

## Dialect Differences between and within Weştern Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.

By LESTER W. J. SEIFERT, Brown University

During the past summer Mr. Carroll E. Reed, liminary Report); later on he hoped to compile also of Brown University, and I spent our time in a dialect dictionary (p. 1), but neither of these the Pennsylvania German area. Mr. Reed lived plans was carried out. Co. We went around asking people how they said such and such things in Pennsylvania German and wrote down their answers in a special Since he limits himself to the discussion of the phonetic alphabet. Our questions were chiefly dialect spoken in a certain region, it is evident concerned with finding out the terms for the common, everyday things of life; things dealing tween York Co. and other regions. In the article with the house and home, the farm, crops, tools, food, sicknesses, social affairs, the weather, and others of a similar simple nature. We asked the same questions of all the people so that we could find out in what all the people agreed and also in what things they differed from one another. The people of whose answers we kept record in our note-books were from many different occupations and professions and they varied in age from 18 to 85 years. Reed made 22 such records in western Berks Co. and I made 20 in western Lehigh Co. so that the usage of a fairly large number of speakers within two comparatively small areas has been recorded.

The purpose of our work was to find out how and also how much it differed within a comparatively small area. Within the last 70 years the Pennsylvania German dialect has been investigated by various scholars and almost every phase of the dialect, except that of dialect differences, has up to the present tried to compile a list of words, grammatical forms, and pronunciations which show variation; since this is the case, no one, of course, has tried to show in what particular region one word is used, and where another word meaning the same thing is current.

The first scientific treatment of the dialect is Samuel S. Haldeman's Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English, published in London and Philadelphia, 1872. ., On page 4 we read: "The early settlers were exk. tensive purchasers and occupiers of land, and being r thus widely scattered, and having but few good is roads, the uniformity of the language is greater d than might have been supposed possible." He makes no further mention of dialect differences.

s, Marcus B. Lambert writes on p. VIII of the Ins. troduction to his Dictionary of the Non-English a Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect, pubs. lished in Lancaster, Pa., 1924: "The Swiss admixture is only slightly noticeable in the eastern 1. part of the (Pennsylvania German) section, but e, is very evident in the Lancaster-York district —. The constant intermingling of those speaking diflect is quite homogeneous." On p. XII of the Introduction, after giving a review of the spellings so far used in writing the dialect, he says, "I have gone into this detail to show the anarchy that has reigned in this field, although the pronunciation is fairly uniform throughout." In the dictionary o itself no further mention is made of dialect differences and at times he gives only one word, when different regions have different words.

In Albert Buffington's excellent study entitled Pennsylvania German. A Grammatical and paragraphs, mention will be made of the fact. Linguistic Study of the Dialect, Harvard University Dissertation, 1937 (in typescript), we read of the development of "the composite Pennsylvania German dialect (with certain local and individual variations) -." He continues with the words, "yet, are all taken from the vocabulary and even in this on the whole, the dialectical variations—in the respect do not represent our complete material. various sections of Pennsylvania are very slight" (p. 11). Mr. Buffington does not go into this matter very deeply, but his scattered remarks upon

the subject are trustworthy.

lect, published in Baltimore, 1889, presents a some-- what different view. After writing of the many d different dialects spoken by the early Pennsylvania Lehigh counties, but this does not mean that it is settlers, he continues on p. 19: "Nor must it be - supposed that, inasmuch as the Pennsylvania German is spoken of as a unit, such a complete levels. ling has taken place as to render it impossible to , trace the original dialectical characteristics," and - on p. 22: "A more detailed treatment of dialectical differences in various portions of the State is ree served for a subsequent chapter." That "subseh | quent chapter" never appeared, although he referred to this matter again in The American in which the people of Berks use one word and the Ethnographical Survey. Conestoga Expedition people of Lehigh use another in speaking of the 1902, published in New York, 1911. Following the same thing. Sixteen examples have been chosen example of George Wenker, the German scholar to show this. The word used in one region may who began to study the geographic extent of words occur here and there in the other region, but such and forms in the dialects of Germany, he wants chance occurrences will be disregarded; this holds to construct a "Dialect Map" (p. 5 of the Pre- | for all the following sections.

western Berks Co. and I in western Lehigh On Feb 3 and 10, 1940, there appeared an article in this column by J. William Frey under the title The Pennsylvania German Dialect in York County. that he recognizes the presence of differences behowever, Mr. Frey gives a general treatment of some of the grammatical features of the York County dialect, but he does not say in which of these forms the dialect of York Co. differs from the dialect of other regions.

If we sum up these views, the following is clear: most of the observers recognize the existence of dialect differences, although they may speak of a "homogeneous dialect;" some say that the differences are very slight, others say that they are considerable. Such statements are usually found in the introductions, but in the main body of the studies the dialect is treated as if it were entirely homogeneous. It has been pointed out that there are exceptions to this rule, but even these men much the dialect differed from region to region have not gone very far in pointing out specific variations.

The reason for this general vagueness is quite evident. There was no body of material, collected on the basis of the spoken word, from which anything beyond generalities could be deduced. Now has at least been touched upon. There has been it is precisely the problem of dialect differences a good deal of arguing, mostly theoretical, about with which Reed and I were especially concerned, the extent of variation in the dialect, but no one when we compiled the 42 records mentioned in the very beginning of this article.

We have now worked through these records and have found that there are many differences in the dialect, differences between and within the two regions investigated during the past summer. One speaker uses one word and another uses another word in referring to the same object; one speaker pronounces a word in one way and another pronounces the same word differently; one speaker uses a certain grammatical form in a sentence and another uses a different form in the same sentence. To be sure, the Pennsylvania German spoken in one of the regions investigated is still easily understood by anyone living in the other area, and inasmuch as this is the case, it is possible to speak of a single Pennsylvania German dialect spoken in western Berks and western Lehigh Counties, but it is wrong to regard it as an entirely "homogeneous dialect."

The most striking type of difference is that in which one well defined region uses one word or form and another equally well defined region uses another; in this case we are dealing with what is usually called the geographic distribution of terms. ferent dialects has had a smoothing-out and level- But there are also other kinds of distribution; we ling effect, so that the Pennsylvania-German dia- all know that older people use words which the younger generations no longer use, even though the latter still know the meanings of such words; there is also a social distribution of words, for a term which may be perfectly all right on one social level is not current on another level. These last two types are interesting fields for investigation. but in this article only geographic distribution will be dealt with. In some cases the lines of geographic, age, and social distribution cross; when such "crossed" forms are cited in the following

There are nine main types of geographic distribution between and within western Berks and western Lehigh Counties. The examples which have been chosen to illustrate these different types The differences in pronunciation and grammatical forms also fall into these types, but these differences may be dealt with in a later article, if there is sufficient interest on the part of the readers. M. D. Learned's The Pennsylvania German Dia- The spellings which I shall use, following Dr. Barba's system, represent the most common pronunciation recorded in western Berks and western the only pronunciation recorded for any one word. Since this article deals only with matters of the vocabulary, the differences in pronunciation must remain unmentioned except in a few special cases. From now on I shall use only Berks and Lehigh in referring to the two regions investigated, but in every case this means western Berks Co. and western Lehigh Co.

