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Berne, Indiana Swiss German: Lessons Learned From A Small-Scale Documentation Project

Gretta Yoder Owen

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BERNE, INDIANA SWISS GERMAN: 
LESSONS LEARNED FROM A SMALL-SCALE DOCUMENTATION PROJECT 

by 

Gretta Yoder Owen  
Bachelor of Science, Huntington University, 2003 

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty 

of the 

University of North Dakota 

in partial fulfillment of the requirements 

for the degree of 

Master of Arts 

Grand Forks, North Dakota 

August 

2010
This thesis, submitted by Gretta Yoder Owen in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

J. Albert Bickford
Chair

Steve Parker

Mark E. 

This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

Joseph N. Benol
Dean of the Graduate School

August 10, 2010
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Documentation Project

Department Linguistics

Degree Master of Arts

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Date August 4, 2010
TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES...................................................................................................................... vii
LIST OF TABLES....................................................................................................................... viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.............................................................................................................. x
ABSTRACT................................................................................................................................. xii

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION................................................................................................................... 1

1.1 Purpose of this Project...................................................................................................... 1

1.2 Historical, Geographical, and Linguistic Background...................................................... 4

1.2.1 Origins of Anabaptists in Canton Bern....................................................................... 5

1.2.2 Religious Beliefs and Resulting Persecution.............................................................. 7

1.2.3 Swiss Mennonite Migration to the United States....................................................... 8

1.3 Past Patterns of Language Use........................................................................................ 12

1.4 Linguistic Situation Today.............................................................................................. 18

1.5 Berne Schwyzerdüütsch in the Literature........................................................................ 19

II. PROJECT GOALS AND DESIGN...................................................................................... 21

2.1 Goals for Berne Language Documentation Project......................................................... 21

2.1.1 What does remain of the language?............................................................................. 23

2.1.2 What will be the means of “capturing” the language? .............................................. 24

2.1.3 How will recorded samples of the language be preserved? ....................................... 27

2.1.4 In what format(s) should the data be presented to the community?.......................... 28
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.2 A Historical and Cultural Portrait</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Common Themes Throughout Interviews</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Food Production and Preparation</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2 Faith and Religion</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. OVERCOMING OBSTACLES TO DOCUMENTATION</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Finding Fluent Speakers of a Dying Language</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1 Interviewing Multiple Participants Together</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2 Demographic Information Collected from Participants</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Encouraging Community Involvement</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Focusing on Community Values</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Working with an Elderly Population</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Balancing the Ideal Versus the Possible</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Summary</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Community Interest in Documentation</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Areas for Further Research</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Value of Language Documentation</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A Swiss Language Documentation Questionnaire</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B Wenker Sentences – Standard German with English Translations</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C Overview of Corpus Excerpts Included on CD</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D Selected Annotations from the Corpus</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E Overview of Material Included in the Corpus</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF FIGURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Swiss Mennonite Communities in Indiana and Ohio</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Origin of Mennonite Communities in Switzerland</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Language of Sunday School Quarterlies Over a 30-Year Period</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table | Page
--- | ---
1. Preview of Material Included in Corpus | 2
2. Swiss Word Difficult to Directly Translate into English | 2
3. Four Research Models for Linguistic Fieldwork
   Based on Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) and Cameron et al. (1992) | 35
5. Consonants and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription | 56
7. Approximants and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription | 57
9. Vowels and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription | 59
10. Standard German Verbs with Unstressed /a/ in Final Position | 60
11. Berne Swiss Words with Unstressed /a/ in Final Position | 60
12. Orthographic Comparison of /e/ and /a/ | 61
13. Orthographic Transcription of [i] Preceding [r] | 61
15. Vowel Glides and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription | 62
16. Consonant Doubling to Avoid Confusion with English Words | 63
17. Overview of Material in Corpus | 65
18. Swiss Words Difficult to Directly Translate into English | 75
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experience. His editorial skills, support, and patience have made this thesis possible. Finally, I
thank my heavenly Father, who began this idea in my mind in Summer 2006 and has helped me
carry it to completion.
DEDICATION

For Gareth.

This is your heritage; these are your roots.
ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a case study of a small-scale language documentation project carried out in Berne, Indiana. The goal of this project was to capture, through audio recording, samples of the Swiss German language that could be presented to the Berne community and preserved for future use. As much as possible, this project was carried out according to best practices for language documentation, so that the data will be accessible to the academic community for further research after there are no more living speakers of the Berne, Indiana Swiss dialect.

The history of the Swiss Mennonites who settled the Berne, Indiana, area is presented, situating the dialect geographically, historically, and linguistically. An assessment of past and present patterns of language use within the community suggests that the time for documentation is now, while there are still a few remaining speakers of the language. Project goals and design are presented, along with four models of linguistic field work, arguing that it is possible to work within several of these models simultaneously in order to conduct a project that focuses on community values, even under less than ideal circumstances. Methodology for collecting, organizing, and archiving the data is discussed, evaluating effectiveness and suggesting changes for future work. An assessment of the data collected, in light of sociolinguistic issues related to language shift, shows that through language documentation valuable insights into the culture of a community can be gained. Obstacles encountered during the documentation project are discussed so that researchers working on similar projects in the future can benefit from lessons
learned in this project. Finally, this thesis concludes by discussing potential benefits of this project for both the Berne community and the academic community.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Berne, Indiana, is a small town in the northeastern part of the state and home to the
descendants of Swiss Mennonite immigrants who settled the area in the late 19th and early 20th
centuries. Those immigrants brought their Swiss German dialect with them, and it has been
maintained in this community into the 21st century. Now as the remaining speakers reach their
80s and 90s, this particular immigrant dialect is on the verge of disappearing. This thesis
explores the linguistic situation in Berne, Indiana, through a case study of a language
documentation project carried out there between May 2009 and May 2010.¹

1.1 Purpose of this Project

Language documentation has become an increasingly popular and practiced area of study
over the past decade. As technology continues to change and provide new ways for acquiring,
analyzing, storing, and sharing data, linguists are looking for ways these advances can enhance
their work. While the ideas and information on how and why language documentation should be
done comprise an ever-growing body of literature, it is nonetheless difficult to find examples of
how and why documentation has been done in particular communities, especially on a small
scale.

¹The majority of the language data for the corpus of this documentation was collected from recorded
interviews during May-June 2009, August 2009, March 2010, and May 2010. The data was collected under
IRB Project #IRB-200905-354.
This thesis presents a case study of a small-scale language documentation project carried out in Berne, Indiana. The goal of this documentation project was to capture, through audio recording, samples of the language that could be presented to the Berne community and preserved for future use. The table below shows a preview of the type of data collected in this project. An overview of the corpus is given in Table 17 in section 3.4; a full description of the corpus is given in Appendix E.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>hh:mm</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conversation</td>
<td>01:24</td>
<td>Responding to an English question or prompt by answering with several sentences in Swiss; conversing with one another primarily in Swiss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monologue</td>
<td>01:09</td>
<td>Completely or nearly completely Swiss speech with one primary speaker and occasional comments or interruptions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Preview of Material Included in Corpus

This project made it possible to record valuable cultural information about the Berne Swiss community such as the word in the following table, which is used in the local Swiss German dialect but does not translate directly into English. More of these words are given in Table 18 in section 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Orthographic Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ftorm</td>
<td>schturm</td>
<td>1) “storm,” part of the name for a local dish made with strawberries 2) joking, talking to pass time about nothing particularly meaningful</td>
<td>&quot;Dahs isch aech baut nuk schtiermet.&quot; 'That is about enough schturning.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Swiss Word Difficult to Directly Translate into English
Printed annotations of free translations and transcriptions of texts, conversations, word lists, and other speech samples that were recorded for this project are given in Appendix D. Below is an example of a conversation that followed a humorous local story told by one of the participants.

(1) LN:  *Kop sibiet nahnger gahnge sie dahs vis soh mier nit.*

'If they went together again, we don't know.'

CN:  *No, vaez nit geps.*

'No, we don't know.'

LN:  *Vents vier ver sie det sagge "Gahng noh mie wot nit hahs doo dar ohn bisch!"*

'But if that happened to me, I would tell him, “You be on your way!”’

Language documentation allows a researcher to record examples like this in such a way that the language data can be made available to the academic community for further research, even after the language can no longer be studied through living speakers. The purpose of this thesis is to provide a glimpse of technical as well as relational components that are part of documentation work in a dying language.

Language documentation is not only about the technology linguists use to record, preserve, and manipulate language data. It is also about the people and process involved in the research. Czaykowska-Higgins (2009:29) says “research is not conducted in a social, political, or cultural vacuum.” Collecting and preserving data is important; equally important are the issues that arise when working with an elderly population who has seen a great deal of change in their lifetime, not the least of which is the gradual loss of their mother tongue. Language documentation is a unique opportunity to honor these people, preserving their heritage for future generations.
Chapter 1 presents a brief history of the Swiss Mennonites who settled the Berne, Indiana, area, situating the local dialect geographically, historically, and linguistically. Following that is a discussion of historical patterns of language use within the community, an assessment of the current linguistic situation, and a review of previous studies of the Berne Swiss German dialect in the literature. Chapter 2 covers project goals and provides a rationale for decisions that influenced how this project was designed and carried out. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used during interview sessions with native speakers, as well as the methodology followed for organizing and archiving the data. Chapter 4 explores sociolinguistic issues connected with language shift in the Berne Swiss speaking community. Chapter 5 discusses obstacles encountered during the documentation project that could potentially arise in other similar projects. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses the implications of this project for both the Berne community and the academic community.

1.2 Historical, Geographical, and Linguistic Background

An examination of the history of the Berne Swiss community shows that the people who came to the Berne, Indiana, area had already been a unique ethnic group in Europe for hundreds of years prior to their immigration to the United States. In contrast to other immigrants who left a home country, settling in ethnic communities once they arrived in the United States, the ancestors of the Berne Swiss speakers formed a distinct group long before they left Switzerland.2 Over time, this became an ethnolinguistic group, as their language became an additional part of their identity. For this reason, it is best to study them as an ethnolinguistic group with a shared

---

2 Enninger traces the development of specific linguistic markers of Anabaptist ethnicity over a period of 400 years. He defines ethnicity broadly as “an open set of traits such as shared and distinctive values, common ancestry, a collective consciousness and a self-perception as being different from others” (1991:23).
history, rather than as a collection of people who were drawn together because of a common language. The majority of the people comprising this group had left Europe by the end of the 19th century; therefore, it makes sense to study the dialect of the people from this group who maintained it in the United States. Finally, an understanding of their unique religious and political history is important; it is both because of and in spite of that history that they were able to maintain their dialect for as long as they did.

1.2.1 Origins of Anabaptists in Canton Bern

The origin of the Mennonites who first settled in Berne, Indiana, can be traced to Canton Bern, Switzerland. Historical documents dating as early as 1525 confirm the presence of Anabaptist groups in most German speaking lands throughout Europe. How that group came to be in the Bernese territory is somewhat uncertain. One view, commonly accepted by modern Anabaptists still living in Canton Bern, is that the Anabaptist movement grew out of the Waldensian movement, which had been in the Bernese territory since the 13th century (Gratz 1953:1-5). The Waldensians' religious beliefs aligned more closely to those of early church reformers such as Martin Luther than to later Anabaptist reformers. The Waldensians, like the Anabaptists, were considered by the Catholic Church to be a heretical group, and an inquisition against them began in 1399.

3 During the time these people were living in Europe, they were known as Anabaptists. Once they arrived in America, they became known as either Mennonites, Amish, or Hutterites depending on their particular religious beliefs and church membership. The term Mennonite came to be used for people who aligned themselves with the teachings of a particular Dutch Anabaptist leader of that time, Menno Simons.

4 Gratz writes, "For several centuries Bern was organized as a city-state. The government was most commonly referred to as the Stadt Bern." The term canton came to refer to the Bernese government and territory in the mid 1700s, but was not in common use until the 19th century (Gratz 1953:1).
A second view, which is popular among American Mennonite historians, is that the early Anabaptist movement arose during the time of the Protestant Reformation in Germany (Gratz 1953:5). Conrad Grebel and Ulrich Zwingli were leaders of the reformation of the Catholic Church in Switzerland. Zwingli and Grebel eventually parted ways, as Grebel and his followers believed that the reformation had not gone far enough in certain respects. The unique beliefs of Grebel and his followers became central to Anabaptist beliefs later on. Grebel joined with Felix Manz, breaking from Zwingli in 1524. In 1525 he formed a separate group which became known as the Anabaptists (Gratz 1953:5-6).

According to Gratz, there were two strains of Anabaptism present in the Bernese territories at the time of the Reformation. The first, in the Bernese cities, was influenced by Anabaptist movements in other cities such as Zurich. The second strain, in the rural areas, is the one that persists to this day and the one to which the Swiss settlers who eventually migrated to America trace their origin (Gratz 1953:6-7).

1.2.2 Religious Beliefs and Resulting Persecution

The radical religious beliefs of the Anabaptists prompted persecution and eventually migration, first to the Jura mountains, a French speaking area of Switzerland, and later to America. Because they retained their spoken Swiss dialect for informal communication, and the High German dialect for written communication and religious practices in non-German speaking

---

5For a more complete history of the Bernese Anabaptists, I refer the reader to Gratz (1953) and Weaver (1990). Gratz follows the Anabaptist movement in the Bernese territory in detail from the sixteenth through the twentieth century, including their migration throughout Europe and eventually to the settlements in North America. Weaver's summary, while less detailed, provides a good overview of Swiss Anabaptist history, including the Bernese Anabaptists.
areas, this eventually led to them becoming not just a unique ethnic group, but a unique ethnolinguistic group as well.

The term Anabaptist means literally, “re-baptizer.” The name was given to describe their practice of re-baptizing adults who had been baptized in the Catholic or Reformed Church as infants. This practice was motivated by an understanding of baptism which conflicted with the Catholic and Reformed Church at the time. Both churches practiced infant baptism, but Anabaptists believed that the Bible teaches that baptism should be for believers in Christ who make a conscious decision to follow Christ and join the church. Because an infant is incapable of making this decision, they believed that infants should not be baptized.

While this is what they became known for in name, Jensen suggests that it was actually their belief in separation of church and state, refusal to participate in war, take oaths, or hold state or government offices that made them a target of religious persecution during the 16th and 17th centuries. Religious leaders in the Catholic and Reformed Churches saw these beliefs as problematic because they undermined the current system, which tied Church membership to citizenship in the state and service in the military. If a movement like this were allowed to continue, secular and religious leaders alike feared a complete upset of political and social structure in the Church and society (Jensen 1981:89).

The State Church continually tried to squelch the movement, but the Anabaptists grew numerically despite public executions, banishment from their land, imprisonment, and other punishments such as being sold as slaves to Venetian galleys. Laws were made prohibiting those who were married or baptized outside the State Church from owning or inheriting land. During these early years of oppression, the Emmental region of Switzerland became known as a haven

---

6Reformed Church here refers to the Zwinglian Reformed State Church, which was the official church of Switzerland after the Catholic Church ceased to be.
for the Anabaptists. The mountainous terrain provided a way for them to evade the police and persecutions that were being carried out against them. The Anabaptist movement in the urban areas of Zurich and Bern lasted into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but was eventually exterminated. In the rural mountainous areas, however, the Anabaptist movement was able to continue despite three hundred years of opposition and persecution (Gratz 1953:29). In the early 1700s, the Bernese government organized a commission to handle “all Anabaptist matters.” The Bernese government and Church leaders renewed and concentrated their efforts to rid Bernese territory, including the Emmental, of all Anabaptists. They deported some Anabaptists to Holland and the Palatinate, and many migrated to the Jura Mountains of Switzerland (Gratz 1953:52). This was predominantly a French-speaking territory, but they retained their Swiss German dialect, perhaps partially because they were never permitted nor did they desire to fully integrate into society there (Wenger 1969:11).

1.2.3 Swiss Mennonite Migration to the United States

Life continued to be difficult for the Anabaptists living in these areas during the 18th and 19th centuries. Even after the most severe of the religious persecution ended, it was very difficult for many families economically. They were not permitted to own land and farming was not very productive due to the terrain. After the famine years of 1816 and 1817, many began emigrating to America. Letters from friends and relatives who had settled in America promised plentiful and productive farmland and religious freedom. There were five major waves of Anabaptist migrations between the early 1700s to the late 1800s (Weaver 1990:94-96; Humpa 1996:19-20).

7The Palatinate was a province of southwest Germany, located on both sides of the Rhine River. The land had been devastated by the Thirty Years War, and in 1664 Elector Karl Ludwig invited people facing persecution in Switzerland and France to populate the land and restore its productivity. According to Weaver, many Anabaptists chose to go to the Palatinate (Weaver 1990:76). Gratz's account suggests that some were forced to go.
The Swiss Mennonites who eventually settled in Berne, Indiana, were part of the third major wave, between 1820 and 1875, which involved as many as 500 Swiss Mennonites, primarily from the Jura mountains, who settled mostly in Ohio and Indiana.\(^8\) The total of the five Anabaptist migrations was approximately 8,000 (Weaver 1990:96). By the mid-nineteenth century, there were actually more Anabaptists of Swiss descent in North America than in Switzerland (Wenger 1969:10).

Swiss Mennonite families first came to Ohio and Indiana in the early 1800s. The first settlement was in Wayne County, Ohio, with four families arriving in the area in 1819. Following this, Swiss families began settling in Putnam and Allen Counties in Ohio in 1833, and in 1838 a Swiss family moved to the Adams County, Indiana, area. As Swiss Mennonites continued to be attracted to the area by letters from friends and relatives, the communities grew and became known as Sonnebärg, Potnam, and Bärn to the Swiss settlers. Those communities correspond to present-day Kidron, Ohio, Pandora and Bluffton, Ohio, and Berne, Indiana, pictured on the map below (Wenger 1969:5-6).

A variety of Penner (1969:10), but religious

\(^8\)Penner (1969:10) from the Jura or t
records a total of 5,000 years. This discrepancy may be accounted for if Smith's count includes the fourth and fifth migrations (300 and 400) mentioned separately in Humpa.
for the Ohio and Indiana communities was 1852, when a group of eighty Mennonites came to the Sonnebürg community. Most of these went on to settle in Berne, Indiana (Wenger 1969:9-11).

Figure 2: Origin of Mennonite Communities in Switzerland

Another group of Swiss Anabaptist immigrants began settling in the Berne, Indiana, area around 1843. They were ancestors of the community now known as the “Old Order Amish” (Humpa 1996:20-21). While the Mennonites and Amish were both Swiss German speaking people of Anabaptist origins, their differing religious beliefs, separate churches, and unique lifestyles have led to differing linguistic situations.

Anabaptist doctrine traditionally emphasizes separation from the world. This emphasis is one reason the Mennonites have retained their Swiss language as long as they have in America. The language not only served as a marker of the “in group,” but also created a barrier between them and the outside “English” world. Today the Amish practice separation from the world in a much more literal way than do the Mennonites. As the Swiss Mennonite congregation in Berne became more like other evangelical Protestant denominations in worship style and interacted
more with English speaking people who came to the area, the use of Swiss German in the home began to decline. In contrast, the Amish have maintained their dialect of Swiss German and still speak it in the home and teach it to their children today. According to those I interviewed, the Swiss German dialect that the Adams County Amish speak is different from the Swiss German that those from Mennonite descent speak, although the two dialects are mutually intelligible.

I have focused my study on the remaining Swiss German speakers, descendants of the Swiss Mennonite settlers, who live in the Berne, Indiana, area. I have not done any research in the two Ohio communities. Based on Wenger's fieldwork, conducted in the late 1960s, I would expect the linguistic situation in the Ohio communities to be similar to the situation in Berne. During the years Wenger researched, he found very few families in any of the three communities whose preschool age children knew the Swiss German dialect better than English (Wenger 1969:14-15). I chose to focus on the Berne community because, as a native of that community, I have greater access, more personal contacts, and more familiarity with the specific history and linguistic situation there.

People in the Berne community refer to their dialect as Schwyzerdüütsch 'Swiss German' when speaking the language or simply as “Swiss” when speaking about it in English. In section 1.5, I will discuss the linguistic classification of this dialect in further detail. For ease of presentation, I will refer to it as “Swiss” throughout the remainder of this paper.

---

9Wenger observed this in 1969, linking retention of the Swiss German dialect with conservative religious beliefs and families who lived on farms. He observed that English was replacing Swiss German as the primary language in the home for families whose religious beliefs became less conservative and who were no longer farming (Wenger, 1969:14-15).
1.3 Past Patterns of Language Use

Although the migration from Switzerland did not occur as a complete community transplant, the fact that the Mennonites preferred to settle in communities where others of similar background and beliefs had already settled led to new communities which could easily carry on the language patterns that had been practiced in Switzerland. These patterns can best be described as *diglossia*, a situation Ferguson defined in which “two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play” (Ferguson 1959:325).

Ferguson calls one of these language varieties the *high dialect* and one the *low dialect*. He distinguishes between the high and low dialects based on prestige, acquisition practices, standardization, and literary heritage, among other things (1959:326-328). For the Swiss settlers, High German was the high dialect, while their own variety of Swiss German was the low. High German was the liturgical language and was used in church services for prayers, hymns, sermons, and Scripture reading. It was also used in the home for liturgical activities such as prayers. Swiss was used for everyday spoken communication.

In Sprunger's hundred year historical account of the Swiss Mennonite community, she records a specific incident in August 1868, when the church congregation was selecting a minister by lot. She writes that a paper on which was written the words, "Herr aller Herzen Erkenner zeige an Wlecher du erwählet habest" was slipped into one of the song books placed on the table for the selection of the minister. This message, translated from High German, is, "Lord, knower of all hearts, show the one you have chosen." The young men who had been selected as candidates were each to walk past this table and pick up one of the books. The one who chose the book with the slip of paper in it would be the next minister (Sprunger 1938:23).
Interestingly, Sprunger did not include an English translation for this or any of the other German and Swiss words and phrases used throughout her book. In 1938, when the book was published, she perhaps assumed that members of the community interested in the church's history would still be familiar with the high and low dialects when reading her book in the future.

It was Samuel F. Sprunger who selected this book; he was the first minister to insist on being educated before accepting his calling and the last minister to be chosen by lot. When he returned on a school break in spring 1870, he shocked the congregation by standing, rather than sitting, when he gave “the testimony” and “no longer spoke his mother tongue” (Sprunger 1938:23-26).

From this and an earlier description of “giving the testimony” it seems that this part of the Sunday service was always done in either Swiss or German. Samuel F. Sprunger apparently gave it in English that morning. However, once he became minister, he would have given sermons in High German until the early 1900s, when English services began to be introduced. The record of this event gives one of the first glimpses of language shift in the religious domain.

High German was not only used for religious services, but was also the literary language used for church business and written religious materials. Sprunger notes that one of the church secretaries, who served for more than forty-three years, wrote his annual reports and the minutes of various meetings in “neat German script.” The first English organization report of the Mennonite church was read in English in 1919. The first record of an English Sunday school class was in 1880; at that time two English Sunday school classes were offered (Sprunger 1938:111).

