheep (407). Thus the Eurekans have good historical cause for confusion over the semantic field of wether.

The second term in this grouping might last a bit longer than wether lamb because it occurs among Class II speakers. Mrs. Ackerman, a Class IIA informant, used the relic form clean the land to refer to the process of removing trees and stumps to make the land tillable. The LANE survey (Map 122) shows that clean the land appears about as often as clear the land, the form which is more common in the Upper Midwest.

The next group involves those words which the LANE discusses and the LAUM either mentions in passing or labels as old-fashioned. The first two terms appear infrequently among Class I and II speakers in Eureka. Mr. Wiedemeier, a Class IA informant, described a dog of uncertain breeding as a mixed dog. The LANE records two variants of this word in Connecticut speech (Map 212). A retired secretary produced mix dog, while the caretaker of a fruit farm used mixed breed (Handbook, 169, 171). The LAUM records one instance of mixed (dog) elicited from a Minnesota informant and another of mixed breed from a South Dakotan (244).

The phonetic characteristics of Eureka speech make the second relic word a highly stigmatized form (See Chapter 3), which many speakers avoid, at least in conversation with outsiders. Mrs. Cooper, a Class IIB informant, was the only person to give potato sack as an alternative word for gunny sack. A LANE informant from Massachusetts said potato
sack is the modern term for potato bag, which occurs fairly commonly in New England speech (Map 150). Two speakers in Massachusetts and one in Maine used potato sack. The LAUM cites potato sack or bag as a minor form in all Upper Midwest states except South Dakota (210). Allen does not comment on their individual usages.

The term in this grouping which will exist the longest describes the activity of dating a woman with marriage in mind. The phrase courting her occurred among the Class II and III Eureka speakers. Though the Class I informants did not produce this term, chances are high that the item would appear in this group with more extensive research. In the LANE, several Connecticut informants described courting as old-fashioned with one commenting that "they don't do that anymore" (Map 404). Other New England speakers also said courting was the less commonly used phrase (Map 404). The LAUM cites courting her as the oldest of the four terms listed; however, 60 percent of the Type I informants in the study still used the phrase. This phenomenon and its usage in Eureka will help preserve the term.

The third group of relic forms includes those words discussed in all three of the dialect studies and, in some instances, Mencken's The American Language. Two of the three terms in this subclass maintain strong positions in the Eureka lexicon.

All the Eureka informants refer to the informal, noisy celebration after a wedding as a shivaree. The LANE cites shivaree as a word which many informants feel has gone out of common usage. A 63-year-old farmer from Gill, Massachusetts (Handbook, 195), says the celebration is "still customary among 'lower elements'" (LANE, 409), which shows
the term's waning popularity. Another informant says she has only read about a **shivaree**, while other New Englanders feel only the Portuguese and French Canadians retain the word (Map 409). In Supplement 1 of *The American Language*, Mencken lists **shivaree** under Western terms of the 1812-1861 era. He reports that etymologists say this is a naturalized form of the French **charivari** (232). Mencken also adds that the term still survives in many rural areas of the East and West (233), though he does not comment on whether **shivaree** extends to the Midwest. In his study of the Eastern United States, Kurath describes a variant spelling, **chivaree**, as a rare, purely local expression used in areas of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, as well as parts of Virginia and Kentucky (24, 28). Allen interprets the LAUM data about **shivaree** as establishing a pattern of "rather rapid disappearance" of the term except for "the existence of some local variations" (374).

The next relic form denotes the box in which a body is buried. All the Eureka informants except those in Class IIIA used **coffin** exclusively. Mr. Straub preferred the term **casket**, while Mrs. Schick said she uses both words. In the LANE study, most informants explain that **coffin**, which they describe as an obsolete kind of burial case, is the older, less elegant term (Map 524). Mencken says that **casket** was first substituted for **coffin** during the Civil War (568). Some purists didn't accept it at first, but since the early 1880s **casket** has prevailed (568). The LAUM also cites **coffin** as the more old-fashioned form with 63 percent of the South Dakota informants preferring **casket** (367). Mr. Straub's use of the more modern **casket** occurs because he is
by profession a mortician and operates the family funeral home and furniture store. Consequently one would expect him to prefer this term.

The final lexical cluster in this group also has the slimmest chance of surviving much longer. Some Eureka speakers still use front room and sometimes even parlor for the room in which one would entertain company. Class IIA informant Mrs. Ackerman preferred front room, while the IIB speakers simply recalled hearing older people use the term. Mrs. Schick, a Class IIIA informant, produced parlor first and then living room, but explained that the latter would be her primary choice. The LANE reports that front room has replaced parlor, which most New England speakers regard as old-fashioned (Map 323). A Word Geography of the Eastern United States also confirms this trend (51).

In addition, the LAUM describes both parlor and front room as obsolescent forms whose frequency declines according to the age group (158). None of the Class III informants in the Upper Midwest used either term (158).

Northern/Midland Speech Features

Before beginning this analysis, I must first reemphasize the nature of my data base. Since this study focuses on those lexical items which identify Eureka speech patterns as different from those of the surrounding area, this analysis does not address all the terms in the dialect which have a Northern or Midland orientation. Consequently, this section does not portray the total picture necessary to determine which American dialect area has the greater influence on Eureka speech. It only considers the speech patterns which differ from those described in the LAUM as characteristic of the region.
The LAUM groups the Eureka area with the wheat farming region of central North Dakota whose population was determined by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads (124). Consequently, one would expect the use of Northern speech features; however, the assimilation process seems to be moving the Eureka speakers toward a preference for Midland terms. The younger the speaker, the more likely he/she is to produce a Midland feature.

This age-grading appears most clearly in Eureka speech in the lexical item for the shut-off device on a barrel. Kurath, in his study of the Eastern United States, says that the use of faucet represents a Northern term, while spicket and sometimes spigot are Midland and Southern features (56).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T A</td>
<td>faucet</td>
<td>faucet</td>
<td>spigot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe B</td>
<td>faucet</td>
<td>faucet</td>
<td>spigot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 Faucet/Spigot Leveling Process

The Eureka speakers show a clear trend toward the use of the Midland/Southern spigot. The Class I and II informants prefer faucet both for the device on the water pipe at the kitchen sink and for the device on a barrel, while the Class III speakers differentiate between them calling the one on the barrel a spigot.

But just when the Eureka word pattern seems to be leveling toward the dominant Upper Midwest form, another change may be starting. Kurath reports that in the Eastern United States faucet has begun
spreading into the Midland and Southern speech areas (15). Allen also addresses this issue saying that although spigot basically prevails in the Upper Midwest, faucet is making some progress (204). If this trend continues, the Eureka dialect will once again become identifiable with its preference for the Midland/Southern spigot.

However, the Eureka speech patterns are not always behind those of the Upper Midwest. In their preference for the Midland oats is rather than the Northern oats are, the Eurekans are one step ahead of other Midwesterners. All the Eureka informants except Mr. Wiedemeier produce oats is exclusively; he uses both the plural and the singular verb form. In the LANE, oats are enjoys heavy dominance over the singular form of the copula (Map 128). Only one farmer in Burlington, Massachusetts (Handbook 188) uses the singular form, but he also changes oats to oat (LANE 128). The LAUM says that in New England and New York the plural form dominates, while in the Middle Atlantic states is enjoys wide usage. Allen also cites E. Bagby Atwood, author of A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States, as saying "Except in the Midland, the singular verb is receding rapidly." (II, 36). Based on the LAUM data, Allen concludes that the Midland form is making inroads in the historically Northern speech area in Minnesota and North Dakota and is even becoming acceptable among Type III speakers (II, 37). Though the overall frequency of oats are/oats is in the Upper Midwest is 50:50, speakers from the Dakotas and Minnesota are more likely to use oats is than those from Iowa and Nebraska (II, 36). Consequently, in adopting this Midland feature Eurekans are a step ahead of what seems to be the trend among their neighbors in the northern Midwestern states.
The next semantic field depicts an age-graded movement away from the Northern *johnny cake* toward the Midland *cornbread*. This example involves a less abrupt change than in the *faucet/spigot* leveling process. Though Mr. Wiedemeier in Class IB used *cornbread*, a wider survey of informants in this classification would probably show a preference for *johnny cake*. Consequently the Class IIB and IIIA speakers represent the transitional group, while the Class IIIA generation has completely adopted the Midland term.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td><em>johnny cake</em></td>
<td><em>johnny cake</em></td>
<td><em>johnny cake/cornbread</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td><em>cornbread</em></td>
<td><em>johnny cake/cornbread</em></td>
<td><em>cornbread</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2  Johnny Cake/Cornbread Leveling Process

Both Kurath and Allen have noted similar trends in their atlas studies. Kurath in his study of the Eastern United States says the more urban and better educated speakers are more likely to use *cornbread*, while those who live in rural areas tend to retain *johnny cake* (14, 67). In the Upper Midwest, *cornbread* dominates in all the states except Minnesota (279). Though many Midwestern speakers still recall the use of *johnny cake*, Allen says most regard it as old-fashioned and prefer *cornbread* (279).