I. There is first of all the type of distribution

der Hund blafft

deel Schdedtelcher

die Schbrings-eeg

die Schbeicks-eeg

es Blumme-land

die Ludzer

en Frack

LEHIGH

In the summer of 1940 Professor Hans Kurath, Director of the staff of linguists, who have been engaged for some years upon the gigantic task of creating a Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, sent two young linguistic geographers to Pennsylvania for the purpose of carrying on their studies among the Pennsylvania Germans. Mr. Lester W. J. Seifert was stationed at Fogelsville in Lehigh County, while his associate, Mr. Carroll Reed, operated from Charming Forge in Berks County. One phase of the combined results of their investigations "Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.," we are pleased to present to our readers in today's ECK. It will be continued in the next two issues.—ED.



De naegschte Owed bin ich widder uff der Kaerrichhof. Die Wunnerfitz iss doch en schlimmi Gschicht. All die Fartschritte in der Welt kumme devun, sie hot schunt Schtreit in viel Familie gemacht, en mancher hot Ohrfeige grickt dedarrich un Feindschaft unnich die beschte Friend gemacht. Ya well, denk ich zu mir selwert, der Schwammbach hot mir yo gsaat wie mit de Dode zu schwetze, do will ich doch mol sehne was eens vun denne Weibsleit, wu do leie, zu saage hot.

"Der Sall Schlemmer ihre Graab hot nau net so iwwel ausgsehne, yuscht's hot mich gewunnert ferwas der Schteehacker "Sall" un net "Sallie" odder "Sarah" genumme hot far ihre aerschter Naame. Es hot net lang genumme far des ausfinne. Ich bin ans Graab, mei Hokes Pokes gemacht un ihre gerufe. Noh hot's awwer gerabbelt. Es hot recht gschtarmt. Un des iss was ich gheert hab:

"Was der Schinner losscht mich net mol EBISSEL ruhe? En ganser liewer langer Daag bischt am yohle. Wann net gegrische waerd 'Iss es Esse noch net faerdich? Wu's mei Hemm?'. dann sin en gans hunnert annere Sache, wu du hawwe witt un kannscht net finne!"

"Nau Sallie, ich will yuscht mit dir schwetze. Sei net so beess," saag ich. Sie hot awwer widder losgezogge. "Halt's Maul! Ich schinn un blog mich vun maeryets frieh bis in die dunkel Nacht nei, die Weil dass du am Waertshaus leischt. So gschwint dass du im Haus bischt, geht's Gegreisch ab, 'Sall! Sall!' Mer kann meiner Seel ball ken Aagvoll Schlof meh griege. Neinmol aus de zehe. wann du aa heem kummscht bischt in me Daermel. Noh soll mer noch bei so 're Sau im Nescht leie. Ei, du schtinkscht wie en hunnert Schpauboxe in 're Schtillerei!"

"Nee, nau Sall-," awwer ich kann net nei kumme. "Sei mer graad ruhich! Ich hab lang genunk's Maul ghalde, nau waerd uffgschwetzt. Was hawwich en Breis gezogge in der Lodderie, wie ich dich gheiert hab! Hettscht mich yuscht gelosst wu ich waar, ich hab en guter Blatz ghatt, hett mich gut selwert ernaehre kenne. Awwer nee, du bischt gschprunge un gschprunge, bis du mich in de Glubbe ghatt hoscht. Wie glatt, wie schee un schmeechlich hoscht du schwetze kenne selli Zeit. Es waar immer 'Sallie,' net 'Sall' wie nau. 'Farwas witt dann so hard schaffe, Sallie? Ich kann dir en gut Lewe mache, un bin aa gut zu dir.' So hoscht gelockt. Ya, du bischt gut zu mir! Zehe Kinner hawwich dir uff die Welt gebrocht, un siwwe devun uff der Kaerrichhof gelegt. Net ee Wart Droscht hoscht mir gewwe.

"Du kannscht mich gut ernaehre! Huh! Ich muss alles schtrecke fars lange zu mache. 'S Esse so wohl wie die Gleeder. Ya, du bischt en scheener Saryer! Ei, der Kuh un em Gaul sei Ribbe schtehne raus as wie en Reff. Die Sei hen die helft Zeit nix zu fresse. Die Scheier iss leer un die Felder schtehne voll Bitterschtengel un anner Ungraut, die Fenseschtraehme sin mit Hecke un Darne zu, so dass mer net darrich kann. Ich kann mir gaar net eibilde, wann en Schtick Hols uff em Holsblatz waar. Wann ich Brennhols hawwe will, muss ich die Ax nemme naus in der. Bungert geh en doder Ebbelbaam selwert umhacke! Ya, du bischt gut zu mir! Sell hoscht yuscht gsaat, bis du mich in die Glubbe ghatt hoscht. Die Mehlkischt iss leer un ken gottseelichi Grummbeer im Keller. Un Schmals! Wu in der liewe Welt kaemt's haer? Wie mir gschlacht hen, waare die Sei so maager, dass kens do waar far auszubrode. Mer weess schier gaar net wie's Schunkefleesch zu brode, es hot net genunk fett draa."

