

# German Bohemians in New Zealand

## A Bavarian speaking community in the Pacific

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### Abstract

The article first describes the settlement history of Puhoi (New Zealand), a former German-speaking community. Then the historical and current sociolinguistic situation is presented. This is followed by a more detailed description of the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures as well as the lexicon of the North Bavarian variety on the North Island of New Zealand. In addition, contact phenomena such as structural transfer and, more generally, superstrate influence from English are discussed.

### 1. Introduction: Historical background

The first German Bohemian settlers of Puhoi and later on of secondary settlements<sup>1</sup> on the North Island of New Zealand – came from northwest Bohemia, at that time part of the Austrian-Hungarian empire and now part of the Czech Republic. Heller (2005: 1–2) and Felgentreff (1989: 14) mention different but neighboring places in a triangle between the towns or cities of Staab/Stod in the south, Mies/Stříbro in the west and Pilsen/Plzeň in the east as the origin of the settlers emigrating to New Zealand in the 1860s and 1870s (see Fig. 1). Williams (1993: 66) declares Chotieschau/Chotěšov as the place from which most emigrants originated. The places of origin are about 120 kilometers west of Prague and about 40 kilometers east of the Bavarian border.

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<sup>1</sup> For many German speaking settlements the concept of isolation is not suitable, so terms like *language island* or *linguistic island* are not used here. Puhoi was never an isolated language island ("Sprachinsel"). For a closer discussion of the *island*-concept in linguistics see Wildfeuer (2017a).

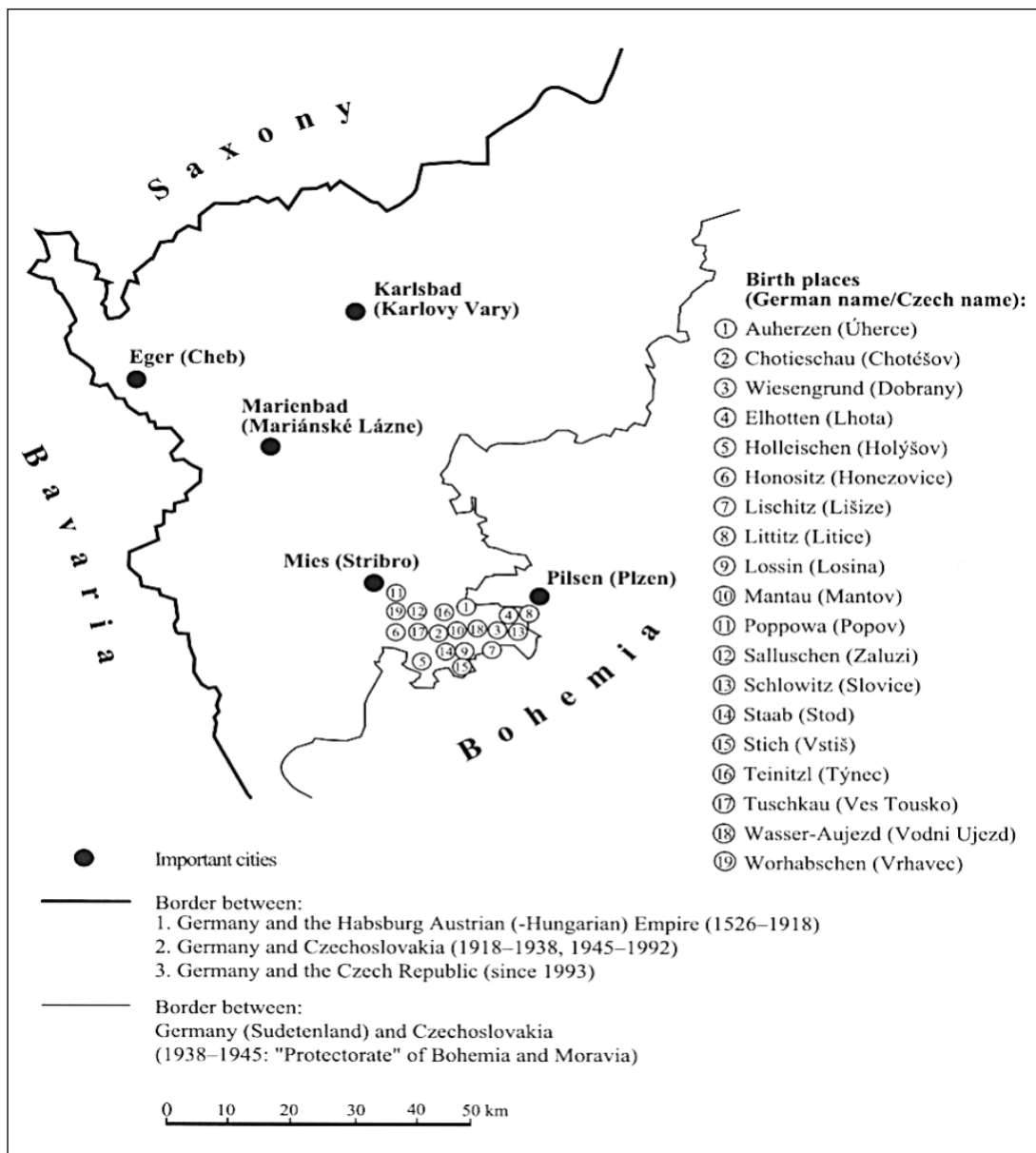


Fig. 1: Map of the Bohemian birth places of the German Bohemian settlers who moved to Puhoi between 1860 and 1876 (Heller 2005: 2)

The emigration is closely connected with an Austrian officer named Martin Krippner, born in Mantau/Mantov, a town in the aforementioned triangle in northwestern Bohemia. He emigrated to Auckland in 1859 or 1860, perhaps together with a group of Bohemian settlers (as yet this is not verified). In the following years, Krippner was successful in convincing more emigrants to move from northwestern Bohemia to the region along the Puhoi River north of Auckland (Felgentreff 1989: 16–18), see Fig. 2.



Fig. 2: The town of Puhoi in Rodney District (map created by Sebastian Franz)

The land along the Puhoi River was wilderness (bushland, swamps, kauris, steep slopes) and not suitable for farming for several years (Droescher 1974: 202, Silk 1923: 31). The fight to survive and make a living seems to be deeply enrooted in the family history of at least one settler. In 2008 one of the main interview partners for our language recordings<sup>2</sup> mentioned that without the help of neighboring Maori tribes, the settlement would not have succeeded.