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10The author's wording makes it unclear as to whether this was a report about any number of church organizations that was written and read in English or whether there was actually an “English organization” that had formed in the church, and this was the year of their first report. Either way, it shows that English was being used in places where High German had always been used in the past.
World War I triggered a rapid shift of the high dialect from German to English. Wenger writes that English services began on a regular basis in 1914 or 1915. By 1918, Sunday evening services were held regularly in English. By 1922, one Sunday morning service per month was in English, and soon after there was only one High German service per month on Sunday mornings. The rest of the services were in English (Wenger 1969:17).

Not only was the spoken language of the services changing, but also the written religious material used at the church. Sprunger mentions specific Bible picture books, Bible memory books, Sunday school papers and quarterlies, used at all age levels in the church, that were in German up until this time. A program for the dedication of the first pipe organ in 1914 is printed in Sprunger's book, with a special poem written for the occasion—all in High German. Sprunger records the treasurer's reports for Sunday school quarterlies for three different years, covering a nearly 30-year span. The graph shows the total number of quarterlies purchased by the church in each of the years, indicating Sunday school members' changing preferences. This gives a glimpse at the changing language situation within the church (Sprunger 1938:88,111-112).
The connection between the war and the shift from German to English was visible outside the church as well. The local newspaper, The Berne Witness, stopped printing its regular German page during this time, although three Mennonite men lead the paper and presumably made that decision. The editors claimed that the reason for terminating the German page was that it was too much work to translate all the war-related news into German; however, the surrounding events suggest that the Mennonites felt intimidated because of the unpopularity of their view that the United States should not participate in World War I. People had been writing "fiery letters to the editor" regarding the Mennonite opposition to the War, and the Ku Klux Klan even burned crosses on the Mennonite Church lawn. To be Mennonite was equated with being Swiss, and somehow being Swiss was equated with being pro-German, particularly for members of a church that would not participate in or promote the War (Lehman 1982:361, 366).
Some of the oldest people I interviewed for this documentation project were born around the
time the changes mentioned above were taking place. There is a direct connection between the
social and political events taking place at that time and their reports of how German, Swiss, and
English were used when they were young. Seven of the 19 people interviewed during the
language documentation project mentioned being unable to speak English when they started
school. All of these participants were born between 1912 and 1920 and attended primary school
between the years 1918 and 1926. Those born between 1921 and 1930 (eight) said that Swiss or
English (or both) was their first language, and all but two said they learned English before
starting school. The remaining two said they learned English when they were five or six years
old. Although they listed Swiss as their first language, they did not specifically state that they
did not know any English when starting school. Those born in 1932 and after all reported
English or both Swiss and English as their first language. This suggests that children born into
Swiss speaking families after World War I were more likely to not only know English when
starting school, but also to consider English to be their first language.

A few participants could recall one school teacher who spoke both Swiss and English, but
most said that all their teachers spoke only English. One man said he could remember when
everything the students did at school was in Swiss, specifically the non-classroom activities such
as the noon meal and recess. Another said that nearly all the children in his school were Swiss.11
One teacher was concerned that students were not learning English and so therefore made a rule
that only English could be spoken at recess. Lehman says that school children were told by their
teachers not even to use Swiss at home (Lehman 1982:361). Some must have followed this

11 At that time primary schooling for children growing up on farms was in one and two-room school
houses scattered every two miles throughout the county. Each school served families within a four-mile
radius or square. Many of the participants went to these school houses, but they did not all go to the same
one.

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advice, as it was common for participants who had older siblings to say that once their older 
brothers and sisters came home from school speaking English, the siblings did not speak as much 
Swiss among each other as they used to. This language shift was not accepted by everyone. 
One participant I interviewed said her father would not speak to his children unless they spoke to 
him in Swiss.

Despite external pressure against German and Swiss, the Swiss dialect was still the practiced 
and preferred way of communication for many even after World War I. One participant recalled 
a time when you could speak Swiss in any store or business you walked into in Berne.12

_Bärn, das is ganz Schwyzerisch. Every store had Schwyzerisch...the bank and every 
store. I think every store in Berne—every store in Berne you could talk with 
somebody in there that knew Swiss, years ago... Fair Store was Schwyzer, the 
Burkhalters were Schwyzer, hardware, the Lehmans—they were Schwyzerisch, the 
bank, they were Schwyzerisch, all._13

Gradually, English began to replace Swiss in these domains. The people I interviewed 
suggested many reasons for this. Some of the reasons mentioned most frequently include:

1. Older siblings coming home from school and speaking English with the younger siblings
2. Swiss-speaking people marrying non-Swiss speaking spouses
3. Swiss speakers moving from their farms into town, where friends and neighbors were 
speaking English rather than Swiss

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12The age of this participant would make the time period he is remembering between approximately 
1920 and 1940.

13From interview with Homer Inniger, 2009-08-25.
4. Swiss speakers moving away from the Berne area (e.g., for career, military, or missionary service).

1.4 Linguistic Situation Today

Today the Berne, Indiana Swiss dialect is moribund, with most remaining speakers over the age of 70. All Swiss speakers are fluent in English, and for most, if not all, English is the dominant language regardless of whether Swiss was their first language. Being of Swiss heritage is no longer synonymous with being Mennonite, and there are members of the Mennonite Church in Berne today that do not have any Swiss background. English is the main language used for all church affairs and services, with the exception of a few German hymns, which are sung on special occasions.

On the other hand, people in the Berne community still show strong interest in the Swiss history and heritage of the town. The Berne Public Library has a Heritage Room dedicated to researching the genealogy and local history of the community. Berne also has a Swiss Heritage Village with restored buildings, including one of the earliest church buildings of the Mennonite settlers. The town has recently completed a building project to construct a clock tower patterned after the famous clock tower in Bern, Switzerland. An annual Swiss Festival is held every July. In 2009, the Berne Chamber of Commerce tried for the first time to organize a “get together and speak Swiss” event for some of the older people in Berne.

The local Swiss dialect, which is used only in spoken form, is still used occasionally today. It is not uncommon to hear Swiss used for jokes or to hear a story told with the “punchline” in Swiss. Sometimes when this happens, the person telling the story in Swiss will try to translate for the listeners who only understand English and then follow up with a phrase like, “It's just not
as funny in English." Often when someone is reminiscing about a funny memory from long ago they will give the reported speech of someone involved in Swiss.

1.5 Berne Schwyzerdüütsch in the Literature

The Berne, Indiana Swiss dialect can be most accurately classified as a dialect of Swiss German, a language of Switzerland. Alternate names for the language in Switzerland include Alemanic, Alemannisch, and Schwyzerdüütsch. Swiss German is classified as Indo-European, Germanic, West, High German, German, Upper German, Alemannic (Lewis 2009). Speakers of Swiss in Berne, Indiana refer to their language as Schwyzerdüütsch, Schwzyzer, or simply Swiss.

The primary linguistic analysis of Schwyzerdüütsch, as spoken in Berne, Indiana, and the two communities in Ohio was done by Marion Wenger for his doctoral dissertation in 1969 (Wenger 1969). His dissertation provides a structural analysis of the language as it was spoken in the 1960s when he conducted his fieldwork. It covers phonology, form classes, word formation, and phrase and clause structure. Humpa also mentions the Swiss-speaking Mennonites who settled in Berne in his doctoral dissertation about the Adams County Amish dialect, but does not do any linguistic analysis or comparison between the Swiss dialect spoken by this group of Amish and the Swiss spoken by the Mennonites (Humpa 1996:23-25). Thompson also mentions this Swiss community in his article on the yodeling of the Indiana Swiss Amish (Thompson 1996:496). References to a manuscript as well as a conference paper by Hanley (Hanley 1992, 1994) are included in the above mentioned studies by Thompson and Humpa, but I was unable to obtain a copy of either one. To my knowledge, these are the primary

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14 The preference for and use of the local dialect, rather than the dominant language, for humor has been observed in other speech communities as well, including Gaelic and Pennsylvania Dutch (Dorian 1981:78).
references in the literature regarding the particular dialect of Swiss German spoken in Berne, Indiana.\textsuperscript{15}

In this chapter, I have reviewed the history of the Anabaptist people as a unique ethnolinguistic group. The fact that the majority of this group left Europe motivates the study of their dialects in the United States. However, little study has been done in Berne, Indiana Swiss, and further research would be difficult to continue without additional data collected for documentation. In the following chapter, I present the project goals and design that shaped the language documentation project.

\textsuperscript{15}Thompson has published several other articles on the Swiss-speaking Amish that live in the same area. He mentions the Swiss-speaking Mennonite community, but does not address their dialect as a primary topic.
CHAPTER 2
PROJECT GOALS AND DESIGN

In this chapter, I give a brief overview of the goals and rationale for this project, which was designed with current best practices for language documentation in mind, as described in section 2.1. Following that is a description of the methodology for recruitment, participation, and interview sessions conducted for the project.

2.1 Goals for Berne Language Documentation Project

According to Himmelmann, “A language documentation is a lasting, multipurpose record of a language” (Himmelmann 2006:1).\(^{16}\) With the technology and resources available today, it is possible to make and distribute high quality audio recordings more easily than it ever has been in the past. It is also possible to store metadata,\(^{17}\) field notes, and analysis of the language in a form that can be easily accessed and interpreted by future generations, who may have not had any part in collecting and compiling the data. While it is possible to make information about a particular language easy to access and interpret, this does not happen by accident, nor has all past linguistic fieldwork been done in this way. It is important to carefully plan a documentation project,

\(^{16}\)This definition invites further discussion, as the question of what constitutes “lasting” and “multipurpose” and “record of a language” can have a wide range of answers. For further details on that discussion, I refer the reader to Himmelmann's article.

\(^{17}\)The term metadata refers to data about the data, in other words, all the information surrounding a particular recording, such as who said it, when it was said, and so on. For a more complete list of what metadata should be included with language data in a documentation project, see Himmelmann 2006: 11-12.
balancing cost, time available, and best practices in order to accomplish set goals. The Electronic-Metastructure for Endangered Languages Data (E-MELD) School of Best Practices has a variety of resources and information for linguists who are interested in documenting a language. In planning this project, I based my goals on the principles outlined by the E-MELD School of Best Practices.\textsuperscript{18} They summarize seven areas of documentation with recommendations on how to handle each area. These areas include: content, format, discovery, access, citation, preservation, and rights. Their summaries and solutions for each of these areas are based on Bird and Simons (2003).

As stated in 1.1, there were two main goals for this project: first, to capture what remains of the language, preserving it and presenting it to the community in a form that can be used both now and in the future; and second, to do this in a way that makes the language data accessible and available to the academic community for further research once there are no longer any living speakers. While these two goals are fairly straightforward, they are also very broad and leave many smaller decisions to be made for each step of the process. These are some of the questions that arise upon a closer examination of these goals:

1. What does remain of the language?

2. What will be the means of “capturing” what remains of the language?

3. How will recorded samples of the language be preserved?

4. What format(s) should be used for presenting the data to the community at this time? What will be done to make the data available to the community to use in the future for different purposes than I may have envisioned?

\textsuperscript{18}http://emeld.org/school.what.html
5. What format(s) should be used for presenting the data to the academic community at this time? What are the steps that must take place in order to make it accessible in the future?

I discuss each of these questions in further detail below.

2.1.1 What does remain of the language?

Because I was born in the Berne community (in 1980) and grew up there, I knew there were some people living who still knew Swiss and used it, at least occasionally. I was not sure how many people would consider themselves to be speakers of Swiss, however. While it is common to find many people who say they understand or remember it, it is harder to find people who will openly say they can speak it well. Even among those who would say they spoke Swiss, I was uncertain what levels of fluency I would find. In order to determine this, I began asking some of the people who lived in the community for names of others they thought might be able to speak Swiss and would be interested in participating in the project. There was really no way to estimate how much of the language an individual would know or remember before the interview took place. Sometimes people who said they could speak Swiss or were recommended by others actually had very little to say (in Swiss) when put on the spot. Several participants said that the interview sessions made them realize how much they had forgotten.

On the other hand, I also found that some participants whom I had the opportunity to interview more than once seemed to remember more at each successive session. Hearing recordings of their own past sessions or portions of others' interviews would spark a memory they had forgotten and sometimes bring other words, phrases, or stories to mind.

During interviews, several participants offered documentation of their own. These were written or previously recorded materials that were not in an obvious or central location (such as a
library) – things people had collected for their own personal interest over time. Participants provided typed word lists in English with Swiss equivalents (each with its own spelling conventions), typed rhymes and proverbs in Swiss with English translations, and an audio cassette recording made in 1978 by a woman from the community giving a monologue about life on the Wulliman family farm in the 1920s. This woman recorded a tape for her siblings on which she talked about their life growing up on the farm 50 years ago. She spoke in Swiss on one side and in English (about the same topics) on the other side. Another participant gave me an audio cassette recording of a man reading the Bible in Swiss Standard German. Participants provided samples of Swiss that were recorded, covering a variety of genres. This is discussed in more detail in section 3.4, with an overview of the corpus presented in Table 17.

2.1.2 What will be the means of “capturing” the language?

When documenting a language, the researcher has to decide whether to use audio or video recordings as a means of documentation. Each has its own pros and cons. An advantage of video recording is that it provides a record that is most similar to having living speakers even after they are gone. Facial expressions, mouth position, and gestures that are part of the communicative event can be captured. However, video also brings in several factors that can be disadvantageous. For example, in order to get a high-quality video picture, one must have controlled, bright lighting, which may not be possible inside a person's home and would possibly

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19 This audio cassette tape is an unpublished tape, recorded by a local woman in her own home. Two different people offered me a copy of this cassette. I do not know if either of those copies was the original recording or a copy of the original or another copy. The tape will be referred to by the name of the speaker on the recording—the Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording—for the remainder of this thesis.

20 He was reading from a Bible written in Swiss Standard German used in Switzerland. I have not included this in the corpus because it does not represent the local dialect. None of the participants in this project read from a Swiss Bible on a regular basis.
be expensive to set up elsewhere. High quality video equipment is much more expensive than audio equipment. In addition, one either has to have a video recorder with the capability of recording high quality uncompressed audio or make a separate audio recording and synchronize the files at a later time, a tedious and difficult process. Some participants may not feel as much at ease knowing they are being videoed rather than only having their voice recorded. Video files, even when sophisticated compression techniques are used, take much more storage space than even uncompressed audio files. While these negative factors would not justify a sweeping decision that all documentation should be done with only audio recordings, for the constraints of this project, I decided that audio alone would be better.

Because I did not seek outside funding for this project, it was important to be able to purchase high quality audio recording equipment within a $500 budget. It was very important that the equipment not make participants feel uneasy, and I thought that a few small microphones would feel much less intrusive than cameras and bright lights. I knew I would be interviewing primarily an elderly population, and would likely need to interview them in their homes or nursing homes. In those settings, I would not have the control needed to create a high quality video recording. It was much easier to control the audio environment (turn off the phone, extra heaters, chiming clocks) than to be able to control both the audio and visual environment. In addition, I thought digital audio recordings could potentially be used in a greater variety of ways within the community.

I recorded using a Zoom H4n recorder, with external lapel microphones attached to headsets.\textsuperscript{21} Unique features of the H4n that made it attractive for this project include:

1. excellent quality built-in stereo microphone for recording ambient sound, such as singing

\textsuperscript{21}Zoom H4n digital recorder: \url{www.zoom.co.jp/english/products/h4n}; Audio Technica ATR 35s lapel microphones: \url{www.audio-technica.com/cms/wired_mics/742fb06dd066b3ec}. 

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2. durable, yet relatively small and lightweight for portability

3. uses standard SDHC flash memory cards, standard AA batteries, and records in standard WAV and MP3 formats

The H4n is designed for recording a small group of musicians and allows up to four audio channels to be recorded simultaneously, with some limitations. More flexibility would have required purchasing an additional mixer or a much larger and more expensive recorder. I was able to record interviews in the following configurations:

1. 4 headset microphones, each recorded as an independent track
2. 2 headset microphones, each on its own track, plus 2-track stereo ambient audio captured by the H4n's high-quality built-in microphone
3. 1 headset microphone, plus stereo ambient audio

I considered several options for headset microphones. It was important to have a headset microphone, rather than a hand held or fixed position microphone to maintain a regular distance from the speaker's mouth to the microphone. I found three types of headset microphones, none particularly suited to the budget or needs of this project:

1. Inexpensive but low quality telecommunications headsets
2. Highly durable headsets designed for a noisy environment, rather than accurate recordings, for use by, for example, aerobics instructors or tour guides
3. Very expensive miniature, wireless headsets designed for performing arts

Rather than choosing any of these, I purchased inexpensive telecommunications headsets, and attached a popular, general-purpose lapel microphone to the headset. When tested, the quality of this combination proved to be much better than the telecommunications headset alone, so I decided to continue with this configuration for the duration of the project.
The recordings were made in uncompressed WAV format at a bit depth of 24, with a 48 kHz sampling rate. This exceeds the current minimum standard E-MELD suggests for language data that can be submitted to a public language archive. 22

2.1.3 How will recorded samples of the language be preserved?

A variety of tools exist for helping field linguists manage and preserve digital language data. I followed the steps listed below to manage and preserve the recorded data.

1. Recordings were copied from the memory card used in the digital recorder to my laptop computer hard drive.

2. Backups were made on an external hard drive as well as DVDs.

3. A copy of each recording was made and annotations were made, based on the copy, using ELAN software, which is capable of linking each annotation to a specific time code in the recordings and saving its data in a non-proprietary XML format. 23 ELAN stores annotations in a separate file, leaving the original sound file unmodified.

4. Annotations were made on three levels.

   a) First, each session was split into sections with a label that would give a general idea of what was happening during that segment of the interview (e.g., Swadesh word list, how to make apple butter).

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22 According to E-MELD, “Audio needs to be digitized at a minimum, at 16 bit depth and a sampling rate of 44.1 or 48 kHz, and stored in uncompressed WAV format” (http://emeld.org/school/classroom/archives/archive-digital.html).

23 ELAN software is a free, open-source tool for annotating audio and video data. It can be downloaded from the Max Planck Institute's Language Archiving Technology website (http://www.lat­ mpi.eu/tools/elan/).
b) Second, free translations were made phrase by phrase, with separate tiers for each speaker, if the recording had multiple participants.

c) Third, transcriptions were made for the same phrases that were annotated by free translations, with separate tiers for each speaker, if the recording had multiple participants.

5. For long term preservation, the recordings and ELAN annotations were backed up to an additional computer, in a different location on a pair of hard drives configured in such a way that if either of the drives were to fail, the data would not be lost.  

This digital audio data can be easily transferred to other computers, or uploaded to the Internet. The annotation files provide a way to make a lasting record of translations and other information that goes with each sound file for those who may be interested in them in the future.

2.1.4 In what format(s) should the data be presented to the community?

Presentation of language data involves a different set of issues than preservation. When focusing on preservation, it is preferable to follow best practices for making it last—recording at high quality and keeping an accurate and accessible record of as much as possible about the language. For presentation, the primary concerns shift to: What would the community want? In what format could they use and enjoy the language data most easily? Because I initiated this project and was not working with a team of people with vested interest in the project, I had to make some of these decisions myself. No one had come to me asking for a specific product, such as a dictionary or a collection of songs. At first, I tried to get input from participants by asking whether they would prefer an audio cassette or a CD. Although a cassette is an outdated medium

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24 This configuration is known as a fault tolerant “RAID1” array, which means Redundant Array of Inexpensive Disks (Patterson et al. 1988:109-116).
for preserving audio materials, and a CD is becoming increasingly outdated, these are presentation options most accessible to an elderly population.

I have chosen one audio format initially in order to make some of the data immediately available to the community. If interest increases in the future, the raw data can be repackaged into other presentation formats as those become popular. In order to give a glimpse of how the language sounds and what people remember at this point in time, I have selected the best examples from each genre, about 60-70 minutes total, to record on a CD that can be given to each of the participants. The Heritage Room at the Berne Public Library, the Swiss Heritage Historical Society, and some local church libraries will also receive copies. If participants indicate a preference for a cassette tape, those can be made as well with the same content as the CD. For listening purposes only, it seems people will be most interested in monologues, conversations, songs, and some of the sayings—rhymes, proverbs, and expressions—that have been recorded during interview sessions.

I would also like to be able to present some of the language data in a way that will engage the younger generation, people who may remember grandparents or great-grandparents speaking Swiss but until now have had no way to hear it. For this, I envision a website such as First Voices.25 While this website is much more complex than I would have the capability to create, it provides an excellent example of presenting digital audio language data in searchable word lists, commonly used phrases, and stories. A simpler version could be made with materials from the data corpus. Some of the material in the Swiss documentation corpus, such as word lists, would be much more interesting with a visual presentation provided by a website, as well as the audio.

25The First Voices website address is http://members.firstvoices.com/. This website features a variety of language materials that help celebrate and preserve the legacy and culture of World Indigenous Languages.
2.1.5 *What will be done to make the data available to the community for future use?*

By annotating and depositing the full data corpus into a public digital language archive, the raw data is made available to people interested in using it for other purposes in the future. For example, if people in the community decide they want to compile a dictionary, they will not be dependent on only the recordings on the CD. They will have full access to all of the recordings and may use parts of them in new presentation formats. The best way to inform the community about the data and how to access it will be to include all the information necessary about the archived copies along with the audio CD, or any other presentation formats that I distribute to individuals and, particularly, the Heritage Room at the Berne Public Library.

2.1.6 *In what format(s) should the data be presented to the academic community?*

The E-MELD website includes a section devoted specifically to the researcher's task of finding an archive. The site lists ten archives that are currently accepting endangered language documentations in digital form. While all of these archives accept endangered language data, many of them focus on a particular area of the world or language family very different from Berne Swiss. Even if they would accept the data collected for this project, it would potentially get “lost” there. By this, I do not mean that the actual data would be lost, but that if people interested in accessing similar data do not think to search the archive where it is stored, the data may as well be lost. Future researchers of Swiss German would not necessarily think to look in an archive specializing in African languages. As researcher, I not only need to find an archive that will accept my data; I also want to choose one that people who are interested in Berne Swiss in future years will think to contact.

The TAPS checklist is a tool developed specifically to help linguists evaluate language archives and choose one that is the best fit for their data (Chang 2010:77). The acronym TAPS
stands for Target, Access, Preservation, and Sustainability. Each of these four words corresponds to a set of four questions (called “items” in the TAPS checklist) that a researcher should ask in order to evaluate the archive in question. Answers to these questions can be used to generate a score representing the archive's current practices, and scores from multiple archives can be compared to determine which is the best one (Chang 2010:80-82). Some of these questions can be answered simply by looking at information the archive posts on their website, while other more in-depth questions may require further correspondence in order to be able to make an accurate assessment. Using the TAPS checklist, linguists can get a more accurate picture of a specific archive, as well as make comparisons between archives. While it may be difficult to find an archive that attains the highest score on all 16 items, the results will help the researcher know what they may be losing or gaining by choosing a particular archive.