Ich hab widder ebbes saage wolle, awwer sie losst mich net schwetze. "Hald's Maul!" greischt sie. "Den Owed grickscht mol die Lefitte runner gelese. Du hoscht gut zu mir sei wolle! Du Faulenser! Guck mich yuscht mol aa. Fufzich Yohr zurick waar's gsaat, ich waer eens vun de schennschte Maed uff weit un breed. Wie guck ich naui Was bin ich nau? En alt zammegerunselt Weiwel, dass geht mit der Naas uff em Boddem vun nix as wie niegere far dich. Ei, ich guck schlimmer wie en verrunselter Perschingschnutz, wu schunt siwwe Yohr uff em Heiselschpeicher gelegge hot! Ei, es dutt mir leed far in en Schpiggel zu gucke. Ich hab mich als gedruwwelt, awwer nau iss mei Druwwel all zu Zarn gedreht. Vun heit ab gehscht du dei Weg hoscht, dich versarye, ich bin faerdich. Un wann du dich net graad fartmachscht, schlag ich dir's Waerkelhols uff die Haernschaal, dass - du - Was! bischt - du - net der Hen?" frogt sie. "Nee," saag

Ich hab die Sall gedauert. Es wunnert mich nau eb ihre Mann net meh vun ihre gedenkt hot, odder eb's em Graabschteehacker sei Schuld waar. dass ihre Naame net recht uff em Schtee waar. Ich bin heem, un uff em Weg hawwich mir vorgenumme die Gschpichte uffzugewwe. Un doch hot de naegschte Owed der Wunnerfitz widder 's bescht vun mir grickt un ich bin widder uff der

Lloyd A. Moll's popular column "S Gebabbel

im Schtor" appears thrice weekly on the editorial

page of the Evening Chronicle.

un ich meiner. Loss die, wu du dei Gschpass mit ich, "ich bin net dei Mann." "O ye! Ferwas hoscht mich net mit Friede gelosst. Ich hab so'n hesslich Lewe ghatt, nau musscht du kumme mich widder do draa gemahne. Geh! Geh! Un loss mir mei Ruh. Ich hab so gut g-sch-lof-e." Noh waar sie fart.

Kaerrichhof.

ENGLISH 1. The dog barks

2. The lantern 3. A dress 4. Several villages 5. The spring-harrow 6. The spike-harrow 7. The flower-bed

8. The road goes uphill 9. The road goes downhill

10. Wheatbread 11. The hawk

4. Mama

6. I'm sorry!

5. The lettuce-bowl

7. He coughed hard

8. The barn-floor

12. Lehigh County

13. The country road

BERKS der Hund gauzt die Ladarn en Gaunt

Lehaa County

der Lans-weg

paar Schdedtlicher die Schbring-eeg die Schbeick-eeg der Blumme-gohrde die Schdross geht hiwwelnuff die Schdross geht der Barrick nuff die Schdross geht hiwwelnunner die Schdross geht der Barrick

Weedze-brod

nunner Weiss-brod or Weedze-brod der Woi der Habbich A few old people in Berks still use der Woi; some use the English word.

> Lechaa County only Lechaa, Lehigh, or die Grund-schdross or

Land-Schdross

In addition to these 3 words there are a good many others found in both regions, e. g., Dreckweg, Dreck-schdross, Newe-schdross, die Lane, etc.

14. Breakfast Marye-esse

Breckfeschd

In a rather narrow strip of western Lehigh, bordering on Berks Co., both words are used, and often by the same person. 15. They razzed him: in Berks they say sie hen 16. He works at Schmidt's: in Lehigh most people

ihn geredzt, sie hen Gschbass gemacht mid ihm, sie hen ihn geeggt, and other terms; in Lehigh, sie hen ihn gezarrt, is by far the most common term, but the older people sometimes say sie hen ihn geneckst.

say er schafft ans Schmidte; in Berks the first does not occur, as far as we can tell at present, but they say er schafft ans Schmidte, er schafft an Schmidt's, or er schafft beim Schmidt. II. In the second type of distribution the speak- | ers of southwestern Berks use another term. Some of the "Lehigh words" are used farther west and

farther south in northwestern Berks than others,

but in the following examples this fact will be dis-

es Dresch-denn(t)

say er schafft ans Schmidt's and some few

ers of Berks Co. west of the Schuylkill River in a fairly broad strip touching Schuylkill Co. use the same term as western Lehigh Co., while the speak-ENGLISH

SW BERKS die Wies or Wiss

regarded for the most part. NW BERKS & LEHIGH der Schwamm der Scheeb

1. The meadow 2. The bundle of grain die or der Garreb Some people also use Bindel, but this not very common. 3. Papa Daadi

> die Zelaat-bowl es schbeit mich er hod hard ghuscht

Mammi

Maemm die Zelaat-schissel es dutt mir Leed or ich bin sarri er hod arrick ghuscht er hod wiescht ghuscht er hod hard ghuscht

Paepp

longer used for threshing is most likely the reason why Scheier-denn is replacing it. 9. The floor der Boddem der Flaar or Flohr

es Scheier-denn

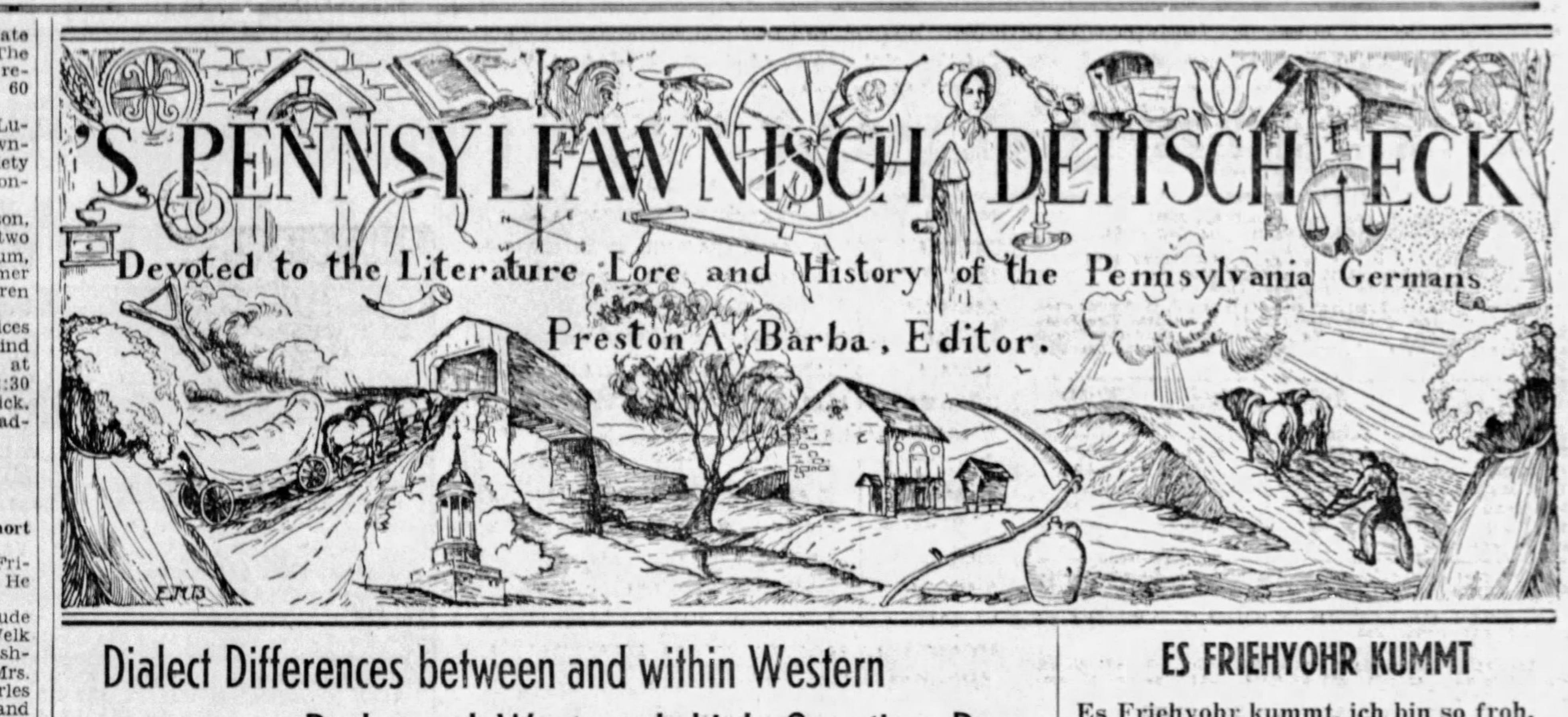
This is a very interesting case; the younger people of Lehigh use der Boddem, replacing the English word with an original German dialect word; this points to the renascence of the dialect in the last decades.