The date given for the last group of Bohemian settlers arriving in Puhoi differs between 1873 (Droescher 1974: 201) and 1876 (Felgentreff 1989: 18). Based on different numbers mentioned in publications (Felgentreff 1989, Silk 1923) it is possible to estimate the total number of 130-140 settlers emigrating from the district of Staab/Stod to Puhoi in the 1860s and 1870s. In comparison with the total of the German population (born in Germany!) of that period in New Zealand – which reached 2838 in 1867 and 5007 in 1886 (Minson 1993: 40) – the German Bohemian settlers of Puhoi formed only a tiny fraction of all German speaking groups in New Zealand (the total number of all German speaking settlers from Central and East Europe in New Zealand during the second half of the 19th century is unknown). Nonetheless, the German Bohemians are the only German speaking group emigrating in the 19th century which

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<sup>2</sup> The recordings were planned and conducted by a group of researchers from Regensburg University (Nicole Eller, Astrid Christl, Alfred Wildfeuer).

remained a linguistic entity until the beginning of the 21st century. In 2008 six speakers of the variety could be found and several more speakers were mentioned by interviewees. As these lived in other places in New Zealand, they were not interviewed. The website <http://www.puhoidialect.net.nz/> lists the number of speakers as "a dozen or so (as at 2011)". In the light of our own research, this number seems too high, and it is safe to estimate that the German variety of Puhoi will die out in the coming years.

The German Bohemians emigrating to Puhoi in the 1860s and 1870s spoke a North Bavarian dialect. This is indisputable, as the variety recorded in 2008 by the above mentioned research group (see footnote 2) shows many aspects which are typical for this subdivision of Bavarian. Droscher (1974: 206) and Williams (1993: 66) also stress the North Bavarian characteristic of the variety in question. For a closer analysis of the variety see chapter 3.

As already briefly mentioned above, at least two secondary settlements existed. Both of these were founded by Bohemian families from Puhoi in the late 1860s and early 1870s (Heller 2005: 13–15):

1. Ohaupo and nearby Te Rore in the district of Waipa (south of the city of Hamilton, approximately 140 kilometers south of Auckland)
2. a tiny settlement in Thames on the Coromandel Peninsula

A search in 2008 for possible speakers of the varieties in the two secondary settlements Ohaupo/Te Rore and Thames was unsuccessful. In Te Rore we were able to find one direct descendant of the Austrian officer Martin Krippner. This man, in his sixties at that time, remembered a few words and sayings in the German Bohemian variety he had learned from his mother. According to his statement, in Ohaupo and Te Rore the last speakers of German had died decades ago.

## **2. Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects**

Ethnologue (2016) (<https://www.ethnologue.com/country/NZ/languages>) estimates around 36.000 Standard German speakers in the New Zealand. Other German varieties are not mentioned and therefore not classified. As the overview in *Ethnologue* makes no differentiation, no separate numbers of speakers of German are available for New Zealand. The *UNESCO Atlas of endangered languages* mentions no minority languages in New Zealand based on varieties of German (for further details see <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/>).

Institutions – schools, churches, societies – into and during the 20th century made no contribution to the survival of the German minority language. Heller (2005: 17) mentions that

English was the only language taught in school from 1884 on. Mass in Puhoi was at first held in a provisional church – simply a hut – in 1865, shortly after the first immigrants arrived. The first permanent church was consecrated in 1881, but even before that, services were held only in English (Felgentreff 1989: 27). Resentment against Germans and the German language during and after World War I (see e. g. King 2005: 34) intensified the shift from German varieties to English. There was also a major shift in the population. Non-Bohemians moved in and bought property. During the 20th Century the Bohemian part of the population and farm-owners with this ancestral background sank to around one seventh and one fifth (Heller 2005: 23–24). In Ohaupo, the secondary settlement in the district of Waipa, people with Bohemian ancestry never exceeded about 15 to 20% of the inhabitants and were even less numerous than other German-speaking immigrants in this region (Heller 2005: 25).

When Droescher (1974) carried out his research on the dialect of Puhoi in 1967, only a few people of around 50 years old were able to speak "German", and some younger people were able to understand it (Droescher 1974: 201). This number fell to 11 speakers by 2003 (Heller 2005: 32).

As mentioned above, in 2008 six speakers of the variety could be found. One of these speakers interviewed and recorded in 2008, then 95 years of age (and the same man recorded by Droescher in 1967!), had a small passive competence in Standard German. According to his own narrative he watched German television quite frequently but understood little of the content. Droescher (1974: 203) states that the first settlers also had active and passive knowledge in Standard German. Since Standard German as a language of instruction in school and church was no longer in use at the end of the 19th century, only the Bohemian dialect was handed down to the following generation, and competence in Standard German faded away.

Based on the preliminary information and to our own research on the German-Bohemians in New Zealand, from a sociolinguistic point of view the following generations can be subdivided:

- Generation I: speakers born in North-West Bohemia with language competence in North Bavarian, Standard German and some also in Czech
- Generation II: first generation born in New Zealand, language competence in North Bavarian, later in English (after school entry), some of them perhaps also in Standard German
- Generation III: second generation born in New Zealand, language competence in North Bavarian and English (in rare occasions only after school entry), little or no knowledge in Standard German

- Generation IV: third generation born in New Zealand, language competence in English, some at least with passive knowledge of North Bavarian

### 3. Sound system

The following analysis of the current state of the German variety in Puhoi focuses on the Bohemian-Bavarian dialect spoken in and around Puhoi. This is because only speakers living in or near Puhoi could be detected. For an in-depth analysis of the variety in question see Wildfeuer (2017b).

#### 3.1 Current inventory of vowels and consonants

The variety belongs to the group of North Bavarian dialects today spoken mainly in the region of the Upper Palatine in Bavaria and by a small linguistic minority in North-West Bohemia (Czech Republic). The following analysis focuses mainly on aspects of the sound system which are typical for this group of German varieties. The analysis supports the classification of the variety of Puhoi as a part of the Bavarian dialect group. Other features of the vowel and consonant system which are typical for a broader spectrum of German dialects and for Standard German and which are not helpful for the classification of this variety are neglected.