The current plan for the Berne Swiss documentation project is to submit the data to CRDO (Centre de Ressources pour la Description de l'Oral), a digital archive based in France that allows researchers to share and archive their oral language data. CRDO uses procedures that follow the Open Archival Information Systems (OAIS) model and all the data they store is referenced in OLAC (Open Language Archives Community). They accept digital oral language data from around the world, including data from European languages, and list Alemannic Swiss German and Swiss French in their catalog of materials. They accept both primary data (the sound files themselves) and resources about the data (annotation files).

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26http://crdo.up.univ-aix.fr/
27http://www.language-archives.org/
2.1.7 What steps must take place to make the data accessible in the future?

One of the key documents I found about Berne Swiss when I was starting my research was Wenger's (1969) dissertation. He mentioned audio reel-to-reel tape recordings that he had filed with the dissertation. These tapes were not made available to me through Inter-library Loan, at least partly because of their old and fragile condition. Even if I had been able to access his recordings, would I have been able to understand and use them? This is one of the key reasons for making time aligned annotations as ELAN allows one to do. When people listen to these recordings in the future, they will be able to know what was going on at each point to the extent that the researcher did at the time of the interview. Depositing the audio corpus and the annotations into CRDO, which is connected to OLAC, ensures that people searching for Berne Swiss language data through OLAC will be directed to CRDO for the materials stored there. OLAC is a database that provides a single entry point for language-related online resources from around the world. CRDO will provide OLAC with a description of the data and related resources in the standard format specified by OLAC, so that it will be listed in the OLAC database.

2.2 Project Design

The above mentioned goals helped shape the design of this project. The language documentation process involves not only the end goals of the researcher, but just as importantly the relationship between the researcher and participants from the community (Dwyer 2006:31). With this in mind, it is helpful to be familiar with research models for linguistic fieldwork, since the model one chooses will influence not only the results, but the entire process of the documentation project. There is a positive and increasing trend to move from a research model in which the linguist views the language community as subjects of research or means to an end, to a view in which the linguist is working together in partnership with members of the
community on common goals. Cameron describes three stages along this continuum as 1) doing research on a community, to 2) doing research on and for a community, and 3) doing research on, for, and with a community (Cameron et al. 1992:22-24). Czaykowska-Higgins extends this in her definition of Community-Based Language Research in which research is done on, for, with, and by the community (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009:15).

In this section, I discuss these four research models of linguistic fieldwork, examining the components of each model and analyzing the Berne Swiss documentation project in terms of these components. Following that, I explain the design of specific parts of the project, with special attention to where those parts fit within the four research models.

2.2.1 Four Research Models for Linguistic Fieldwork

The first model discussed by Cameron (et al. 1992) is called the Ethical Research model, or as Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) calls it, the Linguist-Focused model. Research conducted under this model might be called “merely ethical.” It does not go beyond the basic ethical requirements assumed by the academic community: subjects should not be abused; and they should be informed of the research procedures, purposes, and risks. This model does not take into consideration the broader issues that are now being discussed in the ethics of linguistic fieldwork, such as acknowledging community members who contribute to the project, determining who will have access to the data, and allowing the community to have a voice in and benefit directly from the research.

The second and third models, Advocacy Research and Empowering Research are more common today in linguistic research. The linguist is using expertise and knowledge on behalf of the community, who has a role in determining what happens with the results of the research. The fourth model, Community-Based Language Research (CBLR), proposed by Czaykowska-Higgins
places the linguist as just one member of a research team and emphasizes the knowledge and skills community members bring to a language research project.

In the chart below, I have taken eight distinguishing features of a research model and summarized the main ideas for each model, as described by Czaykowska-Higgins (2009:20-25). The models differ in the definition of fieldwork, the roles of the linguist and speakers of the language, whom the linguist is accountable to, and what outputs are expected. In each model, the data and the context have a different relationship. In a Linguist-Focused model, the data is taken from the context, and while the context may affect the type of data collected, the data or research itself is assumed not to affect the context in any way. As one moves across to the Community-Based model, the context and the data each influence the other. The position of the linguist and the speakers varies in each model, from a position of intellectual superiority in the Linguist-Focused model to a position with no barriers and equal team membership in the Community-Based model. I have shaded the components that line up most closely with the way in which I did my research for the Berne Swiss project.
Linguist-Focused Advocacy Empowering Community-
Research/Ethical Research Research Based Language
Research Research Research Research is on on, for on, for, with on, for, with, by
Fieldwork gather data, study linguistic phenomena gather data, use some to accomplish community goals dialogic research methods train members to do the research themselves
Speakers source of information, means to an end source of information, speakers have their own interests that research can be used to defend speakers help set the research agenda, some are trained by the linguist to do the research train the linguist on matters of language, culture, linguistics, how to conduct the research
Linguist creator of new intellectual products, adds knowledge to the world outside expert who can defend speaker's interests principal expert working closely with members of community member of a research team
Accountability to self, academic community academic community, to defend the community's interests to the community—giving them the tools they need to defend their own interests shared knowledge, shared accountability
Output reflects linguist's interests and priorities primarily linguist's interests, expands to some community goals shared knowledge with community outside linguist is not needed
Context Context<-->Data Context<-->Data Context<-->Data Context<-->Data
Positions Linguist Linguist Linguist Speakers Linguist Speakers Linguist Speakers Linguist

Table 3: Four Research Models for Linguistic Fieldwork

Based on Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) and Cameron et al. (1992)

The CBLR model is put forward as the preferred model for working with indigenous language communities in Canada. However, Czaykowska-Higgins states that "which model a

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28 As indicated above, shaded boxes correspond to methods used in the Berne Swiss documentation project.
linguist ends up working within depends to a great extent on the goals, aspirations, and needs of the community of language users that the linguist is working with, as well as on the goals and aspirations of the linguist” (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009:27). The Berne Swiss community has some things in common with the indigenous communities described in Czaykowska-Higgins’ article in that the Swiss language is endangered and with the loss of the language, the community will lose parts of their culture, history, and identity. However, there are several differences. People in the community have not been making efforts to reverse the language shift. Also, they are familiar with the way research is done within the Euro-American education system. While this means that one might be more likely to have success with a Linguist-Focused model in Berne than in an indigenous community, it does not nullify the benefits of more community involvement.

From a purely linguistic standpoint, I would be more likely to obtain records of natural speech in a model that is closer to community-based language research. While the ideal is not always possible, I wanted the project to be as community-based as possible. One thing that helped was that I was not a complete outsider to the community. Because I grew up there, people were quite possibly more receptive in taking time for me to record them and telling me about local history. One of the first things several of the older participants wanted to do was establish who I was in relation to my grandparents. While I am not considered an insider, certainly not as a Swiss speaker, participants could fit me into their local context by establishing family relations.

2.2.2 Consent

Research connected with a university must be monitored by an Institutional Review Board (IRB). The first step in designing the project was to obtain permission from UND’s IRB to conduct the research. The IRB requires that an informed consent form be given to each
participant at the beginning of the interview. This form explains the purpose, procedures, and so forth, and explains that they can withdraw at any time. While in theory this is a necessary and important step, in practice it can be quite awkward and contribute to the idea that the project belongs to the linguist and the university, rather than the community. While I worked hard to create an informed consent form written in plain, straightforward language, many participants seemed to not be interested in reading the whole thing, and felt like it was burdensome paperwork. Some made comments like, “Oh, we are taking a test?” In a way, it seemed to be threatening, not reassuring, because it had the name of the university written on it, and they began to worry that they would “mess up my project” or “not be helpful enough.”

2.2.3 Contacts

My plan for contacting people within the community to participate in documentation changed as the project progressed. Because I now live outside the community, I had planned to make contact by letters and advertisements prior to arriving in Berne to do the fieldwork. I talked with a first generation monolingual who advised that I not put advertisements into newspapers or church bulletins. He said that his parents, who were candidates for participation, would be much more likely to participate if they were asked in person or over the phone, but much less likely to answer an impersonal advertisement requesting speakers of Swiss. He enthusiastically gained the consent of his parents and an aunt to participate in the project, and they were my first interviewees. Based on his advice and this experience, I decided to recruit

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I use the term, "first generation monolingual" to refer to members of the community who are the first generation to have only spoken English and little or no Swiss (i.e. They may know a few phrases, but cannot choose to converse in Swiss). Most of these would have parents who were fully bilingual, as was the case with this particular man. A second generation monolingual refers to someone like myself, who had grandparents who were native Swiss speakers and fully bilingual, but whose parents were monolingual in English.
participants primarily by word of mouth. I asked each person I interviewed, as well as some who declined to be interviewed, who else they knew who they thought could speak Swiss. I also presented a sign-up sheet to several of the Sunday School classes with older members at the First Mennonite Church. Several people declined to participate either over the phone, or when I went to their homes to ask, although they were recommended by others. However, considering the limited time frame, I think this was more effective than waiting for people to volunteer based on an impersonal advertisement.

2.2.4 Recording Communicative Events

While the goal of a documentation project is to record communicative events in as natural an environment as possible, I had to use somewhat contrived environments. Because I started by obtaining informed consent, interviewees felt as if they were being evaluated. Second, Swiss is no longer often used in public, so unless I was going to ask someone to be recorded all day long in their home, I was not going to be able to just get Swiss “as it happened.” With this in mind, I planned interview sessions to allow for as much natural speech as possible. I had some Linguist-Focused goals, such as gathering the Swadesh word list,\textsuperscript{30} and asking participants to translate the Wenker sentences,\textsuperscript{31} but for the most part I tried to ask open-ended questions that would prompt narrative story-telling or conversation between participants. I held all but one of the interview sessions in participants' homes. The one session not held in the interviewee's home was held in a church classroom since that person's home was being remodeled.

\textsuperscript{30}The Swadesh word list I used is a list of 207 words developed by Morris Swadesh in the 1940s-1950s. It is commonly used by linguists as a tool for gathering data, particularly for assessing language relatedness and divergence dating. While I did not do either of these two types of analysis in this project, the data is available for people who may want to do this in the future.

\textsuperscript{31}Georg Wenker developed a set of 40 sentences in order to map the German dialects spoken in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century. More detail about this follows in section 3.1.1.
2.2.5 Preserving and Presenting the Language Data

If this project were truly community-based I would have had people in the community working with me on annotations, selecting an archive, and selecting what data they wanted to have published and in what formats. There did not seem to be enough interest from the community, or time on my part, to involve them in each step of this process. I would expect this to be significantly different if the community had come to me requesting help to document the language. However, I had come to them, requesting their participation. I was able to involve members of the community in obtaining free translations, and often they gave me additional background information about the text that had been recorded. For example, while translating a section about making cheese on Sunday mornings, the woman translating elaborated on exactly how the cheese had been stored in their basement and why her parents did it this way.

2.2.6 Summary of Project Design

This project combined features of primarily the Linguist-Focused and the Empowering research models. While the Community-Based model seems to be the ideal for a documentation project, there were many features of that model that I was not able to incorporate into this project. However, the context for my research fit most closely with that model in that I recognize that the data I was able to obtain was not only coming from a specific social context, but will hopefully influence that community in the future in practical ways, rather than being only a personal intellectual project.

In summary, the lists below show how particular aspects of the project fit within the research models discussed and show that when doing research, it is possible to work within several models simultaneously in such a way that the process and goals are beneficial for both the researcher and the community.
Linguist-Focused

1. Requested people to participate
2. IRB Forms and Questionnaires
3. Traditional data gathering methods – Swadesh word list, Wenker sentences
4. Linguist determined which texts and samples would be put onto a CD for academic community
5. Linguist determined possible texts and samples to be put on a CD for local community

Empowering/Community-Based

1. Some word-of-mouth publicity within the community
2. Interview sessions in homes for more relaxed atmosphere
3. Participants could choose what to talk about during sessions
4. Included and worked from materials they had already prepared
CHAPTER 3
METODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology for three key components of the language documentation project: first, the methodology for the actual interview sessions with the Swiss speakers; second, methodology for organizing and preparing data for archiving; and third, methodology for selecting and preparing materials for presentation to the community.

3.1 Interview Sessions

When recording a language for documentation purposes, it is best to record it in as natural an environment as possible. Himmelmann states that obtaining “specimens of observable linguistic behavior” is very important (2006:7). One should focus on gathering examples of how “people actually communicate with each other.” This may include a wide variety of speech acts, ranging from public speeches to everyday small talk, to ritualistic ceremonies, to disputes and arguments. The goal is to get examples of how the language is used in regular life, not to record contrived linguistic exercises. However, this presents some ethical, theoretical, and practical issues. Ethically, it would require speakers to be under constant surveillance, which would be undesirable for many people and impermissible by university research standards. Theoretically, one has boundaries of time and location to consider when working toward that goal. In the Berne community, practically, it would not be possible because of the infrequent use of Swiss in public
life. Because of this, I had to settle for interview sessions in which the environment was somewhat contrived.

I chose to interview participants primarily in home settings. Because much of the population of Swiss speakers in Berne is elderly, some of the interviews were conducted at one of the local nursing homes where participants lived. One interview was conducted in a classroom at a church, at the request of the participant. There were both advantages and disadvantages to conducting interviews in homes. The main advantage was that participants did not have to travel or find transportation to another location. This was particularly important for speakers who may no longer drive. The home settings gave a more relaxed atmosphere than a studio location would have given. However, there were also more opportunities for background noises and interruptions such as telephones, clocks, or (at the nursing home) periodic interruptions for nurses to come in for various reasons, as well background noise from the hallways or other equipment in the area.

While I knew that there were people living in Berne who still spoke Swiss, I did not know how they would respond to being recorded while speaking the language. I also did not know how comfortable or capable they would be doing a range of different language use activities. Because I was uncertain about these things, my initial interviews were fairly open-ended. I began by explaining the goals of the project and then obtained informed consent to make recordings. Then I asked them to fill out a short questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire was to gather basic demographic information about the participants, including information about their past and present language use habits, and to allow them to state how comfortable they would be doing various language activities. I suggested a range of things I was

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32 The Swiss Language Documentation Questionnaire is reprinted in Appendix A.
interested in recording including stories, conversations, jokes, prayers, poems, songs, words, and phrases.

After the questionnaires were completed, I proceeded with the recorded interview. Each interview session was different, depending on what the participants were willing to do for the recording. In the earliest sessions, I did not record any conversation that took place while administering the questionnaire. This is something I regret, since many times additional information came to light while they were talking about the questions. Many participants asked questions for clarification while filling out the questionnaire. Sometimes they elaborated on their responses, and if I did not think to write it down (which I usually did not because I was trying to get equipment set up for the recording session), I lost that additional information.

For example, one of my oldest participants was filling out the questionnaire with the help of his daughter-in-law. She decided to expand upon my questions regarding domains of language use and asked him if he uses Swiss when he goes to McDonald's. He said that he does, if he sees someone his age. His wife commented that he seems to think everyone knows Swiss. This man's response was (paraphrased), "Well, if they're people our age, they should!" That comment provided valuable insight into this man's attitude toward the language, and his thinking that it was completely appropriate and expected that people in his generation should still speak Swiss when they meet each other in public places.

Sometimes the participants preferred not to write out their answers for the questionnaire. This could be due to vision difficulties or feeling that their hand was too unsteady to write the answers. During these sessions, I recorded the conversation that we had as I talked through the questionnaire and wrote their responses for them. I think this approach would be better to use for future sessions, especially because it tends to yield more in depth information than if participants
fill out a written questionnaire privately. For example, one participant mentioned the specific names of her brothers' wives who did not know Swiss, and that because of this, Swiss could no longer be the only language of communication at family gatherings.

In the beginning sessions, I also paused and stopped the recorder more frequently. I realized later, after going through files from my earliest interviews, that I was operating the recorder with the end product in mind, rather than viewing the recorder as a tool to capture the entire session. In later sessions I kept the recorder running the entire time, only stopping for obvious disruptions, such as people needing to leave the room for a drink, or a nurse coming in to administer medication.

For future work, I would consider this the better approach. While one has more material to listen through and sort out later on, he or she is less likely to realize a few seconds into a conversation that they wish they had already started recording it. Even if I asked people to repeat what they said, this is not the same as catching it the first time around in a more natural flow of conversation. I found it was also easier to work with organizing and annotating larger, longer files, rather than 8-10 files per session. I will discuss data organization in more detail in section 3.2. Even when the recorder is left running throughout the entire session, it is still possible to miss data. In some sessions, when I had just started winding up the cords and putting the equipment back into my bag, someone would say, “Oh, and that reminds me, we used to say such and such...”

During the interview sessions I used the following approach. First, I would record anything the participants had prepared in advance. This ranged from word lists, to stories they were ready to tell, to songs or prayers they wanted to sing or recite. If I was interviewing a group, I would then leave time for spontaneous conversation between participants. If it seemed they needed
prompting about what to discuss, I continued with the following. I asked questions similar to those below in approximately the order they are listed. Sometimes I changed the order or skipped questions, depending on their responses on the questionnaire or the flow of the conversation.

1. Are there any particular words or phrases that you still use often in Swiss, or convey a meaning that cannot be communicated as easily in English?

2. Is there anything you feel comfortable talking about in Swiss from one of these topics: memories from school days, family life, work and responsibilities while growing up, holidays and traditions, food preparation, severe weather or illness?

3. Would you be willing to describe these pictures or give Swiss words for pictures in this book?  

Often they were happy to talk about these topics; in fact, I developed these topics based on the earliest interviews, in which I noticed that these themes came up often. In beginning interviews, I simply asked them to speak extemporaneously in Swiss, which was more or less productive, depending on the speakers. If it seemed like they were enjoying speaking about the above topics, but were primarily using English, or if they seemed like they would rather have a more direction from me, I would shift the conversation to a more structured approach by concluding with either the Wenker sentences or the Pear Story movie activity, both of which are described in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 below.

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33 For this I used pages from ProLingua's Color Lexicarry (Moran 2002).
3.1.1 Wenker Sentences

The Wenker Sentences are a collection of approximately 40 sentences developed in 1876 by Georg Wenker for the purpose of geographically mapping German dialects in Europe. He mailed a list of these sentences written in Standard German to school teachers throughout northern Germany. He requested that they translate the sentences into the local dialect, and mail the transcriptions back to him. He continued collecting data through 1887, at which point he had surveyed all of Germany. Since that time, various scholars have debated the value and accuracy of his results, due to the immense size of his corpus, and the reliability of the written transcriptions to accurately represent the spoken, unwritten dialects at that time. Nevertheless, his work set the precedent for studying geographic mapping of dialect differences, particularly in Germany-speaking Europe, where between 20 and 70 dialects of Swiss German are spoken (Lewis 2009).

Because of this, people researching Swiss German dialects tend to mention Wenker and may often include an exercise which involves translating his sentences into the local dialect. While Wenker's original exercise involved mailing written sentences in Standard German and asking people to send back written results, the methods of using his sentences change from researcher to researcher and community to community. Wenger carried out a similar exercise in his 1969

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34 Depending on the source, it is possible to find variations of the original forty sentences. The Digitaler Wenker-Atlas (DiWA) has three sets of sentences with slight variations in each set (http://www.diwa.info/). The sets correspond to different regions in Germany. For my research, I worked from the set of 40 sentences listed in Appendix B.

35 According to census figures in 2000, there were 6,469,000 speakers of Swiss German in Europe. Over 4,000,000 of these are in Switzerland, where "each canton has a separate variety, many mutually unintelligible" (Lewis 2009).

36 Wenger did this when he wrote about Berne Swiss in 1969. Humpa also did this when he surveyed the Adams County Amish dialect in 1993.
fieldwork, which involved showing native Swiss speakers the written sentence in Standard German and asking them to translate it in their head and say it aloud in Swiss. I did not consider this method, as I expected many if not all of the participants would not know how to read Standard German. I printed copies of the sentences, translated into English, and asked participants to translate them in their heads and speak each sentence aloud in Swiss. I allowed for “group work” if I was interviewing more than one person at a time. With a group of three, they would go back and forth several times, each one taking a turn until they had settled on the best way to say it. With a group of two, they chose to split them in half and each take turns during “their share.” With one speaker, that person would do as many as they could by themselves.

While the value of the actual “results” of this method, or of the Wenker sentences in general, is questionable, the exercise did have one unmistakable value for documentation purposes: the sentences themselves, and certain words within the sentences, would serve as a stimulus for interviewees to think of things they may not have thought of otherwise, allowing individual words or expressions to be added to the corpus because of this exercise. In addition, the sentences will be available for future analysis and comparison with other dialects of Swiss German.

An additional possible use for an exercise like this, though not originally intended, was to provide some sort of measure of language loss. I could sometimes tell by their responses and the length of time it took them to respond what types of language skills they had retained in Swiss. For example, some participants seemed to translate from the English word order, word for word, directly into Swiss. Some even struggled to think of the isolated words. In contrast, others could rattle the sentence off in a relatively short period of time with a word order that varied
from the English word order. Too few participants completed the Wenker sentences activity, and I was not structured enough in my approach to use the data as a quantitative assessment of language loss.

An interesting component of a documentation project could be a psycholinguistic assessment of language loss, based on the method described by O'Grady et al. for the HALA (Hawai'i Assessment of Language Access) Project (2009). The basic idea of the HALA project involves taking bilingual participants through a series of exercises to assess their language loss. This is done in comparison to their own second language, not in comparison to other speakers. Participants are shown a series of black and white photographs with a certain body part circled, and asked to name that part. Assessments are made based on the time it takes to come up with the correct term in one language compared to their second language, as well as how many terms they can remember. For future documentation projects, I would definitely see an activity such as this one as a valuable contribution, both for the quantitative analysis of language loss, and as a structured activity to generate ideas for participants who may be struggling with what to speak about in the language. It would also be a way to gather body part terms, if using the methodology described in the study.

3.1.2 Pear Story Movie

I used the Pear Story movie as a tool for prompting speech when participants seemed to be at a loss for what to talk about in Swiss. The Pear Story movie is a six-minute color film depicting a wordless story about a farmer picking pears and some children who steal his fruit. It was developed in the 1970s by Wallace Chafe as a way to elicit a simple story from speakers of languages from a variety of backgrounds. The interview method I used differed from the standard
procedure described on The Pear Stories website. I did not have the opportunity to work with 25 fluent speakers, nor did I use the Pear Story movie in every interview session. Because my primary goal was to get fluent speech that came from their own ideas or experiences, I used it only when participants could not think of something to say. I also asked them to narrate as they watched the movie. Because of this, there were long pauses and an unnatural flow of speech. I think it would have been more effective to ask them to retell what they saw; however, I am not certain that results would have been that much better, since I was primarily using it with people who were struggling with producing any fluent speech in Swiss. I used it only in interview situations where I had a single speaker, hoping it would elicit conversation and fluent speech when they may have not felt comfortable speaking Swiss with only me, a non-Swiss speaker.

3.2 Data Organization

Bird and Simons recommend that data be stored in multiple copies in more than one physical location (2003:5). While this is most important for long-term preservation, I aimed to follow this principle by storing multiple copies of the data on different hardware. The recordings were originally made on SD cards. I transferred them to my laptop computer hard drive, and then burned DVDs of each session. Eventually the data had to be removed from the SD cards in order to use them for future sessions, so I also made backups onto an external hard drive. Throughout the project, I would periodically update the backup files, so that not only would the sound recordings be preserved, but also the annotation work I had done on each file. Eventually, all data was backed up on the computer configured with RAID1, which was in a separate physical location from my personal computer, DVDs, and external hard drive.