The old people in SW Berks still use es Dresch-denn; the fact that this part of the barn is no

10. I went to the village

ich bin noch em Schdedtel gange (To be continued)

ich bin noch em Schdedtel



## Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.

By LESTER W. J. SEIFERT, Brown University

Continued from last issue

III. In the third type of geographic distribution of Lehigh Co. lies roughly north of Seipstown, Hol-Lehigh use other terms. This northwestern section farther east in Lehigh Co. than others.

the people of Berks and NW Lehigh use the same ben's Valley, and Schweitzer Valley. But some of terms, while the people of the rest of western the "Berks words" are used farther south and

1. To deny A few old people in SW Lehigh say ablegle. Only a very small tip of NW Lehigh goes with

ENGLISH

griddelich

legle

SW LEHIGH BERKS & NW LEHIGH ferlegle

2. Grouchy

gredzich Around Womelsdorf, Berks Co., grummelich and grimmelich are used. As far south as Fogels-

ville, Lehigh Co., griddelich is used. mei Mudder 3. My mother (the mei Mammi mei Maemm (not often)

formal word) Mudder is still used by a few old people in Berks, but generally in Berks and NW Lehigh the

Berks in this term.

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distinction between a formal and an affectionate term for mother is fast disappearing (cf. example

No. 4, Section II). 4. Hello! haudidu, wie gehts, or wie bischt wie geht's, wie bischt, or haye 5. We walked to the barn mir sin an die Scheier geloffe mir sin noch der Scheier geloffe 6. I'm a bit tired ich bin (en) bissel mied

In the southwestern part of Lehigh, north of the Lehigh Mountains, wennich is also used. 7. A hill en Hiwwel en Barrick or Baerrick

ich bin (en) wennich mied

The Hiwwel area comes very far south in western Lehigh. In all of western Lehigh the word Hiwwel is, of course, known, but when the people of the southern area are asked, "What do you call

a hill?", the first answer is "en Barrick;" in all of Lehigh, however, Hiwwel refers only to a very low hill. The pronunciation Baerrick is common in the central part of western Lehigh. IV. Example No. 7 in Section III already shows | Mts. and includes the areas around Fogelsville, that the people of a certain area in southwestern Alburtis, and Macungie. Some "Berks words" are

ern Lehigh has other terms. This area which examples. sometimes agrees with Berks is north of the Lehigh ENGLISH BERKS & SW LEHIGH 1. The cradle die Wieg

Lehigh Co. at times say the same things as the used farther north and farther east in Lehigh than people in western Berks, whereas the rest of west- others. This will be discussed under the specific

The Wieg area goes as far north as Fogelsville and includes Macungie; how much farther east

die Schockel

NW LEHIGH

than Macungie it goes I cannot say, because we have no records east of Macungie in southern Lehigh. A good many people in NW Lehigh still know Wieg, although they say that this word has died out or that they have heard someone else use it. en Sauf-lodel 2. A drunkard en Siffer

Only a very small area in SW Lehigh has Siffer; here and there in NW Lehigh it is also used, but

Sauf-lodel is by far the more common term. 3. He mows the lawn er meed's Graas er meed der Hof

The old people in Berks still say Hof. Only around Macungie was Graas observed.

4. A blouse en Weest en Baddi

Baddi was recorded only in Alburtis. The old people of Berks use Weest or Baesk. Some old people in Lehigh say Saeck.

5. A week-day en Waerdaag or en Schaffdaag en Wochedaag or en Daag in der Woch Waerdaag is becoming rare in Lehigh, but Schaffdaag still occupies a very considerable area

in Lehigh. 6. The orchard der Baam-gohrde or Bohm-gaarde der Bungert or der Bummert

Quite a number of NW Lehigh speakers also know the term Baam-gohrde, but they say that it has died out in this section. are lander as in the test search and

er hod's abgschowe or er hod's abgeduh. er hod's uffgschowe 7. He postponed it Only a small area in SW Lehigh uses abgeduh. But the infinitive form uffschiewe occurs quite frequently in Berks also.

V. Of the 22 records which Reed made during | differs from that of all our other informants. Exthe summer one is the record of a man from Newmanstown, Lebanon Co., a short distance southwest of the Berks Co. line. In several features the speech of this man and of a varying number of southwestern Berks Co. informants

amples from the vocabulary to illustrate this distinctive northeastern Lebanon and southwestern Berks usage over against northwestern Berks and western Lehigh usage are:

er iss blott or blott-kebbich

der Eemer

Only a very small area in SW Berks has Kiwwel.

er iss baale or baale-kebbich 2. He is bald Baale and baale-kebbich are wide-spread in SW Berks.

der Kiwwel

3. He is bare-headed er iss blos-kebbich er iss blott-kebbich

A few old people in NW Berks & Lehigh say blos-kebbich. 4. He preaches a sermon er gebt die Breddich

er breddicht or er dutt die Breddich In NW Lehigh there is also an area in which er gebt die Breddich is used.

