Varieties of Pennsylvania Dutch: Postvernacular or not so simple?

Rose Fisher

The Pennsylvania State University

Some language communities continue identifying with their heritage language even after a shift to the majority language has occurred. In this paper I use a comparative approach to investigate the extent to which this postvernacular phase can be found among the broad spectrum of Pennsylvania Dutch-affiliated groups in North America. The results of a sociolinguistic survey presented here reveal that vastly different relationships to and experiences with the language and its affiliated cultures exist under the Pennsylvania Dutch umbrella. The postvernacular framework effectively describes the status of the language among the non-sectarians. However, with some exceptions, it cannot account for the extremely diverse scenarios existing among the sectarians (i.e., separatists). A better understanding of each of the relevant linguistic and cultural aspects at play here will have cross-linguistic implications for how languages are bound to human identities.

Keywords: Pennsylvania Dutch, postvernacular, non-sectarian, sectarian

1. Introduction[1]

Sociolinguistic identities are defined by Brown (2019: 20) as "those aspects of identity that intersect with language—they contain the attitudes toward language and the ideologies about language as means for the negotiation of an individual's or group's identities." Ground-breaking work on Yiddish by Shandler (2006) introduced the idea that language-bound identities can be negotiated by members of a "speech community" even if that language no longer serves as the primary mode of communication. Though some work on Pennsylvania Dutch (PD) has examined the implications of Shandler's postvernacular framework within one community (Brown 2020), no previous study has used a comparative approach across the spectrum of Pennsylvania Dutch communities. Furthermore, the survey utilized for this study is similar to those used by investigations of several other immigrant communities (e.g., Moquin & Wolf 2020, Hietpas & Vanhecke this volume, Rocker this volume) making these results comparable. In this paper, I describe my novel attempt to test the limits of the postvernacular framework using the exceptionally diverse PD linguistic landscape.

Section 2 of this paper introduces Pennsylvania Dutch, the various groups encompassed under its umbrella, and the postvernacular framework. Section 3 gives an overview of the participants and methods of this investigation. Section 4 sketches and interprets the results. This paper concludes in Section 5 with a short discussion and some concluding remarks.

2. Background

2.1. Pennsylvania Dutch

Pennsylvania Dutch is a Germanic language with a misleading name. It is more closely related to European German than to European Dutch and is not exclusively spoken in Pennsylvania (Louden 2016). Most modern PD speakers can be found in states other than Pennsylvania because PD-speaking groups have spread in all directions across North America (Keiser 2012). PD formed in the US in the eighteenth century when German-speaking immigrants from various parts of Central Europe came seeking economic opportunity and, in some cases, refuge from religious persecution. The biggest proportion came from the Palatinate region of Southwestern Germany therefore PD is primarily Palatinate-based (Louden 2016). Because PD is spoken in English-dominant regions, virtually all PD speakers including members of the most conservative PD-speaking groups – barring very young children – are PD/English bilinguals.

2.2. The (Non)-Sectarian Distinction

Because a variety of religious groups historically spoke PD a (non)-sectarian distinction is useful for discussing the modern-day status of the PD language and culture. Lutheran and German Reformed groups predominantly constitute the non-sectarians (also known as "the church people"; Louden 2016). They are not separatist, meaning they are generally indistinguishable from mainstream society. Though non-sectarians were historically the largest PD-speaking group, PD is now moribund in this group (Louden 2016). Revitalization efforts are to some extent reviving interest in the PD language and heritage among the non-sectarians; however, only a tiny minority of native speakers remain, and the language is no longer being actively passed on to future generations.

Sectarians, who historically represented the minority – they constituted only ~5% of the original immigrant group – have to some extent maintained the language and are now the majority group (Louden 2016). Many of these sectarians are the descendants of Anabaptists who ascribed to a more radical form of Protestantism, which insists on adult baptism and a call to live separately from the rest of the world. To this day, the most devout of these groups practice stringent separatism in various ways, including: (i) following strict dress codes, (ii) foregoing motor vehicles in favor of horse-and-buggy transportation, and (iii) limiting technology use, to name a few of the most noticeable. The sectarians include Amish and Mennonite groups, among others (Kraybill et al. 2013).