The last example of an increasing Midland orientation in Eureka speech concerns the use of *goose bumps* among the younger informants.
Table 5.3 Goose pimpl es/Goose bumps Leveling Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T y p e</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>goose pimpl es</td>
<td>goose pimpl es/goose bumps</td>
<td>goose pimpl es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>goose pimpl es</td>
<td>goose bumps</td>
<td>goose bumps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Class I informants produced *goose pimpl es*, while the Class IIA speakers used both terms. It is also probable that Class IIIA speakers would give both responses in a broader survey of respondents. However, by the Class IIB and IIIB generations, *goose bumps* has gained superiority.

Of the atlases consulted, only the LAUM considers this lexical field since it was added to the survey in 1949. Allen reports that 80 percent of the LAUM informants use *goose pimpl es*, while the remainder produce *goose flesh* (405), the older of the three terms. The variant *goose bumps* appears only in Iowa, which would give it a Midland orientation (405). *Webster's Ninth Collegiate Dictionary* shows that the earliest citation for *goose pimpl es* occurs in 1889, while *goose bumps* dates back to 1933 (528). Thus the younger, better educated Eureka speakers opt not only for the Midland orientation but for the more recent term.

**Influence of ethnography**

Ethnography describes the influence of cultural time and place on the lexical field of informants. It becomes pertinent in this study when the words analyzed deal with actions or objects dependent on land
formations or technological advances. Four questions in the Eureka study triggered responses which can be explained using this type of data.

When I asked the Eurekans what the act of a boy throwing himself face down as he starts to coast downhill on a sled would be called, they had no answer. However, if I read the terms, most informants quickly explained that a bellyflop takes place in the water, not on a sled. The change in the semantic field of this word occurs because in this area of South Dakota the hills are not high enough for such an act to have the desired effect of speeding down the slope. Consequently the term has taken on the semantic characteristics of a sloppy entry into the water.

The flat terrain also influences the term used for moving at an angle other than a right angle across a surface. Though the LAUM (401) lists catty wampus and every which way as responses, most Eureka informants used kitty-corner. One South Dakota informant, a housewife from Lead, uses this term in the LAUM survey, but Allen does not comment on its possible origins (402). Utilizing folk etymology, one can trace both catty and kitty to the French quatre meaning four. Often when speakers do not understand or recognize a foreign word used in a compound they will change it to one they do know (Williams, 192). Consequently the French term denoting the four corners of a square became instead an animal. Taking the geography of the region into consideration, one can also see that in more rugged terrain than the Plains, a cross-country trek might involve going around certain natural obstacles, but in the Eureka area, in particular, cutting across a square piece of
land from corner to corner would be so easy a kitten could do it. The most threatening obstacle would probably be a rock pile.

Most Eureka informants describe a cluster of trees surrounded by open country as a shelterbelt. The LAUM says shelterbelts were developed in the dirty 30s when the federal government allotted funds to help the farmers plant trees to combat erosion (333). Consequently, these formations of trees have become known by this name. Though only two LAUM informants used shelterbelt, it may be that the planting of these clusters of trees was a more noteworthy event in the treeless terrain surrounding the Eureka settlement and therefore were described using this term.

The last lexical field has undergone change because of an advance in technology. Most Eurekans use the term bacon rather than salt pork because the process is no longer used to preserve the meat. The development of refrigeration has changed the manner in which this cut of meat is prepared. Both the preparation of salt pork and the term itself have become obsolete.

**Words of unknown origin**

Some of the lexical items the Eureka informants used cannot be accounted for in the linguistic studies of Mencken, Kurath or Allen. Frederick G. Cassidy's *Dictionary of American Regional English* might shed some light on these unique forms, but as of the summer of 1984 his staff was still frantically working to put together the first volume. Consequently, the information does not now exist in an accessible format. As a result, the discussion concerning these lexical items will be more descriptive than analytical.
The only term in this category which occurs in the speech of more than one informant involves the lexical item used to describe a shelter for cows. All the speakers in the A subgroups of each classification with the exception of Mr. Straub identified the structure as a loafing barn. Mr. Straub used what seems to be the more current term, a pole barn. Informants in the Class IB and IIB groups recalled the use of loafing barn, while the Class IIIB speakers preferred the generic barn. Mrs. Cooper said when she lived on the farm where she and her late husband milked cows, they called the north part of the barn the loafing barn. This was where the cows went after being milked. An auxiliary informant explained that a loafing barn or shed is a light frame building in which the animals could run loose as opposed to the barn where they usually remained in stalls.

Of the 12 Eureka informants, Mr. Straub produced the most original lexical items. This may be influenced by his awareness of linguistic differences both in the English spoken in Eureka and in the German dialects used within the community. He uses this knowledge to help add flavor to his own vocabulary. When describing a dog of uncertain breeding, Mr. Straub called the animal an Einstein dog saying jokingly that it had no relativity. He labeled a circuit preacher as a sky pilot perhaps alluding to a minister's role in guiding people's souls to the heavenly city. To denote a stone fence, Mr. Straub used dry wall fence referring to the lack of mortar between the rocks. And finally, he produced the typical wax beans and string beans as specific names, but used the generic term pod peas to encompass both types. This
may be an effort to describe the vegetable as similar to peas except that in this case the pod is eaten along with the bean.

Class I informants supplied two other lexical forms of uncertain origin. In searching for a term to denote the top of a cornstalk, Mrs. Hoffman used the fan. This may relate to the tassel's function of spreading pollen on the silk, something often influenced by a breeze creating a fanlike back and forth motion to distribute the substance. When discussing the names for rural people, Mr. Wiedemeier told how in what he called the early days when the young farmboys came into town on the train in search of work, they were known as ho-boys. The morpheme ho may come from the greeting hello or it could be a reference to the workers as people who tilled or hoed the ground to make a living.

In response to the question about the suitor who has been abruptly turned down, Mrs. Ackerman and Mrs. Schnabel gave what must be variations of a similar phrase saying he was given the works or given the worst. Michele supplied the more current phrasing at first using the euphemistic dumped on and following that with the taboo phrase shit on.

Class IIIA informant Mrs. Schick produced two unique lexical items. When she could not think of either the English or German word for a movable closet, she labeled the item a portable, highlighting its major feature. Also, to describe a dog of unknown parentage, she called the animal a pickup dog, explaining that it was picked up by no certain breed.
Conclusion

Though the findings of this study usually take issue with the assumption Allen makes about informants of foreign parentage, we do agree that they should be included in dialect atlas surveys. The inaccuracies in Allen's conclusions occur because the Anglo-Saxon bias has allowed the dialect geographers few opportunities to interview such informants; therefore, the experts have a limited amount of data on which to base their generalizations.

Informants of foreign parentage can lend a great deal to the study of regional dialects of American English. But time is running out. Dialect islands such as Eureka are being rapidly assimilated into the Midwestern linguistic environment and these distinct dialectal forms are being abandoned.
Chapter 6

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

In an article entitled "Unexpected By-products of Fieldwork," Roger W. Shuy recalls his first experience with dialect geography, which took place in a class taught by Raven McDavid. McDavid, who practiced the "throw-them-in-the-water-and-let-them-learn-to-swim" approach to learning, gave each student an atlas questionnaire and told them to do an interview. Shuy recalls that though he botched the interview rather badly, the experience taught him what a "living, dynamic, social, variable, exciting thing that language could be" (345). In dialect work, it seems that the more a researcher learns the more he/she wishes to discover.

Such has also been my experience in studying the Eureka dialect. Though I've certainly done my share of floundering about in the linguistic waters, I find that my thirst is seldom quenched; I often feel I have only explored a tiny portion of this vast expanse. From the dialect data collected, I can now pinpoint areas that my revised questionnaire failed to adequately explore. Consequently this final chapter will focus on changes I would make in the questionnaire and the interview process written in broad terms so that other researchers interested in similar studies dealing with informants of foreign parentage can apply them to their subject matter.

