With Dearest Gratitude to Grandpa Bill,

and in Loving Memory of Grandma Connie,

without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

Table of Contents

Abstract

This thesis examines how the social structure and language attitudes of the Old Order Amish in Adams County, Indiana have affected the maintenance of their heritage language of Swiss. The Amish left Switzerland on account of religious persecution, and despite being separated from their homeland in the Bernese Jura for over two centuries, the Old Order Amish in Adams County have maintained Swiss as a first and a home language. Research was conducted in the towns of Berne, Geneva, and Monroe in Adams County, Indiana. Information was collected through interviews and participant observation in Old Order Amish communities in these three towns. This research found that despite increasing modernization and contact with the external society, the Old Order Amish have maintained their colloquial language of Swiss and liturgical language of Standard German. The reason for this maintenance relies on the social structure of these communities and they way they interact with the external society. The Old Order Amish in Adams County have maintained horizontal social structures, which as Lucht, Salmons, and Frey (2011) discuss, plays a large role in maintaining heritage languages. In addition, instead of shutting out all contact and attempting to deter all change, the Old Order Amish have allowed minor changes in both their customs and language in order to maintain them.

Chapter 1: Introduction and History

1.1 Introduction

The border maintenance strategies of the Swiss Amish language community in Adams County, Indiana have proven successful in maintaining the community's heritage language. The research conducted for this essay expands on the theoretical framework set up by Lucht, Salmons, and Frey (2011), which proposes a strong tie between social structures in a community and that community's ability to maintain a heritage language. This research serves as a case study for this theoretical framework as applied in an Old Order Amish community in Adams County, Indiana. This approach shifts away from Kloss (1966), who argues for concrete border maintenance in which communities shut themselves off from the external society in order to maintain a language. Instead, I argue that this Old Order Amish community creates and maintains permeable borders, and therefore their heritage language. This essay will explain how the Amish maintain these types of borders and how these practices promote language maintenance.

The Adams County Amish settlement is the 5th largest in the country and is unique from other Amish communities in their use of technology, cultural traditions, and language (2010 Census). This community is one of the "most conservative" in Indiana (Humpa 1996: 28). They use only open-top buggies, even during the cold Indiana winter. They prefer to not have their picture taken or voice recorded. Like other Amish communities, they conduct their church services and read the Bible in Standard German, but in their homes they speak a variety of German similar to that spoken in the Bernese Jura in Switzerland that they refer to as "Swiss". The only Swiss Amish settlements in America are located in Adams and Allen Counties in northeastern Indiana. However, while the Allen County Amish are Swiss in heritage, they speak

a variety of Low Alemannic (Alsatian), while the Adams County community speaks a variety of High Alemannic (Thompson 1994: 5). The Adams County Old Order Amish language community has maintained these traditions and language varieties despite language contact with other varieties of German, including Alsatian and Pennsylvania German, and English.

The Amish left Switzerland due to religious persecution and when asked about their history, most of those interviewed referenced this persecution. It is still part of the Amish mindset and a history of opposition from the external society may still be a binding factor for the community today. Even though most Amish have never been to the Bernese Jura where their ancestors came from, they feel a strong connection to the "Old Country". This shared history is critical to understanding the shared cultural and linguistic background of the Adams County Old Order Amish.

1.2 Protestant Reformation

The Amish began with the Protestant Reformation, which originated in Europe in 1517 when Martin Luther posted his 95 Theses on a church in Saxony, Germany. Along with other leaders of the Protestant Reformation, he challenged the doctrine and authority of the Catholic Church, eventually resulting in a shift in European Christianity. Ulrich Zwingli led the reformation movement in Switzerland (Herion 1987: ii). Starting in 1518, he was the pastor of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where he preached about reforming the Catholic Church.

1.3 Anabaptism

Less than ten years later, in 1525, Conrad Grebel along with some other followers of Zwingli, splintered off, forming a group that would eventually be known as the Swiss Brethren; this

marked the beginning of the Anabaptist movement, to which "North America's Amish and Mennonite communities trace their religious roots" (Humpa 1996: 11). Their critique of the Church was even deeper than that of the Protestants; they disagreed with Zwingli on two main issues. First, they re-baptized their followers who had already been baptized as infants, and were thus called Anabaptists (Humpa 1996:12). They did not believe in infant baptism because they did not believe the Bible supported it; instead they argued that "sin entered the world through the knowledge of good and evil, and since infants could not possibly possess this knowledge, they did not require baptism for the removal of sin" (Hostetler: 1993 26-27).