The sectarians are not a homogenous group. They exist on what Brown (2019: 21) refers to as a religious continuum, ranging from conservative to progressive. Even within Anabaptist groups, distinct sub-groups or congregations can fall at different points on this continuum. For example, the buggy-driving Groffdale Conference Mennonites fall on the conservative side of the spectrum, while the Atlantic Coast Conference of Mennonite Church USA – a group that does not practice immediately visible separatism such as conservative dress but still maintains conservative religious values such as non-resistance – falls on the progressive side of the spectrum. The Weaverland Conference Mennonites are somewhere in between, as they drive cars, allow more technology, and use PD to a lesser degree than the Groffdale Conference, but still dress conservatively (Kraybill et al. 2013).[2]

In relation to language use, more progressive sectarian groups are less likely than conservative ones to maintain PD.[3] Whereas conservative sectarians usually practice endogamy, which helps to retain minority language use, progressive sectarians and non-sectarians do not enforce this practice. This in combination with a movement out of rural PD-dominant regions and occupations have encouraged a shift to English among the non-sectarians and many progressive sectarian groups (Louden 2016); this divergence from conservative sectarians is as recent as the early to mid-twentieth century and took place after ~200 years of stable bilingualism in the US. Thus, while non-sectarians are no longer in a stage of active communal use, sectarian PD use exists on a broad spectrum extending from thriving and almost exclusive use of PD at the one end to PD loss culminating in English monolingualism at the other.

This same spectrum can be found among former members of conservative PD-speaking groups. Those who choose to leave in some cases remain surrounded by community members who share similar cultural backgrounds. They may continue to actively use and pass on PD. Conversely, former members may immediately or gradually halt their use of PD, completely switch over to English, and not pass the language on to their children. According to Louden (2016), many such ex-members are not very interested in keeping the language alive. This decision is presumably tightly intertwined with community and cultural dynamics, as well as with the attitudes of those who have left (and potentially been socially cast out of) their home communities which usually place substantial importance on keeping members within the community.

Non-sectarians, the descendants of former conservative sectarians, and older generations of progressive sectarians may have passive knowledge of PD even if their proficiency is low. Many remember growing up in an environment where PD

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[2] See also Brown (2019) for an in-depth overview of two Beachy communities who branched off of the Old Order Amish, accept more technology, and fall somewhere in the middle of the continuum.

[3] There are notable exceptions to this trend such as the Groffdale Conference Mennonites in Virginia who have not maintained PD use despite retaining other conservative separatist practices (Keiser 2012). Language is not the only factor at play and should be viewed as interrelated with other variables to determine where on the Anabaptist continuum each group falls.

was commonly spoken, even if they never spoke much PD or stopped speaking it after childhood. For these people, PD often remains a poignant aspect of their identity regardless of whether they are active speakers or not.

2.3. The Postvernacular Framework

That a language may remain deeply meaningful to an individual or speech community even after it ceases to be used as a vernacular – a language serving daily communication needs – is an idea introduced by Shandler (2006) in the context of Yiddish. In his book *Adventures in Yiddishland*, Shandler addresses Yiddish's painful history and connection to Jewish persecution. He assumes that this harrowing past – including the violence, murder, and dispersion that Yiddish-speaking Jews were subjected to during and following WWII – is the catalyst for what he calls postvernacular language use (PVLU). Though PD history has no parallel to these devastating events, I propose here – as others have done (e.g., Moquin & Wolf 2020) – that the postvernacular framework can nonetheless be used to understand other heritage language communities with much less troublesome pasts. Like PD, Yiddish has multiple speech communities: 1) less conservative or secular Jewish communities that no longer actively speak Yiddish communally and thus share some similarities with non-sectarians and 2) orthodox Hasidic Jews who still use Yiddish as a vernacular like many conservative sectarians (Louden 2021). I argue that in PD communities, as in Yiddish ones, the language is tightly interwoven with perceptions of identity and ethnic/religious group membership even and especially for postvernacular "speakers".

PVLU, if it occurs, follows vernacular use after the community has shifted to the dominant language.[4] The language is more symbolic in PVLU and serves as a marker of identity and cultural heritage. This stage of development is characterized by celebrations of the language through such outlets as literature, music, art, etc. as well as attempts by members of the community to gain or improve language skills. Rather than being the vehicle facilitating discussion, the language becomes the topic of discussion (Shandler 2006: 197). "In postvernacular Yiddish the very fact that something is said (or written or sung) in Yiddish is at least as meaningful as the meaning of the words being uttered---if not more so." (Shandler 2006: 22). PVLU tends to be accompanied by a sense of loss; nevertheless, there is also agency in negotiating one's identity. Unlike vernacular use, which is more likely to be circumstantial, PVLU is intentional and purposeful (Reershemius 2009). Members of postvernacular speech communities interact with the language in particular ways and consider it bound to their identity regardless of their vernacular proficiency.

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[4] It is noteworthy 1) that PVLU can vary by degree and 2) that language shift can take place without entering a stage of PVLU.