Questionnaire

Because the LAUM and the LANE questionnaires are geared to speakers of Anglo-Saxon origin, the researcher must make some adjustments
when dealing with informants of foreign parentage. In the Eureka study, the revised questionnaire focused on lexical items and associated verb forms, consequently some areas in which phonetic interference between the languages occurs have not been adequately covered. For instance, less than half of the terms discussed in Chapter 3 which contain salient markers of the dialect are words which would be transcribed in the revised questionnaire. As a result, I had to record many terms which occurred in informal conversation in order to gather the examples I needed to form generalizations about the sound changes. This causes great disparity in the number of responses collected from each speaker and creates problems in constructing coherent diagrams of the leveling process.

Therefore, the researcher should try to anticipate those areas in which interference may occur and to test the environments in which this takes place. First, the linguist should compare the phonetic system of English with that of the second language which his/her informants speak and/or understand. This will provide valuable information on the possible areas in which interference might occur. Based on this comparison, the researcher should include questions in the survey which elicit responses containing sounds, such as phones which exist in English but not in the second language, which are likely to have undergone change in the informants' dialect. If I had done this, I could have anticipated almost all of the salient phonetic markers of Eureka speech described in Chapter 3. In addition, I would have been able to construct diagrams of the leveling processes for phonetic changes such as the \( \text{[v}\rightarrow\text{f}] \) change for which the data is very sketchy.
Second, the researcher must try to choose responses which use the phones that trigger these sound changes in a variety of phonetic environments. For instance, a rather large void exists in this study with regard to the voicing and devoicing of the stops. Eureka speakers tend to devoice the stops in final position resulting in pronunciations such as \([k\dot{e}k]\) for \(keg\), \([kr\dot{a}p]\) for \(crib\), and \([s\dot{a}t]\) for \(sod\). The opposite occurs when dealing with stops in the medial position; this creates utterances such as \([b\dot{a}g\dot{a}t]\) for \(bucket\) and \([m\dot{a}l\dot{a}t]\) for \(melted\). All of these examples involve the use of lax vowels preceding the voicing and devoicing. This may be the environment which triggers these sound changes. Only one response from one speaker, \([m\dot{e}g\dot{a}m]\) make 'em from Edward Hoffman, shows evidence of voicing after a tense vowel. This raises questions such as: Does the voicing and/or devoicing also occur after tense vowels or is Mr. Hoffman's response the exception rather than the rule? Since Mr. Hoffman is a Class IA respondent, is the voicing in medial position an age-graded characteristic? If so, does it also extend to the final devoicing? These questions could be answered if responses such as \(breed\), \(tube\), \(token\) and \(beacon\) had been elicited from the informants.

A similar approach should be used in considering the environments in which a vocalic change occurs. In the Eureka study, the data was sufficient to construct a diagram of the leveling process of the \([\alpha \rightarrow e]\) change but not to describe the consonant environment which influences this substitution. This vocalic change is more likely to occur in words which contain a liquid or nasal preceding the vowel such as \(rack\) and \(matches\) than those with a stop in the initial position such
as *package*. Consequently the use of \[\text{pe\,\text{\textipa{g}}\,\text{\textipa{a}}\,\text{\textipa{g}}\,\text{\textipa{a}}}\] would require a more deliberate effort on the part of the speaker to produce the \([\epsilon]\) than would would the use of \([\text{\textipa{a}}\text{\textipa{k}}]\) or \([\text{\textipa{m}}\text{\textipa{a}}\text{\textipa{s}}]\), because tongue movement and nasalization promote rather than hinder this phenomenon. If my revised questionnaire had included responses such as *package*, *tack* and *damage*, I could have drawn some conclusions about the strength of the change in various classes of speakers and the environment in which the \([\text{\textipa{a}}\text{-}\text{\textipa{a}}]\) change is likely to occur.

Those areas in which a second language might create interference on the linguistic levels of morphology, syntax and semantics are more difficult to predict than those of phonetics/phonology. The large number of possibilities in the combination of morphemes to create words and of words to form sentences seems limitless. Consequently in these areas, the researcher must rely on the atlas questionnaire and on any studies already done on American English dialects influenced by the same second language. The items used in these studies may not be present in the dialect under investigation, but the word or topic area may trigger other lexical items of interest. When encountering an unfamiliar item, the researcher should collect as much information as possible from the informants regarding its usage and origin. Even if the speakers know nothing about the term's origin, the anecdotal information may help the researcher trace the item through similar forms in other dialects of American English.

**Interview Process**

These suggestions, unlike the recommendations regarding the questionnaire, apply to interviewing all informants rather than those
of foreign parentage in particular. These concern the length of the interview session and the explanation of the purpose of the questions.

The researcher should make sure that the length of each session is appropriately based on the age of the informant. For example, my first interview was with the Class IA informants, who are in their late 70s to early 80s. This took approximately eight hours to complete and was entirely too long and intense for both the interviewer and the informants. Prolonged questioning creates both fatigue and frustration for the participants and increases the chances of missing relevant anecdotal information concerning the responses. The sessions should be no more than two to three hours long—if the informant appears to be tiring it is better to cut the session short and come back the next day, perhaps. The extra time one takes in the interview process will increase the researcher's chance of being able to accurately analyze the data/responses obtained.

The informants must also understand that the interviewer is interested in the terms and phrases they use to refer to various items and actions and, moreover, that there are no wrong answers. In an interview with Edward Hoffman, I asked him what he calls the room in which he sleeps. He replied, "the bedroom, you should know that one." I then emphasized that though I did know what I would call this room, I needed to know which term he preferred.

In addition, the informants should also be aware that they won't necessarily have a term for everything included in the questionnaire. Some speakers, in particular, feel that a lexical void reflects negatively on their knowledge of the English language, i.e., a smart
person has a word for everything. In some cases, as discussed in Chapter 4, this may encourage the informant to use secondary differentiation to fill the lexical void. This may have happened in Mr. Hoffman's selection of *kapetsa* to describe a pile of loose hay. However, Gary Underwood, who refers to the wide variety of secondary differentiation in atlas surveys as evidence of semantic confusion, sees this as a positive rather than a negative aspect of the interview procedure. In an article entitled "Semantic Confusion: Evidence from the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest," he describes the ways in which informants differentiated responses such as *pail* and *bucket; haybay, hayloft* and *haymow;* and *drought/drouth, dry spell* and *dry weather/period/season.* He feels that this data when combined with other from surveys of the North Central and Atlantic States will enable linguists to develop a better understanding of semantic change (95). Underwood might say that Mr. Hoffman's use of *kapetsa* could help researchers discover why certain lexical items are more apt than others to filter into the dialect.

**Conclusion**

It is hoped that this thesis will help the reader understand the types of linguistic changes which go on in a population which seeks to preserve its native language as much as possible yet also be accepted in the new country. But this survey is by no means the end of the work that should be done in this and other similar settlements.

South Dakota represents virtually untapped regions with regard to linguistic research; the LAUM is one of the only dialect geography surveys done in this area. A wealth of linguistic knowledge is out
there waiting to be discovered, but studies such as the LAUM are unlikely to tap sources such as the Eureka dialect island because this regional type of work encompasses such a large area. Other linguists interested in applying their knowledge on a smaller scale must explore small linguistic communities. A wealth of communities in South Dakota have held on to their non-English roots. Some people have done so through communal settlements such as the Mennonite and Hutterite colonies, while others with perhaps a Finnish, Czechoslovakian or Norwegian background have done so in much the same manner as the Eurekans.

This thesis may serve as a blueprint for other researchers concerned with exploring these dialect islands. These studies can lend much to the linguist's understanding of the role that informants of foreign parentage should play in dialect geography surveys and of the influence these dialects have had on the development of regional varieties of American English.
Appendix A

MAPS OF MAIN TRADE ROUTES AND TOWNSHIPS;

EUREKA'S INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCHER

The two maps help readers orient themselves as to Eureka's geographical position in the county as well as its distance from the chief trade routes. In Figure 1, the reader should notice the naming process that becomes evident as one looks at the unshaded townships surrounding Eureka. Many of the townships carry names brought from the Germans' past. The lack of this phenomenon in the township names in the eastern portion of the county attests to the emphasis those settling around Eureka put on cultural maintenance.

Figure 2 shows how the main highways have bypassed the Eureka area so that the only strong connection for the area was by railroad. When this mode of transportation became too costly, the isolation created by this lack of traffic helped the people to maintain their cultural identity and consequently allowed the area to develop into a dialect island.

