Plautdietsch in Contact: Influences of English and Spanish on Mennonite Plautdietsch Speakers in Seminole, Texas

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Plautdietsch in Contact: Influences of English and Spanish on Mennonite Plautdietsch Speakers in Seminole, Texas

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Abstract: Plautdietsch is a Germanic language mostly spoken in the Americas. With a long history of migration, it has been influenced by a variety of linguistics contact situations. This paper provides qualitative analysis of Mennonite Plautdietsch-speakers in Seminole Texas. The dialect of Plautdietsch spoken shows influence from its contact with English (Texas and Canada) and Spanish (Mexico). This influence appears in borrowings and sound changes. The degree of linguistic influence correlates with the identity of the Mennonite community. Historically insular, the community in Seminole, which stems from an Old Colony Mennonite settlement in Mexico, practices a more progressive and modern lifestyle. In addition to Plautdietsch being genetically more similar to English than Spanish, the progressive identity of the community, since being in Seminole, has expedited the process of English influencing Plautdietsch. Conversely, said progressive identity is the same means by which Plautdietsch is gaining institutional support and maintenance. [Abstract by author]

Keywords: Mennonite Plautdietsch; Seminole, Texas; contact linguistics; language maintenance

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INTRODUCTION

What happens to a language when it becomes separated from its region of origin and is introduced to new contact situations? Such is the case for Plautdietsch, the language spoken by many Mennonites throughout the Americas. These communities have been separated from their place of origin, Northwestern Europe, for hundreds of years. Though they have had extensive contact with Russian (in what is today the Ukraine), English (in Canada and the United States) and Spanish (in Latin America), they have maintained their mother tongue through it all, but not without consequence.

Plautdietsch has many alternative names, some of which are Mennonite Low German, Plattdeutsch, and Neuniederdeutsch. It is a Germanic language, stemming from West Germanic. West Germanic diverged into what we know (more or less) as High German, English, Dutch, and Low German. For this reason, many cognates are found among these four languages. Additionally, the vowel inventory for Plautdietsch is rich. There are 10 phonemic monophthongs and 11 phonemic diphthongs. There are also 6 purported triphthongs (Cox et al. 2013). Table 1 shows the 29 phonemic consonants that are found in Canadian Old Colony Mennonite Plautdietsch. The Canadian dialect is referenced as it is closely related to the Seminole, Texas dialect.

There are three allophonic variants according to Cox et al. (2013): alveolar trills [r]; alveolar taps [ɾ]; retroflex approximants [ɹ]. The speakers in Seminole rarely produce trills and are described in this paper as producing bunched /r/s rather than retroflex approximants. Because the degree of retroflexion in this allophone is unclear, I refer to this allophone as bunched /r/. In addition to the allophones listed by Cox et al. (2013), this paper posits the vowel [ɐ] as a rhotic allophone because it is found in free variation with [ɹ] in the Seminole data.

Due to its history of migration, the language is spoken in many countries throughout the Americas, including Mexico, USA, Uruguay, Belize, Paraguay, Costa Rica, Brazil, Canada, Bolivia, and Argentina. It is also still spoken in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Russia, and Germany (Multitree 2014). Though it is spoken in so many places, it is designated an endangered language due to children no longer learning Plautdietsch as their mother tongue (Moseley 2010). The most recent estimated number of speakers is only 394,900. It is estimated that 80,000 of these speakers are in Canada, and 40,000 are in Mexico (Lewis et al. 2015, Moseley 2007 as cited in Burns 2017). In Latin America, large populations are found in Paraguay (9,000) and Bolivia (50,000) (Kaufmann 2015). Approximately 6,000 are in western Texas (Burns 2017), the focus region of this research.

TABLE 1: CANADIAN OLD COLONY MENNONITE PLAUTDIETSCH CONSONANT INVENTORY

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		kʲ gʲ	k g	ʔ
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Affricate			ts	tʃ			
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ç	x ɣ	h
Trill			r				
Approximant					j		
Lateral approximant			l		lʲ		

Table reproduced from Cox et al. (2013), 222

FIGURE 1: MENNONITE MIGRATION
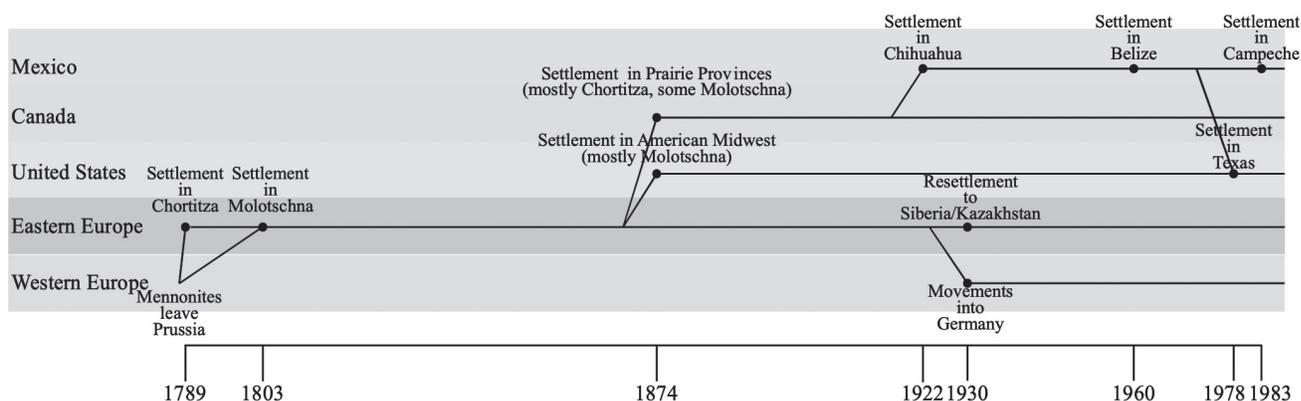
Source: Burns (2017), 19

The migratory history of Mennonite communities molded their spoken Plautdietsch along the way. The first migration from an origin in the Netherlands was to Prussia in the 16th century. Figure 1 shows the migration history of major migration movements since leaving Prussia.