3. Methods

3.1. Research Question

The aim of this study is to further illuminate PVLU as defined by Shandler (2006) and investigated by other researchers (e.g., Reershemius 2009, Kühl & Peterson 2018, Brown & Hietpas 2019, Moquin & Wolf 2020) by applying it to a language community consisting of many groups and sub-groups. How can the status of a minority language be understood in the context of distinct language-associated groups and diverse practices surrounding the role of the language in each community?

RQ: To what extent can the postvernacular framework account for the sociolinguistic factors that condition language (dis)use and language-bound identities in the various PD communities introduced above?

In this study I report original sociolinguistic data in the hopes of addressing this question and building on our understanding of the role of language use (broadly defined) and how it is interrelated with identity under shifting and diverse circumstances.

3.2. Procedure

To address this question, I created a sociolinguistic survey[5] (see Appendix A) based on Moquin and Wolf's (2020) survey. My survey expanded upon their 25 questions and consisted of 43 questions in total. The first question asked participants how they heard about the survey and nine requested non-identifying demographic information such as age, sex, and region of origin. These were followed by 33 multiple-choice and short answer questions many of which were open-ended, allowing for elaboration. Eight of the multiple-choice questions were scalar in nature (e.g., "Which of these best describes your cultural identity? to which participants could respond with "I strongly identify with PD culture", "I somewhat identify…" or "I do not identify…"; see Appendix A). Survey questions could be left blank. The survey was created in Qualtrics and could be completed online by cell phone or laptop. Alternatively, potential participants were given the option of printing out a hard copy version of the survey which they could mail in.

Recruitment was completed by emailing PD researchers, enthusiasts, and heritage centers, and by posting announcements on various Facebook pages. These emails and posts contained a description of the study and the links to the Qualtrics survey and the Google Doc from which hard copies could be printed. Target participants included anyone, regardless of PD proficiency, who had at least one ancestor from a PD-speaking group. Only US citizens 18 years of age or older were eligible to participate. Because the survey was primarily distributed online, conservative sectarians who limit their technology use were not particular targets

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[5] IRB#: STUDY00016954

of the recruitment process, although they were welcome to participate. In fact, a few Amish respondents did mail in hard copies of the survey (*n*=5). Data collection took place between March and December 2021.

3.3. Participants

Of 160 total respondents, 62 were excluded: 39 for completing less than 30% of the survey, 12 because they indicated that they did not descend from a PD-speaking group, and 11 because they did not know or did not indicate which PD-speaking group they descended from. Given that the (non)-sectarian distinction is under examination here, not being able to classify which group respondents belong to was deemed sufficient grounds to exclude them. Thus, the resulting number of participants for this study was 98. There were 42 non-sectarians and 56 sectarians, who may or may not practice the religion of their ancestors. The study included 38 females, 59 males, and one unspecified. The age range of participants was 19–95 years (M=53.5; SD=19.7). Nearly half of the respondents (47%) were above the age of 60 while a lower proportion were aged 18 – 40 (32%) and 41 – 60 (21%).

As for origins, 26 sectarians came from Pennsylvania, 17 from Ohio, 3 from Indiana, 2 from Kansas, 2 from Iowa, 1 from Michigan, 1 from Alabama, 1 from Illinois, 1 from Virginia, 1 from Wyoming, and 1 unspecified. Of the non-sectarians, 35 came from Pennsylvania, 2 from multiple states, 1 from Colorado, 1 from Illinois, 1 from Georgia, 1 from New Hampshire, and 1 unspecified. Thus, most participants came from Pennsylvania (62%), which is not surprising given that the researcher is from the state of Pennsylvania and thus has more personal networks there. Because participant numbers from states other than Pennsylvania are quite low, regional diversity cannot be adequately addressed here, but this aspect could be investigated in a future expansion of this project.

