increasingly portrayed in fiction. This book is also a useful resource for those who study the cross-cultural interaction and social conflict because the issues of literary representation (by non-members), and the use of fiction for social critique and social change can be applied to contexts far outside those of plain and Anabaptist studies. Her discussion of racial and ethnic difference and representation in literature is particularly applicable for people interested in studying media (because Amish fiction and romantic fiction in general are easily accessible public mediums) and social change through examining social responses to changes in media content—like that of African American inspirational fiction authors and readers to the overwhelming Whiteness of the genre of inspirational fiction, especially with the rise of Amish fiction.

Review of **Keiser, Steven H. 2012. *Pennsylvania German in the American Midwest*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.**

By Lara Downing, *Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University*

Keiser's book "Pennsylvania German in the American Midwest" combines data from a decade of field work in order to present a detailed account of the origin and distribution of several key features distinguishing Pennsylvania German spoken in Pennsylvania (PPG) from that spoken in the American Midwest (MPG) and the internal and contact induced changes that resulted in their divergence. He compares the Amish communities of Lancaster County and Montgomery / Bucks Counties in the East and Holmes County, Ohio; Kalona, Iowa; and Grant County, Wisconsin, in the Midwest. His work is grounded in ethnography as well as quantitative methods of data collection and analysis.

Although there is a sizable body of work on PPG dating back to the 1950s, comparatively little work has been done on PG outside of Pennsylvania, despite the fact that the majority of PG speakers now live outside of its namesake state and that Holmes County, Ohio, is home to the world's largest Amish population. Keiser's work is among the first of its kind, along with Loudon (1993; 1997; 2001), to empirically demonstrate the systematic differences between the two varieties and trace the development of MPG. Keiser places his work in the context of linguistic studies of dialect contact such as Weinreich (1954) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988) as well works specifically in the American context, Haugan (1953) and Silva-Corvalan (1994). He includes his research in the body of work on other German speech islands, "sprachinseln," although it departs from previous work by describing secondary migration patterns following the establishment of the speech island.

This book, published by the American Dialect Society as a supplement to Volume 86, *American Speech*, is best suited to readers with a basic knowledge of linguistic concepts as well as familiarity with Amish cultural practices. Although some historical background is given at the onset, there is very little description of cultural and sociological differences that distinguish the Amish from the majority American society, or the core beliefs that guide their cultural and

linguistic maintenance. Such background information would aid his later discussion of identity and ideology.

Keiser begins by outlining three main goals for the subsequent chapters. He “aims to provide empirical detail on the distribution of key phonological, lexical, and morphological variants in several communities... to explore the internal linguistic changes, patterns of migration, and language contact that have led to the current geographic and social distribution of these features,” and to consider “the potential for future dialect divergence or convergence as it describes the links between these language varieties and the notions of regional identity and religious ideology in the attitudes of PPG and MPG speakers toward each other” (p. 1). With these goals in mind, I’ll give an overview of each chapter.

The first chapter provides a historical account of origins of PG within Europe before immigration to the New World in the nineteenth century, and the key concept of “portable community,” the practice of frequent movement within and eventually out of Pennsylvania into the American. He provides some speculation as to whether contact between communities, be it other German speakers, non-Anabaptists, or English speakers, was sufficient to presume dialect convergence, often referencing population densities and shared occupations. Overall, he describes a process of dialect leveling, in Europe as well as early Pennsylvania colonies.

The second chapter provides a broad overview of previous dialectal studies of Pennsylvania German. The first section covers dialect contact between Pennsylvania German and English speakers as a source of innovations. This includes studies such as Loudén (1997) and his own previous work. The second section covers studies comparing sectarian and non-sectarian PG in Lancaster County, such as Huffine’s work of the 1980s. The third covers previous descriptions of regional variation, mostly work in southeast Pennsylvania, as well as Loudén’s early studies proposing distinctive features of Midwestern PG, and becoming the first to propose the existence of MPG as a distinct variety.