ENGLISH NE LEBANON & SW BERKS NW BERKS & LEHIGH

VI. The type of distribution to be discussed in | suffixes in use: che, el, and the compound suffx this section combines the two types which have elche, and in midwestern Berks liche occurs, but been presented in Sections I and V. As far as our present material goes, only the diminutive suffixes fall into this special class. In NE Lebanon Co. (from Frey's article we know that this feature extends much farther to the south and west, but this article is purposely limited to a discussion of the actual materials which we collected during the past summer) and in a strip of Berks Co. adjacent to the Lebanon Co. line the singular suffix is -li; thus the word for the baby in these areas is es Bobbli. In that part of western Berks not included in the strip along the Lebanon Co. line and in western Lehigh Co. there are 3 (or 4) singular NE LEBANON & SW BERKS MIDWEST BERKS & LEHIGH

it is not very frequent; thus in these two areas the baby is es Bobbel, the little pig is es Seiche, and the village is sometimes called es Schdedtelche. On the seam, where the southwestern and the midwestern sections of Berks meet, there are people who use all 5 suffixes. It must be added that in the midwestern section of Berks, in Lehigh, and on the above mentioned seam it is impossible to predict which of the 4 (or 5) suffixes will be used in any given word, although there are some words which are used only with one definite suffix; the following examples will make this clear.

or Widzliche

es Kobbche

es Seiche, Wudzel, Widzel,

es Bichel; but most people say

es Feggel, Feggelche, or Feggliche

(one case of the last was recorded

es Glessel; but most people say

Lemmel are quite rare. A good

Seicher, Wudzelcher,

many people say es glee Schof

es Schdedtel; es Schdedtelche

es glee Buch in these regions

es glee Glass in these regions

es Scheefel; es Lamm and

even in Lehigh Co.)

ENGLISH 1. The little pig

1. The pail

es Seili or Wudzli es Kobbli 2. The cup

3. The small book es Bichli

4. The little bird es Feggli

5. The small glass es Glessli 6. The lamb es Scheefli

es Schdedtli 7. The village

not a diminutive in these 8. The corn-crib regions, and very often not in all of western Berks 9. The baby es Bobbli

10. The foot-stool es Benkli

From these examples it is evident that the dis-

is not very common es Welsch-karn-heisel es Bobbel; es Bobbliche is rare. In Lehigh es Beebi occurs at times es Benkel; es Benkelche is rarely used are Kobbeher). In the singular suffixes Lehigh by and large agrees with midwestern Berks, but

tribution of the singular suffixes is really the same as that which has been discussed in Section But the distribution of these suffixes in the plural does not agree entirely with that of the singular, and here is where the distribution discussed under Section I comes into the picture. In the area where li is the singular suffix the plural suffix is lin (babies are Bobblin). In midwestern Berks, where che, el, elche, and rarely liche are used in the singular, the plural suffixes are cher and licher (babies are Bobblicher, cups

not so in the plural. In the plural Lehigh also has cher, but of the compound suffixes, licher is rarely used and the usual thing is elcher (cookies are Kichelcher). On the seam, where the southwestern and midwestern sections of Berks meet, there is again a region in which the speakers use all 3 suffixes, lin, cher, and licher, in the plural. In those regions where more than one suffix is in use it is again impossible to predict which one wil be used for any given word. LEHIGH MIDWEST BERKS

NE LEBANON & ENGLISH SW BERKS Seilin or Wudzlin 1. Little pigs Kobblin 2. Cups

Bichlin 3. Small books Fegglin 4. Little birds

5. Small glasses Glesslin Scheeflin or rarely 6. Lambs Schoflin

Welsch-karn-heislin 8. Corn-cribs

7. Villages

10. Cookies

(Cf. the singular) 9. Babies Bobblin

Schdedtlin

Kichlin

Widzelcher, or rarely Wudzlicher, or Widzlicher Widzlicher Kobboher or rarely Kobbcher Kobblicher Bichelcher Bichlicher Feggelcher Fegglicher Glesslicher Glesselcher

Scheefelcher, Scheeflicher or rarely Lemm Scheeflicher, or Lemmer Schdedtlicher Schdedtelcher or Schdedtlicher Welsch-karn-heiselcher Welsch-karn-heislicher

Bobblicher

Seicher, Seilicher,

Bobblicher occur about equally often; Beebis is also used at times Kichlicher or Kichelcher gleene Kuche

Bobbelcher and

In Lehigh and midwestern Berks diminutives are often avoided by using the adjective glee, gleene Bicher, gleene Feggel, gleene Kuche.

## ES FRIEHYOHR KUMMT

Es Friehvohr kummt, ich bin so froh, Waer es doch yuscht heit schunn do! Un harch mol wann der Biwwi singt, Wie des glei noh ann're bringt!

Der Schnee der schmelst un geht eweck, Losst zurick so bissel Dreck:

Dart sehnt mer noh die scheene Blumme Wie sie aus em Grund raus kumme.

Do freed sich noh die gans Nadur, Blanse, alle Kreadur; Die Saft die schiesst in all die Baem,

Buwe bleiwe net deheem. Es scheint die Lieb waer in der Luft,

Wie der Daa un Marye-Luft 'S iss alles haerrlich, alles froh, Wann es Friehyohr iss mol do.

-LLOYD A. MOLL

VII. The seventh type of distribution seems to be quite rare, or at least I have so far found only two cases of it, but it is so striking that it deserves special mention. In this type the people of northeastern Lebanon and southwestern Berks agree in usage with the people of western Lehigh, while that other part of Berks which has been investigated and which lies between these other two areas uses a different term.

1. The shovel in the central area is called either die Schaufel or die Schipp and either one of these words can refer to any kind of a shovel. In NE Lebanon, SW Berks, and Lehigh both words also occur, but there is a difference in their meaning; die Schaufel is broad and blunt, such as the scoopshovel used in handling threshed grain, but die Schipp is much narrower and has a pointed end and is used for such jobs as shovelling ground or gravel. 2. A pie in the central area is en Pei and in NE

Lebanon, SW Berks, and Lehigh it is en Boi; in NW Lehigh Pei is heard quite frequently. Both of these words are, of course, borrowed from the English, but at different times. Boi is the result of an early borrowing; at that time the English of Pennsylvania evidently did not pronounce the word the way it is now pronounced; the diphthong in which the word ends cannot have been exactly like either the Pennsylvania German diphthong ei (as in die Scheier, the barn) or the Pennsylvania German diphthong oi (as in Moi, the month of May) but must have been somewhere between the two; the early Pennsylvania Germans settled upon the pronunciation Boi rather than Pei, because in the native German words of the Pennsylvania German dialect there were no words of one syllable ending in the diphthong ei, but there were a few words of one syllable ending in the diphthong of (thus Moi, May; Hoi, hay; and Oi, an egg). Then the English pronunciation of the word pie gradually changed so that in time it ended in a diphthong which was almost exactly like the Pennsylvania German diphthong ei; since the Pennsylvania Germans must have heard the word pie very often from English speaking people, it is but natural that they should have borrowed the word anew. but now they also borrowed it in the English pronunciation, for the final diphthong was no longer different from a native Pennsylvania German

diphthong.

bution which have been discussed so far are largely the result of the settlement history of the areas investigated. The seventh type of distribution is not so much due to the settlement history as to the effects of a cultural center. Womelsdorf in southwestern Berks Co. was a part of the old Tulpehocken Settlement which was founded in 1723 by Palatines and Wuerttembergers who had in 1709 come to Schoharie, New York. When they were unfairly treated in the latter place, they moved on to Pennsylvania; the famous Weiser family established itself on the outskirts of Womelsdorf in 1729. Thus Womelsdorf is one of the oldest settlements in this part of Pennsylvania and it early became the center for the surrounding country-side, a position which it has maintained to this day. From such a cultural center features of language as well as manners and customs spread out in all directions. The following examples will show that Womelsdorf is no exception to this rule. Some of the terms have spread farther out of Womelsdorf than others, but without using maps it is difficult to show the exact spread of each term; therefore I shall speak of a general Womelsdorf area.