4. Results

4.1. Language Background, Age, and Proficiency

I turn now to the results of my investigation, beginning with the language background of the respondents. Postvernacular communities are composed mostly of non-speakers of the heritage language who may know a few key phrases, speakers who have effortfully learned the language as adults, passive listeners who heard the language spoken around them as children, and/or older highly proficient native speakers. Conversely, vernacular use is associated with a high proportion of young, active speakers. In line with this, the non-sectarian group contains a very low proportion of native speakers (*n*=1, 2%; see Figure 1) as well as a higher proportion of second language speakers (*n*=26, 62%) and non-speakers (*n*=15, 36%). On the other hand, the majority of the sectarian participants are native speakers (*n*=38, 68%) and comparatively few speak the language as a second language (*n*=8, 14%) or do not speak it at all (*n*=10, 18%).
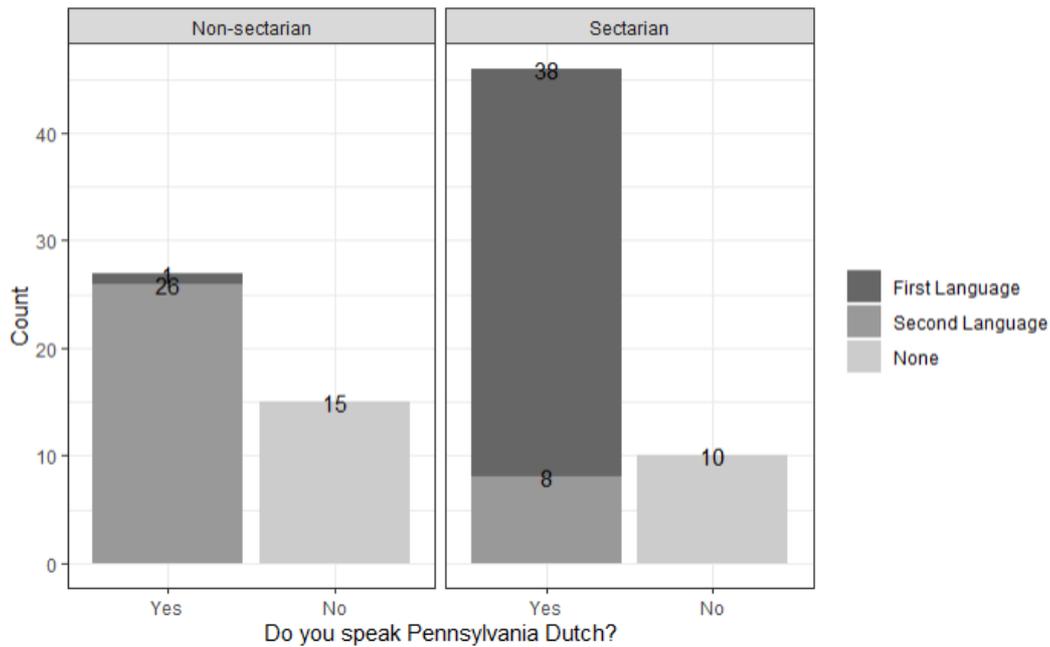
Figure 1: Number of PD speakers (Non-sectarians: *n*=42, Sectarians: *n*=56). *First language* describes cases where PD was the dominant language spoken in the home throughout childhood, whereas *second language* describes cases where a person had only passive exposure to PD, or where it was learned after reaching adulthood. *None* indicates no language proficiency in PD.

This presence of young native speakers among the sectarians and absence of the same group among the non-sectarians is also visible in Figure 2, which shows participants by age. Of the 23 sectarian participants in the youngest group (up to age 40), 65% of them are first language PD speakers. Conversely, the non-sectarians are almost exclusively second language or non-speakers. The existence of young, native speakers among the sectararians is an indication that the language is still actively passed on (Reershemius 2009), which is further confirmation of the already well-documented fact that vernacular PD is thriving among many conservative sectarian groups (e.g., Louden 2016).