This research focuses on the settlement in Seminole, Texas. As shown in Figure 1, after leaving Prussia, the groups that moved to Chortitza (present-day Ukraine) in Eastern Europe stayed there for almost 100 years before moving to Canada. About half of this group then moved to Chihuahua, Mexico in 1922, 48 years later. Like previous migrations, the migration from Canada was characterized by the group's aversion to government interference in their insular, pacifistic community. The Canadian government instructed them to learn English and enlist in the draft, both of which were at odds with their belief system (Friesen 1996). Fifty-six years after the migration to Mexico, in 1978, about 100 families of the group in Chihuahua moved to Seminole, TX. This move was motivated by lack of land for the growing population in Mexico, as well as the want for a different lifestyle than the Old Colony Mennonites allowed (Burns 2017). Those who did not move to Seminole mostly stayed in Chihuahua.

Migrations from Prussia to the Ukraine to Canada and to Mexico were all motivated by conflict with the respective governments. The move from Mexico to Seminole, TX was motivated by conflict within their own community. There was a lack of sufficient land for the growing population and an evolving appetite for a less restrictive lifestyle.

Throughout their history, these Mennonite communities have constantly been in a diglossic situation with High and Low German. High German (or Huagdietsch) has been used in church services and in schools, while Plautdietsch, a form of Low German, has been used for everyday matters. Additionally, Old Colony Mennonite communities have been in multiple triglossic situations as well. Each of the communities experienced contact with the languages spoken by the greater community in which they settled. They needed to communicate with the governments for legal purposes and with locals for commerce. Due to these contact situations, lexical items were commonly borrowed into Plautdietsch from Russian, English, and Spanish (Cox 2015). Figure 2 shows the triglossia of each stage of migration, from Prussia to Latin America.

High German is slowly being replaced by Plautdietsch as the language in which church services are conducted (Steffen and Altenhofen 2014). This shift was apparent during recent fieldwork experience at a church service in Seminole, Texas. The service was posted as being in German and the bulletin was written in High German with one short verse written in Plautdietsch. The first speaker, who addressed the congregation about news from the past week and upcoming events, spoke in Plautdietsch with a sprinkling of English (for example, instead of saying "Chorprobe", as it was written in the bulletin, he said "choir practice"). The pastor did not use English borrowings,

FIGURE 2: PLAUTDIETSCH TRIGLOSSIA

Dutch	Polish, German		Huagdietsch	Russian, Ukranian
Plautdietsch			Plautdietsch	
ca. 1650-1789			1789-1874	

Huagdietsch	English		Huagdietsch	Spanish, English
Plautdietsch			Plautdietsch	
1874-1922			1922-present	

Figure reproduced from Cox (2015), 53

nor did he speak in High German, but gave the whole message in Plautdietsch. This shift away from regular use of High German in institutions could potentially slow the rate of linguistic change experienced by Plautdietsch.

As described by Kelly Hedges (1996):

> [...] the key to explaining language maintenance among certain Anabaptist groups and certainly among the Old Colony Mennonites of Chihuahua has little to do with a certain degree of 'conservatism' or 'traditionalism' as an independent factor. Nor can language maintenance be viewed as a natural artifact of Mennonite theology. Instead, the maintenance of the two varieties and of the linguistic ideology which dictates their norms of use must be viewed as the result of specific processes of maintenance efforts situated in a specific social, economic, and political context. Like any cultural artifact, the dominant uses of and attitudes about certain language varieties continue not through the weight of their own inertia or because they are bogged down by 'tradition', but through the workings of institutions, individuals, and factions. (pp. 335-36)

This suggests that the institutional support that High German has in church and school is largely responsible for the relative lack of linguistic change in High German among Old Colony Mennonites. It also suggests that the lack of institutional support for Plautdietsch, the everyday language spoken outside of church and school, is the reason that Plautdietsch is more susceptible and open to change (Cox, Driedger, and Tucker 2013). These observations reinforce the expecta-

tion that Plautdietsch has been affected by contact with English and Spanish in its recent history. In theory, as Plautdietsch receives more institutional reinforcement in Seminole, it could become less susceptible to change. However, changing sociocultural attitudes seem to be affecting both the institutional support of Plautdietsch as well as the community's linguistic ideology.

This research focuses on the contact induced change experienced by Plautdietsch since having been in the Americas, and how it has changed as a result of being in contact with Spanish and English. This particular relationship, Plautdietsch in contact with Spanish and English, is understudied.

Due to its status as endangered, it is essential that Spanish contact induced change in Plautdietsch be studied further and documented throughout its Latin American speech islands. This research contributes to the work of documenting a small part of the historical path of Plautdietsch in its language contact induced evolution. The community in Seminole has had 100+ years of contact with Spanish in Mexico and English in Canada and Texas. Borrowed lexicon from each of these languages is also expected to surface in the Plautdietsch of Seminole, Texas. Data collected from three members of this community are analyzed here. First, the methods of data collection and analysis are discussed. Then the results about how contact with English and Spanish have influenced the Plautdietsch spoken in Seminole, Texas are presented.