37 The Pear Stories website provides the original Pear Story movie for users to download, as well as descriptions of past research and research methods associated with the movie (http://www.pearstories.org/docu/ThePearStories.htm).
I devised a naming system to keep the files organized and to give key information about each session right in the file name. Each file was given a three digit chronological number,\textsuperscript{38} followed by the first 4 letters of the last name of speaker, followed by the year, month, and day, as exemplified in (1).

(2) 019-baum-2009-06-04

This system would have needed to be altered if any of the participants had requested that their names not be associated with the project, but no one requested this. By including the date in each file name, I did not have to worry about the file's time stamp getting updated each time I made a copy. The original file name would preserve the actual date of the session. I sorted the sound files into folders organized by session, enabling me to easily retrieve particular files based on the interview session participants or date.

From here I began the process of annotating the recordings. As mentioned in section 2.1.3, I used ELAN software to make time-aligned annotations, annotating on three levels: sections, transcriptions, and free translations. I marked off each interview in sections with a brief title for each section about what was happening in that particular segment. I also marked off sections of dead time and labeled them as such when no one was speaking. This way, when I made a master index later, I was able to immediately eliminate large sections of dead time or sections people had asked to be deleted after they spoke.

Because my speakers were bilingual, I also began marking each section with an E for English or an SW for Swiss. This helped me to know which sections to go back to first for transcribing, and also helped save time in not having to re-listen to parts that I was not planning to spend as

\textsuperscript{38}The number of files per session varied, depending on how many times the recorder was stopped during that session.
much time on. Sometimes both languages were used within a section, so they would be marked E/SW or SW/E, with the first letters being which language was used more often.

The second time through each file, I began doing free translations. All free translations were either done while working with a Swiss speaker, or checked with a Swiss speaker at subsequent interview sessions. Normally, transcriptions would be done first, but because of my limited knowledge of Swiss and because the language does not have a standardized orthography, I chose to do free translations first. I developed a plan for starting with simple tasks and moving to more complex tasks. I began by translating the simplest things—word lists or sayings that they had written out in advance. This way I could check my translation against the written materials they had given me. I found that after listening through slower speech first, the longer texts and more fluent sections became more comprehensible to me. I could often pick out several key words I recognized from word lists or earlier sound files. For longer texts and more fluent speech, I went back to speakers of Swiss asking them to clarify and check my free translations.

I marked longer sections, dividing them based on natural breaks in speech, which often corresponded to sentence or phrase level breaks. By the time I completed section breaks and free translations on each file from each session, I had listened through each file many times. When it was time to transcribe, it was easier to pick out word breaks and familiar words, due to my increasing familiarity with the language. The ideal would be to have a native speaker work alongside a linguist or do a major part of the translation and transcription themselves. In my situation, however, with an elderly population located far from the linguist, it was still possible to provide these annotations, even if it could not be done in the ideal way.
Developing an Orthography for Transcriptions

Developing an orthography for an unwritten language can be a very difficult task. When an orthography is developed with future literacy materials in mind, decisions about how to represent each sound can become polarizing factors dividing community members and linguists. I did not have to deal with these kinds of issues, since I just needed a practical orthography for the purpose of documentation. For this project, the purpose of the orthography is to provide a consistent written form that will serve as a visual aid alongside audio materials. Because Berne Swiss is a dying language, I do not foresee that people in Berne would be interested in being able to read and write the language independently of hearing it. But it is possible they will be interested in being able to read along with an audio recording or search by sound or first letter in future presentations of the data.

While the primary goal was to provide a visual representation for the audio, it was still important to develop an orthography that would make sense and not look strange to readers familiar with the orthographies of English and Standard German. It was important for the orthography to look similar to Standard German or Swiss Standard German, since the spoken Swiss German is a variety of German. People in the community are familiar with German orthography, even if many are not able to read and write it. A few German hymns remain in the First Mennonite Church hymnal, and many people in the community take classes in German in high school or college.

Using a complete existing orthography did not seem to be the best option for several reasons. First, Standard German orthography and Swiss Standard German orthography both have multiple ways of representing the same sounds.\textsuperscript{39} While this is acceptable for people who are going to

\textsuperscript{39}Swiss Standard German is the official written language used in Switzerland today. Its orthography is very similar to that of Standard German, with one notable exception being that $\beta$ is replaced with $ss$ for /s/. 
take several years to become proficient in reading and writing an orthography, it is not practical for people who only want to use it as a visual aid for primarily audio materials. Second, these standardized orthographies do not contain orthographic representations for all of the phonemes present in the spoken Berne Swiss dialect. In addition, they contain orthographic representations of phonemes not used in the Berne Swiss dialect, which would not be needed in the orthography.

The spoken Swiss German dialects in Switzerland, although likely to be more similar to Berne Swiss than Swiss Standard German or Standard German, have no standardized orthography. Aside from the dialect literature, which Siebenhaar says is of “minimal importance” in Switzerland, all written communication is in Swiss Standard German (2006:483). However, since the 1980s, the line between domains of use for Swiss Standard German and local Swiss German dialects has begun to blur. Local dialects have begun to be used in written form for personal notes, letters, e-mails, and most recently for Internet chatting. The orthographic conventions used to represent the local spoken dialects are left up to the discretion of the writer and vary greatly due to factors such as “local dialect, standard influence, individual interpretation of phoneme to grapheme rules, individual interpretation of orthographic principles...regional writing traditions, and typing errors” (Siebenhaar 2006:483).

Because no existing orthography seemed appropriate for this project (and because I did not want to use only the International Phonetic Alphabet, since that would make transcriptions accessible only to trained linguists), I chose to develop a transcription orthography based on the orthographic conventions of Standard German. For each phoneme that had an equivalent representation in Standard German orthography, I chose just one of those representations and used it consistently. For example, rounded vowels such as [y] and [œ] are represented as ū and
\(\ddot{o}\) in Standard German and in my transcription orthography as well.\(^{40}\) However, in Standard German \(\ddot{u}\) is also used to represent \([y]\) and \(\ddot{o}\) is also used to represent \([o:]\), which is not the case in the orthography I developed for this project. As much as possible, I maintained a one to one correspondence between graphemes and sounds. For sounds present in Berne Swiss but not in Standard German, I used a grapheme commonly used to represent that sound in English.

According to Wenger's phonological analysis, Berne Swiss has 17 consonants, 3 semi-vowels, 11 stressed vowels, and 1 unstressed vowel (1969:46). I will describe each of these categories of sounds in the sections below, explaining how they are represented in the orthography.

### 3.3.1 Consonants

Wenger distinguishes the consonants in terms of 1) point of articulation, 2) manner of articulation, and 3) intensity of articulation. Points of articulation include bilabial, labio-dental, alveolar, palato-alveolar, velar, and glottal. Manners of articulation include stop, affricate, fricative, nasal, and trill. Intensity of articulation refers to fortis and lenis, applying to the stops and fricatives only.\(^{41}\) Although Wenger used the fortis / lenis distinction in his analysis, I use voiced and voiceless below. The nasals and trill are voiced.\(^{42}\)

\(^{40}\)Both of these vowels occur in lengthened form only in Standard German. In Standard German \([y:]\) is also represented as \(\ddot{u}h\) and \(y; [a:]\) is also represented as \(\ddot{a}h\).

\(^{41}\)The distinction between fortis and lenis is different from the distinction between voicing, commonly seen as a contrasting feature in consonants, because the consonants are not distinguished by changes in vocal fold vibrations alone, but rather the length and strength of articulation.

\(^{42}\)For more detail on phonological analysis, I refer the reader to Chapter 3 Phonology in Wenger (1969:44-75).
Place of Articulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Articulation</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
<th>Bilabial or labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td>(pf)</td>
<td>(ts)</td>
<td>(tʃ)</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorant</td>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Berne Swiss Phonemic Consonants According to Wenger (1969)

I found Wenger's consonants to be consistent with those used in the data I collected. A total of 20 consonants appear in the chart above, which is three more than Wenger's 17. Wenger did not consider the three affricates (pf), (ts), and (tʃ) to be separate consonants, but rather stops and fricatives in a dual series.

Although the phonetic length of the trill varied, depending on the speaker and the position in the word, I chose to not distinguish trill length, or any other consonantal lengths in the orthography because it did not appear to be a contrastive feature.

The table below shows the Berne Swiss consonants and their orthographic representations in the corpus. There are instances of a voiced [ʒ] that sometimes occur instead of [ʃ], depending on the speaker, context and word. It does not appear to be contrastive. I included it in Table 5 with a separate orthographic representation in the transcriptions because I wanted transcriptions to more closely match the sound. In addition, [k] occurs as an allophone of /ɡ/ and is also included in Table 5 with a distinct transcription, again because I wanted transcriptions to match the sound.

55
more closely. The glottal stop [ʔ] is not contrastive, but predictable. It appears in the phonetic transcriptions, but I did include it in the orthographic transcriptions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phone/Grapheme</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Orthographic Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis bilabial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>brun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis bilabial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ʃpriŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis alveolar</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>'dɔbə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʃpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis velar</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ɡa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>'ɡikʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labio-dental</td>
<td>pf</td>
<td>xɔpf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palato-aleveolar</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>mɔntʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td>ʃmekx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis labiodental</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>'fɛgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis labiodental</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>'suʋər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis alveolar</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>syəs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis alveolar</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>'nəzə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis palato-alveolar</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>'ʃlaʃə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis palato-alveolar</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>ʔiʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>'xlinə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>hʊŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sonorants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-sounds/trills</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>'miɐtɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>'nɐme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>'tsaŋkə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Consonants and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription
3.3.2 Vowels

Wenger identifies 3 semi-vowels, 11 stressed vowels, and 1 unstressed vowel. I refer to Wenger's three semi-vowels as approximants in this section. The three approximants are voiced and include an alveolar lateral approximant and palatal and labial velar central approximants. Wenger refers to these three as semi-vowels because, according to his analysis, they act like consonants in some contexts and like vowels in other contexts (Wenger 1969:52).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>labial velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>lateral approximant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>central approximant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Berne Swiss Approximants According to Wenger (1969)

The table below shows the approximants and their orthographic representations in the corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approximants</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Orthographic Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>lahnd 'land'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial velar</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>wirft</td>
<td>wierscht 'terrible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>'yarə'</td>
<td>yahre 'years'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Approximants and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription

43 Usually /l/ is classified as a sonorant consonant, but I have chosen to include it with the approximants in order to follow Wenger's classification of the sounds.
The eleven stressed vowels and one unstressed vowel that Wenger identifies appear in the table below. All of these vowels can also occur in lengthened form, with the exception of the unstressed /a/. It appears from Wenger's phonemic transcriptions that length is contrastive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Front rounded</th>
<th>Central unrounded</th>
<th>Central unrounded</th>
<th>Back unrounded</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close (near-close)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mid) Open-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(near-open) Open</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Berne Swiss Vowels According to Wenger (1969)

Wenger notes that when the front open-mid unrounded /æ/ and the back open-mid rounded /o/ are lengthened, they have a change in vowel quality. Front open-mid unrounded /æ/ is lengthened to front close-mid unrounded [e], while back open-mid rounded /o/ is lengthened to back close-mid rounded [o]. Because of the change in vowel quality, I included a separate transcription for each of these in the orthography. Length is not distinguished for any other vowels in the orthography. Below is a table showing the orthographic representations of the vowels.
Table 9: Vowels and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription

The unstressed vowel /a/ is transcribed three different ways in the orthography, depending on where it appears in the word. Swiss contains many words that end with the unstressed /a/. I chose to use -e for word final instances of /a/. This corresponds closely to the first person singular conjugated form of many German verbs such as those listed in the table below. The unstressed /a/ also appears word finally on nouns in Standard German, such as Sonne 'sun' and Brille 'glasses.'

These two vowels are the lengthened forms of the open-mid vowels below them in the table. Because of the change in vowel quality, they have a distinct transcription.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haben</td>
<td>'to have'</td>
<td>habe</td>
<td>'I have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kommen</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>komme</td>
<td>'I come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Standard German Verbs with Unstressed /a/ in Final Position

Examples of Swiss words with the unstressed vowel word final in phonetic transcription and orthographic transcription are given in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Orthographic Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'rægə</td>
<td>ragge</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ʃpɪlə</td>
<td>schpille</td>
<td>'play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sæɡə</td>
<td>sage</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dɪzə</td>
<td>dieze</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'χærə</td>
<td>chahre</td>
<td>'car'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Berne Swiss Words with Unstressed /a/ in Final Position

In contrast, if the unstressed /a/ appeared within a word, it is transcribed -uh-. I do not use only this form, because the lengthened grapheme seems to give more emphasis to that part of the word, which seems inappropriate for an unstressed vowel. However, to write it only as -e- within a word would possibly confuse it with /e/, as shown in Table 12 below. The first two words in the table, guhbae 'building' and fuhmiele 'family' are examples of /a/ occurring within a word, and so they are transcribed with -uh-, rather than -e-, because the transcription -e- within a word represents /e/, as shown by the last three words in the table, schetlie 'town', schleg 'spank', and yets 'now.'
Table 12: Orthographic Comparison of /e/ and /ə/

Finally, /ə/ has the allophone [i] when preceding the trilled [r]. It is transcribed -er in these words, as shown in the table below.

Table 13: Orthographic Transcription of [i] Preceding [r]

In addition to the vowels in Table 9, Wenger identifies eight diphthong glides.

Table 14: Berne Swiss Diphthong Glides According to Wenger (1969)
In transcribing my own data, I added one additional diphthong glide to those shown in the table. This seems to be a “borrowed” glide, in that it appears in words which are borrowed from English into the Swiss dialect. This glide is [ɔi] and appears in words such as the one in example (2) below.44

(3) 'baiziku 'bicycle'

Table 15 below shows the vowel glides identified by Wenger, with [ɔi] as described above and the graphemes chosen to represent them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Orthographic Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iɔ</td>
<td>ieuh</td>
<td>grien</td>
<td>grieuhn 'green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔ</td>
<td>üe</td>
<td>syös</td>
<td>sües 'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uɔ</td>
<td>ooe</td>
<td>huə</td>
<td>hooe 'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εi</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>arbeit</td>
<td>ahrbeit 'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øy</td>
<td>öy</td>
<td>knœyt</td>
<td>knöyt 'kneel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oɔ</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>bōum</td>
<td>bōum 'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æi</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>gœil</td>
<td>gal 'yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æi</td>
<td>ær</td>
<td>Bœin</td>
<td>Bärn 'Berne'62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>bļau</td>
<td>bļau 'blue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>'baiziku</td>
<td>baizikoo 'bicycle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Vowel Glides and Orthographic Representation Used for Transcription

44 Wenger also had this vowel glide transcribed in words included in his appendices, although he does not list it as a separate phoneme. Examples are [bamdir] 'grain binder' and [sailɔ:] 'silo', both of which are borrowed words (1969:237, 246).

45 I used the transcription ær in the word Bärn because this is the way Bern, Switzerland is commonly spelled in Swiss. Similarly, Schwyzerdüëtsch is spelled similar to the Swiss German spelling used in Switzerland, rather than according to my orthography.
Because of the fluidity of vowels, particularly glides, and variation from speaker to speaker, if a word appears more than once in the data it is not always “spelled” the same. Transcriptions were made as closely to the pronunciation of the speaker as possible, within the constraints of the transcription orthography. Some speakers pronounce the same word with slightly different vowels or glides, and sometimes the same speaker pronounces the same word differently in another context.

### 3.3.3 Other Orthographic Conventions

One other orthographic representation used is doubling a consonant that follows a front unrounded vowel (with the exception of /i/), particularly if it precedes the unstressed /a/. These are vowels that are typically considered “short” vowels in English. The reason for this has less to do with the length of the consonant and more to do with the appearance of the word. People in the Berne community who may be listening to the audio recordings and following along with the transcriptions are literate in English. It seems too confusing to have words that would follow the conventional Vowel-Consonant-e form for the English spelling convention for “long vowels” with an actual presentation of a “short vowel” followed by the unstressed /a/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Orthographic Transcription</th>
<th>Possible Orthographic Confusion</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bækə</td>
<td>bakke</td>
<td>*bake</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bætə</td>
<td>batte</td>
<td>*bate</td>
<td>'pray'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rægə</td>
<td>ragge</td>
<td>*rage</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sægə</td>
<td>sagge</td>
<td>*sage</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Consonant Doubling to Avoid Confusion with English Words
3.4 Methodology for Preparing Materials for the Community

Based on participants' responses to the Swiss Language Documentation Questionnaire,\(^{46}\) I decided to produce an audio CD with selections from their interviews and make it available to the community. This was their preference, and would not be difficult for me, since recordings can be transferred to CD using my computer, with no additional equipment. Some participants also indicated a preference for audio cassette tape. The material from the audio CD can be transferred to an audio cassette for those who prefer that.

Before beginning the process of selecting excerpts from interviews for the CD, I wanted to get an overall view of how much material I had. Since I had already added annotations dividing each file into sections, I grouped the sections into broader categories. The categories, a brief description of each, and the approximate total time of each type are listed in the table below.

\(^{46}\)The Swiss Language Documentation Questionnaire is reprinted in Appendix A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>hh:mm</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
<td>01:24</td>
<td>Responding to an English question or prompt by answering with several sentences in Swiss; conversing with one another primarily in Swiss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Monologue</td>
<td>01:09</td>
<td>Completely or nearly completely Swiss speech with one primary speaker and occasional comments or interruptions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>00:04</td>
<td>Common phrases or expressions, such as greetings and admonitions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Sayings</td>
<td>00:24</td>
<td>Proverbial sayings, rhymes, jokes, and tongue twisters (recited or read).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>Swiss folk songs</td>
<td>0:04</td>
<td>About 7 short songs in Swiss, some with yodeling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Words</td>
<td>1:09</td>
<td>Swadesh word list, word lists that they had compiled themselves, words describing pictures, counting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>song/prayer</td>
<td>German hymns and prayers</td>
<td>0:03</td>
<td>At least four hymns and two prayers recited or sung in German. There are additional ones that are interspersed throughout conversation or monologue as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS</td>
<td>Wenker sentences</td>
<td>01:27</td>
<td>Seven participants translating from Wenker's 40 sentences into Swiss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Pear Story movie</td>
<td>00:12</td>
<td>Two participants narrating the Pear Story movie while watching.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-RS</td>
<td>English with Swiss reported speech</td>
<td>00:09</td>
<td>Primarily English, but speakers intersperse Swiss words or phrases. It is common for people to tell a story in English and use Swiss reported speech for something that happened in the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-P</td>
<td>English with Swiss phrases</td>
<td>00:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>English with Swiss words</td>
<td>00:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>02:06</td>
<td>A variety of material in English. Some gives information about language background, attitudes, language use, and history. Other sections are primarily the interviewer asking questions to elicit conversation or setting up equipment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Overview of Material in Corpus
To select material for the CD, I began by compiling a master table containing each file name, all sections from that file, and each section's beginning time, ending time, and duration. This can all be done directly from within ELAN, by choosing “Export Multiple Files as Tab Delimited Text.”

I put each of the above mentioned fields (section, name, beginning time, etc.) into a separate column so that the data could then be sorted as necessary within spreadsheet software. Each row contained one section heading with its file name, section name, beginning time, ending time, and duration in separate columns. I added six additional columns: Language, Second Language, Type, Reported Speech, Phrases, and Words. Since I had labeled each section with SW for Swiss or E for English during the annotation process, I quickly copied those values over into the Language column. If two languages were used during a particular section, I put the primary one in the Language column and the secondary one in the Second Language column. In the Type column, I classified each section as one of the types of data described in the Table 17 above, and marked it according to the code listed there. If a section didn't fall into any one of the above headings, it was either because it was dead time or irrelevant English conversation. I have not included any data from the English category on the CD.

From the categories in the table above, it was easier to decide what to include on the CD and what to eliminate. I assumed people would be interested in audio-only forms of things like monologues or conversations, songs, prayers, and sayings. This excluded word lists and activities done for later structural analysis, such as the Wenker sentences.

I selected the best material from each of these categories: recordings in which the speaker was speaking clearly and the story or conversation was cohesive and complete. Some of these stories had been specifically told as stories; others were monologues or conversations that were
prompted by a question or had come up in conversation about a specific topic. I chose recordings that dealt directly with local topics—what life was like for the speakers growing up in Berne, Indiana, for example—since these would be of particular interest to the participants and other people in the Berne community. I selected some others that may be interesting to the community, including one woman's account of a man coming to sit on her porch while she was living in the Congo, specifically because they were longer and better examples of the Swiss language being spoken fluently. I did not include any of the monologue from the Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording because I felt like that would be best reproduced as a whole, rather than extracting portions.

Some excerpts from the Conversations category will require more editing. This category includes recordings covering topics that came up in multiple interviews, primarily centered around life in Berne, that are probably important to participants. However, some of the recordings include English or other interruptions interspersed that could be edited out. They could then be compiled into a cohesive piece about a certain topic, particularly if multiple people speaking from different interviews on the same topics could be edited into one track. These topics include holidays, preparation of various local foods, and chores at home.

There are two major types of songs represented in the corpus: Swiss folk songs, some of which include yodeling, and German hymns sung in church. While the hymns are not Swiss, they are equated in people's mind with the same time period as Swiss. When I asked participants if they knew any Swiss songs, they often wanted to sing German hymns. Examples include: “The New Years Song,” and “So Nimm Denn Meine Hände” (Take Thou My Hand, Oh Father).\footnote{Several of these Swiss folk songs are the same songs sung by the Swiss Amish in the Berne area (Thompson 1996:506-509, 512-514)}

\footnote{“Take Thou My Hand, Oh Father” is the English name given to that song, although not a direct
—a benediction song. “The New Years Song” is still sung in German at the Mennonite Church
annually. “So Nimm Denn Meine Hände,” which was always sung at the end of the worship
service at the First Mennonite Church, is still sung today, although now in English. Several
participants mentioned “Gott ist die Liebe” (God is Love), and it was also recorded in two
different sessions. One group of participants recalled singing this as children for their
grandmother who did not know English.

Many participants repeated popular sayings that had been passed around the Swiss
community. These sayings ranged from children's rhymes and tongue twisters, to proverbial
expressions of wisdom recited in a witty way. One man had even compiled eight pages of these
sayings and recorded some of the ones that were most familiar to him. Many of the same popular
sayings came up in multiple interviews. There were some nearly everyone knew, and
participants who did not feel comfortable telling a story often had at least one of these sayings
that they had memorized. I classified examples of this type of speech into the following
categories: proverbs, rhymes, and tongue twisters. Proverbs express some wisdom or a lesson to
be learned in a witty way. Rhymes are similar, except that they rhyme and are often just
nonsensical stories for fun. These rhymes seemed to be the most popular way to draw out
laughter from other participants, and are examples of the type of speech that could not be
translated effectively. As one of my participants said, “Well, you know, to Swiss people that
probably was funny.” Tongue twisters are similar to rhymes in that they are just for fun and
sound like nonsense when translated. They are an alliterative string of words all beginning with
the same sound that people try to say as fast as possible. Most of the sayings I chose for the CD

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49From Reinhard Interview, 2009-06-06.
were humorous ones that people like to tell as jokes. They include tongue twisters, rhymes, and children's games.
CHAPTER 4
A COMMUNITY IN THE FINAL STAGES OF LANGUAGE LOSS

This documentation of Berne Swiss paints a portrait of a community in the final stages of language loss. This chapter will explore the sociolinguistic issues that I encountered while doing this project. These are issues specific to this community, but are likely present in other similar communities as well. Sociolinguistic factors such as attitudes about their Swiss dialect affected people's willingness to participate in the project, as well as what types of things they were willing to record for the corpus. The documentation also serves as a window into the local history and culture of the community during the time that Swiss was the dominant language. Valuable information about history and culture, which would be lost when the language is lost, is preserved for future generations.