Turning to proficiency, Figure 3 shows that the sectarians overall rated themselves as more proficient in PD ('fluent' *n*=23, 41%) as opposed to non-sectarians ('fluent' *n*=3, 7%), which is expected given that more of them are native speakers and active language users. Nevertheless, there is a relatively high percentage of sectarian speakers who consider themselves only fair speakers (*n*=15, 27%), over half of which are native speakers. Because I am limited by the questions posed in the survey, I can only speculate about why this is the case. It could be due to many factors or a combination of them including: 1) speakers who have left their home communities and no longer use PD as a vernacular consider their PD skills to have diminished and 2) many PD speakers from conservative sectarian groups attach humility with PD and do not wish to appear prideful about their proficiency. Survey data are inherently difficult to interpret since it is not possible to ask for clarification.
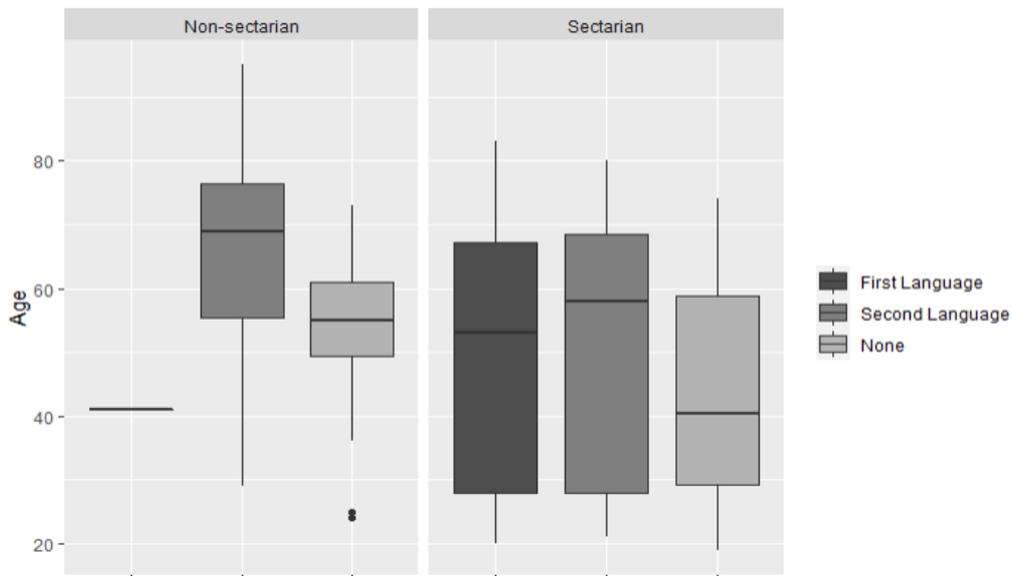
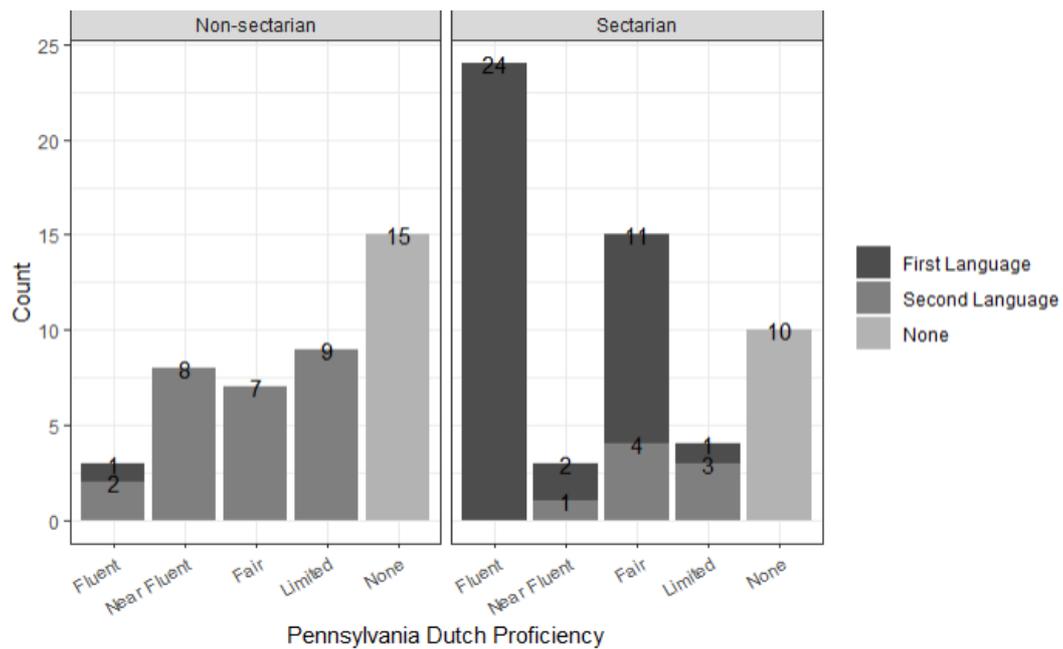Figure 2: Age of participants (Non-sectarians: *n*=42, Sectarians: *n*=55)

Figure 3: Pennsylvania Dutch proficiency (Non-sectarians: *n*=42, Sectarians: *n*=56)

4.2. Identity

Regardless of proficiency, most participants reported that they identify at least somewhat with PD culture. This is to be expected given the nature of the survey and assuming that those who responded did so voluntarily and comprise a group biased toward favoring PD culture. In response to the question "Which of these best describes your cultural identity?", where participants could respond with "I strongly identify with PA Dutch culture", "I somewhat identify…", or "I do not identify…"