In the third chapter, Keiser outlines his choice of variables, methods, and communities. His variables are the monophthongization of /ai/ across large, older settlements in the Midwest and new, smaller settlements in Wisconsin where PPG and MPG are in contact; variation of /r/ across MPG speakers, and variation in /l/ across MPG speakers. The first variable, /ai/, is an internal innovation characterizing MPG, while /r/ and /l/ are both adoptions of English-like allophones originating in PPG. The story that Keiser is attempting to weave, quite successfully, about the divergence of MPG from its PPG origins would likely be served just as well without his inclusion of /l/, which poses several implementational complications, and seems to serve a very similar purpose to /r/ variation, in that it is also the result of contact with English, and present in PPG but much less so MPG. However, it is a much less socially salient marker of regional differences to speakers, and tricky to measure and to perceive due to the lack of discrete articulatory differences between the variants of /l/: clear [l], dark velarized [ɫ], and vocalized [ɔ] or [ʊ]. He describes the difficulties associated with coding this variant in chapter five, which he

does impressionistically. Although I do not begrudge Keiser the inclusion of this variant, as it serves to differentiate MPG and PPG, the implications of this data seems less substantial than those based on the other two variants' data sets.

As is often the case in ethnographic research, Keiser's choice of communities is motivated by a combination of sound theoretical justification and questions of access. Kalona, Iowa, and Holmes County, Ohio, the two largest and among the oldest established communities in the Midwest, serve to study the immergence PG in the Midwest. For comparative purposes he also collects data in the earliest and largest Amish communities in Pennsylvania, Lancaster County and Montgomery/ Bucks counties. Finally, Grant County, Wisconsin, provides evidence for the effects of ongoing movement of MPG as well as the movement of PPG into the Midwest. He gives a brief overview of patterns of interaction and migration between communities and demographic data, including population, language use, and affiliations. He also gives information on economic changes and the impact of decreased farming opportunities for the growing populations.

Finally, he outlines his choices in independent variables and methods for data collection and statistical analysis. Because the data was collected over the span of a decade and in the course of many different studies investigating different aspects of language variation and change, there is some variability to the circumstances of data collection. However, these are best evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Chapter four begins the quantitative analysis of dependent variables. This chapter focuses on monophthongization of /aɪ/, which is realized variably as [æ] or [ɛ]. He demonstrates remarkably similar patterns in the Midwestern settlements of Kalona and Holmes County, bolstering the basic claim that there is a variety shared across the Midwestern settlements. He also shows that the most predictive independent variable is age, suggesting that it is an innovation that was spread in the mid-twentieth century. The most advanced tokens are those spoken by young women in Holmes County. He also found that young PPG speakers in Fennimore, Wisconsin, where Pennsylvania Amish and Midwestern Amish live in close geographic proximity, still retain the diphthong form, and may even be innovating a monophthong that is distinct from the innovation in MPG.

In chapter five, Keiser takes a close look at the /r/ and /l/ variants, the former of which he refers to as the most salient feature of PPG, where it is realized as an English-like alveolar approximant [ɹ] in onset and intervocalic position and [ɻ] in coda position. In MPG, this variant is only found in simple onset position, and the more conservative alveolar tap [ɾ] is found in onset clusters and intervocalically, or as vocalic [ɐ] in coda position. His statistical analyses in this chapter are markedly more simplistic than the previous chapter on the /aɪ/ variable. Here, he only shows raw tokens and percentages across independent variables. He is still able to demonstrate, however, that PPG and MPG have divergent patterns of /r/ realization, where PPG

has categorically replaced the alveolar tap with the approximant, MPG has retained the tap in intervocalic position and variably in complex onsets, and that this pattern is stable across age groups. Despite difficulties in coding /l/ variants discussed earlier, he also shows that MPG has maintained the clear [l] in all syllable positions, while PPG now favors the English-like dark [ɫ] in all but intervocalic position.

Chapter six includes descriptions of lexical and morphological variation between MPG and PPG and within different MPG settlements. Keiser found that, although MPG and PPG share the vast majority of lexical items, the few that are different tend to be very socially salient, along with the rate of English borrowing and phonological incorporation of English loanwords. While he found no significant difference between the rates of borrowing or phonological incorporation between communities, he found that speakers often had firmly held opinions on who borrowed most and incorporated the most loan words.