4.1 Language Attitudes

When starting this project, I assumed that participants' ability (or inability) to express things in Swiss would be the main factor determining who would be willing to participate in the research project and what types of things they would want to record. I assumed that fluency and frequency of use would determine participants' ability, and I planned to make recordings of the most fluent speakers who were able to use the language as closely as possible to the way it was used in the past. Unexpectedly, potential participants' language attitudes played a surprising role
4.1.1 Correctness

One attitude that affected data collection was some participants' notion that I needed to find "the best speaker." When I asked people if they knew Swiss or would be willing to be recorded for the purpose of documenting the language, even if they agreed some were quick to recommend someone who was better. One man, who claimed to not speak Swiss (which he told me in Swiss), suggested another local man who had "actually used his Swiss" (i.e., communicated with it in Switzerland). This suggests that some speakers were not confident in their abilities in the language, a sign of impending language loss. There seems to be a community perception that if someone has traveled to Switzerland and was able to communicate with people there using the local Berne dialect, then that person really knows Swiss. But some people who had only used it to communicate in the Berne area felt they had not really "used" their Swiss, or that they were not speaking "real Swiss" and therefore would not be an ideal participant for the project.

Clearly, the local dialect had lower prestige in their eyes than the dialects used in Switzerland. This low view of the local dialect possibly made speakers reluctant to participate: why document a language that is not a "real" language?

Some people, particularly those with more education and travel experience, seemed very interested in pointing out things about the Berne dialect that "weren't Swiss at all." If they had been to Switzerland, they wanted to be sure that I knew that certain terms used locally were not the "correct" term used in Switzerland. In reality, I was most interested in recording the local dialect as it was spoken in Berne, Indiana, so their notions of who is the "best" or what words are "correct" did not necessarily match the goals of this project. The notion that their dialect is not
the "correct" one can also be a contributing factor to language loss. If people view their dialect as inferior to a variety spoken in Switzerland, and to the dominant English language, then they will not make an effort to maintain it by teaching it to their children. As mentioned in section 1.3, participants commented that they did not use Swiss with their children because it did not seem to be useful for communicating in school or with neighbors.

### 4.1.2 Politeness

Several of the people I interviewed were careful to let me know that some of the common Swiss words or phrases were much more coarse or crude than would be acceptable to say in English. One man had an eight-page document of "Swiss Dialect Expressions" that he had collected from his aunt. When I asked him if he would be willing to say some of them for a recording, so we would have a record of the pronunciation, he refused to record one expression because it was too crude. Another participant later recorded that expression, but mentioned afterward in English that I should, "Be careful about where you interpret that." Some of the humorous sayings, as well as some of the derogatory names they would call others, or words for body parts are acceptable to say in Swiss, but people would feel uncomfortable or never think of saying something equivalent in English.

In one session, a man made a comment when telling a story about a hired hand. He said that one of the words in the story, grieng 'head,' was a little more coarse than the word chopf 'head.' In another session, the four participants started talking about derogatory names that they used to call people in Swiss. Two men mentioned the name tswaeng grieng 'bull head,' and then commented on how rough it sounds in Swiss. They laughed saying they would never call someone the names they were mentioning in English, but they did not think anything of it in Swiss. This is an interesting example of solidarity versus politeness. While in the past, speaking
Swiss was a way to separate one's self from “the world” and identify with a particular religious community, today it is used among people who share the common background and want to “tell it like it is.” Things that would be considered too direct or potentially offensive to say in English, are not only acceptable, but humorous when said in Swiss.

Not only are some coarse or crude things acceptable to say in Swiss but not in English, but the local Berne Swiss dialect is also considered by other Swiss speakers to be more coarse or crude than other Swiss German dialects. Wenger made this observation when he interviewed all three Swiss speaking communities in Ohio and Indiana that speak the same Swiss dialect. An informant from the Sonnnebärg community mentioned that people in Berne say things that could be considered swearing in his community (Wenger 1969:191). While no one I interviewed mentioned this in relationship to the two communities in Ohio, one man did relate the following story, which illustrates that some Swiss German speakers in Switzerland felt the same way about a word used locally in Berne for vomit. He had no idea that it was considered crude until he went to Switzerland and his wife got sick. When he told their host family that she had vomited and said the word that was common in Berne, their mouths dropped open in surprise.

(4)  *Phyllis krahnk ksie un sie het kchotst.*

'Phyllis was sick, and she vomited.'

The term that would have been acceptable to use with his host family in Switzerland is *erbräche* 'vomit', but the term commonly used in Berne is *kchotse*, 'vomit.' The man who related this story, as well as others who looked at his word list that included both terms for vomit, were not familiar with *erbräche.*

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50The word *erbräche* is the participant's own transcription from the word list he provided. He did not pronounce this word, so I did not use the orthography developed for this project.
4.2 A Historical and Cultural Portrait

When language shift occurs in a community, pieces of the history and culture of that community also slip away as the local language is replaced. While dialects of Swiss German are still spoken and used in other parts of the world today, it will soon be completely replaced by English in Berne, Indiana. For the people of the Berne community, parts of their history, heritage, and culture intertwined with the Swiss dialect will be gone, as they will no longer be able to express them as effectively in English. It is my hope that the data collected as part of this language documentation project will provide a window through which future generations can learn about the history and culture that is part of their heritage.

One may question whether it is possible to capture anything valuable from a language that has been replaced to the extent that the Berne Swiss dialect has, believing it would be a stretch to assume that the data would provide accurate insight into the language and culture as it used to be. On the contrary, I believe that the data I have collected and compiled for this corpus show that this is possible. In my interviews, I was able to record nine different types of data,\textsuperscript{51} which together provide insight into a variety of ways the language was used. Word lists, conversations, and texts brought up terms like \textit{schturm}, \textit{gluschte}, \textit{chaeb}, \textit{kschveltie}, and \textit{schtahmpfie}, which were all common words used to express ideas or things that participants could not translate directly into English. These words, described in the table below, are some of the examples of words and meanings that would be lost without documentation.

\textsuperscript{51}See Table 17 in Section 3.4 above for a description of the different data types.
Table 18: Swiss Words Difficult to Directly Translate into English

Rhymes and tongue twisters give examples of humor that was passed on from one generation to the next. One of the most commonly repeated tongue twisters is:

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52Participants translated this as “crave” and “desire,” but still communicated that this did not really get quite at what the word gluschte really means.
The texts that have been recorded span several subject areas and give a glimpse of what life was like when Swiss was more commonly used. Nearly everyone who recorded texts in Swiss talked about things in their past. Life at home on the farm, chores, stories from the one-room school, the outhouse, church, faith, modern inventions such as tractors and airplanes, and local foods are all mentioned one or more times in various texts. In some ways, a moribund language may actually be a better medium for capturing a community's history than a stable, living language like English because words from the moribund language that are associated with the way things were done in the past can communicate those ideas more clearly in speaker's minds than can the language that is replacing it.

4.4 Common Themes Throughout Interviews

4.4.1 Food Production and Preparation

In nearly every interview session, participants told me something about Swiss foods. In later sessions, I would ask specifically about food, since I realized from earlier sessions that it was something people liked to talk about. Not only were the particular dishes and foods that were eaten described in the texts, but there were also themes that went with these foods: how they were prepared, raising and growing their own food, and the follow-up summary,
We had good food. We didn't have much money when we were young, but we always had plenty to eat.'

This sentiment was echoed in at least two interviews overtly, but also subtly came through in other sessions. This theme of food preparation, not having a lot of money, but always eating well, was also present in the Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording.

The specific local dishes that were mentioned and described include Apberie Schturm, Chmaelhatse, Ruschtie, Schwaetsie, Lard Va, and Fried Mush. For certain foods, specifications were made, such as the importance of using a cast iron skillet to make Ruschtie, and that this particular dish is better when prepared for a large group.
Local Food | Translation | Description
--- | --- | ---
Apbeire Schturm | Strawberry “Storm” | Crushed strawberries, dry bread, and cream or ice cream (later years). Eaten now as a dessert, but used to “make a meal” along with cheese.
Chnaeblahtse | Nothings | A fried dough, noodle-shaped sweet doughnut type food.
Ruschtie | Fried potatoes | Potatoes boiled with the skins, then peeled, shredded, and fried in a cast iron skillet. Tastes better when a large quantity is made.
Schwaetsie | Hot dressing | Made from vinegar, bacon and drippings, sugar, and salt in cast iron skillet—eaten hot on raw lettuce.
Lahrd Va | Homemade apple butter | The best homemade apple butter was made in a kettle, in which the cider was cooked so long, you didn't have to add extra sugar.
Fried Mush | Fried cornmeal mush | Corn meal mush cooked in a black kettle or Dutch pot, and then fried in a skillet. Served with molasses. The secret is to cook it long enough that it is cooked, but not so long that it scorches.

Table 19: Local Swiss Foods and Descriptions

Several other foods were also mentioned, although no one recorded specific texts that described how to make them, including homemade cheese, cottage cheese, and sauerkraut.

Several people mentioned gardening and the vast variety and quantity of vegetables and fruits that their family raised on their own. Raising pigs and chickens for meat was also mentioned, and butchering, preserving the hams, preparing sausage, and canning the meat are described in the corpus.

Of course these particular dishes are not isolated from the memories that they conjure up for local people. The value of recording them and documenting them is that there is more than just a recipe card with a list of ingredients. Different participants, in talking about making apple butter,
talked about how their whole family or even a neighbor's family would come over and help "schnits" 'prepare' the apples. This was done the night before making the apple butter. If you talk about "schnitsing" apples in Berne, you are not only talking about peeling, paring, and seeding apples, you are also talking about it in a context where people were doing these things together. The Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording mentions that the neighbors would come over and help, and they would "schnits" bushels and bushels of apples. As people talked about this and other food preparation, the theme of working hard together as a family, with extended family, or neighbors came up several times. And while it seems from the descriptions that they worked very hard to prepare enough food for winter, they also looked back on those times with fond feelings. Several people seemed to almost lament the fact that it is not done that way now.

In her recording, Ann Johnston recalled farm work fifty years ago saying:


'The neighbors helped each other a lot in the fields. But it's not like it used to be. Now everybody does it alone, it's not like it used to be. It was always so nice to help each other.'

One of the men I interviewed echoed the same thing as he reminisced about harvesting the crops in the fields:
It uh—the thrashing was different than today. It's all combines, everything mechanized and they don't help. It's uh—I've talked with some other of my age. We've lost something. We used to be quite something—the thrashers. It was almost like a reunion, you know.

At another point in the interview, this same man recalls that it seemed like people had more time then:

And they—seemed like they had time to visit those days yet. [We would be] out in the field working there, hear Mathis Fritz\textsuperscript{53} comin' down with the car. He stopped that old Model T. I come over and they visited, I'll betch ya there a half hour or more. Then they moved on again, you know but it just seemed like they always had time to visit a little bit, yeah.\textsuperscript{54}

It seemed ironic to me that a 97 year old man would feel like he had more time when he had to work so hard just to have food to eat, but he associates that time with being surrounded by neighbors and family, and memories of the conversations and work that they shared.

Changes in food production, preparation, and farming coincided with the change in language, and when people think about the time that they used Swiss, they do not just think about the language that has passed, but also the way of life. One man said at the conclusion of his interview, “I told my children the only Swiss in them is the blood running through their veins.”\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{53}When people speak about others in Swiss, the surname precedes the given name. It was not unusual for a person to be speaking in English about the past, but use the Swiss pronunciation and word order for another Swiss speaker's name.

\textsuperscript{54}This and the previous quote from interview with Abraham Lehman, 2009-08-25.

\textsuperscript{55}Interview with Charlie Wulliman 2009-08-19. Unfortunately, he said this after the recorder was off, so it was not included in the corpus.
4.3.2 Faith and Religion

Two well-studied cases of language shift include the shift from Hungarian to German in Oberwart, Austria (Gal 1979) and the shift from Gaelic to English in East Sutherland, Scotland (Dorian 1981). In each of these communities, one of the last domains to shift from the local language to the dominant language was that of religion (Fasold 1984:227). This provides an interesting point for discussion when examining the Berne Swiss community. For this community, the religious domain was one of the first to shift to English, because of the external pressure and negative associations with the German language during World War I. Church services began to be held in English while people still used Swiss regularly in the home. However, the theme of faith and religion came up in several interviews, and it was clear that although church had been primarily in English for the majority of the speaker's lives, there were certain things that still seemed very meaningful to them about German worship. Certain hymns and prayers were mentioned, and two people mentioned how much it still means to them to sing German hymns.

Several participants mentioned family worship time at breakfast as being very meaningful and influential in their lives. The German word for this is Andacht, and several participants mentioned that their families did this when they were growing up, expressing their gratitude to their parents for it. This included people I interviewed as well as the Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording. Andacht was a time of reading the Bible and kneeling at the table to pray. One participant said she remembered this being done primarily in English in her home, but in her grandparents' home it would have been done in German. Participants also recalled meal time and bedtime prayers that their parents had said or taught them that were always spoken in German.
Participants talked about a New Year's blessing song, which is still sung in German annually at the First Mennonite Church. As someone who grew up in that church singing that song once a year, I was not quite sure why we sang it. It seemed like people just stumbled over the words, since no one (in my pew) knew it well enough nor sang it often enough to sing it well. Several of the people I interviewed, however, mentioned this song with enthusiasm, and thought it was particularly special because it had been written by a member of one of the Swiss Mennonite congregations in Ohio. Upon further questioning, I realized there are many associations with this song which bring fond memories. It used to be a tradition to go caroling on New Year's Eve at midnight, continuing into the early hours of the morning. Young people would go from house to house singing the New Year's Song and shouting “Luschtiks Nuw Yahr!” 56 They enjoyed telling stories about people's reactions to the carolers or times when New Year's carolers came to their house hoping for alcoholic beverages. This project will enable the memories and significance associated with the parts of the culture that remain, like the New Year's Song, to be passed on to future generations. While it seems like the replacement of the Swiss language for English was inevitable and irreversible, it does not have to be forgotten.

56 Translation: 'Happy New Year!'
CHAPTER 5
OVERCOMING OBSTACLES TO DOCUMENTATION

In any research project, obstacles arise that take the researcher and the results in a different direction than what may have been the original plan. In this chapter I discuss obstacles I encountered and how they were handled in order to accomplish the goal of preserving samples of Berne Swiss. While obstacles will differ for each individual community, the obstacles I describe here are likely to be encountered by others attempting a similar project and are discussed here to provide ideas for others facing similar obstacles.

5.1 Finding Fluent Speakers of a Dying Language

One of the difficulties of language documentation at a late stage in language loss is finding fluent speakers. I was working on a tight schedule and was only able to be in the community from one to three weeks at a time. I decided, as a rule, to turn no one down who offered to participate. If people were willing to sit down and talk with me, I made an appointment to visit them. While sessions with individuals generally produced less fluent speech recordings, each interview I did helped me to learn more about the language and the community, whether by increasing insight into reasons for the shift to English or increasing understanding of how people felt about the Swiss language.
5.1.1 Interviewing Multiple Participants Together

The interview sessions most productive for recording samples of the language were those in which there was more than one participant present who could speak and understand Swiss. This is probably because multiple speakers and listeners of a language can help each other remember forgotten words and in general converse more naturally. Because language is used to communicate, it only makes sense that a session in which participants actually use it to communicate would provide more authentic data. However, even in sessions where I just asked participants to read words from prepared word lists, they seemed much more ready to say the words aloud in a group than when being interviewed alone.

For example, the participant who gave me eight pages of expressions and sayings also had approximately four pages of Swiss words and their English equivalents. When I asked him or others to look through those lists and pronounce any that were familiar to them, individuals tended to read the list mentally, and only comment once in a while. In another session with a group of four, the participants seemed more interested in trying to pronounce the words and ask if any of the others were familiar with each word or could remember it.

As mentioned above, the participants who were most comfortable recording texts and conversations were married couples, in which both spouses speak Swiss, or people who were speaking with a sibling. For example, two siblings who visit each other daily mentioned that they converse with each other in Swiss every day to stay in practice. They provided some monologues, conversation, and answered most questions I asked in Swiss, even though I was speaking English.
5.1.2 Demographic Information Collected from Participants

The table below shows basic demographic information collected from the people who participated in this project: their birth year, age at the time they were interviewed, first language, age of acquisition of a second language, child and adulthood homes, and their relationship to other participants in the project. The table shows how the likelihood of having only Swiss for a first language diminishes as birth year increases. P13, who reports her first language to be Swiss, is the exception for those born in 1930 or later. One reason this may be the case is because her father was a young man when he immigrated to Berne from Switzerland in the early 1900s. Most of the other participants, especially those born in later years, were more than one generation removed from Switzerland, or had parents who had been small children when they came to the United States. Some participants, although they said both English and Swiss were their first language, went on to give an age at which they acquired one or the other. The urbanization of the Berne community is visible in this small sample, as only four of the 19 participants grew up in town, but 16 of the 19 spent at least part if not all of their adulthood in town.

57ID numbers were assigned based on order in which I interviewed the participants. An interesting addition to the table would have been to determine how many generations removed participants were from the last of their predecessors to live in Switzerland.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Birth year</th>
<th>Age in 2009</th>
<th>First Language</th>
<th>Age Acquired English</th>
<th>Age Acquired Swiss</th>
<th>Childhood Home</th>
<th>Adulthood Home</th>
<th>Relationship to other participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P15</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>farm</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>Aunt of P08, P09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>farm, Congo</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>Sibling of P17</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>school age</td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>farm, town</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>Spouse of P02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>farm, town</td>
<td>Sibling of P18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P02</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>school age</td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>Spouse of P01, Sibling of P03</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>town</td>
<td>Sibling of P02</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>Swiss</td>
<td>before school</td>
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<td>town</td>
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<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
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<td>farm</td>
<td>town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>79</td>
<td>Both</td>
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<td></td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>Spouse of P11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P13</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>town</td>
<td>town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P07</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>town</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>Spouse of P08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P08</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>town</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>Spouse of P07, Sibling of P09, Niece of P05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P09</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>town, country</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>Spouse of P10, Sibling of P08, Nephew of P05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P10</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>town, country</td>
<td>Spouse of P09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Demographic Information Collected From Participants
Table 21 gives information collected from the questionnaires about participants' use of the Swiss language during three phases of life. The table represents the responses of 19 participants who completed the Swiss Language Documentation Questionnaire found in Appendix A. The numbers in the boxes under “Frequency of Use” indicate the responses participants chose to best describe how often they used Swiss during different phases of their lives. For example, the top left numbered box shows that 16 participants said they used Swiss everyday during their childhood. Some participants marked more than one answer for a single phase of life, and some did not respond for certain phases of life.

The numbers under Interlocutor indicate the number of times that each interlocutor was selected for each phase of life. From this table, it is apparent that Swiss was used less and less frequently as participants grew older. Only three of 19 participants said they still used it everyday in recent years, while 16 of the 19 said they used it every day during childhood. The darkest shaded boxes in the interlocutor section of the table represent people with whom participants said they spoke Swiss, although I had not included a question about this in the questionnaire. They suggested these responses themselves. The lightly shaded boxes correspond to interlocutors that I left off the questionnaire for those time periods of life. While it was fine to leave out “spouse and [own] children” for the childhood time period, I regret leaving out “parents and siblings” under adulthood and recent years. The responses in these boxes for those time periods indicate that some participants suggested on their own that they used Swiss with parents and siblings during adulthood or recent years; it is possible more participants would have marked those options but did not because they were not listed as options on the questionnaire.
5.2 Encouraging Community Involvement

In preparation for a documentation project, terms and ideas like community involvement, mobilizing the community, and letting community members take ownership are common themes in the literature (Nathan 2006, Mosel 2006, Dwyer 2006). Possibilities for accomplishing this include teaching people to use software such as WeSay, a dictionary building program that is used in language field work. 58 People could meet in groups and brainstorm all the words they can remember in their language, with example sentences and illustrations of why they would choose one word in a particular situation over another one with a similar meaning. I was not able to do these types of activities when I was collecting data. Instead, I ended up with a project that was much more Linguist-Focused and linguist-directed. While I did not intentionally try to

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58WeSay is open-source software co-produced by Payap Language Software, SIL PNG, and SIL International. It was developed as a tool for non-linguists to use to compile a dictionary in their own native language. It uses a standard xml format, but does not require users to know how to program in xml (http://www.wesay.org/wiki/Main_Page).

88
control the project, I did not sense a momentum from within the community for people to take a more active role in the documentation work.

One activity was organized in conjunction with the annual Swiss Days 2009 festival, to gather Swiss speakers together to try to compile a dictionary of Swiss sayings. While several people showed up to participate, to my knowledge, there was not enough time or organization to produce a dictionary. One audio cassette recording was made of the event.\textsuperscript{59} I made contact with both of the people responsible for organizing and facilitating this and was able to get more leads for people to interview for the project, but neither of the organizers of this event seemed interested in keeping the work going, aside from an annual gathering.

This project, while not an ideal model for levels of community involvement and ownership, demonstrates the potential for documentation to still reflect the values of the community, even if members are reluctant or unable to do the major work of documenting, recording and recruiting others. If one has willing speakers and limited time, it is possible to gather and preserve something of value for the future, even if it is not as much as could have been done, had more time or community members been available.

\section{5.3 Focusing on Community Values}

As I mentioned in section 2.2.2, one difficulty in doing a documentation project in connection with a graduate degree is the amount of “official paperwork” that accompanies it. However, even if it were not research in connection with a university, there would likely be paperwork relating to ethical issues involved in documentation, such as who will have access to the data, whether speakers will be identified by name, and so forth. Any time this type of official

\footnote{I was not able to be present at the event nor listen to a copy of the recording. From what I was told, it was made by a regular cassette player setting on a table or off to the side in the same room with the Swiss speakers.}
paperwork is presented at the opening of a project, it gives the impression that the person presenting the paperwork is “in charge.” This leads participants to say things like, “Is this helpful to you? Is this what you’re looking for?” Questions like these shift the focus away from what is valuable to them as members of the community, and toward what is valuable to the researcher.