VIII. It can be shown that the types of distri-

1. A sparrow within the Womelsdorf area is en Schbaerre; the rest of Berks has en Schbarling or en Schbadz; Lehigh has only en Schbadz. 2. The first crop of hay in the Womelsdorf area

is die or der arscht Grapp Hoi; in the rest of Berks and Lehigh it is simply called es Hoi. 3. The second crop of hay is die or der zwett Grapp Hoi in the Womelsdorf area; in the rest of

Berks and Lehigh it is called es Uhmed. It is quite natural that such farm terms are lost in the towns, but in these last two cases the new town terms have spread into the country. 4. The month of August in the Womelsdorf area is der Auguscht or der Aaguscht, while the rest of

Berks has der Augscht or der Aagscht. In this case Lehigh agrees with the Womelsdorf area. 5. The doorknob in the Womelsdorf area is der Dier-gnopp; in the rest of Berks and Lehigh it is

der Diere-gnopp. 6. Spring-water in the Womelsdorf area is Schbring-wasser; the rest of Berks has Schbringe-

wasser; in Lehigh both forms occur, but not in any clear geographic distribution. 7. He works at Schmidt's in the Womelsdorf

area is er schafft beim Schmidt. For the rest cf. example No. 16, Section I. 8. Some people farm in the Womelsdorf area is

Deel Leit schaffe uff der Bauerei; in the rest of Berks people say Deel Leit bauere; in Lehigh both expressions are used, not in geographic distribution, and the two sets of pronunciation Bauerei, bauere and Bawwerei, bawwere occur.

9. I have a cold in the Womelsdorf area is ich hab en Kalt; NW Lehigh also has this: the rest of Berks has ich hab's Kalt, while the rest of Lehigh has ich hab Kalt.

10. They razzed him in the Womelsdorf area is sie hen ihn geredzt; for the rest of the picture cf. example No. 15, Section I. 11. It rained on the wedding-day is es hod uff

em Hochzich-daag gereyyert in the Womelsdorf area, but in the rest of Berks it is uff der Hochzichdaag. Lehigh has both constructions, but not in

any clear geographic distribution. 12. I helped myself (to meat) is ich hab mir selwert gholfe in the Womelsdorf area; in the rest of Berks the people say ich hab mir gholfe; both idioms occur in Lehigh and also a third, ich hab

mir genumme, but there is no clear geographic

distribution. 13. Grouchy in the Womelsdorf area is grummelich or grimmelich; the rest of Berks and NW Lehigh have griddelich; SW Lehigh has gredzich. This word was also used as an example in Sec-

tion III.

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## Conrad Weiser

By ARTHUR D. GRAEFF, Ph. D.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

REMOVING THE HATCHET

organization of a club known as the Junto, which later evolved as the American Philosophical Society. The Junto was formed to serve both social and cultural purposes for the enlightened persons in Philadelphia. Scientific experiments and explorations were encouraged by the organization. They readily agreed to sponsor the botanist John Bartram in his plea for funds to study the flora and fauna of interior America. Franklin's newspaper the Gazette urged public support for the subscription being raised n of "for the encouragement of Mr. John Bartram to travel through New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryand in search of curious vegetables, fossils, etc., which it is hoped will meet with success." (1) Lewis Evans, a cartographer who was very much

esteemed by the Penn Proprietors accompanied lores Bartram to the home of Conrad Weiser, early in Noah July of 1743. Together the three men set out for New York province.

Weiser led his companions northward over the Indian trail which crossed over the Blue Mountain at Pilger's Ruh and entered the Schuylkill Valley which Zinzendorf had named Anton's Wilderness. From the top of the Blue Ridge Evans viewed the broad valley which spread out to the north. In his journal he described the scene as "varied here and there with swelling hills, looking at a distance like cleared land, but are covered with dwarf oaks, about shoulder high, and bearing acorns, or the best gallnuts of any, we have." (2)

These observations would seem to fit the pen of Bartram the naturalist rather than Lewis the map maker. But Bartram was more concerned with the danger from rattlesnakes. Five of these vipers were killed on the first day of the jorney. At night Bartram complained that he was disturbed by small gnats. On the second night, at Mahanoy, the naturalist complained of fleas. The next eve-Eng- ning the party reached the Indian Village of Shaears, mokin and this time Bartram could not sleep because the Indians got drunk and caroused during the night. The travelers tarried at Shamokin on the fourth day, but that night Bartram and Lewis "went out to the mountain to sleep." Weiser stayed in the Indian village. (3) North of Shamokin they passed the home of

Shikellimy who, with his son had joined the party at the forks of the Susquehanna and traveled with them. But natural hardships continued to annoy the naturalists. A heavy rain made them uncomfortable until the Indians improvised a bark cover to shield the white men. The travelers were deep in Penn's forests on July

11. On this day Shikellimy and his son shot a deer and a feast of venison was prepared on the next day. Now came the turn of Weiser's white companions to josh the leader of the expedition. Conrad was not feeling well and could not eat the as a portions placed before him. Bartram and Evans ate Weiser's share "by proxy" and doubtlessly indulged in some good natural bantering.