Typical for Puhoi's North Bavarian is the presence of a set of specific diphthongs which in outline date back to former stages of German, especially to Middle High German (MHG). One of the main features of North Bavarian and of the Puhoi variety is the development of the MHG diphthongs /ie/, /uo/, and /üe/ to rising diphthongs (known as "flipped diphthongs" – e.g. see Rowley 2000) /ɛɪ/, /ʌʊ/, /ɛɪ/, as the following examples illustrate:

- |       |          |       |          |
|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| (1) a | /brɛɪ̯y/ | Brief | 'letter' |
| b     | /gʌʊ̯d/  | gut   | 'good'   |
| c     | /khɛɪ̯/  | Kühe  | 'cows'   |

Another significant feature of North Bavarian dialects including the Bohemian variety of Puhoi is the change in articulation of post-vocal lateral /l/ from dental or alveolar to post-alveolar retroflex lateral:

- |       |            |        |          |
|-------|------------|--------|----------|
| (2) a | /hu:l̥d͡ʒ/ | Holz   | 'wood'   |
| b     | /khɛ̯l̥/   | Keller | 'cellar' |

Also typical for the variety in question and for a great part of Bavarian in general is the development of the protodiphthong /ei/ into different variants /ɔɐ/ and /ɔɪ/ before plosives and fricatives. Before nasal sounds variants like /uɐ/, /uɪ/ can be found:

(3) a	/bʁɔɐ:d/	breit	'broad'
b	/ɔɐ:/	Ei	'egg'
c	/ɔɪ:ɐ/	Eier	'eggs'
d	/lɔɪ:dɐ/	Leiter	'ladder'
e	/mɔɪ:dʲ/	Mädel	'girl'
f	/huɐ:m/	Heim	'home'
g	/uɪ:mɐ/	Eimer	'bucket'

As this list indicates, in monosyllabic words falling diphthongs are present and in plurisyllabic words rising diphthongs. This is a phenomenon typical of North Bavarian varieties but now lost in less conservative regions.

Another nearly unique feature in the vocalic inventory of the variety in question is the widespread diphthongization of former long vowels (in MHG /ê/, /ô/, /œ/, /â/):

(4) a	/ʒnɛɪ:/	Schnee	'snow'
b	/ʏlʁu:x/	Floh	'flea'
c	/ʏlɛɪ:x/	Flöhe	'fleas'
d	/ʒlʁufn/	schlafen	'to sleep'

One last example from the vowel system to support the classification of Puhoi's variety as a Bavarian based dialect is the *a*-umlaut as a lowered palatal /a/:

(5) a	/ra:dʲ/	Rädlein	'little wheel'
b	/bʲla:dʲɐ/	Blätter	'leaves'

The inventory of the current system of consonants is also closely related to the system of North Bavarian of the Upper Palatine in Bavaria. A feature now widespread in homeland varieties is the change of initial /s/ to /h/ in the plural forms of the verb *sein* 'to be' (see e.g. Gütter 1971: map 37). This development does not show up in Puhoi. Instead the forms with initial /s/ are preserved:

(6)	/zɑn/	sind-1PL.INDIC	'(we) are'
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A few recorded words exhibit the substitution of initial /j/ with /g/. This is common in some areas of North Bavarian (Gütter 1971: map 24), but recently on the decline. Also, in Puhoi this

substitution is outnumbered by lexemes which have restituted initial /j/. (7) and (8) show two of the rare examples recorded with initial /g/:

- (7) /gʁu:ɐ/ Jahre 'years'  
 (8) /gʊ:ŋ/ jung 'young'

Another feature widespread in this subcategory of Bavarian is the fricativization of final /g/, /h/, and the loss of final /b/:

- (9) a /aɔ:x/ Auge 'eye'  
 b /gʁʁu:x/ Krug 'jug'  
 c /hɛix/ Höhe 'height'  
 d /ʒʁu:x/ Schuhe 'shoes'  
 e /bʁu:/ Bub 'boy'  
 f /ʋaɪ:/ Weib 'woman'

Initial /k/ is aspirated in prevocalic position, a feature which is also common in other Bavarian subvarieties:

- (10) a /kʰo|d/ kalt 'cold'  
 b /kʰʁu:xn/ Kuchen 'cake'

Another aspect is the frequent loss of final postvocalic <n>, which may result in a nasalization of the preceding vowel (see (11) a):

- (11) a /bʁãɔ:/ braun 'brown'  
 b /grɛi:/ grün 'green'

Intervocalic /t/ and /d/ are in some cases substituted by a /r/-sound. This is not an idiolectal feature, as the substitution by /r/ differs from word to word. The two lexemes in example (12) c and (12) d were produced by the same speaker:

- (12) a /ʋe:rɐ/ Wetter 'weather'  
 b /bʁʁu:rɐ/ Bruder 'brother'  
 c /ʒnai:rɐ/ Schneider 'tailor'  
 d /bʁʁu:de/ Bruder 'brother'

Intervocalic /s/ is lost in one highly frequent word, as is postconsonantic /s/ in 'our':

- (13) a /mɛi:n/ müssen 'must'  
 b /u:nɐ/ unser 'our'



The following tables show the current inventory of monophthongs (table 1), diphthongs (table 2) and consonants (table 3) in the Puhoi variety. With respect to the inventory of consonants, note that there are no voiced stops, fricatives and affricates. The absence of voiced stops/fricatives/affricates is not unique to the Bohemian variety in question, but is widespread in Bavarian. The difference between /p/ and /b/ is made not by the opposition *voiceless* vs. *voiced*, but by a combination of higher articulatory pressure and a longer time span in articulation for the fortis. As for the monophthongs, centralized /i/, /ë/, /Ë/ were recorded only in the position immediately before liquid *l*.

**Monophthongs**

	front	central	back
high	i	ï	u
mid tense	e	ë	o
mid lax	ɛ	Ë	ɔ
low	a	ɐ	ɒ

Table 1: List of monophthongs

**Diphthongs**

falling diphthongs	rising diphthongs
ue	ui
ie	ɣu
ɔɐ	ɔɪ
ɛɐ	ɛɪ
	aɪ
	aɔ

Table 2: List of diphthongs

## Consonants

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
<i>STOPS</i>							
fortis	p		t			k	
lenis (voiceless)	b		d			g	
<i>FRICATIVES</i>							
fortis		f	s	ʃ		χ	h
lenis (voiceless)	v	v	z	ʒ		x	
<i>AFFRICATES</i>							
fortis		pf	ts	tʃ			
lenis (voiceless)		bv	ds	dʒ			
<i>NASALS</i>							
	m		n			ŋ	
<i>LIQUID</i>							
			l				
<i>TRILL</i>							
			r				
<i>APPROXIMANT</i>							
					j		

Table 3: List of consonants

### 3.2 Syllable structure and word stress

The variety of Puhoi shows the following syllable structure: a nucleus containing a short vowel is followed by a voiceless fortis consonant (stop, fricative or affricate), and a nucleus with a long vowel is followed by a voiceless (!) lenis consonant. In this variety, the length of the nucleus may change due to idiolectal idiosyncrasies, so the important feature is the fortis-lenis

distinction. The following charts (13 and 14) provide examples of this sound and syllable change in the variety in question:

(13) a	/d̥i:ʒ/	Tisch	'table'
b	/d̥iʃlɐ/	Tischler	'carpenter'
c	/viʃ/	Fisch	'fish'

(14) a	/khue:bv/	Kopf	'head'
b	/khepf/	Köpfe	'heads'

Word stress is similar to patterns in other Bavarian varieties and thus quite similar to Standard German. The recorded questionnaires exhibit no forms which differ from the general Bavarian stress patterns.