The second main issue was that they did not believe in state authority over religion. They believed instead that people should have the freedom of choice, that the church and the state should be separate. At the time, this was a very radical idea, which "challenged the entire premise of the medieval state-church relationship" because by only accepting those who professed their faith and "obediently followed the teachings of Jesus" they were inherently allowing for religious diversity; if some people did not publicly accept the church, then they would not be a part of it, an idea which the state-run Roman Catholic congregation fundamentally opposed (Kraybill et. al 2013: 23).

1.4 Persecution

On February 24, 1527, at the Schleitheim Confession, the seven "Schleitheim Articles" were written; they more concretely defined the Anabaptist movement (Humpa 1996: 13-14). From this moment onwards, the religious and state establishments saw Anabaptism and the Swiss Brethren as a serious threat with the potential to "disrupt the entire structure of sixteenth century European politics and society (Humpa 1996: 12). The Council of Bern published a series of

mandates against the Anabaptists, and the first executions took place just two years later, in July of 1529 in Bern (Hostetler 1993: 46-47). This persecution kept the Anabaptists from having a single leader or spokesperson, but in 1545 the movement gained the nickname "Mennist" or "Mennonite" after the influential Anabaptist preacher and writer, Menno Simmons (Kraybill et al 2013: 26). The last Anabaptist execution in Bern occurred on November 20, 1571, but Mennonite followers "continued to receive punishments of banishment, imprisonment, and torture" (Humpa 1996: 16). They could not own land, live in cities, or be apprentices (Herion 1987: iii). Between 1527 and 1614 as many as twenty-five hundred Anabaptists were killed, and these deaths remain in the Amish and Mennonite consciousness today (Kraybill et al 2013: 26).

1.5 Amish division

In 1632 the leaders of the Mennonite churches drafted the Dordrecht Confession of Faith, which "codified their beliefs and so helped to unify the movement" (Herion 1987: iii). It stressed their beliefs in "adult baptism, separation from the world, and nonviolence" (Kraybill et al 2013: 15). While this document united the Mennonite movement, it also brought up potentially contentious issues of excommunication and shunning. Jakob Ammann, a prominent Mennonite bishop and member of the Swiss Brethren, interpreted the Anabaptist doctrine very strictly and conservatively, supporting the practices of excommunication and shunning (social avoidance), resulting in a dispute from 1693 to 1697 between him and Hans Reist, an elder in the Swiss Brethren. This dispute over certain aspects of "discipline, doctrine, and acceptable expressions of piety" polarized the Brethren and "signaled the beginning of the Amish Churches" (Humpa 1996: 20/16-17). Those who did not side with Amman came to be known as "Swiss Mennonites" and those that did, were known as Amish (Humpa 1996: 18).

1.6 Emigration

During this period of persecution, Anabaptists "were often driven from their home regions and forced to seek refuge in other areas of Switzerland…or in other parts of Europe" (Humpa 1996: 19), and by 1750 most of the Amish had left Switzerland. Many fled to France and other areas in Central Europe, but "the only Amish who survived and prospered as Amish were those to made it to the United States" (Herion 1987: vi). The Amish and Mennonites who eventually settled in Berne, Indiana originally came from the Emmental region of Canton Bern in Switzerland, although many relocated to different areas of Switzerland or Europe before immigrating to America. The earliest of them came via the principality of Montbéliard in France (Humpa 1996: 32-33). One Amish man from Berne recounted stories he heard growing up about how his family moved to this region before coming to America:

> "My great grandparents came from France. They lived right near the Swiss border. …Their forefathers came from Switzerland, and they got out of Switzerland on account of persecution, because they wanted them to join the military, and they didn't want to join. So they came over, went across the border in to France to what they call the Saur farm, and that's where most of the Schwartz's actually grew up. It was at the Saur farm…my great grandfather, my great, great grandfather, were all born on the Sauer farm in France. Naturally, they also spoke French, but they were very dedicated to the Swiss language. So they spoke Swiss, and that's what we speak here".

Bachmann-Geiser also references the Saur farm in Departement du Doubs in France as a temporary home of the Schwartz family (Bachmann-Geiser 2009: 36).

As mentioned above, the first settlers in and around Berne were the Baumgartners in 1838. "By 1843, the Liechty and Schindler families, Amish from Alsace Lorraine, had joined

the Mennonite Baumgartners in Adams County, soon followed by the Egly and Stucky families"
(Bachmann-Geiser 2009: 32). 1852 saw another influx of immigrants – both Amish and
Mennonite – from the Jura to Adams County. The farmland they were allotted in Europe was
"barren and stony" and they were only allowed to work as tenant farmers, which could not
support their growing families (Bachmann-Geiser 2009: 32). Letters written home from earlier
immigrants to America – especially the Baumgartners – boasted of fertile and available farmland
and religious freedom, which prompted more and more people to move to this area.