The final chapter is titled “Regional Identity, Ethnoreligious Ideology, and Change.” Here, more than ever, I feel that a more thorough cultural background would be a huge advantage to the reader who is not an Anabaptist scholar. Although subtle to outsiders, central values such as the rejection of individualism which defines most of American society, the desire to limit reliance and maximize separation from the world, and the central role of the community run deep through most Amish communities. These are essential in understanding issues of identity, particularly in any discussion of language contact and change. Such a discussion would have greatly served the earlier chapters addressing contact between communities and with English speaking non-Amish. It would also put the ideas of “dutchiness” and “demut,” discussed in this chapter, into much clearer context.

Despite that, Keiser addresses several interesting and important issues, such as the seemingly contradictory views toward the “dutchification” of English loanwords in the context of “demut,” or humility. On the one hand, greater use of native German words is viewed positively, and perhaps conflated with greater religious orthodoxy. On the other hand, due to the value of demut, the use and admission of English loan words is evidence of “a humble spirit and as a tacit admission of less vigorous maintenance of the old ways”(161). Keiser also stresses, in this chapter and in earlier sections, that the choice to dutchify or not dutchify English borrowings is just that, a choice, and not due to incomplete English acquisition. Although he does not offer empirical evidence of this, the level of integration and observation he has done in the Amish community over the course of a decade leaves me with little doubt in his conclusions.

Keiser then connects his work to the Anderson (2002) dialect contact research in African American populations in Detroit, and explores the possibilities for future divergence of MPG from PPG, as well as potential dialect leveling or diversification within MPG.

Returning briefly to the three goals laid out in chapter one, Keiser has certainly been successful in what he set out to do. The first goal, to provide empirical detail on the distribution

of features which serve to differentiate speech in several communities was done in his descriptions of the /aɪ/, /r/, and /l/ variants. The second goal, to explore the “internal linguistic changes, patterns of migration, and language contact that have led to the current distribution of features” was achieved reasonably well, although, again, I think that more cultural background would have added to the discussion on language contact, he did a thorough job of demonstrating migration patterns and the potential for contact induced change by looking at an internal change as well as two contact induced changes. And thirdly, he sought to “consider the potential for future dialect divergence or convergence as it describes the links between these language varieties and the notions of regional identity and religious ideology in the attitudes of PPG and MPG speakers toward each other.” This was also accomplished reasonably well, although, considering that two of the three variants he investigated were the apparent result of contact with English, further discussion on attitudes in that direction may have strengthened the discussion.

This book represents a substantial contribution to the field of PG dialectology. While his third goal hints at a linkage between pure description and sociolinguistic theories of identity and ideology, he addresses these concepts more as superficial terms rather than belonging to any particular theoretic framework. However, this may be all that is necessary, given that what he has accomplished opens the door for future theoretical work by those more inclined in that direction, now armed with distribution patterns of salient linguistic features throughout Pennsylvania and the Midwest and the beginnings of the social meaning attached to them.

References

- Anderson, Bridget L. 2002. “Dialect Leveling and /ai/ Monophthongization among African American Detroiters.” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6(1):86-98.
- Haugen, Einar I. 1953. *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Huffines, Marion Lois. 1989. “Case Usage among the Pennsylvania German Sectarians and Nonsectarians.” Pp. 211-226 in *Investigating Obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death*, edited by Nancy C. Dorian. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Louden, Mark L. 1993. “Patterns of Sociolinguistic Variation in Pennsylvania German.” Pp. 284-306 in *The German Language in America, 1683-1991*, edited by Joseph C. Salmons. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

- Louden, Mark L. 1997. "Linguistic Structure and Sociolinguistic Identity in Pennsylvania German Society." Pp. 79-91 in *Languages and Lives: Essays in Honor of Werner Enninger*, edited by James Dow and Michele Wolff. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Louden, Mark. 2001. "The Development of Pennsylvania German Linguistics within the Context of German Dialectology and Linguistic Theory." Pp. 7-52 in *A World Atlas of Pennsylvania German*, edited by Lester Wilhelm Julius Seifert, Howard Martin, and Joe Salmons. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Silva-Corvalan, Carmen. 1994. *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Thomason, Sarah G., and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.