### 3.3 Language Contact and the sound system

There is no evidence for dialect and language contact affecting the sound system as a whole. The Bohemian settlers who left their homeland in the second half of the 19th century came from different villages in the northwestern part of Bohemia. Thus, minor dialect levelling between these closely related Bavarian varieties may have occurred. On the other hand, even the last few speakers interviewed in 2008 preserved differences which may have existed around 150 years ago in the homeland. An example is the difference between words with or without svarabhakti. For instance, one of the speakers interviewed retained svarabhakti in the following word:

(15)	/ma:riŋ/	morgen	'morning'
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Influence from English is limited to lexical and, to a lesser degree, to syntactic transfers. Examples of these will be presented in the chapters 4.6 and 5.

## 4. Morphosyntax

### 4.1 Inflection of pronouns and nouns

The pronominal system of the variety displays a 2-case-system with nominative and accusative in first and second person. Genitive is lost in the singular and plural, dative in the singular. In

the first and second persons, plural dative and accusative have merged into a single form. This merger is also significant in Standard German and dates back to MHG.

The list in (16) shows examples with first and second person singular, (17) lists examples with first and second plural:

- (16) a        *ich bin neid gruag*  
               ich-1SG.NOM bin nicht krank  
               'I'm not ill'
- b        *du dearfst ned schdoln*  
               du-2SG.NOM darfst nicht stehlen  
               'you aren't allowed to steal'
- c        *hot ea nea mi gsokt*  
               hat er nur mich-1SG.ACC gesagt  
               'he said it only to me'
- d        *deis gschiad di recht*  
               das geschieht dich-2SG.ACC recht  
               'that serves you right'
- e        *a blotz fia mi*  
               ein Platz für mich-1SG.ACC  
               'a place for me'
- f        *i will di wos sogn*  
               ich will dich-2SG.ACC was sagen  
               'I would like to say something to you'
- (17) a        *mia dans enk gem*  
               wir-1PL.NOM tun es euch-2PL.DAT/ACC geben  
               'we give it to you'
- b        *zu uns*  
               zu uns-1PL.DAT/ACC  
               'to us'
- c        *diads san*  
               ihr-2PL.NOM seid  
               'you are'

Typical of the noun system is the dative inflective <en>, lost nowadays in most of the homeland varieties. In Puhoi however it could be recorded in few occasions:

(18) *beim Fredn*  
bei dem Freden-3SG.DAT  
'with Fred'

(19) *dena laidn*  
denen Leuten-3PL.DAT  
'these guys'

As in other German varieties and in Standard German, nouns are inflected for three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter). At least two nouns show a different gender attribution compared to Standard German:

(20) a *housdn*  
Husten-SG.FEM  
'cough'  
b *hiag*  
Honig-SG.NEUT  
'honey'

Pronouns and nouns have two numbers (singular and plural). Dual is lost but one reflex of the West Germanic three-number-system (singular, dual, plural) is exhibited in the pronominal system. The personal pronouns listed below are successors of historic dual pronouns which have adopted plural meaning in the course of time in the vast majority of Bavarian dialects:

(21) a *diads*  
ihr-2PL.NOM  
'you'  
b *enk*  
euch-2PL.DAT/ACC  
'you'

The dual form for second person nominative plural was widespread in Northwest Bohemia and is still in use in a small region of Northeast Bavaria around the town of Tirschenreuth (for more details see Gütter 1971: map 34). The onset /d/ of the 2PL.NOM is a result of "incorrect" detachment of the verb flexive (2PL) in inverted position (see f. e. Schmeller 1872/1877: 635).

To mark plural in noun inflection, several possibilities emerged:

- no plural marking:

(22) a	<i>si:bl</i>	Sieb/Siebe-SG./PL.	'sieve/s'	
	b	<i>bre:dla</i>	Brett/Bretter-SG./PL.	'wooden board/s'
	c	<i>dse:n</i>	Zahn/Zähne-SG./PL.	'tooth/teeth'
	d	<i>gnei:</i>	Knie-SG./PL.	'knee/s'
	e	<i>di:sch</i>	Tisch/Tische-SG./PL.	'table/s'

- plural marking with a vowel change:

(23) a	<i>khou:</i>	Kuh-SG	'cow'	
	<i>khei:</i>	Kühe-PL	'cows'	
	b	<i>hou:v</i>	Hufe-SG	'hoof'
	<i>hei:v</i>	Hufen-PL	'hooves'	
	c	<i>roa:v</i>	Reif-SG	'iron hoop'
	<i>roi:v</i>	Reifen-PL	'iron hoops'	

- plural marking with a change of syllable structure (shortening of the long vowel) and change of vowel quality:

(24) a	<i>hu:nd</i>	Hund-SG	'dog'	
	<i>hint</i>	Hunde-PL	'dogs'	
	b	<i>so:g</i>	Sack-SG	'sack'
	<i>sek</i>	Säcke-PL	'sacks'	

- plural marking with suffix morpheme:

(25) a	<i>bva:</i>	Pferd-SG	'horse'	
	<i>bva:ra</i>	Pferde-PL	'horses'	
	b	<i>wai:</i>	Frau-SG	'woman'
	<i>wai:wa</i>	Frauen-PL	'women'	
	c	<i>rats</i>	Ratte-SG	'rat'
	<i>ratsn</i>	Ratten-PL	'rats'	

- plural marking with suffix morpheme and vowel change

(26) a	<i>hoa:n</i>	Horn-SG	'horn'	
	<i>hea:na</i>	Hörner-PL	'horns'	
	b	<i>vrua:sch</i>	Frosch-SG	'frog'

	<i>vria:schn</i>	Frösche-PL	'frogs'
c	<i>mua:</i>	Mann-SG	'man'
	<i>mana</i>	Männer-PL	'men'

#### 4.2 Inflection of articles

The system of definite and indefinite articles resembles the patterns of interior North Bavarian. For the nominative, the same article is used for all three genders:

(27)	a	<i>a blats</i>	ein Platz-MASK	'a place'
	b	<i>a wochn</i>	eine Woche-FEM	'a week'
	c	<i>a lem</i>	ein Leben-NEUT	'a life'