METHODS AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The design of the data collection plan reflects the challenge of finding willing participants in a traditionally insular community. This influenced the decision to design a flexible plan for data collection. Furthermore, logistical considerations, such as time and difficulty locating participants for the study limited the quantity of data available for this study. This resulted in a data collection plan designed primarily to look for typical lexicon changes influenced by contact situations. To conduct this study, data was collected by means of interviews. Furthermore, the interview questions were originally designed to elicit lexical borrowings from Spanish specifically.

Speakers of a language are generally unaware of their own speaking patterns or anomalies. The resulting plan was to collect data by way of interviewing Plautdietsch speakers individually. This strategy allowed tailoring of the interviews to each participant based on the participants preferred language for the interview questions. It also allowed for questions to be relatively open, yet tailored to each participant. Additionally, in an attempt to find influence from Spanish on their Plautdietsch, data was only collected from people who had grown up in Mexico and learned to speak Spanish there.

Lexical borrowings from Spanish were expected to be found in semantic areas associated with agriculture, local flora and fauna, technology, food, and Mexican culture. Essentially, the elicitation strategy focused on semantic domains including items that might have been introduced to this population since moving from Canada in the early 1920s. The interview questions were based on these expectations. The compiled list of questions was designed to elicit responses that contain lexicon from these categories. The following is a short list of general questions each of the participants was asked to prompt them to speak about these categories in a general manner (rather than looking for specific answers).

1. What do you remember from growing up in Mexico?
2. Are there any foods or practices that you adopted from Mexican culture?
3. What were some typical jobs people did in Mexico?
4. What are some typical jobs people do in Seminole?

Additional questions were developed during the course of interviews in response to how the participants answered these prompts. The semi-structured format of these interviews allowed for additional questions about topics where participants provided answers that were rich with sought after data. However, this same aspect of the design was also a disadvantage. If a participant's initial answer did not provide the expected information, it was difficult to ask follow-up questions on that same topic. This resulted in some of the interviews being shorter than intended, not to mention that the level of detail given in the answers varied from participant to participant.

During the field work, three male participants for this study were found. Some Mennonite women were asked in English and High German about participating in interviews, but they did not understand English or High German.

Due to the restriction on data quantity, this study takes a qualitative approach to analyzing multiple patterns displayed by all three participants, rather than one pattern displayed by a multitude of participants. In addition to the limited number of participants, a quantitative approach for the research overall would be disadvantageous for analyzing borrowed lexicon in this data set. Conversely, a quantitative approach to analyzing the consonant sound changes is advantageous in describing the patterns that are found. It is important to bear in mind that while some of the data will be presented in a quantitative manner later in this paper, this research is qualitative.

The three participants were all men over the age of 50. Each had grown up in Mexico, in campos outside of Cuauhtémoc, in the state of Chihuahua, not far south of the Texas border. All three participants left Mexico for Texas roughly between the ages of 15-25. They learned to speak Spanish while growing up in Mexico. Original data collection plans involved interviews conducted in Spanish, but two of the participants preferred to respond to English interview questions because they felt more comfortable with English. These two participants are leaders in the religious community and as such, they have more exposure to High German than the average community member. Even so, much of their day to day work is con-

ducted in Plautdietsch and in English. The other participant works with automobiles and conducts much of his work in Plautdietsch and seemingly equal amounts in English and Spanish. He also seemed to have been in contact with Spanish more intensely for more of his youth than the other two participants.

Each interview had a different duration. Interview one lasted 19 minutes; interview two lasted 12 minutes, 30 seconds; interview three lasted 18 minutes, 45 seconds; and interview four lasted 10 minutes, 39 seconds. Though there were only three participants, there are four recordings. The first interview was interrupted and later resumed. The second recording is the second half of that interview.

After collecting the data, the application Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2020) was utilized to listen to the recordings and read the spectrogram while transcribing. Only the sections of the interviews that were in Plautdietsch were transcribed. Neither the questions / prompts nor the sections of dialogue that were the participants explaining what they said in English or Spanish were transcribed. However, the use of borrowed words or phrases that were not obviously conscientious moments of code-switching were noted. Decisions about whether code-switching was conscientious or not were based on unnaturally long breaks (or lack thereof) directly before the word in question. Whether a pause was unnaturally long was determined by impressionistic means rather than measurement. If the speaker paused in a way that broke the flow of their speech pattern before uttering a word or phrase in English or Spanish, it was deemed code-switching rather than a borrowing.

During the transcription process, focus was directed towards lexical items borrowed from English and Spanish. I relied on my pre-existing knowledge of English, Spanish, and High German when deciphering whether lexical items were borrowed or not. When a word appeared to possibly be an English borrowing, a Dutch-English and a German-English dictionary were consulted to decide whether the term was actually borrowed or simply a pre-existing cognate. One such word that was initially suspected of being an English borrowing was Buddel ('bottle'); a word which also has a cognate in German, Buddel ('bottle').

Additionally, a pattern emerged showing unexpected variation among rhotic allophones, as well as, among /v/s and /w/s. The lexemes that contain these sounds were also flagged for further analysis.

Data Limitations

It seems that oral alveolar taps [ɾ] are in free variation with alveolar approximants [ɹ] in addition to acting as allophones of /d/. Clear examples of this in Zeida and Canada as well as in Bura and berät are seen. Out of 169 instances of taps, I was only able to find two clear cases of taps representing and underlying /d/. The gross majority of taps appear to be rhotics underlyingly. The occasional occurrence of a tap that is underlyingly /d/, does not appear to affect this data.