In the process of doing the research, editor of the Northwest Blade, Arlo Mehlhoff, printed this picture and description of the work I was doing as shown in Figure 3. This familiarized the Eureka people with my project so that when I contacted possible informants they more readily agreed to be interviewed. The newspaper supported the legitimacy of my study and promoted acceptance of me as a researcher and a person with a German background similar to their own.
Figure 1

TOWNSHIPS AND MAIN HIGHWAYS
IN
MCPherson County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>Main Highways</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spring Creek</td>
<td>Detmold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glucksental</td>
<td>Rosenthal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauer</td>
<td>Stickel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>Hillview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petersburg</td>
<td>Bergdorf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odessa</td>
<td>Long Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassel</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>Elime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewey</td>
<td>Howard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>Wacker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highland</td>
<td>Hoffmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koto</td>
<td>Carl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leola</td>
<td>Willow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: F.C.W. Kuehn, *Kuehn's County Highway Maps* (Huron, SD: Huron Blue Print Co., 1957), n. pag.
Figure 2

PRINCIPAL TRADE ROUTES IN NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA
AFFECTING THE EUREKA AREA

Figure 3
THE EUREKA COMMUNITY'S INTRODUCTION
TO THE RESEARCH AND THE INTERVIEWER

Linguist Works In Eureka

Chris Delfanian, a student at South Dakota State University at Brookings, spent several days in Eureka last week while working on her Masters thesis on linguistics. Chris began her studies for her thesis in June of this year. She hopes to complete her work by December, 1982.

Chris is working on linguistic patterns in the Eureka community, studying community background, the place of origin of Eureka pioneers, why they came to this country, and what they did when they arrived here. She has several interviews planned.

Mrs. Delfanian is the former Chris Steiger from Glenham. Her thesis on linguistics is the first of its type in South Dakota. She is pictured at work at the Eureka Pioneer Museum of McPherson County, Inc.

Source: Northwest Blade, 16 June 1982, p. 8
Appendix B

REVISED RESPONSE FORM

As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the following tabulation presents the response sheet used during my interviews. The items printed in capital letters tell the interviewer that phonetic notation must be made, or in my case, that the answer should be recorded for later transcription. An asterisk appears before those items I have added to Allen's list.

The topics are presented in the order given by Allen and as I asked them during most of the interviews. Occasionally I varied the order for the informants' convenience. For instance, if I were about to begin the cooking section and the woman needed to tend to something else, I might skip to farm implements, a subject more familiar to the man.

**EXPRESSIONS OF TIME**

| 3.4 good MORNING! until ... | 4.2 sunset |
| 3.5 AFTERNOON until ... | sundown |
| 3.6 evening | dusk |
| night after supper ... | HALF after 7 |
| 3.7 sunrise | half past 7 |
| sunup | 7:30 |
| dawn | QUARTER of 11 |
| 3.8 fortnight | quarter to 11 |
| two weeks | quarter till 11 |
| 4.1 rose | 10:45 |
| came up |  |
5.3 clearing up
      clearing
      fairing up
      fairing off

5.4 thunderstorm
      thunder shower
      tempest
      storm
      electrical storm

5.5 blew
      blowed

6.1 DROUGHT
      drouth
      dry spell

6.2 picking up
      breezing on
      breezing up fresh
      getting stronger
      rising
      raising
      coming up
      blowing higher
      gusting

6.3 easing up
      dying down
      going down
      letting up
      laying

6.4 frost
      freeze

6.5a froze over
      friz
      scaled over
      skimmed over

6.5b anchor ice
      mush ice
      scum
      shale ice

6.6a sitting room
      parlor
      front room
      living room
      best room
      big house

6.6b bathroom
      washroom

6.7 chimney
      chimbley
      chimley
      flue
      stovepipe
6.8 matches
___ farmers matches
___ kitchen matches
___ wooden matches

7.1 HEARTH

7.2 andirons
___ dogirons
___ firedogs

7.3 clock shelf
___ fire board
___ mantel
___ mantelpiece
___ tussock

7.4 back log
___ no response

7.5 SOOT

7.6 WHITE ASHES are
___ ASH is

8.1 SOFA
___ lounge
___ couch
___ chesterfield
___ davenport

8.2 BEDROOM
___ chamber
___ bed chamber

8.3 window shade
___ blind
___ curtain
___ shade

8.4a CLOTHES CLOSET
___ clothes press
___ closet
___ press

8.4b clothes closet
___ wardrobe

8.5 attic
___ cock-loft
___ garret
___ sky parlor

8.6 KITCHEN
___ porch
___ cookroom
___ kitchen house
___ cook house
___ summer kitchen

8.7 pantry
___ buttery

8.8 store room
___ junk room
___ lumber room

8.9 BUREAU
___ chest of drawers
___ dresser

9.1 cleans up
___ tidies up
___ dust up
___ brushes up
___ picks up
___ reds up
___ rids up
___ straightens up
9.3 behind
in back of
back of
in front of

9.4a file cloth
— rag
— mog rag
— scrub rag

9.4b file
— feilen (G)
clean
dust
— scrub
— wash
— wipe

9.5 wash
— washing and ironing
— washing
— laundry

9.6 porch
— stoop
— veranda
— piazza
— gallery
— step(s)
— balcony
— breezeway

9.7 close the door
— SHUT the door

9.9 weatherboards
— clapboards
— drop siding
— siding
— lap siding
— shiplap

10.3 eave(s) troughs
— eavestroths
— eaves spouts
— spouting
— rainspouts
— gutters

THE FARM

10.4 coalhouse
— coalshed
— ell
— lean-to

— shed
— woodshed
— woodhouse
10.5 __ backhouse
     __ privy
     __ outhouse
     __ outdoor toilet

11.4 __ BARN
     __ shed
     __ stable

Other buildings:
     store feed & grain
     store equipment

11.5 __ CORN CRIB
     __ corn barn
     __ corn house
     __ crib

11.6 __ granary
     __ bin
     __ grain crib

11.7 __ loft
     __ barn chamber
     __ mow
     __ scaffold

12.1 __ loft
     __ bay
     __ mow
     __ ground mow
     Describe:

12.2 __ haystack
     __ hayrick
     __ stack
     __ rick
     __ barrack

12.3 __ cock
     __ coil
     __ doodle
     __ heap
     __ pile
     __ tumble

12.4 __ cowbarn
     __ barn
     __ lean-to
     __ stable
     __ tie-to
     __ loafing barn*

12.5 __ hogrun
     __ hogcrawl
     __ hoghoist
     __ hoghouse
     __ pen
     __ sty

12.6 __ dairy

12.7 __ barnyard
     __ stable lot
     __ cow lot
     __ horse lot

12.8 __ ranch
     __ farm

13.1 __ grazing land
     __ pasture
     __ range
| 13.2 | picket fence  | 13.5 | posts   |
|      | paling fence |      | postes  |
| 13.3 | barb wire fence | 13.6 | stone wall |
|      | barbed wire fence |      | rock fence |
|      | bobbed wire fence |      | rock wall |
|      | bob wire fence   |      |          |
| 13.4 | rail fence      |      |          |
|      | stake and rider fence |      |          |
|      | corral          |      |          |

**THE KITCHEN: UTENSILS, ETC.**

| 13.7a | china             | 14.5 | kettle |
|       | chinaware        |      | pot    |
|       | china dishes     |      | caldron|
|       | porcelain        |      | dutch oven |
| 13.7b | CHINA EGG        | 14.6 | spoon  |
|       | china nest egg   |      |        |
|       | glass egg        |      |        |
|       | nest egg         |      |        |
| 14.1  | bucket pail      | 15.1 | WASH the dishes |
| 14.2  | bucket pail      |      | wash dishes |
|       |                  |      | DO dishes |
| 14.3  | garbage pail     | 15.2 | RINSES |
|       | garbage can      |      | scalds |
|       | swill pail       |      | drenches |
|       | slop bucket      |      |        |
| 14.4  | frying pan       | 15.3a| dishrag |
|       | fry pan          |      | dishcloth |
|       | fryer            |      | washrag |
|       | skillet          |      | dish mop |
15.3b dish towel
  — wiping cloth
  — wiping towel
  — tea towel
15.4 bath TOWEL
  — Turkish towel
15.5a faucet
  — spigot
  — tap
15.5b spigot
  — faucet
  — spout
  — tap
15.6 funnel
  — tunnel