most participants chose "strongly" (57%; see Figure 4)[6]. However, group differences also appear here. Non-sectarians were more likely to identify strongly with PD culture even though they are generally further removed from active language use (strongly *n*=27, 64%; somewhat *n*=13, 31%). The "strongly" responses from sectarians represent a smaller proportion of overall sectarian responses (*n*=27, 49%) while "somewhat" represents a larger proportion of responses compared to the non-sectarians (*n*=27, 49%). One sectarian native PD speaker even indicated that they do not identify with PD culture at all. This pattern suggests a tendency for groups further removed from the language to identify more strongly with its associated culture (see e.g., also Evans & Litty 2018 for similar findings in Heritage German).
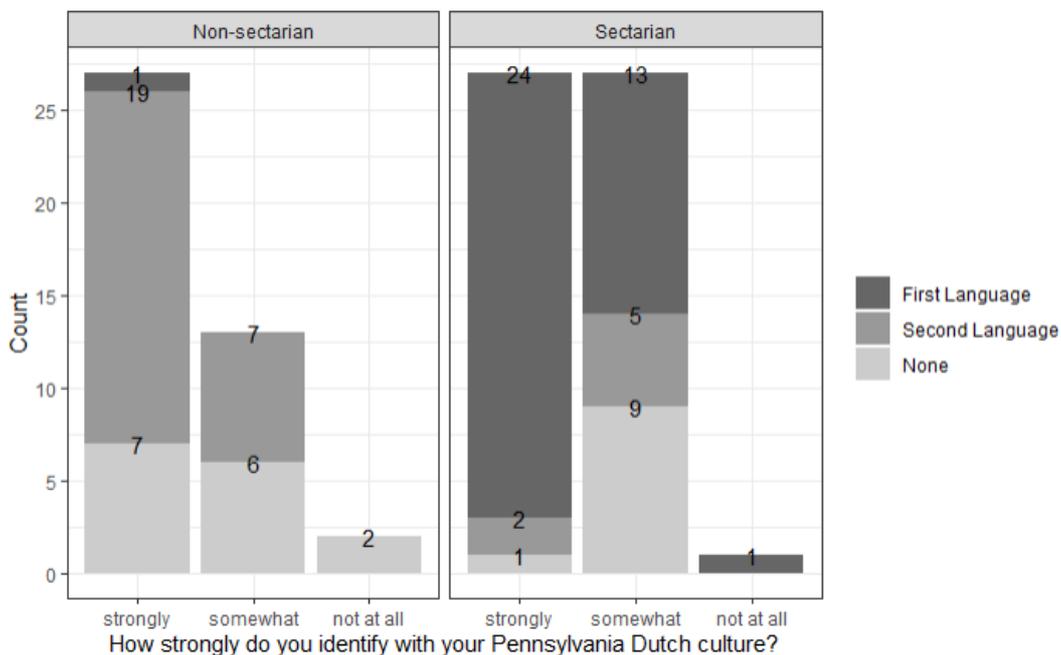

Figure 4: Identification with Pennsylvania Dutch culture (Non-sectarians: *n*=42, Sectarians: *n*=55)

4.3. Language Maintenance Efforts and Attitudes

Along with language-bound identities, language maintenance/revitalization and attitudes about them are important aspects of PVLU. In this survey, participants responded to the question "Do you feel that you have taken an active role in

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6 One anonymous reviewer pointed out that culture is not well-defined here. This is a fair point and, unfortunately, it was not well-defined for the participants either. They were free to interpret it as they wished. Given the diverse cultures included under the term "PA Dutch", the question did explicitly state that "this refers to the culture of whichever PA Dutch group you and/or your ancestors belong to" (see Question 9 in Appendix A). In hindsight, this overlooks not only the possibility that some participants come from multiple PD backgrounds (i.e., Amish and Mennonite) but also, as pointed out by one reviewer, that some participants' identities consist of much broader ethnic backgrounds than just PD. These data do not account for these added complexities because of the design of the questionnaire.

maintaining the PA Dutch language within your family or community?" Common themes are demonstrated in the samples of the non-sectarian responses listed in Table 1. Despite some respondents who have not made any preservation efforts ("no" or "not really" responses 1a, n=12, 29%), there is a trend toward enthusiastic promotion of the language. There were 28 responses (68%) describing efforts to preserve the language as in 1b. Some responses such as 1c noted effortful teaching or learning of the language (n=14, 34%).

Table 1: Samples of non-sectarian responses to the question "Do you feel that you have taken an active role in maintaining the PA Dutch language within your family or community?" (n=41)

a. No	n=12	29%
b. Extremely active, by teaching and performing	n=28	68%
c. By taking PA Dutch language classes	n=14	34%

Among the sectarians, a broader spectrum of themes was found (see Table 2). One response displayed quite a negative attitude (2%; 2a) and came from a former member of a conservative community who presumably had some negative experiences. Almost half (47%) responded with an indifferent sounding "no" or "not really" (n=24; 2b). Responses such as 2c indicate that some non-conservative sectarians still speak PD regularly because they live among a conservative group like the Amish (n=4, 8%). Others are making the effort to teach PD to their children (n=6, 12%; 2d). Lastly, responses such as 2e and 2g indicate that there are also some efforts and attitudes characteristic of PVLU present among sectarian respondents. While no respondents mentioned taking a class in PD, 10 (20%) mentioned speaking PD with anyone who could and/or were pursuing other preservation efforts such as attending PD events. These efforts to maintain and celebrate the language are evidence of some PVLU among the sectarians. Nevertheless, sectarians' overall closer proximity to vernacular PD use shaped their responses to this question and makes them less likely to engage in PVLU.