CONTACT INFLUENCE ON CONSONANTS

Rhotics

According to Wiese (2003, 41), "the phoneme /r/ in German and many other languages is a chameleon in terms of segmental features, which change frequently and quickly, and which seem largely irrelevant with respect to phonological regularities". He also states that rhotics do not have a tendency to change in a particular direction. In other words, one cannot anticipate how the rhotics in language will change (as opposed to other consonants where tendencies for lenition or fortition can be anticipated). The case of rhotics for Plautdietsch in Seminole, TX follows these claims.

The alveolar approximant rhotic in Plautdietsch, which is quite similar to the English rhotic, is attested to existing in northern Poland in the late 1700s (cf. Moelleken, 1966, 1993; Brandt 1992, 37, as cited in Cox 2015). This means that the bunched /r/ was not borrowed as a result of contact with English in Canada or Texas. The use of a bunched /r/ in the pronunciation of the word Darp ("village") supports this attestation (nevertheless, contact with English could contribute to the maintenance of this rhotic variety). Additionally, the word village is a high frequency token and appears to be endemic to Plautdietsch, rather than a borrowed term. Neither English nor Spanish have cognates for this word. There is a shared cognate with German though, the word Dorf (village).

Table 2: Free Variation between Vocalic and Bunched Rhotics

	\<veschieden\> "different"	\<hia\> "here"
Vocalic	[fəɐˈʃidɪnə]	[hiɐ]
Bunched	[fəɹˈʃidɪnə]	[hiɹ]

Table 3: Free Variation between Vocalic and Bunched Rhotics

Rhotics	Simple onset	Complex onset	Intervocalic	Complex coda	Simple coda	Total
/ɹ/**Bunched**	6	29	17	**40**	**58**	**150**
/ɐ/**Vocalic**	0	0	1	**108**	**129**	**238**
/ɾ/**Tap**	22	**64**	**70**	4	9	**169**
/r/Trill	5	0	1	0	0	6
/ʁ/Velar	0	2	0	0	0	2

However, the rhotic for the German cognate is a vocalic /r/, a sound which exists in Plautdietsch but is not used in this circumstance. In fact, if any rhotic sounds were borrowed, it could be argued that vocalic rhotics were borrowed from contact with High German in churches and schools.

According to the research done by Cox, Driedger, and Tucker (2013) on the Plautdietsch spoken in Canada, the underlying rhotic phoneme is an alveolar trill. They list the allophonic variants as an alveolar trill [r], an alveolar tap [ɾ], and a retroflex tap [ɽ]. They also state that trill and the tap are in free variation while the retroflex allophone surfaces in non-intervocalic codas. Moelleken (1966, 1993 as cited in Cox et al. 2013) first provided this description about the rhotics used by Mennonite speakers of Plautdietsch in Mexico. The data collected in Seminole shows a few differences. It does not provide many instances of a trill /r/. The bunched /r/ is not confined to non-intervocalic coda positions. Vocalic /r/s, which are not mentioned in Cox's (2015) work, appear to only occur in non-intervocalic coda positions. This does not mean that rhotic trills and taps cannot also appear in this position. In fact, this data provides examples of the vocalic /r/ and bunched /r/ occurring in free variation in the words veschieden ("different") and hia ("here"); words which in High German are spelled "verschieden"

and "hier". Table 2 shows a comparison of these free variation uses.

Interestingly enough, the lexical items in Table 2 were produced by the same speakers. Furthermore, they both produced both versions of the words in one, uninterrupted segment of their respective interviews. In other words, Participant 1 produced both versions of hia in consecutive sentences. Likewise, Speaker 3 produced both versions of veschieden in close proximity. This indicates that the speakers do not have individual preferences for which allophone they use. Additionally, it demonstrates that the use of either allophone is not influenced by the interview questions, as Speaker 1 was interviewed in English and Speaker 3 was interviewed in Spanish.

As seen in Table 3, there are 5 varieties of rhotics that are attested in my data. It is interesting to note the presence of the velar fricative and the alveolar trill. Their presence suggests that there could be five allophonic varieties of rhotics. However, due to their rare usage in this data, I will not address them further. The other three varieties, which I will refer to as 'bunched', 'vocalic', and 'tap', are used regularly throughout this data set. According to Cox et al. (2013), a vocalic rhotic is not listed as a rhotic allophone in Canadian Plautdietsch. I have listed it here for two reasons. One, there are vocalic rhotics in High German, a language this community is familiar with hear-

Table 4: Rhotics in Borrowed Words

	English	Spanish	Unclear
/ɹ/ **Bunched**	15	0	1
/ɾ/ **Tap**	0	11	12

Table 5: Allophonic Variation among Borrowed Lexicon (Tap Is 'T'. Bunched Is 'B'.)

	Onset	Intervocalic	Coda
English	0T 7B	0T 1B	0T 8B
Spanish	1T 0B	8T 0B	2T 0B

ing though few besides religious leaders speak it or understand it. Two, we see examples of free variation between these two allophones in words like 'hier' (6 vocalic, 2 bunched), 'wir' (22 vocalic, 5 bunched), and 'verschieden'(3 vocalic, 1 bunched), words which all have direct cognates in High German.

Discussion

Wiese's (2003) paper on variation of rhotics in German demonstrates examples of rhotics changing quickly in relatively little time. This could account for the seemingly lax phonological rules for rhotics in Plautdietsch. Apart from vocalic rhotics only occurring syllable- or word-finally, bunched and tap rhotics can occur in any position: as the onset, intervocalically or as the coda.