While I cannot measure to what extent I overcame this obstacle, I did try to structure the interviews in such a way as to work around this. I had the advantage of growing up in the community for approximately 22 years, with grandparents who spoke Swiss as their first language and parents who grew up hearing their own parents speak Swiss. Because of this, I was already somewhat familiar with community values and what people in the community would find interesting. I had access to feedback from people who were first generation monolinguals in English in the early stages of the project and could tell from their feedback what types of things interested them. I was careful during interview sessions not to discourage people from sharing anything they were interested in. If that meant sitting through a long English discussion of family relations, that is what I did. It was important for them to feel like they could talk about things that they associated with Swiss, even if it wasn't going to produce “Swiss data” for the corpus. I knew eventually some of that would lead to Swiss conversation, or to a greater understanding of life in the community when Swiss was the dominant language. And if it didn't, then I could redirect the topic a little later. I also used my earliest, most open-ended interviews as starting points for conversation in future sessions. I looked for patterns in what participants could talk about easily or enjoyed talking about, and suggested those topics when others were struggling with ideas of what to say. While this helped to increase the quantity of material in the corpus, it may have limited the diversity to some extent.
In section 2.1.1, I first mentioned the Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording made in 1978. Many of the topics the speaker chose to talk about when she made this recording over 30 years ago were similar to topics that participants talked about in their interview sessions with me. The table below gives an overview of the material on that tape and shows where there is overlap concerning subject matter. The large number of topics that show overlap serve as a confirmation that the data I gathered reflects the typical themes people in the community have associated with the Swiss language.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section headings</th>
<th>General Themes</th>
<th>Similar Topics to My 2009 Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mornings at home</td>
<td>Mornings at home</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking to school, clothing wearing out</td>
<td>Walking to school</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School memories, Last day of school, Learning English at school</td>
<td>One-room school memories</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handmade clothing, laundry, daily chores, Washing dishes, bathing, outbuildings</td>
<td>Daily chores</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butchering and churning butter, Making cheese, Homemade apple butter and soap,</td>
<td>Making food</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating chicken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon chores, evening meal, Farm work for cows, Summer house*, apples,</td>
<td>Farm work</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summer farm work*, sparrows, Working in the field</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathering hickory nuts, popcorn</td>
<td>Snacks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister stories, Dad's teasing, Evenings at home, Shining horse harnesses</td>
<td>Family memories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas memories</td>
<td>Simple Christmas Celebrations</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad's medical ailments</td>
<td>Illness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catching pets in the woods</td>
<td>Fun and Recreation</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to Uncle Menace's</td>
<td>Extended family</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday church and company*, Parents’ faith examples</td>
<td>Faith and religion</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's quilting</td>
<td>Sewing skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable garden*, Mother's flowers</td>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving money to buy a purse</td>
<td>Frugality</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailman, tramps</td>
<td>Visitors to the house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbors names and farms, Family names, births, deaths, Immediate family names</td>
<td>Names of people and places they lived</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Ann Wulliman Johnston Audio Cassette Overview

The * indicates that the selection is included on the CD filed with the thesis.
5.4 Working with an Elderly Population

When documenting a dying language, it is very likely that one will be working primarily with an elderly population. Language shift happens over time as another more dominant language replaces the first language. In most cases, it comes about through "inter-generational switching" (Lieberson 1972:242). As the younger generation chooses the more dominant language over the first language, the language shift gradually takes place. In the final stages of language loss, only a handful of elderly people within a given community may still be able to use and understand the first language. This is the case in Berne, Indiana. Of the 19 people who participated by being recorded, the most fluent speakers were born prior to 1930, with several being born prior to 1920. This means they were in their 80s or 90s at the time of the interviews.

When doing audio recordings and in-person interviews with people this old, hearing loss can be a serious obstacle. For example, one man was quite hard of hearing. This man seemed quite fluent, but was unable to understand my questions or some of the other conversation at multiple points in the interview. It was difficult to get natural speech or a regular flow of conversation, aside from his own monologues, because things had to be repeated, spoken loudly, or more clearly. He probably would have had the language skills to participate more fully in the conversation, as evidenced by some of his monologues, but his hearing loss prevented that. Also, his speech tended to be less clearly articulated. On the other hand, his wife had very clear and precise speech, probably because of the experience of communicating each day with a person who is hard of hearing.

It was more difficult to use some of the recording equipment effectively with participants who used hearing aids. Because I was using lapel microphones attached to headsets to maintain an unchanging distance from mouth to microphone, the headsets, which had an earphone on one
end, had to be placed over hearing aids if a person had hearing aids in both ears. This problem could have been prevented by using more expensive equipment, but my budget was limited.

Hearing loss also proved to be an obstacle when I went back to participants for additional sessions and requested help in translating various portions of their own interview. Some participants had a difficult time understanding the previously recorded interviews, although I tried multiple set-ups including laptop speakers and external amplified speakers. I did not try using headphones, because I needed them to be able to hear me clearly at the same time they were listening to the interviews. It seemed like it would be complicated and awkward to set up headphones and hearing aids in such a way that they would be able to hear both me and the recordings clearly.

Memory loss could possibly be an issue when working with an elderly population. Although it seemed like many people chose to speak in Swiss about things that would be in their long term memory, other people did comment that they just couldn't remember things from that long ago. It can be difficult to distinguish between memory loss and loss of language skills when working with an elderly population. Are they struggling to think of something to say because they don't remember how to express it in the language, or because they do not remember exactly how things were a long time ago? Sometimes comments that speakers made when they were not sure what to say gave clues as to whether it is language loss or more general memory loss. For example, one man, after pausing from speaking Swiss said, “I know the Swiss, I can't get it through.” In another session, the same man said, “I didn't have to think what I'm gonna say [in Swiss]. It just came natural...sometimes I have to think a little. Now I do.” These seem to indicate a problem of language loss rather than memory loss.
5.5 Balancing the Ideal Versus the Possible

The main lesson that comes through each of these obstacles is the need to strike a balance between the ideal and the possible. It is very important to read and understand the standards for documentation and try to develop a project that will follow best practices in every way possible. However, it is equally important to keep a balanced perspective, in order to avoid becoming discouraged and quitting when ideals cannot be realized. As my research progressed, I realized I was not going to be able to produce the kind of documentation project that I had first envisioned. At that time my primary examples were projects that had been underway for several years with teams of researchers and community members working together. I had to work with what I had within constraints I had little control over, and do the best I could with the participants who were willing to help and the data I was able to gather. This is a valuable thing to keep in mind for small projects with few researchers, limited time, small financial budgets, and an aging population of speakers. Any one of these obstacles could have ground the documentation project to a halt had it become the focus of my attention. Instead, I chose to focus on what I had to work with, and how I could do valuable work within constraints that, at times, prevented ideal practices.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I summarize my research and lessons learned during the Berne Swiss documentation project. I discuss potential for community interest and possibilities for further research. I then conclude by assessing the value of this small-scale documentation project for the academic and local community.

6.1 Summary

In this thesis, I have introduced and reviewed historical, geographical, and linguistic information about the Berne Swiss language, a moribund language that will soon be completely replaced by English. While this shift began in the late 19th century, it will not be complete until the early 21st century. I have discussed factors that contributed to this shift, as well as past and current patterns of language use. I have shown through this discussion that if any samples of the language were to be preserved, the time for preservation is now, while there are still living fluent speakers of Swiss. I laid out the project goals and design, a balance between best practices and the practicalities of working with an elderly population under time and geographic constraints. I argued that, even when documentation cannot be carried out within a strictly community-based research model, it is still possible to incorporate practices from that model, or similar models, in order to produce results that more accurately reflect the values of the community. I discussed methods for conducting interview sessions and organizing data, evaluating which methods were
most effective and which I would change in future work. I discussed sociolinguistic factors, such as language attitudes, that can contribute to or hinder the collection of data for a documentation project. I showed how the common themes that came through in multiple interview sessions can give insight into cultural and historical knowledge tied to the Berne Swiss language in this community. The Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording provided by one participant shows that data collected in my interview sessions is similar to what might have come out of an earlier, more community-based project. The woman who recorded herself speaking Swiss of her own initiative chose to talk about similar topics and themes as the people I interviewed 30 years later. Finally, I discussed obstacles that arose during the documentation project, and the importance of maintaining a balance between the ideal and the possible in a small-scale documentation project.

6.2 Community Interest in Documentation

The success or failure of a language documentation project is closely tied to community interest and involvement in the project. At this point, it is difficult to speculate the extent to which the community will be interested in using materials produced as a result of this project. Those in the generation that remember hearing Swiss spoken during their childhood, but who did not learn it themselves, seem interested in hearing portions of the interviews I recorded with older members of the community. For example, all four of my grandparents learned Swiss as their first language and used it with each other when their children were growing up. My parents both grew up as the youngest child in their families and did not learn to speak or understand the language. As I conducted interviews for this project, they were always very interested in hearing what people had said and to see if they could remember their parents or relatives saying something similar. I expect their response would be similar to others in their generation. As
many in this age group have lost or are soon losing their parents, hearing the Swiss language is a way for them to reconnect with their past at a time when they are especially interested in doing so.

The son of two of my participants was also very interested and influential in encouraging his parents and aunt to participate in this project. When I first spoke with him about the idea, he knew exactly which stories he wanted his father to record in his interview session. He also talked with several other people in the community about the project, before I arrived in Berne, encouraging them to participate and asking them about their own knowledge of Swiss, and whether they knew others who would be interested in participating.

It seems that interest is likely to increase among the people who remember their parents and grandparents speaking Swiss but did not learn it themselves. They are now more interested in their past, as they see the last of the older generation pass away. The man who offered to shoot video\textsuperscript{61} in one session, for example, said his parents would speak to him in Swiss when he was growing up, but he would answer them in English because he did not want to sound “Dutchy.” Now that he is in his 70s and both of his parents are no longer living, he seemed to really enjoy shooting video of the session and commented that he understood a lot of the Swiss that was being spoken.

6.3 Areas for Further Research

There are many opportunities for further research as a result of this documentation project. From a purely linguistic perspective, the corpus provides data needed to do dialect comparison, analyze language change, and study areas that have not yet been studied in Berne Swiss, such as discourse analysis or prosody. The data in the corpus could be examined in light of Wenger's

\textsuperscript{61}The video from that session is not included in the corpus, due to the poor sound quality.
structural analysis, and more work could be done in documenting the linguistic structure of the
Berne Swiss dialect.

The case study of the research and documentation process provides a point of discussion for
others involved in similar work. The opportunities to continue to produce materials for use in the
community from the data collected in the corpus provide the potential for more research into
“creating products useful to communities” which Dwyer says “will become more and more
central to the ethical practice of the research enterprise” (2006:36).

6.4 Value of Language Documentation

For the academic community, the recordings will allow further analysis and dialect
comparison to be carried out after the last speakers in the community are no longer living. In the
future, linguists will be able to study how the language changed over time by comparing the
Berne Swiss dialect with Swiss German dialects spoken elsewhere. For example, they could
compare the Swiss formerly spoken by the Mennonite community with that still spoken by the
local Amish.

For the local community, these recordings and possible future presentations of the data
provide a valuable connection to their history, culture, and heritage. They provide a way for the
language to be remembered and heard long after it has ceased to be a living language within the
Berne community. Because of this project, history and culture tied to the language will remain
accessible to the community. As stated in the Highlights from the Report on the Royal
Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996):
Language is one of the main instruments for transmitting culture from one generation to another and for communicating meaning and making sense of collective experience.

In conclusion, I have shown through my discussion of this documentation project that even when a language is in the final stages of language loss, there may be many things remaining that are worth recording and preserving for future generations. If this can be done in a way that is lasting and accessible to the community, it enables the community to preserve and celebrate their heritage through the samples of the language that were preserved. It also provides a tool for them to work with should they become interested in knowing more about the Swiss language. That knowledge is valuable and significant because “knowledge about your language is knowledge about yourself and your history” (Cameron 1992:118).
APPENDICES
Appendix A
Swiss Language Documentation Questionnaire

Swiss Language Documentation Questionnaire
Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer.

Background Information
1. ___________________________________________ _____________
   Name                                         Birth Year
   Male / Female (Circle one)

2. Where do you live?

   Have you ever lived anywhere else for a significant period of time (one year or more)?
   If so, please list places and approximate number of years you lived in each place.

   ___________________________________________ _____________
   ___________________________________________ _____________
   ___________________________________________ _____________

3. What language did you first learn to Swiss / English / Both / Not Sure speak as a child?

   If Swiss was your first language, at what age did you learn English? __________

   If English was your first language, at what age did you learn Swiss? __________

   Please list any other languages you have learned or studied, along with the approximate number of years you used or studied each language.

   ___________________________________________ _____________
   ___________________________________________ _____________

4. When you were growing up (in your parents’ home), with whom did you speak Swiss?
   Parents / Siblings / Classmates / Teachers / Relatives / Friends / People at Church
When you were growing up (in your parents’ home), how often did you use Swiss? 
Every Day / Several Times Each Week / Occasionally / Rarely

5. As a young adult, with whom did you speak Swiss? 
Your Spouse / Your Children / Relatives / Friends / People at Church

As a young adult, how often did you use Swiss? 
Every Day / Several Times Each Week / Occasionally / Rarely

6. In recent years, with whom have you spoken Swiss? 
Your Spouse / Your Children / Relatives / Friends

In recent years, how often have you used Swiss? 
Every Day / Several Times Each Week / Occasionally / Rarely

Your Participation in this Project

7. How comfortable would you be with each of the following options (in a recorded interview)? (4 – very comfortable, 1 – not at all comfortable)

4 / 3 / 2 / 1 Telling a story in Swiss
4 / 3 / 2 / 1 Having a conversation with another Swiss speaker
4 / 3 / 2 / 1 Reciting a joke, prayer, poem or song in Swiss
4 / 3 / 2 / 1 Using Swiss words or phrases to describe what you see in a picture
4 / 3 / 2 / 1 Translating a list of English words into Swiss

Is there something else you would like to do for the recording?

8. Is there a particular story, joke, prayer, poem or song (or anything else) you would like to hear if someone else is willing to record it?

Are there others you think would be interested in participating in this project?
9. What format(s) would be convenient for you to listen to recordings made for this project?

CD / Cassette Tape / DVD (for the computer) / Other ________________
Appendix B
Wenker Sentences – Standard German with English Translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Im Winter, fliegen die trocknen Blätter durch die Luft herum.</td>
<td>In winter, the dry leaves fly around in the wind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.</td>
<td>It will stop snowing soon, then the weather will be better again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Thu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.</td>
<td>Put coal in the oven, so the milk will start to boil soon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durchs Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.</td>
<td>The good old man broke through the ice with the horse and fell into cold water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.</td>
<td>He died four or six weeks ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Das Feuer war zu stark, die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.</td>
<td>The fire was too strong, the cakes are burned completely black underneath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Er ißt die Eier immer nur ohne Salz und Pfeffer.</td>
<td>He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.</td>
<td>I was over at the woman's place, and told it to her, and she said she would also tell her daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder thun!</td>
<td>I won't do it again.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ich schlage Dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, du Affe!</td>
<td>I'll hit you with the cooking spoon on the ears, you ape!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Humpa’s translations of these sentences were given to participants: 10. I also don’t want to do it anymore. 21. Who did he tell the news story to? According to the native German speakers I consulted later, the translations printed above are more accurate.
12. Wo gehst Du hin? Sollen wir mit Dir gehen?
13. Wer hat mir den Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?
15. Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen, Du darfst früher nach Hause gehn als die Andern.
17. Geh, sei so gut und sag Deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen.
18. Hättest Du ihn gekannt!
19. Es sind schlechte Zeiten.
20. Er that so als batten sie ihn zum Dreschen bestellt; sie haben es aber selbst gethan.
21. Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?
22. Man muß laut schreien, sonst versteht er uns nicht.
23. Wir sind müde und haben Durst.
25. Der Schnee ist diese Nacht bei uns liegen geblieben, aber heute Morgen ist er geschmolzen.
27. Könnt ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten, dann gehn wir mit euch.
28. Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr hoch, die euren sind viel höher. Our mountains are not very high, yours are much higher.
29. Ihr dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben! You must not be so childish!
30. Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wie viel Brod wollt ihr haben? How many pounds of sausage and how much bread do you want?
31. Ich verstehe euch nicht, ihr müßt ein bißchen lauter sprechen. I don't understand you (2 person pl.), you must speak a little louder.
32. Habt ihr kein Stückchen weiße Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden? Have you found any piece of soap for me on my table?
33. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen. His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your (2 person pl.) garden.
34. Das Wort kam ihm vom Herzen! The word from him came from the heart.
35. Was sitzen da für Vogelchen oben auf dem Mauerchen? What kind of little birds are sitting upon the little wall?
36. Die Bauern hatten fünf Ochsen und neun Kühe und zwölf Schäfchen vor das Dorf gebracht, die wollten sie verkaufen. The farmers had brought five oxen and nine cows and twelve lambs to the village—they wanted to sell them.
37. Die Leute sind heute alle draußen auf dem Felde und mähen/hauen. The people are all out in the field today (and are) mowing.
38. Das war recht von ihnen! That was right of them.
39. Geh nur, der braune Hund thut Dir nichts. Go ahead, the brown dog won't do anything to you.
40. Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren. I, along with those folks there, rode across the meadow into the crops/fields.

The Standard German version of the 40 Wenker sentences were taken from the Digitaler Wenker-Atlas (DiWA) (http://www.diwa.info/). Most English translations were taken from Humpa (1996: 187-188). The remaining sentences were translated by native German speakers.
Appendix C
Overview of Corpus Excerpts Included on CD

To see a table of contents for the CD included with this thesis, open the file index.html, located on the CD, in a web browser. The information in the following table reflects the contents of the material on the CD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (h:mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents coming to the United States from Switzerland. Connie Nagel (m)</td>
<td>(6:39)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08.eaf (3:50-10:29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on the vegetable farm while growing up. Lena Nagel (f)</td>
<td>(2:36)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08.eaf (12:22-14:58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking to and from school and being afraid of the neighbor's bull.</td>
<td>(4:05)</td>
<td>005-wull-2009-06-02.eaf (3:26-7:31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie (m) and Lavon Wulliman (f), Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memories from First Mennonite Church, “So nimm den meine Hände.” Lavon</td>
<td>(2:55)</td>
<td>005-wull-2009-06-02.eaf (0:00-2:56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulliman (f) and Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of <em>Aperie (Strawberry) Schturm</em>. Lena Nagel (f)</td>
<td>(2:37)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08.eaf (27:36-30:13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of Swiss Fried Potatoes and Salad Dressing. Anna Liechty (f),</td>
<td>(2:43)</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20.eaf (33:15-35:58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Liechty (m)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bashful Swiss boy on a date. Connie Nagel (m)</td>
<td>(2:00)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08.eaf (0:38-2:38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example of a local slang word: Story about tree-spraying business. John</td>
<td>(1:17)</td>
<td>010-eich-2009-06-03.eaf (0:10-1:27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eicher (m)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example of English with Swiss reported speech: My boy can drive! Example</td>
<td>(1:10)</td>
<td>024-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (11:37-12:47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of English with Swiss reported speech. Bob Reinhard (m)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she was young. Ann Johnston (f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>File Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excerpt from Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording: Summer gardening, moving to the summer house, and neighbors helping each other with the farm work. Ann Johnston (f)</td>
<td>(2:25)</td>
<td>043-john-1978-11-28.eaf (11:35-14:00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local word list. Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(5:10)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (2:46-7:57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examples of names acceptable to call someone in Swiss, but not English. Bob Reinhard (m), Ted (m) and Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(0:50)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (10:09-11:00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yodel song: “Early Morning” about taking the cows out to pasture. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:40)</td>
<td>034-parr-2009-08-22.eaf (15:53-16:34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yodel song: “I lived on the mountain.” Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:41)</td>
<td>034-parr-2009-08-22.eaf (17:57-18:39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yodel song: “Ninne gaets” about the beautiful Emmental. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:26)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22.eaf (0:22-0:49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk song “Lootebahch” about losing a stocking at the waterfall. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:12)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22.eaf (0:55-1:07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue twister with G. Ted Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(0:04)</td>
<td>022-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (0:22-0:27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue twister with H. Bob Reinhard (m)</td>
<td>(0:04)</td>
<td>022-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (0:04-0:09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue twister with V. Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(0:15)</td>
<td>006-wull-2009-06-02.eaf (0:45-1:01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It's snowing” rhyme. Bob Reinhard (m)</td>
<td>(0:12)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (0:51-1:03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s rhyme. Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(0:12)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (2:09-2:21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC rhyme. Bob Reinhard (m)</td>
<td>00:00:00</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (0:01-0:08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example of “schturming” after abbreviated “It's snowing” rhyme. Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(0:28)</td>
<td>007-wull-2009-06-02.eaf (0:10-0:39)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D
Selected Annotations from the Corpus

The annotations printed in this appendix are representative samples of annotations included on the CD filed with this thesis. Transcriptions of Swiss or English speech are in italics. Free translations of Swiss speech are in plain text.

Grandparents Coming to the United States from Switzerland

Speakers: Connie Nagel (m), Lena Nagel (f)
Annotation file: immigrating.wav (6:39)
Original annotation file: 027-nage-2009-06-08.eaf (3:50-10:29)

LN:  
_Ezech eppie sagge vagge voh dienie eltere for, uh sie hoh?_  
Do you want to say something about where your parents came from?

CN:  
_Oh we-_  
Oh, well

_Mie fahter isch sibbe yahr ahlt sie wen sizie tsoo dam lahn koh in nientse hoondert un tse._  
My father came to this country when he was seven years old in 1910.

_un uh...The grosfahter isch oof d'insuhl Reichenau gebore in Bodensee._  
and the grandfather was from the Island of Reichenau, was born in Bodensee.

_Un daiz isch oof d'granse for d'Schweiz un Deutschland._  
And that is on the line of Switzerland and Germany..

_On ezch n'insuhle wu... sie hae fiel kmüs uh...ksichtit un uh..._  
On the island they grew a lot of vegetables...

_i glahchse oof salle insuhle un sie mit nuh...boht schif haeses müse toom uh_
they took it from the island to the port on a boat, on a boat, they took vegetables...

mier...yeah.
...yes...

LN: it lahnd iene ne
to the main land

CN: Yets sizie uh nuh vag ooze bohe.
Now there's a road to go on.

Un the grosfahter isch guhborne esch Kuhtolischksie wen er isch guhborne.
And grandfather was born Catholic when he was born.

Un er isch tswelv or drietsae yahr ault sie...er t'sienie elter felore.
And when he was twelve or thirteen years old, he lost his parents.

LN: (whispered) Oh, shoot.

CN: Un...nai het er müs...in Europa dir sie guhz iet tsooe schoo un...sie dienie ahrbaet lehre vaezch eppies wens
In Europe, they go to school to learn a work/occupation

...for n'schviene tsie oder for ielektrisch oder, oder mekahnig...müüs sie schtoodiere for sal.
for a carpenter, or electrician, or mechanic. They study for something.

Un nai het gatnerae het er glercht.
He learned to be a gardener.

Un nai isch i zie the Dietschie Armae sie for tswae yahr.
He was in the German military for two years.

Un nai het isch ovve nuh i' d'Schwiez im nuh gros...
In Switzerland, he then worked for a very large gardener.

LN: guhtnuhrae
gardener
a gardener....where they did very fine work.