The next day Weiser's party met a group of eight Shawanese Indians. Both groups sought a shady tree and squatted under it, smoking pipes which were lit for them by a sqaw. Weiser explained to the Shawanese that he was on his way to the Six Nations council Fire to offer a mediation in the affairs between the Iroquois and Virginia. To this piece of news the Indians shouted "To-Bay," an expression of approval. Bartram records the reply to Weiser. The spokesman said they "were sensible with what an unwearied diligence Weiser had hitherto been instrumental in preserving peace and good harmony between the Indians and white people and that as they could not but now commend the prudence and zeal with which he had affected this laudable purpose, so they earnestly entreated and sincerely hoped he ning | would still persevere in the same endeavours and with the same success and that his good offices may never be wanting on any future occasion." (4)

Somewhere between the Pennsylvania line and Onondaga Weiser's two white companions parted company with him and continued on their journey to Lake Ontario. His two red companions Shikellimy and his son stayed on the path to Onandago. This path led to Cachisdasche, the first town of the Onondaga nation. The Iroquois Long House was five miles farther north. Advance messengers were sent ahead to apprise the chiefs that Conrad Weiser had come with a message from Onas on behalf of Assarynoa, the Indian name for the Governor of Virginia.

The chief town of the Onondagas prepared a grand welcome for Weiser, whom they called Tarachawagon. (5) A feast of dried eels, boiled in hominy, was set before him and mats were brought for his comforts. Canassetego who led the huge delegation of deputies to Philadelphia in 1742 came to pay his respects and politely inquired about the welfare of the authorities in Philadelphia. Weiser and the chiefs smoked a pipe of "Philadelpiha Tobacco" and chatted about matters of general interest. When Tocanontie, the Black Prince of Onondaga, came to call he brought with him Caxhayion, the messenger who had been befriended by Zinzendorf a year earlier. To these old friends Weiser spoke in a humorous vein. To their greeting that he always brought good news Conrad replied "it was enough to kill a Man to come such a Long and bad Road over hills, Rocks,

Old Trees, and Rivers, and to fight through a Cloud of Vermine and all kinds of Poisen'd Worms and creeping things, besides being Loaded with a disagreeable Message, upon which they Laugh'd." This was the shrewd Weiser's way of diverting

discussion from the main purpose of his journey until a more auspicious moment could be found. On the twenty-third of August Conrad and Shikellimy prevailed upon Canassetago to "meet us in the Bushes," that is privately, and then explained the object of their mission to the supreme chieftain of the Six Nations. At a council of the Onondagas Weiser was officially welcomed as Assaryquoa and Shikellimy as Onas. No business 5. The descriptions of the events of Onondaga could be transacted, however, until the chiefs of all of the Six Nations were present. Messengers were sent to invite the representatives of the Con-

MONG THE MANY ACTIVITIES of the | federacy and while the Onondagas waited they armanysided Benjamin Franklin was the ranged a feast in honor of Weiser. Jonnhaty, the captain who led the warriors in the illfated Virginia skirmish was the host at the banquet.

A cask of rum was rolled into the Jonnhaty hut. Virginia and Pennsylvania were toasted in song and the Sun was thanked for giving light. cask was opened and Canassetego drank the first cup, toasting the health of Assaryquoa and Caheschcarowana drank to the health of Onas and then the cups were filled for all those present to the sentiments expressed by the chiefs. On the second round of drinks Jonnhaty handed the first cup to Conrad who toasted the "wise counsellors of the united nations" and his sentiments were endorsed by all who were there by each one drinking a gill of rum. A kettle of soup was passed and every guest was welcome to dip from its contents with a wooden spoon. After all the rum, two gallons of it, was drunk, the feast was over. The assembled chiefs and deputies shouted Jo-haa and departed.

While the Onondagas were feasting a delegation of Nanticoke Indians, from far-off Maryland arrived at the Six Nations capitol. The southern Indians could speak no Maqua and the Onondagas knew not a word of the Nanticoke tongue. Consequently the Indians could not converse with each other. At this juncture Weiser spoke to some Nanticokes in English and found that they understood. The Black Prince, Tocanonite, obserbed this conversation and directed "we will hear you with our English Ear and speak to you with our English Tongue. There is the Man (pointing to Weiser) who is the Guardian of all the Indians." In this way it came to pass that a German-born American interpreted between Iroquois and Nanticokes using English as the common basis for commuincation.

During the days which followed Jonnhaty's feast the delegations began to arrive from the allied nations. With the Oneidas came a venerable chief. Aquoyiota whom Weiser had known during his boyhood days in Schoharie. New ceremonies and repeated Jo-haas greeted each new group of deputies. On the 28th of July the full Council was assembled and two fires were lit, one for the Six Nations and one for Virginia. The Six Nations tended the one and Weiser stood guard over the other. There followed a long recital of incidents which

led to the unhappy state of affairs which made the meeting necessary. Many belts of wampum were hung upon a stick, kettles of Hominy and loaves of Indian bread were placed before Assaryquoa, Weiser, who was designated as the "Divider." The announcement of Virginia's gift brought forth Jo-haas of joy and Weiser was told that he was about to receive an answer.

Then, after thanking Onas for his meditation Tocanontie addressed Virginia-"you have healed our Wounds . . . an evil Spirit was the promoter of the late unhappy Skirmish . . . we thank you for removing your Hatchet . . . Let this Belt of Wampump serve to remove our Hatchet from you and not only bury it but we will fling it into the Bottomless Pitt, into the Ocean."



The Six Nations promised both Maryland and

Virginia that they would come down to Harris Ferry in Pennsylvania "after eight moons are passed by." They made it clear, however, that they were in no mood for peace with their enemies, the Catawbas, but puromised to restrain their young braves and prevent them from making their warpath through the areas where white men were A song of joy marked the conclusion of the

statements by the Black Prince. The Iroquois put out their fire and Weiser "put out the fire on behalf of Assaryquoa and Onas." After an exchange of civilities Weiser set out upon his homeward journey He had every reason to feel that his mission had been successful. Soon after Weiser's return to Pennsylvania the

Gazette informed its readers that "the misunderstanding between the colony of Virgina and the Six Nations . . is now happily accommodated by the mediation of our Governor . . . when all past offenses were sunk in the Ocean, never more to be seen or heard of." The optimism expressed by Franklin's newspaper

was somewhat premature. True, the Hatchet had been removed and the blood had been washed off by the intercession of Weiser in his capacity of ambassador without portfolio but the demands of the Six Nations against Virginia and Maryland had not yet been satisfied. The plans for the intercolony-Indian treaty had been made but time was to prove how much more remained to be done before peace was certain. In the negotiations which followed Conrad Weiser's services became indispensable to Pennsylvania, to Maryland to Virginia and to the Oneidas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Mohawks, Onondagas and their many allies. NOTES 1. Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 10, 1742.

Lewis Evans "Observations." Quoted in Watson's Annals of Philadelphia. Part II,

Bartram, John-Observations. Printed for George Perkins Humphries, Rochester, N. Y.