THE FARM: IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

15.7 whip
  — prod
  — goad
  — bullwhip
  — blacksnake
  — switch
  — gad
  — goad
  — hickory
16.1 sack
  — bag
  — paper sack
16.2 bag
  — sack
  — flour bag
16.3 burlap sack
  — burlap bag
  — gunny sack
16.4 barrel
  — cask
16.5a rick
  — turn
  — armful
  — armload
16.5b jag
  — dab
  — half a load
  — halfload
  — dump
17.1 HOOPS
  — bands
  — staves
  — stays
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>cork</td>
<td>stopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>pole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buggy pole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wagon pole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>shafts</td>
<td>shavs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>whiffletree</td>
<td>singletree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>evener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>swingletree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>evener</td>
<td>doubletree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>double whiffletree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>whiffletree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>hauling</td>
<td>drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>carting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teaming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>drag</td>
<td>harrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Describe:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>stoneboat</td>
<td>sled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>haysled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go-devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>snowmobile</td>
<td>snow toboggan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sleigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bobsled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.6a</td>
<td>sawbuck</td>
<td>sawhorse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.6b</td>
<td>sawbuck</td>
<td>sawhorse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>strop</td>
<td>strap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>strope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>razor strop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>razor strap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.3a</td>
<td>seesaw</td>
<td>teeter-totter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teeter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teeterboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.3b</td>
<td>flying jenny</td>
<td>merry-go-round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>whirligig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>flying Dutchman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>coal hod</td>
<td>coal bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>coal pail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>coal scuttle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>into</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19.6  WHEELBARROW
      ■ barrow
      ■ garden truck

19.7  WHETSTONE
      ■ whetrock
      ■ rifle
      ■ rubstone
      ■ scythestone
      ■ Wetzstein (G)

CLOTHING AND BEDDING

21.8  shrank
      ■ shrunk
      ■ snunk

22.2  vest
      ■ waistcoat

22.3  trousers
      ■ pants
      ■ slacks
      ■ jeans

22.4  brought
      ■ fetched
      ■ brung

22.5  fit
      ■ fitted

22.8  on
      ■ onto

20.3b  kerosene
        ■ oil
        ■ coal oil
        ■ lamp oil

23.4  umbrella
        ■ parasol
        ■ bumbshear

23.5  bedspread
        ■ spread
        ■ counterpane

23.6  quilt
        ■ comforter
        ■ coverlet

23.7  pallet
        ■ shakedown
        ■ bunk

TYPOGRAPHY ROADS, ETC.

23.8  clear across
      ■ way across
      ■ clean across
      ■ plum across
      ■ all across
24.1  LOAM
    — loom
24.2a  MEADOW
    — swale
    — bayou
    — bottom land
    — hayland
24.2b  to meadow
    — pasture
    — graze
24.3  swamp
    — marsh
    — bog
    — slough
    — pothole
24.4  draw
    — ravine
    — gulch
    — coulee
    — run
    — canyon
    — buffalo wallow
24.5  creek
    — river
    — brook
    — fork
    — run
    — stream
    — branch
24.8  butte
    — hill
    — knoll
    — cliff
    — bluff
25.1  dock
    — wharf
    — landing
    — pier
25.2a  cement road
    — paved road
    — paved highway
    — concrete road
25.2b  blacktop
    — blacktop road
    — oiled road
    — asphalt
    — tar road
    — tarred road
25.3  byway
    — country road
    — side road
    — dirt road
    — trail
25.4  threw
    — chunked
    — flung
    — pitched
24.6  Names of local streams, creeks...
STONE  donkey
donnick  canorrey
donnick  nooney

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND CALLS TO ANIMALS

mongrel  ridden
cur  rode
cur dog  stallion
scrub  stud
scrub dog  studhorse
mutt  horse

bit  sire
bitten  fell off

bull  fell off of
gentleman cow  fell offen
sire  spook
critter  shy

male animal  HORSESHOES
animal  horseshoe

yoke  ram
team  buck
span  bucksheep
pair  EWE
brace

calf  doe
be fresh  wether lamb*
calve  wether lamb*

female hog  boar
come due  boar pig
drop a calf  male hog
have a calf  hog

pig
29.3  |  tusks
     |  tushes
29.6  |  castrate
     |  alter
     |  cut
     |  nut
     |  trim (up)
30.3  |  setting hen
     |  cluck
     |  brooder
     |  brood hen
     |  brooding hen
     |  kluck (G)
30.4  |  coop
     |  chicken coop
     |  hen coop
     |  brooder house
     |  hennyard
     |  chicken roost
30.5  |  wishbone
     |  pulley bone
     |  good luck bone
     |  lucky bone
30.6  |  harslet
     |  pluck
     |  lights
     |  liver and lights
     |  giblets
     |  chittlins
30.7  |  chore time
     |  milking time
     |  feeding time
32.5  |  harness
     |  harness up
     |  gear up
     |  hitch up
32.7  |  nigh horse
     |  near horse
     |  lead horse
32.8  |  lines
     |  reins
     |  leathers
     |  jerk line

THE FARM: CROPS, ETC.

33.7  |  cleared
     |  grubbed
33.8  |  ditch
     |  barrow pit
     |  bar ditch
     |  bar pit
     |  borrow pit
     |  grader ditch
34.1  |  second crop
     |  second cutting
34.2  |  sheaf
     |  bundle
34.3  |  bushel
     |  bushels
34.4 shock
   stuck
34.5 is
   are

   FOOD, COOKING, MEALTIME

35.5 Kinds of breads bake at home ...

35.6  wheat bread
       white bread
       light bread

35.7  bannocks
       biscuits
       cloverleaf rolls
       hot rolls
       limpa
       parkerhouse rolls
       potato bread
       poverty cakes
       rim
       riz bread
       rye bread
       whole wheat bread
       yeast bread

36.1a cornbread
       johnny cake

36.1b corn muffins
       muffins

36.2 bought(en) bread
       baker('s) bread
       bakery bread
       store bread

36.3a doughnut
       fried cake
       cake doughnut

36.3b doughnut
       raised doughnut
       fried cake
       bread doughnut
       grebble (G)

36.4 griddle cakes
       pancakes
       flapjacks
       hot cakes
       wheat cakes
       flannel cakes
       slapjacks

36.5 pounds
       pound

36.6a yeast
       dry yeast
       potato yeast
       soft yeast
       everlasting yeast*

36.6b Spook yeast ...

36.7 YOLK
       yolk
       yellow
37.3  poached egg
coddled egg
37.4b  dried beef
dry beef
chipped beef
37.6a  SPOILED
stale
tainted
37.6b  rancid
strong
stale
37.7a  head cheese
scrapple
souse
37.7b  blood sausage
blutwurst (G)
Braunschweiger (G)
liverwurst (G)
liver sausage
renner wurst (G)
summer sausage
gritswurst (G)
37.8  salt pork
sidemeat
side pork
sow belly
37.9  rink
skin
hide

38.1  curdled milk
clabbered milk
sour milk
thick milk
38.2  cottage cheese
clabber cheese
Dutch cheese
smearcase
38.3  sauce
dip
dressing
38.4  bite
lunch
piece
snack
38.7  make
cook
boil
38.8  deep apple pie
apple cobbler
apple dumpling
deep dish (apple) pie
39.4  sit down
sit up
be seated
draw up
set by
39.6  help yourself
have some
39.7 I don't care for any thank you no, thank you
40.1 warmed over warmed up het up het over
40.3 corn mush cornmeal mush hasty pudding Indian pudding mush

FRUITS, VEGETABLES

42.1 seed stone pit
42.2 stone pit seed
42.3 clingstone peach cling peach plum peach press peach
42.4 freestone peach freestone clearseed soft peach open peach cleavestone
42.5 snits

40.4 homegrown VEGETABLES vegetables garden stuff garden sass garden truck
40.5 garden vegetable garden
40.6 GENUINE maple SYRUP real maple syrup pure maple syrup

42.6 hull husk shell shuck
42.8 peanuts pinders goobers
43.1 the ORANGES are all gone the ORANGES are all
green onions rareripe scallion shallot spring onions young onions
43.6 shell hull pod shuck
43.7 broad beans
   butter beans
   lima beans
   sivvy beans
43.8 green beans
   wax beans
   string beans
   snap beans
44.1 husks
   shucks
44.2 corn on the cob
   green corn
   roasting ears
   sweet corn

44.3 tassel
   blossom
44.4 silk
   feather
44.5 muskmelon
   mushmelon
   cantaloupe
44.8 rust
   black rust
   brown rust
   red rust

FAUNA AND FLORA

45.7 screech owl
   creeching owl
   scoach owl
   night owl
   hoot owl
45.8 dragon fly
   darning needle
   snake charmer
45.9 crawfish
   crab
   crawdad
   crayfish
46.1b skunk
   polecat
   stripped kitty
46.2 ground squirrel
   gopher
46.3 woodpecker
   red-headed woodpecker
   flicker
   yellowhammer
46.4 bullfrog
   frog
46.6 toad
   hoptoad
   toadfrog
   wart frog
46.7a  earthworm
       angleworm
       fish(ing) worm
       worm