(...ae kah dat?) un...Grosmuter het schahft im hooz un ez isch wuhts hadit tsae ler kenne un she, sie isch Mennonietksie.
...grandmother worked in the kitchen (house?). There they got to know each other. She was a young Mennonite girl.

un...nah sie sae n'gatnuhrae ookfahngne det...i'd'Schwiez un...
and...they started up a garden business themselves in Switzerland, and uh...

Sae psookah for d'U.S.A.
They were looking to go to the U.S.A.

Grosmuter het...elf...uh sie elf chieng sie in ier fuhmiele.
Grandmother had eleven, there were eleven children in her family.

Un sizie auwie tsoo dam Lahn koh ve der tswae.
And all of them came to this country except two.

Un sae epsookah uhm n'Soondig nahmietenahg
And at dinner one Sunday afternoon

un uh...sizie (?) fors kahme dier?) nit tsoo d'Schtahte.
and they were talking about going to the states.

Oh, sae nit soh fiel daech dragge uhz
Oh, they hadn't given it much thought

un ven ieger saks mohne tae auves ferchohft un sizie tsoo d'
and in less than six months they sold everything

...U.S.A. sizie koh.
and came to the U.S.A.

Un sizie niün dahg sizie sie oover wahser soh lahng knoh for...mit dem schif fer tswel
And for nine days they were on the ship

Der überts choh un Grosmuter isch soh chrahnk ?duh sie het verwer schterb sie het
maet sie schtaerpt ovuhm? wahser.
to come over here. Grandmother became so (sea)sick that she wanted to die, ? died in the water.

Un...in nientsae hoonderd un tsa sizie choh.
And in 1910 they came.

Un...dewu? iere hohf, chohtet in der Schwiez
The man that bought the business in Switzerland

het aus felore un, grosfahter het, het sis gelt aus felore det.
had lost everything, grandfather had lost all his money.

Un...grosfahter het hetschahft at it...
Grandfather had worked hard at it.

 LN:  Er het daenie eppies mahcht as a d'kuhmde fuhnde fer n'sants mahche.
He did anything he could to make a few cents.

 CN:  yah
yes

   Er et böm schmitte un
He trimmed trees,

   un maiz het er ahpkahkt un ie boondlik mahcht un...
chopped down (something), (made bundles?)

   enniegeppies fer n'slabbe mahche.
anything he could find to make a living.

 LN:  slabbe
living

 CN:  Un nah haes ie n'griunhoos oofschtelt
He built a greenhouse

   ...?...East and fuhm ie Bärn.
east of Berne
... and for funerals

LN:  *For vaht?
For what?

CN:  *A funeral

*die blueme.
these flowers.

LN:  *Ie vaes nit wahs die rach nahme isch fer dahs.
I don't know what the right word is for that.

*Wahs mach niet oos?
What makes nothing out/(difference does it make)?
And this was during the time when people lost everything, in the 30s.

*Ahs isch knahp si.*
It was very tough going.

We had a depression.

*That's an English word.*

I don't know Swiss for Depression. That I don't know.

**Walking to and from School and Being Afraid of the Neighbor's Bull**

Speakers: Charlie (m) and Lavon Wulliman (f), Julia Liechty (f)
Annotation file: walking-to-school.eaf (4:05)
Original annotation file: 005-wull-2009-06-02.eaf (3:26-7:31)

*You should talk about going to school...and (something about) bull.*

*And then on the way home you had to stop at Molly Baumgartner's.*

*She was in her garden and you were waiting - you were waiting for rain.*
Yah. That isch um fertselwe fer vohn ie
Yes, that is a story from when I
ie d'sch- vohn ie duh school tsie bie, the Elementary school ie bi Number nine.
when I was in school, the elementary school, Number 9.

Un nuh sie mir dae hau d'aube haem glofe ven tschool fer bie isch ksie
And I remember how we would walk home when school was over
un uh- ie hah dahs (fer schtuh?) dae ferksae i der vest
and I saw rays in the west
uhm...oh, dahs (vor fit duh?) raggne.
that might mean rain.

Un ie hah kschopt ven Molly Baumgartner der sie schum gahrte ksie.
And I stopped with Molly Baumgartner, she was there in the garden.
Un ie huh kschopt det, un ie hah die? kfraht, "Vor dahs raggne?"
And I had stopped there and I asked, "Is it going to rain?"

Je het kmaet fieles uh die tsruk school gah instead of haem lohfe.
I thought maybe I should go back to school rather than go home.

"No," sie ksae, "Dahs isch nit ragge."
"No," she said, "That is not rain."

De nah bi nie ohme ahmlohfe bie gagge haem gahnge.
Then I walked on, going home.

Ahber, ie hah nit besser gvist, ie hah kmaet dahs for fir det raggne.
But I didn't know better, I had thought it was going to rain.

Un hets doo nit graggnet?
And did it not rain?

No, es het nit graggnet.
No, it didn't rain.
JBL: Velts, Molly het d'gvist um.
Oh, well, Molly had known.

LW: Molly het gvist.
Molly knew.

JBL: Yah, dahsch guet.
Yeah, that's good.

LW: Molly Baumgarnter - vem sie die- elterisch die i ksie?
Molly Baumgartner - when was?

JBL: Uh- er- sie het die ohne bueb kah.
She had a boy.

LW: Lawrence?
Lawrence?

JBL: Lawrence - Un ven a tsu uh vewer glohfe sie
Lawrence - as we walked he would say

Duh nah het d'dae aube ksaet, "Dahs sie peanuts uvoo vag."
"Those are peanuts on the road."

Uhs sie really nit peanuts ksie.
They were really not peanuts.

Es isch ven der, d'rosse, rosse sie uh...dier gahnge un
It was when the, when the horses would go and

un hae dahs lahk faul uvum vag,
and it would fall in the road,

ahber, duh Lawrence het dahs gaeng duh peanuts kaese. (laughing)
but Lawrence always called them peanuts.

CW: (laughing)
LW:  (laughing)

Dahs psimne nie nie hets nit. (laughing)
I didn't remember that.

JBL:  (laughing) oh, yah.
Oh, yes.

Un duh nah, der-der Yohder Kermie dae uh dae het gaeng mie brueder "Bahrnie" kaese.
And then Kermie Yoder always called my brother Barney.

Un duh nah dahz isch vohn er sie nickname uh that's what it was "Kriyet," from Kermie Yoder.
and that's where he got his nickname, that's what it was, "Kriyet," from Kermie Yoder.

LW:  "Kriyet"
"Kriyet"

um hmm, um hmm, um
(affirmation)

JBL: yah (laughing)
Yes.

Ah yah, duh sie- die buebe hae duh fiel brichtet un schpahs kah ven zie uh... tsum school glofe sie.
The boys had a lot of fun talking when they were walking to school.

LW:  Oh, yeah.
Oh, yeah.

CW:  Hes-hest doo ahngsch? der moonie [wuh die?] tschool gahnge sie?
Were you afraid of the bull when you were going to school?

JBL:  Oh, yah. Der moonie!
Oh, yes. The bull!

CW:  Yoders hae uh moonie kah.
The Yoders had a bull.

JBL: *Daische börzuhk sie.*
That was a mad bull.

LW: *Emmoo min hae soh kmaet.*
At least we thought so.

JBL: *Yah, yah, risch ksie because uh...*
Yes, he was.

LW: *Velle disch ksie?*

JBL: *Vaesh noh vemmer dermau gahns vie uh...oober fence gahnge sie? Lemme Vahlter's fence?*
Remember how sometimes we would go over the fence, Walter Lehman's fence?

CW: *(laughing)*

JBL: *soh uhz mirz och nit.*
in order to stay away from it.

*Ahber dat moonie het dae grap auber kschahrit. Dahs isch*
But that bull would paw. That was

LW: *un es soh broomlet. (shaking head and growling)*
and he would growl.

JBL: *yah, yah*
Yes, yes.

CW: *(laughing)*

LW: *Mier hae dahz nit glaecht.*
We didn't like that.

JBL: *No.*
No.

119
Ahber de nah iesmau hesch-isch der Boorie Vielie
But one time Andrew Burry (says Willie, but meant Andrew)

Er et ksaet, "Ier lohfe mit dier."
and he said, "I'll walk with you."

Un er hat mit us glofe graht gruh nabbe ni
And he walked with us

un er het graht brychtet to tha moonie.
and he kept talking to that bull.

Un the moonie het gruht aktet. Mier het glohbt dat hets guht huhne ferschtah.
And the bull acted like he could just understand him.

CW: (laughing) Dat der Schwyzer ferschtaein, ferschtahnge.
It understood Swiss.

JBL: (laughing) Ie taenkch. Ie taenkch.
I think (thought?). I think (thought).

Ie taenkt der Yohder Kermie het duh- het totset duh nuh moonie brychtet...yah.
(laughing)
I thought Kermie Yoder had taught the bull to speak....yes.

LW: (laughing)
Preparation of Strawberry Schturm

Speakers: Lena Nagel (f), Connie Nagel (m)
Annotation file: strawberry-schturm.eaf (2:37)
Original annotation file: 027-nage-2009-06-08.eaf (27:36-30:13)

LN:  
Vie mahcht mir apberie schtorm.  
How to make Strawberry sturm.

Mir duet apberie vasche,  
You wash the strawberries,

duet bat sie ooze na,  
you cut off the leaves,

un tue tsai in a, in a pfahme tue und suh drykche  
and you put them in a pan and squeeze/crush them

bis sie...biss....bis nit grose schticke dri naeisch.  
until there are no large pieces.

Un d'nah tue mir brot,  
You cut up bread,

Mie tue for had brot oose tue kchlienie schtiklie  
You cut the bread into little pieces

un uhs moos drochch sie.  
and it has to be dried.

Na tue mir chlie brot lie tue, un mir tue raum driec un tsukcher.  
You take a little bread and cream and mix it all together.

Yets in d'letsch d'yahre,  
Now in the later years,

tue nie...  
we put
Drie tue un uhs mahch suh chlie beser as vem mers nohme mahch die mit der raum
And it makes it a little better than when you make it just with cream.

Ah, but dahs isch d'bescht vag for apberie tsasse as ie vaes.
Ah, but that is the best way to eat strawberries that I know.

Un ie hah d'nit sagge gaht fier koplie apberie drykche,
And I didn't say take four cups of strawberries crushed,

ah...trae fiertoo nit gahn soh fiew tsukcher,
3/4 cup, maybe not so much sugar,

viese tsukcher droof due,
white sugar on it,

un duh nah tue mir brot ahsi schtroch ie chlienie bitse
and then bread, dried in little pieces,

Ahm...oh, Le dat sagge fille tsvae koplie full.
Oh, I would say about 2 cups full.

Un d'nah doo nie chlie raum droof due fillech d'...i glohb nit es a fierte koplie
And then cream, maybe I think a quarter cup....

eppie soh.
something like that.
Un d’nah doo nies...riere,
And then you stir it,

un d’nah du nie uh...uh...glahsae, viese glaehsae na,
and then you need ice cream, white ice cream,

un due n’grose lefool na,
and a big spoon,

un due...dahs iet apberie tue,
And you...you get the strawberries,

un d’nach soh schmeltse,
and then it melts,

un doo mir riere un doo mirs asse.
and you stir it, and then you eat it.

Un dahs isch apberie schtoorm.
And that is Strawberry Sturm.

A Bashful Swiss Boy on a Date

Speakers: Connie Nagel (m), Lena Nagel (f), Gretta Owen (f), Interviewer
Annotation file: roesti-joke.eaf (2:00)
Original annotation file: 027-nage-2009-06-08.eaf (0:38-2:38)

CN: Well, ie bie nit guet mit d’erps ahplazze, nuhscht too fiel arbit.
Well, I'm not good at picking peas, because it's too much work.

Un..ie hahz nit tsoo gan fer tsasse ie.
I don't like to eat them that much.

Essie ahnger ie sahche wuhn ie besser glaeche as, as erps.
There are other things I like to eat better than peas.

Uh...Röschtie ahn ie gan.
Roesti - I like that
Væsch wuhz Röschtie isch?
Do you know what Roesti is?

GO: potatoes

LN: um humm (affirmation)

CN: Un...(affirmation)
And...um humm....

Ahz isch nich schikchlie, ahz isch nuh, nuh Schwyzer bueb ksie wu...
Here is a little story about a Swiss boy.

Er isch schtans schuche sie.
He was a very bashful boy.

Un er it wewer? mitne maetlie gah.
He wanted to go out on a date with a girl.

un (stammer) er hat wewer...mit der gah un
and he had (when he was going with?) and

Er at epper ahnger frahkt, "Wah soh I sagge? Wah soh I frahge?"
He asked someone, "What shall I say? What shall I ask?"

Un uh, er ik saet, "Well, mir brychet vaggen vatter, un
And he said, "Well, you talk about the weather, and

un...wah sie glaech fer tsasse un ge- un gep sie hootsliegesch?"
what she likes to eat, and are you ticklish?

Un so het er izch er mit ? siez maetlie sie un, un gar- izch ausch gar oonger aeniesch gahnge,
Then he was with the girl on the date, and all at once he said,

"Schöenz vater hut! Hez Röschtie gan? Gieks!"
"Nice weather today, do you like Roesti? Geex!"
(laughing) het er...in der rypie...kschtolse
...in the ribs...(poked?)

LN: in der rypie....
in the ribs...

CN: un uh...
and, uh...

LN: Kop sibiet nahnger gahnge sie dahs vis soh mier nit.
If they went together again, we don't know

CN: No, vaez nit geps.
No, we don't know.

LN: Vents vier ver sie det sagge "Gahng noh mie wot nit hahs doo dar ohn bisch!"
but if that happened to me, I would tell him, "You be on your way!

Example of a Local Slang word: Story about Tree-Spraying Business

Speaker: John Eicher (m)
Annotation file: tree-spraying.eaf (1:17)
Original annotation file: 010-eich-2009-06-03.eaf (0:10-1:27)

JE: Wen i nie yoonge mahn sie bie
When I was a young man

ie hah nuh schpruts vahge kah
I had a spraying-wagon

und i bie auber rohm gahnge tsoo
and I would go all around to

booder und irie uh...boum kschruts

to farmers and spray their trees

fer gierg und soh eppies boit epfool und... chierzie und soh eppies
for bugs and so forth, apple and cherry trees and so forth,
something more about trees?

*Anyhow aezmau im schtetlie isch a froh tsae Schprunger Ahdien.*

Anyhow, there was a lady in town named Adina Sprunger.

*Sie isch a froh tsae volne chliene hierzie boum kaehaht*

She was a lady, and she had a little cherry tree.

*und sie het avve wuuhk schprutst hah*

she wanted it sprayed

*Je hah nah kschprutst und Ahdien hat gaeng uhs vord kchah oder eppies sagge;*

I had sprayed it, and Adina always had a word or something to say;

*Sie isch sorte n? schpasigie froh tsae*

She was sort of a funny woman.

*Un anyhow ie hah ierie tsaeet voh sie frahgtet, "Vie fiel isch dahz?"

And anyhow, she had asked me, "Well, how much is this now?"

*Ahz hat soh webaht soh fitsieg sants sie,*

And it should have been about 50 cents,

*ahber ierie tsaeet, "Dahs isch graht föaev dauer."

but instead I said, "This is five dollars."

*Und sie haet glookt und i? said,*

And she looked and said,

*"Is sakt der wahz? Hahkch de kchaeb ap und nimne mit hae."

"Is that so? Chop the darn thing and take it with you."
Example of English with Swiss Reported Speech: My Boy Can Drive!

Speakers: Bob (Robert) Reinhard (m), Betty Reinhard (f), Ted Lehman (m), Gloria Lehman (f)
Annotation file: boy-drive.eaf (1:10)
Original annotation file: 024-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (11:37-12:47)

RR:  (clearing throat) They used to tell a story about a man, who left his young son drive the car.

And he wasn't old enough to drive, and so the policeman stopped him

in town, in Berne,

and started to scold him for letting his son drive, and told him his son couldn't drive.

And the man said,

"Dahs isch mie bueb."
That is my boy.

Er chah fahre."  
He can drive.

And the policeman said,

"Yah, buhr nit soh guet."
Yes, but not so good.

And then the man said,

"Fahr ahp!"
Drive off!

And then he drove off. (laughing)

GL:  (laughing)

BR:  Explain it.
So (clears throat), what happened - the policeman stopped this guy and was telling him, you know, "Your son isn't old enough to drive."

And the man in Swiss said, "That's my boy. That's my son. He can drive."

And the policeman said, "Yeah, but not very good."

And then the man said, "Drive off!" And he took off. (laughing)

And left the policeman standing.

I don't remember who it was, but they told that story. That happened. (laughing)

That might not work too good with some policemen. (laughing)

Yeah. (laughing)

Excerpt from Ann Wulliman Johnston Audio Cassette Recording: Sundays when She was Young

Speaker: Ann Johnston (f)
Annotation file: sunday-morning.eaf (1:19), sunday-noon.eaf (0:44)

On Sunday mornings we would hurry.

That meant quickly wash and quickly eat,

quickly dress,

to be ready, and we could not be late.
We always went every Sunday whether it rained, hailed or if we had snow or whatever.

We went to church and we were on time.

Three Sundays a month it was English, and one Sunday it was a German preaching.

We didn't understand this, but we still had to stay, we had to learn to sit.

Once in a while Mom would invite fancy people for Sunday's noon meal.

Then we had to clean the summer house.

We had to clean the corners and spray the flies.

It had to shine and be all clean.

She would say to us, "Don't eat like you're starved!"

"And don't shove lunch in your mouth." 

"Put a little at a time in your mouth." 

"And don't burp."
De nau tsmitahg het mier dae aube kschpilt un uh grohsie tsiet chah.
Then after dinner we'd play and have a great time.

Dae mau mir nuh Sohndig nahmietahg sie die aube [dilseduh?] fervahnte chuts fahre.
Sometimes on a Sunday afternoon the relatives would come driving.

Föyv uh diesig mael tschtung, dahs isch schtarch nooe.
Thirty-five miles an hour - that was fast enough.

Dahr brooch mier nits fahre [wae?] feruchkt.
You don't have to drive like crazy.

Sie hae verwe hah sie hahre chume un ohme tsruk haem chuhme.
They wanted to come and to go home safely.

Det hae mier dae aube müse hoche un lohse vahs yets dah es git in der velwt.
Then we'd have to sit and listen to see what was going on in the world.

Or mier hae nit dro01n gar vahs es git ahber mier hae gliech müse hoche.
We didn't care what was going on, but we had to sit.

Mier haet Bänner tsietung kriet un mier hae duh Prairie Farmer kriet un dahs isch [grooerch?] kzie fer iez.
We read the Berne newspaper and the Prairie Farmer and that was good enough for this.

Ahber mier hae gliech müye [daed?] lohse.
But we had to listen.

Wenker Sentences 1-8

Speakers: Anna Liechty (f), Gretta Owen (f), Interviewer
Annotation file: wenkerl-8.eaf (1:59)
Original annotation file: 031-liec-2009-08-20.eaf (1:14:30-1:16:29)

AL: 1. In winter the dry leaves fly around in the wind.
In im vinter, die droche die blette rūm fliege im vind.
1. In winter the dry leaves fly around in the wind.

GO: Is that what you would say, too?
That's not on- that's only over here.

AL: 2. It will stop snowing soon, then the weather will be better again.

Es due d'glies schtoppe schnee naesch vatter fūme?] besser.
2. It will stop snowing soon, then the weather will be better.

3. Put coal in the oven, so the milk will start to boil soon.

You don't put coal in the oven, [you need a?] stove.

Doo chole ie o- doo chole ie ovve sohs miewch doo tschatte choche.
3. Put coal in the o- put coal in the oven so the milk starts to (boil) cook.

GO: Well, you- you can say it with the stove.

AL: Yeah, okay.

(doo- doo- doo ch) doo chole ie ovve sohs miewch doo tschatte choche- glie- gliedel schatte choche.
3. Put coal in the oven so the milk starts to boil, soon starts to (boil) cook.

Doo chole ie ovve ie- doo chole ie- iesch... ie ovve soh uhs miewch gliedel schatte choche.
3. Put coal in the oven- put coal in- in... in oven so the milk soon starts to cook.

4. Ther guet awlt mahn isch der (its?) iesch broche mit dem ros, un er izch zie s-haulte vahser fauwe.
4. The good old man broke through the ice with the horse and fell into the cold water.

Five.

Er isch schtrobe fier oder saks voche tsruk.
5. He died four or six weeks ago.
Six.

**Tsfier isch tsoo haes schie. Chuelie sie fer gahnz schahrts fer bruntvore ungerie-ungeri-ungernahche.**
6. The fire is too hot! The cakes are burned completely black underneath.

**Er dut aeyer gaeng esse ohnie saults un pfeffer.**
7. He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.

That's 7.

Eight.

**Mienie fus d-die fiel vae mahche. Ie hahz roomsfure.**
8. My feet hurt a lot, I think I've worn them out.

---

**Local Word List**

Speaker: Gloria Lehman (f)
Annotation file: lehman-word-list.eaf (5:10)
Original annotation file: 023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (2:46-7:57)

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And tsahle is pay. I have pray here, but it's- tsahle is pay. I made a typing error.

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133
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136
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>pants</td>
<td>boots</td>
<td>shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aez, tswaey, draey, fier, faev, saks, sibbe, ahktie, niene, tsagge*

one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten

*tswentsiek, drietsirk, fiertsiek*

twenty, thirty, forty

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<tr>
<th>fuftie</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>know</td>
<td>not</td>
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</table>

*That's it.*

*Maybe s- oh, I had here yet, a- um...*

<table>
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<tr>
<th>schpasik</th>
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<th>drokch</th>
<th>schtahrch</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>funny</td>
<td>key</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>strong</td>
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</table>
Yodel Song: “Early Morning” (about Taking the Cows out to Pasture)

Speaker: Pauline Parr (f)
Annotation file: orgen-froch-song.eaf (0:40)
Original annotation file: 034-parr-2009-08-22.eaf (15:53-16:34)

PP:  

Morgen fröch wen sun i' lahcht,
Early morning when the sun is laughing,

wen sie ahles luschtik mahcht.
when she makes everything happy.

Gahn ie ooze tsur die churne,
I go out to the cows.

(not transcribed)
(yodeling)

Cher mit Kchlerb, un Schpiers, un Schten,
Come with (me), Clover, Spear, and Star,

Her mit ahlie hahn i gan.
Come with, all [?]

in der dahsch uh hahnie schtachke
hand in the hand a stick,

in der hahn ahdaeye tschachke
in the other (hand), the salt.

(not transcribed)
(yodeling)
Yodel Song: “I Lived on the Mountain”

Speaker: Pauline Parr (f)
Annotation file: mountain-song.eaf (0:41)

PP:  
\textit{Uv um baglie bin ie tsasse un luschtik bin i tsie.}  
I lived (sat?) on the mountain, and I was happy.

\textit{un ie hahschi nit fer'gasse, un I vetie chuhnt vierde hin.}  
and I cannot forget it, and I want to go back.

\textit{(not transcribed)}
\textit{(yodeling)}

\textit{Wuhn I fuhne fut bie gahnge, un schuh ordlie viet bie tsie}  
When I [?] was going, and [?] was.