The definite article has a three-gender-system:

(28)	a	<i>da daifl</i>	der Teufel-MASK	'the devil'
	b	<i>d'ea:n</i>	die Erde-FEM	'the ground'
	c	<i>deis mo:nad</i>	das Monat-NEUT	'the month'

#### 4.3 Inflection of numerals

In line with historic varieties of German, the variety in Puhoi has kept the inflection of the cardinal number *zwei* 'two' according to the gender of the noun:

(29)	a	<i>dswei hint</i>	zwei Hunde-MASK	'two dogs'
	b	<i>dswou ghei</i>	zwei Kühe-FEM	'two cows'
	c	<i>dswoa haisa</i>	zwei Häuser-NEUT	'two houses'

#### 4.4 Inflection of verbs

In verb morphology, the variety exhibits a range of possibilities. Table 4 shows the distribution of infinitive endings, table 5 the flexives of person and number for present tense forms. Table 4 (infinitive morphemes) also lists recent forms arising from the assimilation of the protomorpheme *-en* to the plosive immediately preceding, which resulted in *-m* and *-ŋ*.

### Infinitive morphemes

morphemes	rules and examples
<i>n</i>	<p>after fricative, plosive (except <i>k</i> and <i>g</i>), liquid:</p> <p>(30) a    <i>safn</i>    saufen    'to drink'</p> <p>          b    <i>raidn</i>    reiten    'to ride'</p> <p>          c    <i>baln</i>    bellen    'to bark'</p> <p>          d    <i>askian</i>    auskehren    'to sweep out'</p> <p>with contractive verbs:</p> <p>(31)    <i>man</i>    mähen    'to mow'</p>
<i>m</i>	<p>developed from historic <i>-ben</i>:</p> <p>(32)    <i>grom</i>    graben    'to dig'</p>
<i>ŋ</i>	<p>after <i>k</i> and <i>g</i>:</p> <p>(33) a    <i>stekŋ</i>    stecken    'to stick'</p> <p>          b    <i>schloŋ</i>    schlagen    'to hit'</p>
$\emptyset$	<p>after simple <i>-n</i>:</p> <p>(34)    <i>vodein</i>    verdienen    'to earn'</p> <p>with athematic verbs:</p> <p>(35)    <i>gei</i>    gehen    'to go'</p>
<i>α</i>	<p>after nasal, historic long vowel, diphthong:</p> <p>(36) a    <i>kuma</i>    kommen    'to come'</p> <p>          b    <i>bauα</i>    bauen    'to build'</p> <p>          c    <i>schauα</i>    schauen    'to look'</p>

Table 4: List of infinitive morphemes

### Present tense morphemes (indicative present active)

	morphemes and examples
1SG	<i>-∅</i>
	(37) <i>schmais</i> schmeiße    'I throw'
2SG	<i>-sd</i>
	(38) <i>geisd</i> gehst    'you go'
3SG	<i>-d</i>
	(39) <i>geid</i> geht    'he/she/it goes'



1PL	protoform: <i>-(e)n</i>			
	current allomorphies: <i>-n, -a</i>			
(40)	a	<i>doun</i>	tun	'we do'
	b	<i>kina</i>	können	'we can'
2PL	<i>-ds</i>			
	(41)	<i>douds</i>	tut	'you do'
3PL	protoform: <i>-(e)n</i>			
	current allomorphies: <i>-a, m, n</i>			
(42)	a	<i>schdena</i>	stehen	'they stand'
	b	<i>ham</i>	haben	'they have'
	c	<i>san</i>	sind	'they are'

Table 5: List of present tense morphemes

Compared to Standard German, the tense system is reduced, as there is only a single existing preterite form, for 'was':

(43) *i woa*            ich war-1SG.PAST.INDIC    'I was'

In all other cases, the preterite is replaced by perfect tense forms. Pluperfect does not exist and neither are substitute forms – such as the double perfect – in use. A pluperfect substitute double perfect is widespread in Bavarian varieties in Central Europe, including Bohemia (see Eller 2006, Rowley 2013, Schiepek 1899). The question thus arises of why there is no such form in Puhoi. A possible explanation could be that the spread of double perfect started in the more progressive dialects along the Danube and had not reached the fringes of the Bavarian speaking world such as Northwest Bohemia, where the Bohemian variety of Puhoi originated. Future II, another form in interior Bavarian, does not exist either. So, compared to other Bavarian varieties and to Standard German, the tense system of the Puhoi variety is reduced.

Future I in Puhoi is expressed, as in Standard German, by the present tense form of the auxiliary verb *werden* and the infinitive of the main verb. Present perfect, also as in Standard German, is formed with the present tense form of the auxiliaries *haben* or *sein* and the past participle of the main verb. The following list presents examples for future I (44a–c), present (44e) and present perfect (44f–g):

- (44) a *wiads abal reiņa*  
 wird-3SG.PRES.INDIC es ein bald regnen-INF  
 'it will soon rain'
- b *wiads zo schnaia*  
 wird-3SG.PRES.INDIC es zu schneien-INF  
 'it will soon snow'
- c *wiads bal uafaņa zon reiņa*  
 wird-3SG.PRES.INDIC es bald anfangen-INF zu regnen-INF  
 'it will soon start to rain'
- d *wiads schnaia haind*  
 wird-3SG.PRES.INDIC es schneien-INF heute  
 'it will snow today'
- e *fānds o zon schnaia*  
 fängt-3SG.PRES.INDIC es an zu schneien-INF  
 'it is starting to snow'
- f *mia ham in blendi gem*  
 wir haben-1PL.PRES.INDIC ihm genug gegeben-PASTPART  
 'we have given him enough'
- g *haind sama in dschdod gaņa*  
 heute sind-1PL.PRES.INDIC wir in die Stadt gegangen-PASTPART  
 'today we went to town'

With regard to the limited possibilities in verb morphology, a further feature of homeland Bavarian is also missing. In the variety of Puhoi there is no periphrastic form of aspect formed with the auxiliary *werden* and the present participle. Inchoative forms like *es wird regnend* 'it is starting to rain' used in order to indicate an incident about to happen, could not be recorded in Puhoi, though these constructions are widespread in some Bavarian dialects. Instead, future I or present tense are used to express an action which is about to happen (see examples 44 a–e above).