Table 2: Samples of sectarian responses to the question "Do you feel that you have taken an active role in maintaining the PA Dutch language within your family or community?" (n=51)

a.	I am of the opinion that PA Dutch is used to maintain control of the people and keep them in their tradition.	n=1	2%
b.	No	n=24	47%
c.	Never really thought about it because I speak it almost ever[y] day and prob[ab]ly always will speak it because of my community[.] I live in the Amish [.]	n=4	8%
d.	I have taught my children.	n=6	12%
e.	Yes, I am very passionate about it. My siblings are becoming much more aware of their heritage as a result of my activism, not only in language preservation but also in cultural traditions, recipes, and folk art. My Mom has been renewing	n=10	20%

her use of Dutch ever since I've begun studying.		
g. I tried to reclaim a language lost by my parent[']s generation. I was not very successful.		

5. Conclusions/Discussion

In conclusion, this study investigated the extent to which postvernacularity – as opposed to vernacular use or language loss – can be found in different Pennsylvania Dutch communities by examining language use, identity, and attitudes using the results of a sociolinguistic survey. The non-sectarians – who are in the final stages of shifting to English (Louden & Page 2005) – can straightforwardly be classified as a postvernacular community. They demonstrate the elements of PVLU that Shandler (2006) and others reference: an aging minority of native speakers, celebrations of the language in literature, art, and music alongside efforts to learn and revitalize the language. Furthermore, this study shows that non-sectarian speakers tend to view their identities as tightly bound to PD regardless of their language proficiency.

The postvernacular framework is not suitable for conservative sectarian groups who maintain a state of stable bilingualism (Louden & Page 2005) and use the language as a vernacular. This group was not heavily represented in this study, presumably due to their proclivity to avoid modern technology. Former members of conservative groups and more progressive sectarians, on the other hand, are much more difficult to characterize in relation to the postvernacular framework. Contained within this category are many sub-groups which could be classified as a group with exclusive use of English and no PD, postvernacular use of PD, or vernacular use of PD and English. Their responses indicate that though some identify with and value the PD language and culture highly, others – including highly proficient speakers – do not place much value on them.

The unique contribution of this work in relation to similar work by Moquin & Wolf (2020), Hietpas & Vanhecke (this volume), and Rocker (this volume) is the (non)-sectarian distinction. The PD speech community spans a broad range of cultural identities that are extraordinarily diverse and includes both separatist (sectarian) and non-separatist (non-sectarian) groups. Within the PD community, future work should aim to have more participants from distinct groups of sectarians so that the differences between them can be better evaluated. Furthermore, it could be fruitful to examine language-bound identities in terms of how many generations removed each participant is from active use. This could help tease apart how emotional connections to language-bound identities differ based on the experiences each person has had with the language. Similar work should also be undertaken in other heritage communities to shed light on the cross-linguistic factors that shape and underlie language-bound identities.

6. Appendix A

The socio-linguistic questionnaire

1. How did you hear about this survey? Check more than one box if applicable.

- o Facebook Post
- o Email
- o Word of mouth
- o Other: _____

2. In what village, town, or city do you currently live? Please use zip code if known.

_____

3. In what village, town, or city did you grow up? Please use zip code if known.

_____

4. What is your age?

_____

5. What is your gender?

_____

6. Are you of PA Dutch descent (descended from the Amish, Mennonites, or another Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking group)? If yes, please specify which group you are descended from and whether you are a member of that group or simply the descendant of someone who was. If you are not a member, how many generations removed are you from your ancestor(s) who was a member?

_____

_____

_____

7. Do you know approximately when your ancestors immigrated to North America and how many generations ago they migrated? If not, please simply answer "no". If you have ancestors that migrated at different times, feel free to list more than one date.

_____

_____

8. From what region(s) did your ancestors migrate? (Please be as specific as you feel comfortable naming: country, province, city/town name, etc.) Simply leave this question blank if you do not know the answer.

_____

9. Which of these best describes your cultural identity? This refers to the culture of whichever PA Dutch group you and/or your ancestors belong to.

- I strongly identify with PA Dutch culture.

- I somewhat identify with PA Dutch culture.

- I do not identify with PA Dutch culture.