\textit{Hert Muter tsu mie gerufe, "Her doo Hahnzlie, dae schah miern."}  
I hear Mother calling to me, "Hansli, think of me."

\textit{Then you yodel again. (laughing)}

Tongue Twister with G

Speaker: Ted Lehman (m)
Annotation file: g-tongue-twister.eaf (0:04)
Original annotation file: 022-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (0:22-0:27)

TL:  
\textit{Gagge Guntiez gahrter gaet is groses gikoo.}  
Through VonGunten's gate went a large chicken (rooster).
**Tongue Twister with H**

Speaker: Bob Reinhard (m)
Annotation file: h-tongue-twister.eaf (0:04)
Original annotation file: 022-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (0:04-0:09)

BR:  
_Hienger Hilwlie Hahnzes hekke hiefe hahn ie hoonder hahze herre huschte._
Behind John Hilty's brush pile, I heard a hundred rabbits coughing.

**Tongue Twister with V**

Speaker: Lavon Wulliman (f)
Annotation file: v-tongue-twister.eaf (0:15)
Original annotation file: 006-wull-2009-06-02.eaf (0:45-1:01)

LW:  
_Dahs isch tel- dahs isch tel nohme soh duhs n'tschohk._
This is sometimes told as a joke. (?)

_Vie vae die viese vieber veingle vasche, ven vieses vahser isch vie vieses vie?_  
How can the white women wash the white diapers when the water is as white as wine?

_Un dahs isch aus._
And that is all.

**Children's Rhyme**

Speaker: Gloria Lehman (f)
Annotation file: boots-rhyme.eaf (0:12)
Original annotation file: 023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (2:09-2:21)

GL:  
_Trigge, trigge, trah, lah, lah. Schtivoo ohnae sohle un kae ahsaht strahn._
Trigga, trigga, tra la, la. Boots without soles or heels on.

_boots without soles or heels on._
ABC Rhyme

Speaker: Bob Reinhard (m)
Annotation file: abc-rhyme.eaf (0:07)
Original annotation file: 023-rein-2009-06-06.eaf (0:01-0:08)

BR:  
Ah, Be, Tse, chahts lohft im schne  
A, B, C. The Cat walks in snow.

schne gaet uhvak  
The snow goes away.

chahts lohft im drakch.  
The cat walks in the dirt.

"Es schnaet, es schnaet," d'miwer het saet.  
"It's snowing, it's snowing," the miller said.

Der hohcht in vaguhlie unt hohze Joh gaguhlie,  
He is sitting in his wagon with his pants full of poop,

and er schtiecht ven es aut d'schied.  
and he smells like an old barn.

Example of “Schturming” after Abbreviated “It's Snowing” Rhyme

Speakers: Lavon Wulliman (f), Charlie Wulliman (m)
Annotation file: schturming-rhyme.eaf (0:28)
Original annotation file: 007-wull-2009-06-02.eaf (0:10-0:39)

CW:  
Es schnaet, es schnaet, duh miwler het ksaet.  
It snows, it snows, the miller said.

LW:  
Es schnaet, es schnaet, duh miwler-  
"It's snowing, it's snowing. " the miller...

(? dähz ?)  
(not translated)
CW: *het ksaet*
said

"It's snowing, it's snowing," the miller said. He sits in his wagon with his pants full of terds.

CW: *then schnae gaet vak*
Then snow goes away

LW: *Un duh schnae gaet vak, chahts lohft im trakch.*
And - The snow goes away, the cat walks in dirt.

*(clearing throat)*

CW: *(laughing)*

LW: *Dahs isch aech baut nuk schtirmet.*
That is about enough sturming.
Appendix E
Overview of Material Included in the Corpus

The following tables give an overview of the recorded material included in the corpus prepared for submission to the archive. The tables do not include the Ann Wulliman Johnston audio cassette recording. Selections marked with * are included on the CD filed with the thesis. Selections marked with † are proposed for inclusion on the audio CD for the community, either as a full selection, or an excerpt from within that selection.

Monologues in Swiss

The material features one primary speaker speaking in Swiss. Occasional comments from additional speakers or interviewer occur in Swiss or English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That 'chaebe' test. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(1:24)†</td>
<td>001-wull-2009-06-02 (0:09-1:33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal history. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(1:28)</td>
<td>001-wull-2009-06-02 (1:35-3:02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memories of Muensterberg School, riding the milk truck, using the outhouse, and walking to church. Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(5:56)†</td>
<td>001-wull-2009-06-02 (3:02-8:59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Andacht, parents' Christian faith example. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(1:32)</td>
<td>001-wull-2009-06-02 (8:59-10:30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chores before school, chores before basketball, hauling wood. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(2:23)</td>
<td>001-wull-2009-06-02 (10:30-12:54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tractors, changes in farming. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(2:32)</td>
<td>002-wull-2009-06-02 (0:00-2:33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing on Williman Nussbaujm's farm as children. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(2:60)</td>
<td>003-wull-2009-06-02 (0:00-2:60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone drives a tractor into a hole. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(1:19)</td>
<td>004-wull-2009-06-02 (0:01-1:20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys, go get the milking done: story about a made-up song to motivate them to do chores. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(2:03)</td>
<td>008-wull-2009-06-02 (0:00-2:03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riding the bicycle to school in winter. Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(0:47)</td>
<td>008-wull-2009-06-02 (2:17-3:04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One of the first planes flies over Berne. John Eicher (m)</td>
<td>(4:04)†</td>
<td>009-eich-2009-06-03 (0:08-4:12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example of a local slang word: Story about tree-spraying business. John Eicher (m)</td>
<td>(3:09)†</td>
<td>010-eich-2009-06-03 (0:00-3:09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thief on the porch in the Congo. Anna Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(4:38)†</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20 (0:27-5:05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelling peas. Lena Nagel (f)</td>
<td>(0:36)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (0:02-0:39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bashful Swiss boy on a date. Connie Nagel (m)</td>
<td>(2:00)†</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (0:39-2:39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berne Swiss coarse talking. Connie Nagel (m)</td>
<td>(1:06)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (2:39-3:45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents coming to the United States from Switzerland. Connie Nagel (m)</td>
<td>(6:40)†</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (3:50-10:30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family trips to the lakes. Connie Nagel (m)</td>
<td>(0:58)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (10:31-11:29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on the vegetable farm while growing up. Lena Nagel (f)</td>
<td>(2:37)†</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (12:22-14:59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traveling in Switzerland. Connie Nagel (m)</td>
<td>(7:30)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (18:47-26:17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouquet of flowers for mother. Sylvia Reinhard (f)</td>
<td>(0:49)</td>
<td>015-rein-2009-06-04 (7:38-8:27)</td>
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Conversations in Swiss

The material in this table is conversational, either spontaneously between Swiss speakers, or in response to English questions by the interviewer.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Memories from First Mennonite Church, “So Nimm Den Meine Hände.” Lavon Wulliman (f), Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(3:02)*</td>
<td>005-wull-2009-06-02 (0:00-3:02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking to and from school and being afraid of the neighbor's bull. Julia Liechty (f), Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(4:08)*†</td>
<td>005-wull-2009-06-02 (3:26-7:34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas and New Year's memories. Julia Liechty (f), Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(4:57)†</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (51:03-55:60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memories of First Mennonite Church service and Sunday school (approximately 1920-1930). Julia Liechty (f), Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(4:03)†</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (66:07-70:09)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washing and ironing clothes. Julia Liechty (f), Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(2:37)†</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (75:27-78:04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire. Anna Liechty (f), Paul Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(19:29)</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20 (9:28-28:57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas and New Year's traditions. Anna Liechty (f), Paul Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(3:23)†</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20 (29:45-33:07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of Swiss Fried Potatoes and Salad Dressing. Anna Liechty (f), Paul Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(2:52)*†</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20 (33:07-35:59)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Winter weather memories. Anna Liechty (f), Paul Liechty (m) (2:03) 031-liec-2009-08-20 (49:17-51:20)

Chores at home, preparation of mush, apple butter, fried potatoes, and pies. Anna Liechty (f), Paul Liechty (m) (15:02) 031-liec-2009-08-20 (51:20-66:22)

Double wedding, renovating the farm house. Connie (m) & Lena Nagel (f) (2:09) 027-nage-2009-06-08 (14:59-17:08)

Monologues and Conversations, Mixed Swiss and English

Material in this table is is primarily English, but with Swiss words or phrases included.

Some selections include speakers beginning in Swiss, but switching to primarily English.

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>School house memories. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(1:33)</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (17:05-18:38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation about how Berne used to be all Swiss. Abraham Lehman (m), Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(3:45)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (7:17-11:02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm work, thrasher dinners. Homer Inniger (m), Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(3:01)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (15:11-18:12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canned beef and different words for potatoes. Homer Inniger (m), Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(1:34)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (18:12-19:46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Common Expressions, Proverbs, Rhymes, Tongue Twisters

Material in this table was classified as Sayings in section 3.4. These include Proverbial sayings, humorous rhymes, children's rhymes or games, and tongue twisters.

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tongue twister with V. Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(0:24)†</td>
<td>006-2009-06-02 (0:46-1:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue twisters with H, G (mentioned in passing). Bob Reinhard (m), Ted Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(0:20)</td>
<td>020-rein-2009-06-06 (1:52-2:12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yodel and Folk Songs

The yodel and folk songs were all recorded by one speaker, who said she learned them from her father, who grew up in Switzerland. He told her that he learned these songs at school.
**German Prayers and Hymns**

Material in this table is in the High German dialect used for religious purposes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (m:ss-mm:ss)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German bedtime prayer. Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(2:16)†</td>
<td>019-baum-2009-06-04 (5:34-7:50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German meal time prayer. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:57)†</td>
<td>034-parr-2009-08-22 (13:51-14:48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German hymn: “So nimm den meine Hände.” Lavon Wulliman (f), Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(0:40)†</td>
<td>005-wull-2009-06-02 (1:03-1:43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German hymn: “Gott ist die Liebe.” Bob (m) &amp; Betty Reinhard (f), Ted (m) &amp; Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(0:48)</td>
<td>024-rein-2009-06-06 (0:48-1:36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German hymn: “Gott ist die Liebe.” Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:34)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22 (12:07-12:41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German hymn: “Stille Nacht” (includes additional English conversation). Homer Inniger (m), Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(2:33)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (26:25-28:59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Hymn: New Year's song. Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f), Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(0:45)†</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (53:25-54:10)</td>
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</table>

**Pear Story Movie and Wenker Sentences**

<table>
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<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narration to Pear Story movie. Chris Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(5:56)</td>
<td>041-liec-2009-08-00 (6:23-12:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narration to Pear Story movie. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(8:21)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (41:07-49:28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Word Lists

Word lists material is collected from several sources: a Swadesh word list which I requested, as well as local word lists that speakers had compiled on their own prior to the interview. Some speakers gave me typed versions of their word lists. Selections such as counting, months of the year, and the alphabet were not on a written list, but recordings in which people were listing words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (mm:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Months of the year. Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f) &amp; Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(1:19)</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (78:04-79:23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eicher word list. John Eicher (m)</td>
<td>(2:51)</td>
<td>012-eich-2009-06-13 (0:08-2:59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swadesh word list (partial). Bob (m) &amp; Betty Reinhard (f), Ted (m) &amp; Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(15:32)</td>
<td>021-rein-2009-06-06 (2:39-18:11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swadesh word list (completion). Paul Liechty (m), Anna Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(5:50)</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20 (66:22-72:12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphabet. Sylvia Reinhard (f)</td>
<td>(0:46)</td>
<td>016-rein-2009-06-04 (0:01-0:47)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
English Stories with Swiss Reported Speech for Humor

One of the ways in which Swiss is used is to give the reported speech of another person in Swiss, even when the rest of the story is told in English. Usually the story the speaker is telling is something that happened in the past, and the Swiss reported speech elicits laughter from listeners who understand Swiss.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A cousin tells the teacher that a classmate needs the outhouse. Bob Reinhard (m)</td>
<td>(0:25)</td>
<td>026-rein-2009-06-06 (0:00-0:25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My boy can drive! Bob Reinhard (m)</td>
<td>(1:16)*</td>
<td>024-rein-2009-06-06 (11:37-12:53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like some cider? Ted Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(0:45)</td>
<td>024-rein-2009-06-06 (2:55-3:40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking Swiss with an Amish man. Bob Reinhard (m)</td>
<td>(0:48)</td>
<td>024-rein-2009-06-06 (0:00-0:48)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Swiss Phrases and Expressions with English Explanations

This material is primarily English conversation and explanation about Swiss phrases or expressions that were commonly used and heard. Greetings, admonitions, and warnings are included.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“This is fun.” Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(0:07)</td>
<td>025-rein-2009-06-06 (0:00-0:07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrases for exchanging greetings. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(0:50)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (50:04-50:54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrases for exchanging greetings. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(1:49)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (33:57-35:46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“On two legs like half a dog.” Homer Inniger (m), Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(0:36)</td>
<td>039-lehm-2009-08-25-int (0:24-1:00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Swiss expressions. Syliva Reinhard (f)</td>
<td>(2:34)</td>
<td>015-rein-2009-06-04 (8:27-11:01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greetings and leave-takings. Bob Reinhard (m), Ted (m) &amp; Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(1:13)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06 (13:49-15:02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss quotations or common expressions: from Swiss Dialect Expressions. Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(4:07)</td>
<td>019-baum-2009-06-04 (7:52-11:59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common expressions (2) and proverb: from Swiss Dialect Expressions. John Eicher (m)</td>
<td>(0:43)</td>
<td>011-eich-2009-06-03 (1:14-1:57)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Swiss Words with English Explanations and Discussion

This material is primarily English conversation and explanation about Swiss words. Speakers make comparisons of particular variation within the local dialect, variations between local words and words used in Switzerland, and discuss names and nicknames.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dialect differences: railroad. John Eicher (m)</td>
<td>(1:04)</td>
<td>013-eich-2009-06-03 (0:00-1:04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialect differences: truck. John Eicher (m)</td>
<td>(0:18)</td>
<td>013-eich-2009-06-03 (1:04-1:22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialect differences: vomit. Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(1:10)</td>
<td>019-baum-2009-06-04 (31:33-32:44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland dialects. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(0:47)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-extern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences within local dialect. Homer Inniger (m), Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(1:21)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-extern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexicarry descriptions: weather and seasons. Julia Liechty (f), Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(2:52)</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (35:22-38:14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name-calling: acceptable in Swiss, not English. Ted (m) &amp; Gloria Lehman, Bob (m) &amp; Betty Reinhard</td>
<td>(0:37)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06 (8:47-9:24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name-calling: acceptable in Swiss, not English. Ted (m) &amp; Gloria Lehman (f), Bob (m) &amp; Betty Reinhard (f)</td>
<td>(1:57)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06 (10:08-12:05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name-calling: expressions for worthless men. Paul Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(1:35)</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20 (5:05-6:40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name-calling: term for a greedy person. Paul Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(0:24)</td>
<td>032-liec-2009-08-20 (0:00-0:24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name-calling: term for someone who talks a lot. Chris Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(2:24)</td>
<td>040-liec-2009-08-00 (10:50-13:14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicknames: Swiss words for nicknames. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:32)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22 (40:28-40:60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velcro and <em>hakse gabelie</em>. John Eicher (m)</td>
<td>(1:19)</td>
<td>014-eich-2009-06-03 (0:00-1:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velcro and <em>hakse gabelie</em>. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:41)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22 (35:05-35:46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words with explanations: speak, potato, desire, strawberry. Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(2:06)</td>
<td>019 Baumgartner (26:46-28:53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words with explanations: clean, nose, face, back of knees, overalls, pants. Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(1:55)</td>
<td>019 Baumgartner (29:38-31:33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanations for other word list words (25). Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(5:01)</td>
<td>019 Baumgartner (32:44-37:45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanations for words: oats, wheat. Bob (m) &amp; Betty Reinhard (f)</td>
<td>(0:44)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06 (9:24-10:08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing Baumgartner word list. Bob (m) &amp; Betty Reinhard (f), Ted (m) &amp; Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>(7:32)</td>
<td>024-rein-2009-06-06 (3:48-11:20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different ways to express death. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(0:24)</td>
<td>039-lehm-2009-08-25 (0:00-0:24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss words grandchildren learned from Amish. Ted Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(1:44)</td>
<td>023-rein-2009-06-06 (12:05-13:49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making butter. Syliva Reinhard (f)</td>
<td>(0:36)</td>
<td>015-rein-2009-06-04 (13:49-14:25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words parents used: hurry. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(0:32)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (11:02-11:34)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**English Material Directly Related to Other Selections**

This material was separated from the selection it relates to by significant time intervals in the original sound files, so it had to be classified separately from the original selection.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Request for story about the <em>chaebë</em> test. Tad Wulliman (m), Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(0:12)</td>
<td>008-wull-2009-06-02 (2:04-2:17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation for “Boys, go get the milking done” song. Tad Wulliman (m), Charlie Wulliman (m)</td>
<td>(0:28)</td>
<td>008-wull-2009-06-02 (3:04-3:32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question about Tractor, changes in farming. Tad Wulliman (m), Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(0:14)</td>
<td>008-wull-2009-06-02 (4:56-5:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father falls into a church: English translation. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(1:06)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22 (22:12-23:18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up discussion of Pear Story movie and Swiss words used to describe it. Chris Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(2:49)</td>
<td>041-liec-2009-08-00 (12:19-15:09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation following monologue: Double wedding, renovating the farm house. Connie (m) &amp; Lena Nagel (f)</td>
<td>(0:30)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (17:08-17:38)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**English Conversation about Topics of Linguistic, Cultural, or Historical Interest**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Length (m:ss)</th>
<th>Original Annotation File (mm:ss-mm:ss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local foods: Foods that were eaten when growing up. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(0:35)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (12:25-12:60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local foods: Thrasher meals. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(1:10)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (25:15-26:25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local foods: Explaining <em>Aperie (Strawberry)</em> <em>Schturm.</em> Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(0:46)</td>
<td>019-baum-2009-06-04 (28:53-29:38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German hymns: “Almost Persuaded.” Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(0:24)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (29:25-29:49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>File Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German hymns: Singing for grandmother. Bob (m) Reinhard, Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>1:08</td>
<td>020-rein-2009-06-06 (0:21-1:29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German hymns: Hymns sung at First Mennonite Church. Bob (m) &amp; Betty Reinhard (f), Ted (m) &amp; Gloria Lehman (f)</td>
<td>0:29</td>
<td>024-rein-2009-06-06 (1:36-2:05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German prayer: trying to remember meal time prayer. Connie (m) &amp; Lena Nagel (f)</td>
<td>1:05</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (26:17-27:22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amish Christian Church, history, geographic locations. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>1:57</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (3:20-5:17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading and writing Swiss (German?) at Amish Christian School. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>2:11</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (1:09-3:20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amish Christian Church, reading German at school. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>1:56</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (7:50-9:46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German language for prayers and Bible reading. Abraham Lehman (m), Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>2:10</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (22:25-24:35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German <em>Ausbund</em> song book. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>0:40</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (24:35-25:15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: using Swiss to say things they don't want children to understand. Connie (m) &amp; Lena Nagel (f)</td>
<td>0:43</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (34:46-35:29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: language of thought and prayer life. Julia Liechty (f), Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>3:47</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (0:00-3:47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: speaking Swiss at church. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>0:32</td>
<td>036-lehm-2009-08-25-int (0:41-1:13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: using Swiss at school, playground games, neighboring Swiss family names. Homer Inniger (m), Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>4:37</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (0:00-4:37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: questionnaire. Paul Liechty (m)</td>
<td>0:18</td>
<td>031-liec-2009-08-20 (29:26-29:45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: questionnaire. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>1:09</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (0:00-1:09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: questionnaire. Abraham Lehman (m), Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>1:28</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (0:00-1:28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: questionnaire. Sylvia Reinhard (f)</td>
<td>6:20</td>
<td>015-rein-2009-06-04 (0:02-6:22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: questionnaire. Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>5:33</td>
<td>019-baum-2009-06-04 (0:01-5:34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: questionnaire. Chris Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(9:54)</td>
<td>040-liec-2009-08-00 (0:00-9:54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: speaking English at school. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(0:28)</td>
<td>036-lehm-2009-08-25-int (0:00-0:28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: speaking Swiss with tourists. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(4:59)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (36:08-41:07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: speaking Swiss while traveling in Switzerland. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(6:50)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (8:41-15:31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use: memories of how it sounded when relatives spoke Swiss. Howard Baumgartner (m)</td>
<td>(1:37)</td>
<td>019-baum-2009-06-04 (14:39-16:16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialect differences: speaking Swiss with local Amish. Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f), Julia Liechty (f)</td>
<td>(1:31)</td>
<td>029-wull-2009-08-19 (79:23-80:54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialect differences: Swiss used by local Amish. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(2:17)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (5:17-7:34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialect differences: Swiss person's perception of Berne, Indiana Swiss. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(1:07)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (7:34-8:41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local traditions: New Year's caroling. Abraham Lehman (m), Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(1:00)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (29:49-30:49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local history: Habegger or Reusser farm. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(1:01)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (6:16-7:17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local history: neighboring Swiss families. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(2:11)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (13:00-15:11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local history: 1938 winter storm. Elmer Graber (m)</td>
<td>(1:12)</td>
<td>033-grab-2009-08-21 (15:31-16:43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: family relations. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(0:51)</td>
<td>038-lehm-2009-08-25-ext (11:34-12:25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: connection with Switzerland. Abraham Lehman (m), Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(0:14)</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (2:47-3:01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: grandfather and father's life in Switzerland, reasons for immigrating to the U.S. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(1:55)</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (3:01-4:56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: family burial locations. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(2:54)</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (4:56-7:50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>File Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: family in Berne, Indiana. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(1:05)</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (16:00-17:05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: grandparents traveling to America. Abraham Lehman (m)</td>
<td>(3:19)</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25 (9:46-13:04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: Father falls in a well. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(0:31)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22 (25:29-26:00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: Description of Jacob Gerber's Swiss wood carvings.</td>
<td>(2:52)</td>
<td>035-parr-2009-08-22 (43:15-46:08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: Father's 4-mile walk to school in Switzerland. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(1:06)</td>
<td>034-parr-2009-08-22 (14:48-15:54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history: parents' family history and connection with Switzerland. Pauline Parr (f)</td>
<td>(12:19)</td>
<td>034-parr-2009-08-22 (0:00-12:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal history: Growing up years. Homer Inniger (m)</td>
<td>(1:13)</td>
<td>037-lehm-2009-08-25-int (14:25-15:38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal history: Memories of school lunch time, chores before school. Julia Liechty (f), Charlie (m) &amp; Lavon Wulliman (f)</td>
<td>(1:40)</td>
<td>028-wull-2009-08-19 (0:00-1:40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Swiss: trying to remember &quot;Ninne gaets.&quot; Connie (m) &amp; Lena Nagel. (f)</td>
<td>(1:40)</td>
<td>027-nage-2009-06-08 (30:16-31:56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Swiss: trying to talk about school in Swiss. Chris Liechty (m)</td>
<td>(1:34)</td>
<td>040-liec-2009-08-00 (13:14-14:48)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES


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