1895. See also Ernest Earnest. John and William Bartram, University of Penna. Press, In 1749 the Penn Proprietors wanted Evans and Bartram to accompany Weiser

on the trip which Weiser made exploring the Ohio country. Weiser objected to their company. See: Gipson, Lawrence Henry, Lewis Evans, Phila. 1939. Peters wrote to Penn, Feb. 16, 1750. "We must give way to Conrad without whom the back parts can never be safely reconnoitered." Page 38. Mr. Gipson states that the reason or Weiser's opposition to their company is not clear, pointing out that in March 1749 the New York Gazette stated that Conrad Weiser agreed to receive subscriptions for Evans' maps at his home. The author submits this as evidence that good relations must have existed between

Weiser and Evans. I submit that Weiser declined the company of these men because they were not good travellers-A. D. G. 4. Bartram, Observations, p. 22.

Colonial Records, Vol. IV, p. 660-668.

July 31 to Aug. 2.

are extracted from Weiser's Journal of 1743,

Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.

By LESTER W. J. SEIFERT Brown University

(Conclusion)

IX. Western Lehigh Co. has never had any center of the same degree of importance for the surrounding country as Womelsdorf was for southwestern Berks Co. In Section VIII it has been shown that, when there are differences in the dialect of Berks Co. as a whole, one of the forms can often be found in the Womelsdorf area, while the rest of Berks uses another form. In Lehigh, however, it is impossible to speak of a "Fogelsville area," or a "Macungie area," or a "New Tripoli area," because words and forms have not radiated from these points out into the surrounding country. To be sure, there are also terms in Lehigh which show geographic distribution, but this distribution does not show the regular pattern found in Berks. Lehigh is therefore much more split up than Berks and the dialect of the former has not yet reached the same degree of homogeneity as the dialect of the latter. In Sections III and IV examples have already been given to show how NW Lehigh on the one hand and SW Lehigh on the other (in both cases agreeing with Berks) differ from the rest of western Lehigh. The following examples show even more clearly, how western Lehigh is split up.

1. The wash-boiler north and west of Weidasville, Lyon Valley, and Hynemansville, and also in a small area north of the Lehigh Mts. is der Wesch-boiler; the people in the wedge between these two areas say der Wesch-kessel. In Berks der Wesch-boiler is not very frequent and it is usually der Wesch-beiler. a form which the Lehigh people say has died out. Could it be that der Wesch-kessel is spreading from Allentown, a place from which we have no records?

2. A stone-house in the area north of Fogelsville up to Weidasville, northwest to New Tripoli and back again to Fogelsville is es Schdeene-haus. and also in a considerable area north of the Lehigh Mts.; round about these areas it is called en Schdee-haus (I do not indicate the nasal vowel, because in many speakers the nasal quality is lost). In Berks it is most commonly called en

Schdeenich-haus, although en Schdee-haus also

occurs.

3. A brick-house in the area north and west of the Clausville-Seipstown line up to Stine's Corner and New Tripoli and also in a very small area north of the Lehigh Mts. next to Berks Co. is en Backe-schdeene-haus; hence this area is much smaller than the area in which Schdeene-haus is used. In a narrow strip stretching from Schweitzer Valley to New Tripoli it is called en Backe-schdeehaus. The rest of the investigated area in Lehigh has en Backe-schdeenich-haus, which is by far the most common term in Berks, although en Backeschdee-haus does occur now and then. After more of the entire Pennsylvania German area has been investigated, the distribution of the forms for these last two examples should make a very interesting study. 4. A highway north and west of Weidasville,

Lyon Valley, and Hynemansville is en Peik, and also in a small area north of the Lehigh Mts. In the wedge between these two areas it is called die grossi Schdross or simply die Schdross, though Peik is not entirely unknown in this region. In Berks these same words are used, but they are not in geographic distribution. In addition der Schdeet-weeg, der Hei-wee, and der Hei-weg occur

in both Berks and Lehigh.

5. My father (the formal term) north and east of the line from Claussville to Hillside is mei Paepp. In the rest of western Lehigh it is mel Fadder. In Berks only the old people still say mei Fadder and the usual thing is mei Daadi. Thus in the Paepp area of Lehigh and in Berks the distinction between a formal and an affectionate term is disappearing (cf. example No. 3, Section II). In Lehigh Daadi usually refers to any old man, except in the compound Schwaer-daadi (father-in-law).

6. My mother (the formal word) is mei Maemm in an area which largely coincides with the Paepp area. The rest of Western Lehigh has mei Mudder. In Berks mei Mammi is generally used, though mei Maemm is also quite frequent; mei Mudder is dying out rapidly in Berks, but it is relatively more alive than mei Fadder. As in the words for father, the distinction between a formal and an affectionate term is dying out. Mammi in Lehigh usually refers to any old woman. Cf. example No. 4, Section II and example No. 3, Section III. 7. Stubborn in a considerable area of NW Lehigh

is dick-kebbich; the rest of western Lehigh has schdarr-kebbich. The latter word and schdowwerich are used in Berks.

So far the examples in this section have shown how western Lehigh is split into a northwestern. a southwestern, and a central-western area. But there are other examples which show how western Lehigh is split into a far-western section (a strip of varying width along the Berks Co. line) and a

midwestern section. 8. Supper in Berks and in a narrow strip of Lehigh along the county line is es Nacht-esse; in the midwestern section of Lehigh it is Subber. 9. We go to work in Berks and in the far-west-

ern section of Lehigh is mir gehn an die Arwet; in the midwestern section the people say mir gehne schaffe, but here and there in this section people say mir gehn noch der Arwet. 10. He lives on the highway in a very broad farwestern section is er wuhnt am Peik (or any of

the possibilities according to example No. 4 of this section). In Berks this occurs here and there, but the regular thing in Berks and in the midwestern section of Lehigh is er wuhnt uffem Peik. 11. To cultivate corn in a fairly broad far-western section is es Welsch-karn schaufle; in the mid-

western section it is es Welsch-karn koldiweedere or koldiweede. In Berks both these idioms are used, as well as es Welsch-karn schaffe. The examples given in this article show the

main types of geographic distribution in the vocabulary. I have tried to show how far the currency of any given term extends within the limits of the two areas investigated, but since I have not used maps, I have been forced to be somewhat general at times. There are other dif-

ferences in vocabulary which do not show any clear geographic distribution and therefore they have not been mentioned in this article. The number of differences which have been listed is not great enough to make the speakers of one district unintelligible to the speakers of the other district, but the material presented here shows that a stage of homogeneity over the en-

tire Pennsylvania German area has not been reached by the dialect. In addition there are also differences in pronunciation and in grammatical forms which have not been used in this article. but they roughly fall into the same patterns as those outlined for the differences in vocabulary.

The first two installments of this article appeared in the Eck for March 15 and 22,