It seems that the two outliers of the /r/ inventory [r] (trill) and [ʁ] (velar) are direct results of language contact. The velar rhotic only appears twice, directly after the velar fricative /x/; a combination which is common in High German. For instance, one of the velar rhotics appears in the word [xʁaft], which, according to Koehler and Koehler (2013), should be pronounced [krɔuft]. Participant 2, who produced both of the velar rhotics, is a pastor who speaks High German. The High German cognate for this word is 'kraft' [kʁaft]. It is likely that this participant, having velar rhotics in his repertoire, produces a velar rhotic in consonant clusters, directly following another velar consonant. There are no other instances where this speaker produces a consonant cluster with a velar stop or fricative. Speaker 1 produces the consonant cluster /kr/ twice, but he alternates between the tap and bunched rhotic allophones in his productions.

Likewise, the trill rhotic is used nearly as infrequently as the velar rhotic. Two out of the four instances were words borrowed from or addressing Spanish (ranchero) and Russian (Russlaunt), languages both of which have trilled rhotics in their consonant inventories. The reasoning for the other two instances is unclear, but both occur at the word onset, which correlates with the other instances of trilled rhotics (save the Spanish code-switch /buro/ 'donkey').

Table 4 displays the total number of rhotics among words borrowed from English and Spanish. Referring back to Table 3, we see that even though instances of these rhotics are found at both syllable onsets as well as codas, the numbers demonstrate that taps have a higher tendency of appearing as an onset or intervocalically. Contrarily, the bunched rhotics have a higher tendency to surface as codas. These tendencies correlate with the locations of rhotics in the borrowed words. The words which I labeled "unclear" could come from either English or Northern Mexico (where it is common for English words to be borrowed into Spanish). None of the vocalic rhotic instances occurred in words that were borrowings from English or Spanish.

Table 5 shows the distribution of rhotics among lexical items borrowed from English and Spanish. It demonstrates a tendency for rhotics to appear in certain locations in borrowed terms depending on the term's source language. This could provide useful support when determining through

TABLE 6: NUMBER AND PLACE OF [v], [w], AND [ʋ] TOKENS

Tokens	Onset	Complex Onset	Intervocalic	Total
[v]	324	1	27	352 (71%)
[w]	119	5	1	125 (25%)
[ʋ]	18	0	3	21 (4%)

TABLE 7: NUMBER AND PLACE OF [v], [w], AND [ʋ] TOKENS

Plautdietsch	[v]	[w]	[ʋ]	Total
<wie> 'we'	101 (88%)	12 (10%)	2 (2%)	115
<waut> 'what'	35 (42%)	49 (59%)	2 (2%)	86
<wuat> 'word'	28 (73%)	9 (24%)	1 (3%)	38

which language a word entered Plautdietsch. This will be explored more in a later discussion about the source of the Plautdietsch word Restaraunt.

Additionally, it must be noted that some of the tap tokens may actually be allophonic with alveolar stops. We can see this in words like 'Canada' and 'soda', where taps are used in lieu of stops. In counting tap tokens, underlying phonemes are not distinguished. Apart from 'Canada' and 'soda', no other taps were found that appeared to be underlyingly /d/s. It is possible that there are more, but further analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

Vs AND Ws

"Psycholinguistics experiments indicate that bilingual speakers store close together words from the two languages which they speak if those words are similar in form or meaning" (Dijkstra 2003, 2008; Smits et al. 2006, 2009 as cited in Versloot and Hoekstra 2016, 1223). Versloot and Hoekstra elaborate on this by asserting that items that "are similar in form and meaning are stored even closer together,…"(2016, 1224) and that when the languages involved are genetic relatives, the likeli-hood and number of tokens borrowed is much greater. This also seems to be the case for borrowing of sounds, especially the sounds [v], [w], and [ʋ] in Plautdietsch

The transcription process revealed an unexpected number of labio-velar approximants, or /w/s. This seemed odd due to the lack of this sound in German and Plautdietsch according to Cox (2015). The instances of /w/ as well as /v/, the phoneme expected in place of /w/, were flagged and discovered to be in allophonic variation with /v/. There were also a few allophonic occurrences of a voiced labiodental approximant ([ʋ]). Table 6 charts the number of occurrences of each sound ([v], [w], and [ʋ]). This table shows that the majority of these tokens surfaced as simple onsets and that the majority were [v], which is the underlying phoneme. What is surprising is the percentage of [w]s. A quarter of all of the tokens is a sound that was not expected to be found in Plautdietsch at all. This illustrates that the consonant inventory of Plautdietsch has been influenced by prolonged contact with English.

Table 7 explores three words which surfaced with each of the allophones. It presents data on

three cognate pairs in Plautdietsch and English. These cognate pairs (wie/we; waut/what; wuat/word) contrast by their initial sounds ([v], [w] and [ʊ]). Orthographic representations for Plautdietsch are provided in Table 7 to show their similarities. As seen in this table, the majority of the lexical items for "we" and "word" are produced with a labiodental fricative [v]. Even though both items have close cognates in English, they belong to lexical categories which are not easily borrowed. Pronouns are high frequency tokens and are rarely borrowed. Likewise, "word" is a common, relatively high frequency token. It is more likely to be borrowed than a pronoun, but is still unlikely to be borrowed. The fact that "what" is a discourse marker, and, as previously addressed, is from a category from which Plautdietsch regularly borrows English terms, could explain why there is a higher percentage of this word surfacing with [w] than with [v]. These words do not appear to be borrowed, but rather it appears that the phoneme of the English cognate counterpart is used in free variation with the phoneme of the Plautdietsch cognate counterpart. It is notable, however, that the sound /w/ also appears in other words which have English cognate counterparts, but that are not minimal pairs like those in Table 7. According to my data, the [w] allophone is never used for words that have no English counterpart. Even a word which I transcribed as [ˈwatəɾa] is likely the word Wotarua which means "water pipe" or "water hose". In other words, it is still similar to an English word in form and meaning, that is "water".