As for mood, only subjunctive II exists. Verb forms, if possible, use *ablaut* or *umlaut* to form subjunctive II (see 45a–d). Another possibility to express subjunctive II is the periphrastic form with auxiliary *daad* täte 'would', a parallel form to Standard German *würde* 'would' (45 e):

- (45) a *wenn i geld heid*  
 wenn ich Geld hätte-1SG.SUBJ.II  
 'if I had money'
- b *wenn a nua eitsa gan*  
 wenn er nur jetzt ginge-3SG.SUBJ.II  
 'if he would just go now'
- c *du heidsd soln deis ned soη*  
 du hättest-2SG.SUBJ.II sollen-INF das nicht sagen-INF  
 'you shouldn't have said that'
- d *wenns nea weama waar*  
 wenn es nur wärmer wäre-3SG.SUBJ.II  
 'if it were warmer'
- e *i daad gean a banana hom*  
 ich täte-1SG.SUBJ.II gern eine Banane haben-INF  
 'I would like a banana'

#### 4.5 Syntax

A number of syntactic features are typical of the German variety in question, for instance verbal bracketing in main clauses. In most cases, this serialization is realized with a finite auxiliary verb forming the left bracket and an infinite verb forming the right bracket. It is widespread in the variety. Some examples are shown below:

- (46) a *du dousd a beichl lesn*  
 du tust-2SG.PRES.INDIC ein Buch lesen-INF  
 'you do read a book'
- b *i ko af des denkn*  
 ich kann-1SG.PRES.INDIC auf das denken-INF  
 'I can think of that'
- c *dian wiari niad gei loua*  
 den werde-1SG.PRES.INDIC ich nicht gehen-INF lassen-INF  
 'this one I will not let go'
- d *ament wiada zaid hom*  
 am Ende (= vielleicht) wird-3SG.PRES.INDIC er Zeit haben-INF  
 'maybe he will have time'

- e *deis mousd du gean hom*  
 das musst-2SG.PRES.INDIC du gern haben-INF  
 'this you have to like'

Some sentences exhibit reduction (47a–c) or loss (47d) of the verbal bracket:

- (47) a *i dou na goud seha ohne bruln*  
 ich tue-1SG.PRES.INDIC noch gut sehen-INF ohne Brille  
 'I still see well without glasses'
- b *wiads bal uafanga dsun renga*  
 wird-3SG.PRES.INDIC es bald anfangen-INF zu regnen  
 'it will soon start to rain'
- c *dea hods brocht zun an alts wai*  
 der hat-3SG.PRES.INDIC es gebracht-PASTPART zu einen altes Weib  
 'he has brought it to an old woman'
- d *der hod umgridn vor zwoa stund*  
 der hat-3SG.PRES.INDIC herumgeritten-PASTPART für zwei Stunden  
 'he has ridden around for two hours'

Compared to historic varieties of German, the development and expansion of verbal bracketing is a process which started in OHG, but which fully expanded during early New High German in combination with an increasing number of written texts (see Lenerz 1995: 1268, and Wildfeuer 2007: 169). Consequently, this phenomenon in German has to be seen in connection with the use of conceptual written language. In contrast, conceptual oral language shows more freedom and reduced verb brackets, so too the solely orally used Bohemian variety. Thus, reduced verbal brackets are also an indicator that this minority language has no longer been under the influence of written Standard German for some time. To conclude, it can be said that the Bohemian variety of Puhoi shows a higher variability of word order than Standard German. The fact that there are no verb brackets in the main contact languages may support, or even increase, this variability in the German variety.

Another feature specific to German and its varieties is the moving of the finite verb to the last position in introduced subordinate clauses. This phenomenon also exists in the dialect in question. Here are a few examples:

- (48) a *mei voda zun sterbn woa*  
 [als] mein Vater zum sterben war-3SG.PRET.INDIC  
 '[as] my father was about to die'
- b *wenna nur eitza gang*  
 wenn er nur jetzt ginge-3SG.SUBJ.II  
 'if he would go now'
- c *wenns nea weama waar*  
 wenn es nur wärmer wäre-3SG.SUBJ.II  
 'if it were warmer'

On the other hand, there are sentences in the corpus where the finite verb does not take up final position:

- (49) a *wennis wiari kreing*  
 wenn ich es werde-1SG.PRES.INDIC ich kriegen-INF  
 'when I will get it'
- b *wenni geld dad hom*  
 wenn ich Geld täte-1SG.SUBJ.II haben-INF  
 'if I would have money'

As already argued for verbal bracketing, influence from the contact languages cannot be denied, and could even have supported an inherited tendency to partly give up the verb final position.

As a first conclusion, it is obvious that the morphological and syntactical features of this variety are close to the donor dialects. But it is also clear that the variety is reduced in its system, since typical features like aspect, double perfect and future II are apparently lost, or never existed on the fringes of the Bavarian speaking region (in our case in Northwest Bohemia).

## 5. Structural transfer and influence

Structural borrowing from English is quite rare. There are a few instances of borrowed morphemes. The following example (50) exhibits transfer of an English verbal morpheme (3SG):

- (50) *wennas dads*  
 wenn er es täte-3SG.SUBJ.II  
 'if he did it'

Also rare are examples with transfer in noun morphology (plural and genitive morphemes):

- (51) a *bounas*  
 Bohnen-PL  
 'beans'  
 b *haid's nocht*  
 heute Nacht  
 'today's night'

For (51) b another explanation is also possible, as *haid's nocht* could be based on the construction *heute zu Nacht*. This is an explanation which denies morphological transfer.

More indirect is the influence of the contact language in cases of article use and gender attribution. Based on evidence from Australian German, Clyne (1981) and Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 82) argue that the English one-article-system supports the partial loss of the three-gender-system in the German variety or altered article assignment. The lexemes in (52) a–c show article assignment divergent from interior Bavarian varieties:

- |        |                    |                    |                |
|--------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (52) a | <i>der fest</i>    | der Fest-SG.MASK   | 'the festival' |
| b      | <i>da schdross</i> | der Straße-SG.MASK | 'the road'     |
| c      | <i>d'faia</i>      | die Feuer-SG.FEM   | 'the fire'     |

The formation of perfect tense in one example exhibits adaptation to English structure insofar as the auxiliary is replaced by a translation of the English equivalent *to have*:

- (53) *i ho d'schel gonga*  
 ich habe-1SG.PRES.INDIC die Schule gegangen-PASTPART  
 'I have gone to school'

In the syntactic domain, the following three examples show convergence to the pattern of English prepositional constructions (54 a), to the pattern of formation with preposition and pronoun (54 b), and to the pattern of preposition plus durative adverbial (54 c):

- (54) a *af'leda*  
auf Leder  
'made of leather'
- b *du gibst zu ia*  
du gibst zu-PARTICLE ihr-PRONOUN  
'you give it to her'
- c *der hod umgridn vor zwoa stund*  
der hat-3SG.PRES.INDIC herumgeritten-PASTPART für zwei Stunden  
'he has ridden around for two hours'

Compared to lexical borrowing (see chapter 6), these examples of structural borrowing are of low frequency. As an intermediate result, in its morphological and syntactic structure the variety is influenced only slightly by English patterns. This corresponds with research done on other language contact situations. The morphological system in particular frequently withstands contact language influence, as Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 52) point out:

Since inflectional systems, in particular, tend to be highly structured and thus relatively closed, the integration of borrowed features into such systems may be difficult.