10. Do you or did you know anyone who speaks or spoke PA Dutch? Please feel free to check more than one answer.

- Parent(s)
- Sibling(s)
- Spouse
- Child(ren)
- Grandparent(s)
- Aunt(s) and/or Uncle(s)
- Cousin(s)
- Friend(s)
- Coworker(s)
- Community Member(s)
- Religious Leader(s)
- I don't know anyone that speaks or spoke PA Dutch
- Other _____

11. Have you formally (in a classroom or with a tutor) studied PA Dutch, Sectarian German (as used in church services by the Amish and Mennonites), Standard German (a close relative of PA Dutch and even closer relative of Sectarian German, it is spoken in Germany), or any other Germanic variety? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

12. Do you, or did you ever, **speak** PA Dutch?

- Yes

- No

13. If yes, please elaborate where and how you learned PA Dutch.

_____

_____

_____

14. Is PA Dutch your first or second language? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

15. How would you describe your current level of **<u>speaking</u>** PA Dutch?

- Fluent
- Near Fluent
- Fair
- Limited
- Non-existent

16. Who do you, or did you, speak PA Dutch with? Please feel free to choose more than one answer.

- Parent(s)
- Sibling(s)
- Spouse
- Child(ren)
- Grandparent(s)
- Aunt(s) and/or Uncle(s)
- Cousin(s)
- Friend(s)
- Coworker(s)
- Community Member(s)
- Religious Leader(s)
- Other _____

17. Has who you speak PA Dutch with changed overtime? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

18. When you speak PA Dutch do you ever switch into English or vice versa? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

19. Are there certain aspects of language or communication for which you use PA Dutch? Please check all that apply, and feel free to add additional options if there is something that isn't listed.

- o Counting
- o Telling jokes
- o Singing songs
- o Telling nursery rhymes/stories
- o Talking about farming
- o Talking about the weather
- o Talking about current events
- o Talking about religion
- o Talking about cooking, cleaning, and/or other household activities
- o Other _____
- o Other _____

20. If you would like to elaborate on any of your answers to the previous question feel free to do so here, but feel free to leave this question blank if you do not have additional information you would like to share.

_____

_____

_____

21. Can you **understand** PA Dutch, but are unable to speak it? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

22. How would you describe your current level of **understanding** spoken PA Dutch?

- I understand almost everything

- I understand most things

- I understand things related to particular subjects

- I barely understand

- I do not understand at all

23. Do you, or did you ever, **read** in PA Dutch or German? Please elaborate (what do/did you read? Newspapers, letters, religious texts, fairy tales, nursery rhymes, internet, etc.)

_____

_____

_____

24. Do you, or did you ever, **write** in PA Dutch or German? Please elaborate (what do/did you write? Letters, internet, newsletters, diary entries, poems, stories, prayers, etc.).

_____

_____

_____

25. Of the resources that are available to help maintain or improve your PA Dutch or German language skills, which do you use or know about?

_____

_____

26. Do you feel that you have taken an active role in maintaining the PA Dutch or German language within your family or community? If so, how?

_____

_____

_____

27. How important is communicating in PA Dutch to your identity as someone of PA Dutch heritage?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

28. Have your views on this changed over time? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

29. What religion do you identify with, if any? Please be specific as to denomination.

_____

_____

30. Did your parents and grandparents attend a church of the same religious denomination that you attend today?

- Yes
- No

31. If no, which church denomination, if any, did your parents and/or grandparents attend?

_____

32. How important a role has religion and/or church activities played in maintaining the use of the PA Dutch language within your family or community?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

33. In what ways has religion and/or church activities helped or hurt in maintaining the use of the PA Dutch language within your family or community?

_____

_____

_____

34. Have you been to Germany, Switzerland, or some other German-speaking country? If so, how many times and for how long?

_____

_____

35. If you have never been to a German-speaking country, would you ever want to go? Why or why not?

_____

_____

36. Do you have contact with relatives or friends who live in a German-speaking country? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

37. How important is it to you that PA Dutch be maintained as a heritage language in North America?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

38. What efforts do you know of that are currently being made to preserve the PA Dutch language in your community, how do you feel about them, and how successful do you think they have been?

_____

_____

39. Do you, your family, or your community celebrate any PA Dutch holidays, traditions, festivals, or make any PA Dutch foods? Please elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

40. How important is celebrating PA Dutch traditions to your identity as someone of PA Dutch heritage?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important

- Not at all important

41. How important is it to you that PA Dutch culture is maintained in North America?

- Extremely important

- Very important

- Moderately important

- Slightly important

- Not at all important

42. Do you feel that you have taken an active role in maintaining the PA Dutch culture within your family or community? If so, how?

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_____

43. Regardless of your PA Dutch language abilities, are there other ways in which the PA Dutch language or culture are present in your life, in your family, or in your community? (Business names, architecture/building design, street signs, artwork, music, etc.)

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Thank you very much for your time spent completing this survey!

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Address for correspondence

Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages and Literatures
The Pennsylvania State University
442 Burrowes Building
University Park
PA 16802

raf5568@psu.edu