Furthermore, one of the speakers demonstrated that he knows that these two sounds (/v/ and /w/) are phonemically distinct in English by producing "He was going very fast" and "that means that he was very fast". This speaker, however, regularly uses these sounds in free allophonic variation when speaking Plautdietsch. This suggests that prolonged contact with English could be resulting in the addition of [w] and [ʊ] as allophones of /v/. It remains to be seen whether this variation will spread to other words in Plautdietsch which are not borrowed from English.

LEXICAL BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH AND SPANISH

A variety of lexical borrowings are found throughout the data collected in Seminole, Texas on Plautdietsch. Data collection procedures were designed to find lexical items that had been borrowed as a result of adaptation to new surroundings. Words in categories such as agriculture, food, and culture (of the new communities with which they came into contact) were expected. Contrary to these expectations, many of the lexical items borrowed from English turned out to be discourse markers.

Goss and Salmons (2000) discuss a possible reasoning for the ease of pragmatic detachability of discourse markers:

> At the same time, they are high-frequency items in natural discourse and they occur in particularly salient positions, motivating possible borrowing on social grounds alone. This puts them at a natural seam between mundane lexical borrowing (loaning of content morphemes) and less common structural interference (loaning of system morphemes) (p. 482).

According to Matras (1998, as cited in Fuller 2001), the pragmatic detachability hierarchy essentially claims that operational/non-lexical items are higher on the hierarchy and therefore easier to borrow than lexical/content-oriented items. Matras also claims that "the donor language is pragmatically dominant, and that this brings about the borrowing of the entire discourse-marking system…" (Matras 1998, as cited in Fuller 2001, 352). Fuller (2001) attests:

> The German-origin DMs [discourse markers] that persist in these PG [Pennsylvania German] data are vestiges of a former discourse-marking system. They are all low on the pragmatic-detachability scale, indicating that not only does pragmatic detachability lead to early borrowing, but it also may lead to early loss of a DM from the recipient language in a language-contact situation (p. 367).

The data collected in Seminole seems to correlate with this observation about Pennsylvania German. The English discourse markers that appeared were much more varied than the ones in Plautdietsch (English 15, Plautdietsch 8).

However, the number of Plautdietsch tokens total outweighed the number of English tokens (English 23, Plautdietsch 32).

Boas and Weilbacher (2007) discuss the function of "you know" in Texas German as a discourse marker. There were no instances of "you know" found in the Seminole data set. Alternatively, the English word "see" is used as a discourse marker of a similar nature to "you know" in the Seminole data. It is used to mark the start of a clarification, as well as, to mark introspection, qualities which Boas and Weilbacher (2007) claim make the discourse marking use of "you know" pragmatically detachable.

Lexical items are not only borrowed from one category, though. Some Mennonites colonies in Bolivia that descended from the colonies in Mexico obtain most of the borrowed Spanish inventory from the following lexical categories: Civil society and goods; Natural environment; Discourse; Other (Cox 2015). In the Seminole data, the main category from which Spanish words are borrowed is food. There are very few tokens from other categories. This difference seems to correlate with the community in Seminole having been in contact with Spanish for a shorter period of time. Cox (2015) comments that the borrowings from Spanish are relatively scarce when compared to how long the groups in Bolivia have been in contact with Spanish; almost 100 years at the time the article was published. In contrast, the items borrowed from English, for these same groups of speakers, come from a wider variety of lexical categories: food and drink; Civil society and goods; Tools and technologies; Vehicles and transportation; Electricity; Other (Cox 2015).

> With transportation, linguistic influence extends as much to technologies outside of the traditional order of Old Colony society (jet "jet", airplane, Helikopta "helicopter") as to accepted agricultural implements (Trakta "tractor". Trock "truck", Träla "trailer", and even preferred modes of local transportation (Bogge "buggy", Top "top, cover (of a buggy)", Baks "box (of a buggy)"). With electricity, by comparison, a technology whose accepted patterns of use remain a matter of contention in some Bolivian Old Colony settlements, English borrowings cover a range of associated technologies and actions… (Cox 2015, p. 62)

While these trends do appear in the data from Seminole, I question whether it can be said for certain that these words entered Plautdietsch through English. It is very common for words to be borrowed from English into Spanish. Jet, helicopter, truck and trailer all have close cognate pairs in Spanish and are all items that these speaking groups encountered after leaving Canada in the 1920s. (The terms buggy and box were certainly items that they encountered before leaving Canada.) Terms that seem to be from English, that are used for technologies that emerged after the 1920s, could actually be borrowed via Spanish. The words jet and helicopter are both attested in Spanish as early as 1946 (Real Academia Española n.d.). A closer look at such words used in a variety of speech islands in this archipelago would be needed to determine whether these terms are borrowed directly from English, or if they are borrowed through Spanish.

Results

The borrowed lexicon that was found in the collected data is consistent with the historical migration path of this group of speakers. Though finding Spanish borrowings was the initial goal of this research, the majority of the borrowings turned out to be from English, the language with which they have had a longer, combined amount of contact (in Canada and Texas). Table 8 shows the lexical categories of borrowed words from English and Spanish.