Especially in contact situations of lesser duration – Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 41) mention a period of several hundred years as a prerequisite of extensive structural borrowing in most cases – influence from the contact language bears more heavily on the lexicon. This will be discussed in greater depth in chapter 6.

## 6. Lexicon

The following analysis focuses on two aspects of the lexicon of the variety. The first part looks at lexemes which support the classification of the variety in question as belonging to the Bavarian subgroup of German dialects. The second part focusses on loan words which came into the language during its one and a half century history in New Zealand. Earlier lexical borrowing which happened in the homeland is neglected, because these loan processes have already been described extensively in dialectological literature.

## 6.1 Words of Bavarian origin

The following lexemes link the investigation area in New Zealand to Bavarian homeland varieties. The words listed are restricted mostly to this Upper German language group and are a significant feature distinguishing Bavarian from other regional dialects. Most of these words are in use until today in more conservative varieties and in several Bohemian settlements. Remarkably, some autochthonous Bavarian words, e. g. *Dult* Fest 'festival', *aper* schneefrei 'snow-free', *Pfait* Hemd 'shirt' and *Pfinztag* Donnerstag 'Thursday', could not be elicited in Puhoi. This may again be an indicator (see chapter 4.4 in detail) that the donor dialects in Northwest Bohemia represented a fringe part of North Bavarian and without strong ties to inner Bavarian and its lexicon. As most of the words in the following list can be found in historic varieties of German, a written form is presented in Standard German as a lemma approximation in first position. The Standard German lemma in the middle column (and sometimes a lemma thereafter) gives the meaning in present day German:

(55)a	<i>ofa</i>	after, dann/danach-ADV	'after that, later'
b	<i>eng</i>	enk, euch-2.PL.PERS.PRON.DAT/ACC	'you (pl.)'
c	<i>iada</i>	Ertag, Dienstag-SG.SUBST	'Tuesday'
d	<i>verdn</i>	fern, voriges Jahr-ADV	'last year'
e	<i>vraidhof</i>	Freithof, Friedhof-SG.SUBST	'cemetery'
f	<i>gripmess</i>	Gräbnis, Begräbnisfeier-SG.SUBST	'funeral'
g	<i>horan</i>	Hader, Tuch-SG.SUBST	'cloth'
h	<i>hal</i>	häl, eisglatt-ADJ (only as a reminder form)	'ice-slicked'
i	<i>gnofl</i>	Knofel, Knoblauch-SG.SUBST	'garlic'
j	<i>sched</i>	sched, bloß/nur-PARTICLE	'only'
k	<i>schlebaichdn</i>	schlegelbäuchten, keuchen-INF	'to breathe heavily'
l	<i>schtodl</i>	Stadel, Scheune-SG.SUBST	'barn'

## 6.2 Lexical transfer

Due to the 150 years of contact with the English vernacular of New Zealand and with written English since the 1880s (when school instruction and church service switched to English – see chapter 2), words from the contact language were integrated into the variety. The following analysis differentiates between direct integration of loan words and phonetic, semantic or



morphologic adaption. It is not always possible to draw a clear line between loanword and adaption. Two examples of this problem are the English lexemes *wharf* and *creek*, which are articulated by the speakers as *wuaf* (56 m) and *gri:kl* (56 c), following the phonetic and morphologic rules of the variety. Because the donor language English is still clearly recognizable, examples like these are classified as loan words.

Another question is the treatment of discourse markers. If these are realized as equivalents of phrases, they could be classified as code-switching. They will nonetheless be treated as lexical transfer (see 57 a–c). This is based on the research results of Clyne (1994: 115), who remarks on the fast integration of discourse markers in the dialects of German Australians:

Some English discourse markers, such as *well, you see, you know, anyhow*, may be found even in the speech of the adult first generation from German and other immigrant speech communities in Australia [...].

Our impression during several weeks of language recording was that the discourse markers are firmly integrated, and no longer a sign of code-switching.

Lexical transfer, on the whole, is the most common result of contact phenomena. This is not only valid for the variety in question but also for many other language contact situations (see f. e. Földes 2005 for Hungarian German varieties).

### 6.2.1 Loan words

The following list provides examples of loan words:

(56) a	<i>beigan</i>	Speck-SG.SUBST	'bacon'
b	<i>bi:dl</i>	Käfer-SG.SUBST	'beetle'
c	<i>gri:g/grikl</i>	Bach-SG.SUBST/Bächlein-SG.SUBST.DIM	'creek/little creek'
d	<i>disk</i>	Egge-SG.SUBST	'disk'
e	<i>femili</i>	Familie-SG.SUBST	'family'
f	<i>vents</i> <sup>3</sup>	Zaun-SG.SUBST	'fence'
g	<i>middle</i>	mitten-PREP	'middle'
h	<i>blenti</i>	genug-ADV	'plenty'
i	<i>ri:b</i>	Rippe-SG.SUBST	'rib'
j	<i>ropn</i>	rauben-INF	'to rob'
k	<i>schin</i>	Schienbein-SG.SUBST	'shin'

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<sup>3</sup> According to Haugen (1989: 67) the loan word *fence* is also widespread in different language groups of the USA.

l	<i>schbe:d</i>	Spaten-SG.SUBST	'spade'
m	<i>wuaf</i>	Kai-SG.SUBST	'wharf'

- (57) a *yeah*                      Oh ja.  
 b *you know*                    Weißt du.  
 c *isn't it*                        Nicht wahr?

### 6.2.2 Loan translation

Some of the lexemes recorded exhibit a relexification of English morphemes with German equivalents. Clyne (1994: 111) classifies these occasions as semantic transfer. Compared to the number of loan words, this possibility is used to a lesser degree.