46.7b  night crawler
       night creeper
       night worm

46.8  rattlesnake
       rattler

47.2  firefly
       firebug
       lightening bug
       lighting bug
       light bug

47.5  minnows
       minnies

47.6  spider web
       cobweb
       web

47.8  clump
       grove
       thicket
       bunch
       tree claim
       shelterbelt

48.3  POISON ivy
       poison ivory
       poison oak

48.7  poison
       poisonous

48.8a  sugar maple
       soft maple
       hard maple
       maple tree

48.8b  maple grove
       sugar bush
       sugar maple grove
       sugar camp
       sugar grove
       sugar orchard

THE FAMILY: NAMES AND NICKNAMES

49.1  my husband
       my man
       the mister
       my hubby
       dad

49.2  my wife
       the missis
       my woman
       my old lady
widow
widow lady
widow woman

dad
daddy
father
pa
papa
paw

ma
mama
maw
mom
mother

PARENTS
folks

grandpa
grandfather
granddad
grampa

grandmother
grandma
gramma

baby carriage
baby buggy
babby cab

midwife
nurse
wetnurse

looks like
resembles
takes after
favors

raised
brought up
reared

bastard
catch-colt
illegitimate child
woodscolt

ORPHAN
orphant

relatives
people
folks
kinfolks
home-folks
kinnery

jackleg preacher
circuit preacher
circuit rider

postman
mailman
mail carrier
carrier

NEGRO
darky
smoke
colored man
nigger
coon
monkey
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>53.7</th>
<th>rustic</th>
<th>hick</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mountain boomer</td>
<td>rube</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yahoo</td>
<td>hay-shaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hillbilly</td>
<td>mossback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cracker</td>
<td>clodhopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>countryman</td>
<td>hayseed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>backwoodsman</td>
<td>farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jackpine savage</td>
<td>country bumpkin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS, EMOTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>56.4</th>
<th>quite lively</th>
<th>57.2</th>
<th>stubborn</th>
<th>57.3</th>
<th>touchy</th>
<th>57.4</th>
<th>got (became) angry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>active</td>
<td></td>
<td>obstinate</td>
<td></td>
<td>feisty</td>
<td></td>
<td>got (became) mad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peppy</td>
<td></td>
<td>bull-headed</td>
<td></td>
<td>hot-headed</td>
<td></td>
<td>riled (up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spry</td>
<td></td>
<td>ornery</td>
<td></td>
<td>sensitive</td>
<td></td>
<td>sore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pert</td>
<td></td>
<td>set</td>
<td></td>
<td>thin-skinned</td>
<td></td>
<td>het (up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quick</td>
<td></td>
<td>headstrong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>contrary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ugly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 56.5   | afraid                         | 57.3   | stuck                        |
|-------|--------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
|       | frightened                     |       | touchy                       |-------|--------------------------|
|       | SCARED                         |       | feisty                       |-------|--------------------------|
|       | scait                          |       | hot-headed                   |-------|--------------------------|

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>56.8</th>
<th>stingy</th>
<th></th>
<th>get (became) angry</th>
<th></th>
<th>riled (up)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tight</td>
<td></td>
<td>got (became) mad</td>
<td></td>
<td>sore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>close-fisted</td>
<td></td>
<td>riled (up)</td>
<td></td>
<td>het (up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>close</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miser(ly)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tight wad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ugly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>57.1</th>
<th>homosexual</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mentally unbalanced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strange</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>odd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
57.5 keep calm  
   calm down  
   keep cool  
   keep quiet  
57.6 tired  
   all in  
   bushed  
   done in  
   done out  
   done up  
57.7 wore out  
   worn out  

ILLNESS, DEATH

58.1 got sick  
   took sick  
   became sick  
   was taken sick  
58.2 caught a cold  
   caught cold  
   got a cold  
   took cold  
   took a cold  
58.7 sweat  
   sweated  
59.1 boil  
   bile  
   carbuncle  
   fester  
59.2 matter  
   pus  
   core  
59.4 proudflesh  
59.5 he died of  
   he died with  
   he died from  
   he died in  
59.6 cemetery  
   graveyard  
   burial ground  
   burying ground  
   churchyard  
   God's acre  
59.7 casket  
   coffin  
   burial case  
   rough box
60.3 rheumatism is spew
rheumatize are skin a goat
rheumatics are upswallow
arthritis upchuck

60.5 JAUNDICE
60.6 appendicitis
inflammation of the bowels

60.7 vomit
puke
purge
heave
retch

61.1 at his STOMACH
61.4b calling on
courting
a-talking to
going with
keeping company with
sitting up to
sparking

61.5 turned him down
gave him the sack
gave him the gate
gave him the mitten
threw him over
jilted him
kicked him
give him the air

SOCIAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS

61.7 shivaree
serenade
belling
jamboree

61.8 spank you
whip you
thrash you
lick you
give you a licking

crowd
bunch
caboodle
kit and caboodle
gang
shebang
62.3  dance  curb
  hop  tree lawn
  hoedown  terrace
  shindig
  square dance
62.4  plays hookey  sidewalk
  plays truant  pavement
  skips school
  bolts
  cooks Jack
62.8  kaffee klatch (G, Dutch)  63.8b  county seat
  kaffee kalas (Swedish)  63.9  county seat town
  coffee party  64.1  streetcar
  tea
  tea party  64.2  want to get off
  64.3  Civil War
  railroad station  64.4  War Between the States
  railway station  64.5  The Rebellion
  DEPOT
63.8a  boulevard
  grass strip
  parkway
  parking
  parking strip
66.7  DEVIL
  Satan
  bad man
  boogie man
  bugger man
  old Harry
  old Nick
  old Scratch
67.1  ghost(s)
  spirit
  spook
MISCELLANEOUS NON-VOCABULARY, GREETINGS

67.3 ___ rather
    ___ kind o'
    ___ sort o'
    ___ middling

67.5 ___ certainly!
    ___ sure!
    ___ you bet!
    ___ of course!
    ___ surely!

67.6 ___ yes, sir
    ___ yes, ma'am
    ___ yes
    ___ yeah
    ___ ya
    ___ yah

67.7 ___ HOW ARE YOU? intonation...

68.1 ___ HOW DO YOU DO? intonation.
    ___ glad to meet you

68.2 ___ come again!
    ___ come back!
    ___ come back again!
    ___ come back soon!

68.3a ___ MERRY CHRISTMAS
    ___ Christmas gift

68.3b ___ Happy New Year!

MISCELLANEOUS NON-VOCABULARY, ACTIVITIES

69.2 ___ belly flop(per)
    ___ belly bump(er)
    ___ belly-gut
    ___ belly-buster
    ___ belly-down

69.3 ___ somersault
    ___ somerset
    ___ handspring

71.4 ___ lugged
    ___ carried
    ___ carted
    ___ packed
    ___ toted

71.7 ___ goal
    ___ gool
    ___ base
    ___ home

72.8 ___ rubber band
    ___ rubber binder
    ___ elastic band
    ___ elastic
    ___ rubber

73.2 ___ TAUGHT
    ___ learned
    ___ teached
73.3 tattle tail
    snitch
    tattler

73.4 pick
    pull
    pluck

75.3 on purpose
    a-purpose
    purposely

75.4 ?m'mm
    ?ehe

75.5 ?e?e
    ?m?m

76.1 chuckhole
    hole
    pothole
    chug hole

76.2a every which way
    cater-corner
    catty wampus
    caterwampus
    kitty corner

76.2b sashaying
    strut ting along
    flirting along
    swaggering
    zigzagging

76.3a marbles
    mibs
    mibbles

76.3b starting line
    tawline
    toeline
    lag(ging) line

76.4 goose pimples
    goose flesh

76.5 cowboy
    cowpuncher
    cowhand
    haywaddy

76.6 lariat
    lariat rope
    lasso
    catchrope
    throw rope
Appendix C

DESCRIPTION OF INFORMANTS

The 12 primary informants and then the three auxiliary informants are listed here in alphabetical order. Each description includes the following information: 1) name 2) linguistic type and subgroup 3) occupation 4) date and place of birth 5) residence outside of Eureka 6) birthplaces of immediate ancestors 7) education 8) social contacts 9) languages spoken other than English 10) travel experiences.

Item 2 is included simply to orient the reader in terms of the linguistic study, but the remaining elements are a combination of Allen’s questions for informants, those he and his fieldworkers interviewed, and respondents, those who filled out written questionnaires. Items 1 and 3 through 8 are based on Allen’s informant background sheet. I omitted his sections on personality, speech and paralinguistic features, voice recording and fieldworker identification (42). The limited scope of this study allows me to discuss the first two within the body of the thesis and makes inclusion of the last two sections unnecessary since I was the only interviewer and did cassette recordings of all the primary informants.