The lexicon borrowed from English pertains to a bigger variety of lexical categories: agriculture, machinery, careers, food, and discourse markers. The majority of the lexicon borrowed from Spanish pertain to the lexical category, food. In both English and Spanish there are many lexical items borrowed for types of food. These borrowings were expected due to the nature of introduction to new foods with movement from region to region. Other borrowed lexical items, though fewer, also came from categories associated with adjusting to new cultures and environments, such as agriculture and societal norms. Unexpectedly, many of the borrowings from English were discourse markers. Due to the lack of naturalization into Plautdietsch, it would seem that many of the adoptions of discourse markers from English are relatively new. This suggests that said discourse

TABLE 8: LEXICAL CATEGORIES OF BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH AND SPANISH

English		Spanish	
Lexical Category	**#**	**Lexical Category**	**#**
Discourse markers	21	Discourse markers	2
Food	17	Food	16
Agriculture	7	Fauna	4
Man-made products	7	Miscellaneous	4
Careers	5		
Comparative adjectives	3		
Miscellaneous	6		

markers were borrowed more recently, since being in contact with English in Texas rather than in Canada.

There are a few borrowed lexical items whose source languages were more difficult to identify. It is common for English lexical items to be borrowed into Spanish in Northern Mexico, where this community was located before moving to Seminole, Texas. By comparing the phonetic transcriptions of these tokens from my data with the pronunciation of the words in Spanish and English, I postulate the source languages for the tokens in Table 9.

For lexical items that have cognates in High German, English and/or Spanish, I investigated their etymological timelines to decipher from which language they are borrowed. For example, 'restaurant' did not exist as a German word until this community was already in Canada and about to move to Mexico (Pfeifer et al. 1993). This method was also used for words like 'truck', 'plastic', 'soda' and 'bakery'.

The decision to postulate that English is the source language for "restaraunt" ('restaurant') in Table 9 is based on the presence of a schwa rather than a diphthong in [ˈræstəˌrɔnt zʊp] and dropping of that same syllable in the second token (as is common in many American dialects) suggests English as the source language. Table 5 supports the theory that the word for "restaurant" was borrowed from Spanish, as out of the four instances of rhotics, all, onsets and intervocalic, were produced as taps ([ˈrɛstəˌrɔntʰ]/[ˈræstəˌrɔnt]). Depending on the speaker, however, the lexical stress correlates with English, and the word came into the English language when this community's' forefathers were still in Canada. Therefore, it seems most

likely that the source language for "restaraunt" is English. Comparing etymological timelines, phonetic differences and lexical stress has been useful to solving the mystery of the borrowing origins for many of these items.

The majority of the borrowed lexicon from Spanish is food-related, while English has lexicon from a bigger variety of lexical categories. When this community was in Mexico, they maintained their previous way of living. Therefore, they did not need to borrow many new lexical terms from the Spanish-speaking community. In fact, it is possible that the majority of the words borrowed from Spanish were in fact borrowed since the community's relocation to Texas. Mexican food is very common in Texas and during recent field research, multiple Mennonite families were observed dining in a Mexican restaurant. The community that relocated to Texas and the community that remains in Canada are more progressive in their lifestyles and therefore borrow English terms that help describe that lifestyle. Eating Mexican dishes is part of that lifestyle in Texas. This does not necessarily mean, however, that food terms were borrowed from Spanish through English. The aforementioned Mexican restaurant had a Spanish-speaking staff, and according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2018), 47% of the population of Seminole is Hispanic or Latino.

Discussion

When comparing the data collected from members of the Mexican-descended Mennonite community in Seminole with that of data from the Mexican descended-Mennonites in Bolivia, one clear difference appears. Cox (2015) lists the lexi-

TABLE 9: SOURCE LANGUAGES FOR BORROWED TOKENS IN PLAUTDIETSCH

Speaker	Plautdietsch	English	Spanish	SL
2	['lontʃes]	/lʌntʃ/ <lunches>	/'lontʃes/ <lonches>	Spanish
1, 2	['ræstəˌrɔnt] ['rɛstrɔnz]	/'rɛstəɹant/ /'rɛstɹant/ <restaurant>	/rɛstaʊ'rante/ <restaurante>	English
1, 2, 3	[trak]	/tɹʌk/ <truck>	/'troka/ <troca>	Unclear
1	[aβo'katos]	/ɑvə'kɑdoz/ <avocados>	/aɣʊa'kate/ <aguacate>	English
1	[aβo'kate]	/ɑvə'kɑdoz/ <avocados>	/aɣʊa'kate/ <aguacate>	Spanish
1	['plæstɪk]	/'plæstɪk/ <plastic>	/'plastiko/ <plástico>	English
1	['sɛda] ['sɛɾə]	/'sodə/ <soda>	/'soda/ <soda>	English

cal categories from which English words are borrowed in Bolivia as food and drink; Civil society and goods; Tools and technologies; Vehicles and transportation; Electricity; Other. He does not list Discourse Markers as one of the categories from which English words are borrowed. This begs the question why it is that speech islands in the same archipelago borrow from different lexical categories and demonstrates that the languages with which Plautdietsch is in contact do not alone determine what kinds of effects Plautdietsch will experience. Other factors, outside of language, play a significant role in these changes.

The language ideologies of this community throughout its history of migration have had strong effects on the nature of the contact they have had with other languages. The more conservative their linguistic ideology is, the smaller the variety of lexical categories from which they borrow new lexical items is. When they are more progressive, as in Canada and Seminole, they seem to borrow from a wider variety of lexical categories. I believe this is the reason why I have found a much larger and more varied set of items borrowed from English than from Spanish.