The list shows all recorded examples:

(58) a	<i>groussu:n</i>	Enkel-SG.SUBST	'grandson'
b	<i>gro:sdouchda</i>	Enkelin-SG.SUBST	'granddaughter'
c	<i>vou:da</i>	Essen-SG.SUBST	'food'
d	<i>schwwoatzbiarla</i>	Brombeeren-SG.SUBST	'blackberries'
e	<i>schedrou:biarla</i>	Erdbeeren-SG.SUBST	'strawberries'
f	<i>grund</i>	Erdboden-SG.SUBST	'ground'

### 6.2.3 Loan coining

Loan coining results in lexemes which cannot be ascribed to exact English equivalents. Instead elements, especially morphemes of the contact language, are somewhat reshaped or semantic components are transferred to German words. An extreme example of this, and the only example of loan coining recorded in Puhoi, is the transfer of an English diphthong into the lexeme of the variety:

(59)	<i>glou:</i>	Klee-SG.SUBST	'clover'
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### 6.2.4 Hybrid forms

Several compound words are in existence in Puhoi which show a combination of English and Bavarian elements:

(60) a	<i>fa:mhilv</i>	Farmhilfsarbeiter-SG.SUBST	'farm help'
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b	<i>go:dvo:da</i>	Taufpate-SG.SUBST	'godfather'
c	<i>grandmou:da</i>	Großmutter-SG.SUBST	'grandmother'
e	<i>bitschnkea:n</i>	Pfirsichkern-SG.SUBST	'peach stone'

## 7. The relevance of genetical and typological distance for structural and lexical transfer

The relevance or irrelevance of genetic and typological proximity as a factor relevant for linguistic transfer between two contact languages has been discussed intensively for decades. Braunmüller (2001: 121 and 125), Fredsted (2002: 72), and Clyne (2002: 334) for example, stress the proximity of languages in typological and/or genetic terms as being a major factor insofar as close relationship of languages leads to higher convergence of at least one of the contact varieties. Others, like Kiparsky (1938: 176) and Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 53), do not view typological factors as necessarily being relevant for convergence or borrowing:

[...] we have solid evidence from cases of heavy structural borrowing [...] that features can and do get borrowed regardless of their typological fit with borrowing-language features. (Thomason/Kaufman 1991: 53)

As Földes (2005) finds in his research on German varieties in Hungary, languages which are typologically and genetically separate (as are Hungarian and German) do exhibit a large number of borrowings – in the case of German varieties mostly in the direction of borrowing from Hungarian. For a more detailed discussion see Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 5–12 and 14–20). There is evidence that borrowing does not necessarily depend on relatedness of the languages in contact, but that typological relationships may support modest structural borrowing, as McMahon (1994: 210) and Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 54) assume.

Another factor is bilingualism, at least in parts of the linguistic community (see f. e. McMahon 1994: 211). For Puhoi, it can be assumed that shortly after the arrival of the first settlers a few individuals already learned at least the rudiments of English. This enabled the integration of loan words and other lexical transfers into the variety. As shown above in chapter 5, other aspects of the variety however, such as morphology and syntax, were little influenced by English. On the other hand, this is an indicator that bilingualism was not particularly widespread, at least in the first and second generation. Indeed, one of the interviewees – whose parents had already been born in New Zealand – mentioned that she did not learn proper English before starting school. So, we find an ambiguous picture: Intensive lexical borrowing due to early, at least rudimental, individual bilingualism, little structural borrowing due to the fact that

bilingualism was not widespread. This finding corresponds to Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 37), who stress that

lexical borrowing frequently takes place without widespread bilingualism, extensive structural borrowing [...] apparently requires extensive (though not universal) [...] bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers over a considerable period of time.

This quotation mentions a further factor. It must be considered that bilingualism in Puhoi was limited to around 150 years, a comparatively short period of time from the perspective of other German speaking settlements in Europe (e. g. in Northern Italy) and North America (e. g. Pennsylvania German), which have been in existence for several hundred years and which exhibit heavy lexical and structural borrowing. The dichotomy of heavy lexical and limited structural borrowing can be explained by these two factors – limited bilingualism and short period of time.

## **8. Current linguistic and sociolinguistic situation**

As illustrated in the analyses above, the variety in question is closely related to homeland varieties, especially to the North Bavarian group. Proof of this are features from several linguistic categories (phonology, morphology, lexicon) such as the following (see in detail Kollmann 2012: 36–37):

- unrounding of certain vowels and diphthongs
- *a*-umlaut
- *a*-rising
- diphthongal continuation of MHG *ie*, *üe*, *uo*
- development of *oa* and *oi* from MHG *ei*
- zero morpheme for first person singular verbs
- *s*-flexive for second person plural verbs
- loss of the preterite
- loss of the subjunctive I
- list of lexemes in existence only in Bavarian varieties

Considering that the transmission to the next generation has come to complete standstill decades ago, the variety is now on the verge of extinction. The following scale of endangered languages (Gorter 2008: 171, based on Fishman 1991) shows the degree of vulnerability minority languages may face (table 6). It is safe to rank the variety of Puhoi at stage 7 of 8:

Stage 8	Reconstructing the language and adult acquisition of the language. This reconstruction has been done for e. g. Cornish and Manx.
Stage 7	Cultural interaction in the language primarily involves the older generation of the community. Saterfrisian in Germany can serve as an example, where grandparents go to the playgroup to talk with the young children to teach them the fundamentals of Saterfrisian, a language their parents did not learn at all.
Stage 6	The intergenerational and demographically concentrated family-home-neighborhood-community: the basis of motherthongue transmission. As Fishman (1991: 399) warns "If this stage is not satisfied, all else can amount to little more than biding time".
Stage 5	Schools for literacy acquisition for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education. Many minority languages start promotional activities with adult classes and out of school lessons for children.
Stage 4 b	Public schools for minority children, offering some instruction via the minority language, but substantially under control of the dominant language group, as is the case for West-Frisian.
Stage 4 a	Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under curricular and staffing control of the minority, e. g. the Diwan schools in Brittany.
Stage 3	The local/regional work sphere, both among minority and among majority speakers.
Stage 2	Local/regional mass media and governmental services, e. g. as were obtained for Welsh or Basque.
Stage 1	Education, work sphere, mass media and government operations at higher and nationwide levels. An example would be Catalan.

Table 6: Scale of endangered languages

Astonishingly, in 2008 the last speakers still had a good command of their variety and exhibited relatively high complexity, little reduced in comparison to interior North Bavarian. This also indicates that the concept of *language erosion* – often used to describe the linguistic state of endangered minority languages – is not always helpful to categorize the real linguistic situation found in languages approaching extinction. This observation has also been made by others dealing with endangered minority languages, for example Dorian (1978) for a Gaelic speaking community in Scotland and Nützel (2009) for an East Franconian German variety in Indiana/USA. This study on New Zealand's last German speaking community adds another example of an extinction in full (linguistic) health.

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