I took items 9 and 10 from the respondent background questionnaire (38). Originally only the question on languages spoken was included so for the first two sets of interviews, the Hoffmans and the Schicks, the travel experiences have not been recorded. I expected that nearly all of my informants would speak German, but the question
about travel gave me insight into the life experiences that might have made the speaker more aware of dialect differences.

**Primary Informants**

ACKERMAN, ROSINA ALBINA BOSCHEE -- Class IIA -- Housewife -- b. Jan. 27, 1911, McIntosh County, ND -- Lived in Artas area, between Herreid and Eureka -- Believes PGP and MGP b. South Russia; M and F b. McIntosh County, ND -- Has completed the 8th grade -- member of Ladies Aid -- German -- Yankton and Scotland, SD; Bismarck, ND, and surrounding area; Or. and Ca.

COOPER, DIANNA MAE HARR LINDEMAN -- Class IIB -- Housewife -- b. Feb. 1, 1937 Eureka, SD -- Lived on farm in the Mound City area -- PGP and MGP b. South Russia; F. b. Brazil, his mother died of malaria when he was three months old and the family then moved back to Odessa, South Russia, in 1906 he moved to Eureka; M. b. Campbell County, SD -- HS diploma -- member of VFW Auxiliary, Legion Auxiliary, Par Club, church Ladies Circle -- German, but says does not speak too well -- most of traveling done since married Ron Cooper, East and West Coast, some of northern and southern states, Can.

COOPER, RONALD DEAN -- Class IIIB -- Chemistry and physical science teacher at Eureka HS -- b. April 28, 1937, Lead, SD -- lived in Nisland, Belle Fourche, and Sturgis before moving to Eureka in 1968 -- PGP b. Ireland, MGP b. Norway, F. b. Forest City, SD; M. b. Crocker, SD -- bachelor of science degree -- Lions Club, Boy Scout leader, president of ambulance squad -- Speaks no foreign languages -- Widely traveled, lacks only 3-4 states in traveling through all of U.S., Can.
HOFFMAN, EDWARD -- Class IA -- Retired farmer -- b. Oct. 6, 1889 at sodhouse in Long Lake township across the road from where he currently lives -- lifelong resident of the area -- PGP b. Germany and moved to South Russia, MGF b. South Russia, MGM b. Germany, F. b. Germany and M. b. Germany but they lived in South Russia -- completed 5th and 6th grades, says two grades were together -- baseball team, school board, American Soil Conservation Service office supervisor, secretary for church for 25 years -- German -- travel not recorded.

HOFFMAN, ROSA -- Class IA -- Housewife -- b. Sept. 23, 1905, Wishek, ND -- moved to SD when three years old, grew up southeast of Eureka about seven miles -- PGP b. South Russia, MGP b. Glucksthal, South Russia, F. b. Glucksthal, South Russia, M. b. Russia -- 5th grade -- church member, hospital auxiliary, senior citizen center -- German and a little Russian -- travel not recorded.

SCHICK, LENORA L. MEHLHOFF -- Class IIIA -- Housewife, encyclopedia saleswoman, bookstore owner -- b. Dec. 26, 1917, Hillsview, SD -- from 1942 to 1946 lived in Mn., Wi. and then Brown County, SD, but the remainder of time spent in Eureka area -- PGP and MGP b. South Russia, F. b. Hillsview, SD, M. b. McPherson County, SD -- 1½ years of college -- Farm Bureau, Extension Club, International Family Youth Organization, church, museum committee, Garden Club -- speaks German and a few words in Russian -- travel not recorded.

SCHICK, OTTO WALTER -- Class IIA -- Farmer -- b. May 19, 1914, Campbell County, SD -- lifelong resident except for time spent in service --
PGP and MGP b. Germany or Russia, F. b. Odessa, South Russia, M. b. Campbell County, SD -- 8th grade -- Campbell County Crop Approval Association, Farm Bureau, Legion, VFW, church, Republican party -- speaks Swabian dialect of German -- travel not recorded.

SCHNABEL, MICHELE ANN -- Class IIIIB -- Student -- b. Dec. 2, 1962, Eureka, SD -- Lifelong resident except for time at college -- PGP b. Eureka, SD; PGM b. Danzig, ND; MGF b. Campbell County, SD; MGM b. McIntosh County, ND; F. b. Eureka, SD; M. b. Artas, SD -- Has completed freshman year at Northern State College, Aberdeen, SD -- FHA, yearbook and newspaper staffs, pep club, letterman club, pompom girl, high school choirs and band, church choir -- Understands German but can speak very little -- Travel limited to within SD.

SCHNABEL, NANCY ANN ACKERMAN -- Class IIB -- Housewife, co-owner of hardware store -- b. July 20, 1942, Artas, SD -- Lifelong resident -- PGP b. Johannesburg, Russia; PGM b. Rorbach, Russia; MGP b. McIntosh County, ND; F. b. Artas, SD; M. b. Zealand, ND -- HS diploma -- Jaycettes, Parent-Teacher Association, church choir, Cub Scout leader -- German -- Travel limited to within SD.

STRAUB, WERNER MARTIN -- Class IIIA -- Owner of family furniture store and funeral home -- b. July 14, 1912, Eureka, SD -- Lifelong resident -- PGP and MGP b. Russia, F. b. Russia, M. b. Hutchinson County, SD -- degree in mortuary science -- church council, school board, chamber of commerce, fire department, state board of funeral services, South Dakota Funeral Directors' Association -- German -- East and West
Coast and southern US, Europe, Scandinavian countries, Can., Mexico and Honduras.

WIEDEMEIER, ELFRIEDA SANDMEIER -- Class IB -- Housewife, also worked five years at a bakery and three years at a nursing home -- b. Jan. 13, 1913, Bowdle, SD -- Has lived in Tx., Wa. and Edmunds County, SD -- Does not know where MGP or PGP b. but says most likely Germany or Russia; F. lived in SD but she does not know exactly where b.; M. b. Russia -- 6th grade -- Grafton Senior Citizen organization -- Speaks German natively and does not acknowledge it as a foreign language -- Has traveled in Tx., Wa. and SD.

WIEDEMEIER, PHILIP -- Class IB -- custodian, farmer -- b. August 23, 1912, Campbell County, SD -- farmed in Campbell County but "went broke", has been in Eureka since 1969 -- thinks MGP and PGP b. Russia, F. and M. b. Russia -- 7th grade -- German -- Has traveled in Id., Ca., Wa., ND and SD.

Auxiliary Informants

DITTMAN, THELMA KURLE -- Class IIA -- Housewife -- b. March 24, 1928, Eureka, SD -- Has lived in Brookings since June 1971 -- PGP b. Russia, MGF b. Russia, MGM b. South Russia, F. b. Eureka, SD, M. b. Ashley, ND -- 8th grade -- VFW Auxiliary, extension club, hospital auxiliary, county cancer board, women's church group -- German -- travel not recorded.

SCHLIESSMANN, SHIRLEY KAY WANNER -- Class IIIB -- Secretary/Student -- b. Jan. 2, 1948, McPherson County, SD -- Has lived in Brookings since 1966 -- PGP and MGP b. South Russia, F. b. McPherson County, SD, M.
b. Campbell County, SD -- bachelor's degree, near completion of master's degree -- church women's group, sorority -- German -- travel not recorded.

*RUPP, LISA NAEGELE -- Class III -- Teacher -- b. Oct. 11, 1937, Ulm, West Germany -- Lived near Innsbruck, Austria 1944-45, emigrated to U.S. Dec. 10, 1959 -- PGP b. Ulm, West Germany; MGF b. Ulm, West Germany; MGM b. Upper Bavaria; F. b. Ulm, West Germany; M. b. Ulm, West Germany -- bachelor's degree, near completion of master's degree -- American Association of University Women -- Swabian dialect of German -- Has traveled to both coasts and the width and breadth of U.S., Europe.

* It is important to note Mrs. Rupp's family roots in the Swabian community of Ulm, West Germany.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca.</td>
<td>California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can.</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td>high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Id.</td>
<td>Idaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGP</td>
<td>maternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGM</td>
<td>maternal grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGP</td>
<td>maternal grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mn.</td>
<td>Minnesota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND</td>
<td>North Dakota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or.</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PGF</td>
<td>paternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PGM</td>
<td>paternal grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PGP</td>
<td>paternal grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>South Dakota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tx.</td>
<td>Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VFW</td>
<td>Veterans of Foreign Wars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa.</td>
<td>Washington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wi.</td>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

PRONUNCIATION WORD LIST

Because The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest focuses on informants of nonforeign parentage, the pronunciation portion of this study was the most difficult to adapt to an analysis of Eureka speech. My main consideration in revising the original questionnaire was to whittle it down to the desired time span concentrating on lexical items and associated terms; therefore, I made no deliberate attempt to test for phonetic markers which might be present because of the informants' German backgrounds. Consequently when I listened to the tapes, I knew that I had to transcribe more than the 47 words included in my revised questionnaire.