In addition to language ideologies, the social conditions of the community affects who (age, gender, etc.) will even experience such language contact effects. In my attempt to find people who had grown up in Mexico and learned to speak Spanish there, I was always directed toward men over the age of 50. In Seminole, it is not uncommon for Mennonite women to have jobs that involve them being in contact with the outside, English-speaking community. However, in Mexico, where many of the older generation grew up, it was uncommon for women to have such jobs. The reason the men were all older is that the majority of this community migrated to Seminole in the 1970s.

As previously discussed, discourse markers are predisposed to being borrowed depending on how high they are on the pragmatic detachability hierarchy, or in other words, how much lexical information they carry. The less lexical and semantic information that they carry, the more likely it is that they will be borrowed. Fuller (2001) claims that whole discourse marking systems can be borrowed. In the case of Plautdietsch in Seminole, it seems that this borrowing process is still in transition. There is also the possibility that they now use a mixed system. This could be argued based on the fact that the majority of the discourse markers in English and Plautdietsch serve different pragmatic functions (Fuller 2001). However, based on the English-based phonetic usage, or lack of naturalization, of the borrowed items, I would postulate that the system is still in transition. Additionally, the discourse marker "yeah" is used in free variation between Plautdietsch and English among the participants in this study. Therefore it cannot de-

finitively be said that there is a clear distinction between the pragmatic functions of English and Plautdietsch discourse markers.

CONCLUSION

Duration of contact is not the sole factor in whether a language will undergo change due to contact with another language. Based on the data provided by the three participants that took part in this study and the linguistic and cultural history of this particular branch of the Mennonite archipelago, some conclusions can be made. The extent of how much is borrowed from the language with which they are in contact depends noticeably on two factors: how culturally progressive or conservative the community is and how extensive their contact and involvement with the outside (in this case English- or Spanish-speaking) community is. These communities were more conservative in Mexico. They maintained their traditional lifestyle, did not interact as much with the Mexican community, and do not seem to have borrowed a great many words from their time in contact with Spanish. Since being in Seminole, they have adopted a more progressive culture and have become more involved with the non-Mennonite community of Seminole. There are still members of the community who follow tradition in how they dress and whether they learn English, but overall, there seems to be more tolerance among the community for choosing a more modern lifestyle (use of English, modern technology, store-bought clothes, etc.).

Moreover, we can see from this data that a tap can act as an allophone for alveolar stops as well as rhotics within the same language. This is likely a change in progress which could lead to further rhotic allophone adjustment. This remains to be seen. With reference to [v] and [w], it seems possible that a new allophone is currently being adopted into Plautdietsch due to contact with English. There are an extensive number of cognates similar enough in form and meaning that they are using [v] and [w] in free variation when using these words in spoken Plautdietsch. This could provide insight into a couple of different outcomes of this shift. It could indicate that [w] will eventually be applied to words that do not have English counterparts; a full adoption of [w] into Plautdietsch. Alternatively, it could demonstrate a step in the attrition of Plautdietsch in Seminole caused by interference from English.

Even though the sample size here is very small, we can clearly see three influences from contact with English and Spanish that are worthy of further investigation. One, there has been obvious sound change motivated by language contact which reflects which language brought about the change. The data shows consistency among borrowed words that contain rhotics. As seen in Table 5, all of the borrowings that are clearly from Spanish have tap rhotics while all of the borrowings that are clearly from English have bunched rhotics. That said, rhotics are fickle. There are tendencies for each of the rhotic allophones, but there are so many exceptions that they can be called only that, tendencies. There is also sound change consistency in these data among words where /w/s are used. All of the words in this data that are pronounced with [w] have cognates close in form and meaning in English. This suggests that the addition of [w] as an allophone of /v/ is a direct result of contact with English. This is a case of new allophones being adopted into a language as a result of contact between familial cognates which are nearly identical in meaning and form.

Two, the Plautdietsch spoken in Seminole supports the theory that discourse marking systems are easily influenced and altered by language contact situations. This data shows a wider variety of English discourse markers than Plautdietsch discourse markers, but a higher total count of Plautdietsch tokens. It is clear by this contrast, that the discourse marking system for Plautdietsch is highly influenced by contact with English.

Three, socio-cultural factors are important to the degree by which language changes and is maintained. How open a community is to societal change parallels how open they are to language change. The migrations from Prussia all the way to Mexico were motivated by the communities' will to keep a separation between themselves and outside societies. They maintained their traditional ways and avoided outside influence on their society and language. The group that moved to Seminole is more open to change. This is reflected in their language practices.

The conservative culture in the Old Colony Mennonite communities over the years has aided in the maintenance of Plautdietsch. The lack of institutional support, however, has left it open to

change. New, progressive outlooks and the shift towards Plautdietsch being adopted into churches can give Plautdietsch the support it needs to stabilize. This could be a shift to Plautdietsch becoming the language of the church while English becomes the everyday language. This same progressiveness could be leading to attrition as a result of the increased openness towards the outside, non-Plautdietsch-speaking communities. An important component of language maintenance is children continuing to learn the language as their mother tongue. Furthermore, a language has a higher likelihood of maintenance when it is used in multiple domains (e.g. home life and church). The connection between language and Mennonite identity could prove strong enough to continue the maintenance of Plautdietsch for this community, given the children continue learning and being exposed to it outside of just the church. This paradox between language maintenance and attrition for Mennonite Plautdietsch in Seminole, Texas is yet to be resolved. Suffice to say, further research into these topics, with more participants and from a variety of Plautdietsch speech islands, would provide clearer insights as to the directionality of these shifts.

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