Because the first two sets of interviews, the Hoffmans and the Schicks, were based on the original questionnaire, I found I could use 17 of the words specifically queried for. In addition, I discovered, depending on how much of the later interviews I had recorded, that many of these words could also be gleaned from the revised questionnaire. I also transcribed 34 other words which were possible responses to the revised or original questionnaires but that the atlas writers felt were not significant in their analysis of sound changes. Furthermore I selected another 30 words from the informants' conversations concerning the questions which I felt might be important in identifying the salient markers of Eureka speech.

Of the 73 words whose pronunciations fall into the sound change classification identified in Chapter 3, 60 percent are words the LAUM did not transcribe. Considering this, further work dealing with sound
changes in Eureka or other communities of foreign heritage should include a revised set of pronunciation questions more closely geared to those salient markers which should be examined.

The following information listed is 1) the total data base of words transcribed and 2) those words identified as possessing salient markers of Eureka speech.

**Total Data Base**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>afternoon</th>
<th>cook</th>
<th>genuine</th>
<th>judge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>corn</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>junk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashes</td>
<td>cover</td>
<td>gizzard</td>
<td>just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bacon</td>
<td>cow(s)</td>
<td>goes</td>
<td>keg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barn</td>
<td>crib</td>
<td>granary</td>
<td>kids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedroom</td>
<td>depot</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>devil</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blacktop</td>
<td>dig</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>hearth</td>
<td>loam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucket</td>
<td>drive</td>
<td>hoops</td>
<td>log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bureau</td>
<td>drought</td>
<td>horseshoes</td>
<td>lounge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castrate</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheese</td>
<td>egg(s)</td>
<td>jam</td>
<td>matches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chickens</td>
<td>ewe</td>
<td>jaundice</td>
<td>meadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>china</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>jelly</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>closet</td>
<td>fog</td>
<td>jerky</td>
<td>music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>froze</td>
<td>Jersey</td>
<td>negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>college</td>
<td>general</td>
<td>joke</td>
<td>neighbors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keg</td>
<td>oranges</td>
<td>poison</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>orphan</td>
<td>rack</td>
<td>strawberries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>oxen</td>
<td>radish</td>
<td>tube</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>log</td>
<td>packages</td>
<td>raised</td>
<td>turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lounge</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>raspberries</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make 'em</td>
<td>pick up</td>
<td>ribs</td>
<td>use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matches</td>
<td>pieces</td>
<td>rises</td>
<td>was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>music</td>
<td>pigs</td>
<td>sausage</td>
<td>wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

ALLOPHONE/ALLOPHONIC VARIANT: The various ways in which a phoneme can be performed; for instance, the phoneme /r/ can be produced using a trill, retroflexion or a tongue flap creating the phones [ɻ], [ɾ], and [ɾ], respectively in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) notation (Ladefoged, 301).

ARGOT: A type of dialect used by people with a common interest or profession, usually designed to keep outsiders out.

ASSIMILATION: 1) Cultural - "The process whereby a group as a minority or immigrant group, gradually adopts the characteristics of another culture" (American Heritage, 80); 2) Phonetic - "the process by which a sound is modified to make it resemble an adjacent sound" (American Heritage, 80).

CALQUE: "A form of semantic borrowing in which a word is given a special, extended meaning by analogy with that of a word having the same basic meaning in another language" (American Heritage, 191).

CODE SWITCHING: When a speaker uses certain lexical items/pronunciations based on the reaction they may cause in the listener. For instance, a Eurekan who uses both lines and reins will probably use lines when speaking with others from the community but will switch to reins in the presence of outsiders.

COGNATE: Words in related languages derived from the same root word (Fromkin & Rodman, 296).

DIALECT: "Pronunciations, words, idioms, syntax and meanings which vary in specific geographical areas and in specific social strata" (Taylor, Linguistic Variations).

DIALECT ISLAND: When a cluster of speech features in a certain limited geographic area vary from those of the surrounding region. For example, if most of the people in a town used Southern speech terms, while those in the rural areas surrounding the settlement preferred Northern speech features, this clustering would create a dialect island.

ETHNOGRAPHY: The study of the influence that one's culture/society has on his/her language or speech patterns.

FOLK ETYMOLOGY: "A minor type of semantic change in which a speaker who does not understand or recognize a strange or foreign word, will change it to one he does know, thereby altering the semantic field of the original word;" for instance, shamefast meaning fast in shame has become shamefaced (Williams, 192).
HYPERCORRECTION: "The process whereby a person writes/speaks an erroneous word or sound when that person actually wants to write/speak in an 'educated' manner. It is often an attempt to impress someone" (Worman, 115).

IDIOLLECT: "The speech of an individual considered as a linguistic pattern" (American Heritage, 654).

INDICATOR: A morpheme or phone which is part of a dialect yet is not unique enough for listeners to distinguish the speaker as from that certain dialect area/social class (Labov, 237).

INTERFERENCE: "The influence of one language system on another . . . usually, a subsequently learned system" (Taylor, Black English).

ISOGLOSS: "A geographical boundary line delimiting the area in which a given linguistic feature occurs" (American Heritage, 694).

LEVELING PROCESS: A gradual speech change in which a person begins to consciously or unconsciously alter his/her vocabulary and/or pronunciation from one dialect, usually a minority, to another which is more widely used.

LEXICAL FIELD/SEMANTIC FIELD: The level at which morphology and semantics interact allowing for terms with similar meanings to cluster together. The atlas questionnaire addresses one lexical field after another.

LEXICAL ITEM: The various combinations of morphemes which compose one's vocabulary and are used to build sentences and produce utterances.

LEXICON: One's complete vocabulary; the morphemes from which a person speaks/writes.

LOAN WORD: "A word adopted from another language that has become at least partly naturalized" (American Heritage, 765).

MINIMAL PAIR: "When two different forms are identical in every way except for one sound segment which occurs in the same place in the string of sounds," e.g., pill/bill (Fromkin and Rodman, 103).

MIDLAND: A geographical designation for those dialects stemming from the settlement of Pennsylvania including parts of Delaware, Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky and Tennessee which embrace certain phonetic, morphologic, syntactic and semantic features (Shores, 28).

MORPHOLOGY: "The study of the internal structure of words and of the rules by which they are formed" (Fromkin and Rodman, 141).
NORTHERN: A geographical designation for those dialects stemming from Upper New England--New York, Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts and Metro New York defined by certain phonetic, morphologic, syntactic and semantic features (Shores, 28).

PHONETICS/PHONOLOGY: The study of the sound structure of a language; phonology involves sound patterns and target sounds as abstractions, while phonetics focuses on describing actual sound production.

PHONE: "Any individual speech sound" (American Heritage, 985).

PHONEME: "One of the set of the smallest units of speech that distinguish one utterance or word from another in a given language" (American Heritage, 985).

RELIC: An older word form which has somehow survived the passage of time, at least in a few geographic areas/dialects.

SECONDARY DIFFERENTIATION: When a speaker describes two items in a lexical field as different based on secondary characteristics such as location, usage, size, etc. For instance, some speakers who use both bubbler and water fountain say that though they are the same object, a bubbler is outside, while a water fountain is inside a building.

SEMANTICS: The study of the nature, structure and especially the development of meaning changes in words, phrases and sentences (Worman, 118).

SHIBBOLETH: A usually stigmatized password, phrase, pronunciation or usage that reliably distinguishes the members of one group or class from another (American Heritage, 1194).

SWABIAN: A dialect of German spoken by people whose ancestors are from or who are themselves living in an area in southwestern Germany (American Heritage, 1297).

SYNTAX: The organization of word groups, phrases, clauses and sentences to show their relationship to one another (Worman, 119).
WORKS CITED


"Eureka, SD, was Once the World's Wheat Mart." *Life,* 2 Aug. 1937, 20-23.


Richter, Anton H. "'Gebt ihr den Vorzug': The German Language Press of North and South Dakota." *South Dakota History*, 10.3 (Summer 1980), 189-209.

Professor in German Department, South Dakota State University. Personal interviews. Brookings, SD, April and October 1984.


---------. "Selected Glossary Items from J. L. Dillard's Black English." (Mimeographed.)