1.7 Old Order Amish

After migrating to America, the Amish underwent another split due to differences about how to
adapt to modernity. Some groups were less strict and merged with Mennonite groups, while
others maintained their Amish identity. Within the Amish division, three groups formed – Old
Order, Beachy, and New Order. (Humpa 1996: 20). The community that settled in Adams
County is Old Order and is the "most conservative in their dress, customs, and outlook" of the
three branches making them clearly distinguishable from their non-Amish neighbors (Humpa
1996: 20-21). They use horse-drawn buggies for transportation; they hold church services in the
home, instead of in a church, and they do not often use electricity or most modern conveniences.
Amish homes in Adams County are generally white and simply built, with a windmill outside to
provide energy to pump water. After laundry days, one can see traditional Amish clothing
hanging on the line outside to dry. The women usually wear simple dresses in either blues or
browns with a white prayer cap, concealing their hair, which is usually done up in a bun at the
nape of the neck. The men usually wear simple pants with suspenders over a white shirt and
brimmed hats. Baptized men grow their beards, but no mustache.

Figure 1: Amish Home

Figure 2: Water Pump

Figure 3: Amish Schoolhouse

1.8 Adams County

Besides a shared history, the Old Order Amish generally live in small communities and share a similar lifestyle. Because their chosen occupation is farming, most Amish communities are in rural areas. The Adams County community is no exception. Adams County is in northeast Indiana, touching the Ohio border. It is a rural Protestant community with large Mennonite and Amish populations. The first group of Swiss Mennonites to settle in Adams County migrated from Switzerland via Wayne County in Ohio in 1838 (Thompson 1996: 498). The pioneers of this settlement were Christian Baumgartner and his family (Humpa 1996: 23). In 1852 another group of about 70 Mennonites left the Bernese Jura, boarding a ship for New York. They passed through Ohio, but rising land prices forced them to continue west, reaching Adams County and becoming the official founders of what became known in 1871 as the town of Berne (Bachman-Geiser 2009: 33-34). Most of these new arrivals were members of the Sprunger family or their relatives by marriage (Humpa 1996: 24). These groups of immigrants merged to "form the First Mennonite Church of Berne", which still stands on the main square of Berne today (Humpa 1996: 24). As is noted in letters Baumgartner wrote, Amish families were also present in the area around this time (Humpa 1996: 23)

Figure 4: Welcome Sign

Figure 5: Mennonite Church in Berne

The town of Berne, taking its name from the Swiss capital to which many of the residents trace their ancestry, is in the southwest corner of Adams county, and has an area of 2.08 square miles with a population of about 4,000 (2010 Census). The town of Geneva lies just south of Berne and has an area of 1.23 square miles and a population of about 1,300 (2010 Census). Monroe lies just north of Berne with an area of 0.63 square miles and a population of 842. Downtown Berne is typical of a small, rural town. It has restaurants, shops, a hardware store, a florist, and a library. The land in an around Berne and Geneva was once densely forested but was cleared by the early settlers to create the wide, open farmland that now covers the region. Farmers in this area typically grow corn, wheat, and soybeans. The Wabash River runs between Berne and Geneva.

Figure 6: Soybean Fields in the summer

Figure 7: Covered Bridge in the winter

Berne has changed over the years. My mother recalls when she was growing up:

> "Two older Mennonite women owned a shop downtown called The Fair Store. It was
>
> kind of like a mass general store; they sold fabrics, pots, and pans, overalls, hats,
>
> everything you would need for your household – everything you would need without
>
> having to go out of town. And you could overhear them speaking to each other in Swiss"
>
> (Brenda Shryock, (Manning) former resident of Geneva, IN, personal communication)

This shop has since closed, replaced by a McDonalds and other chain stores. But Berne still

maintains a very distinct Swiss character, even though most of the Mennonites in this area have

lost the Swiss language. These modernizations have changed life for the Amish as well. Driving

through town one can see buggies going through the drive-through at fast food restaurants. One

Amish woman with whom I spoke said that she now goes to the Dollar General, but doesn't

really like all of the changes; she doesn't like going in to town anymore.

Nonetheless, the people of Berne, Indiana are still very proud of their Swiss heritage. Right in front of the Mennonite church, which was erected in 1856, stands a clock tower built just a few years ago in 2010, modeled after the Zytglogge in Bern, Switzerland. On the main square a Swiss flag flies next to the American flag, and the library downtown has a bear, the symbol of Bern, on its façade. While the Amish may not be responsible for these more grandiose expressions of their heritage, they do share this tie to the "Old Country". One Amish man told me that it has always been a dream of his to go to Switzerland and see the land where his ancestors lived. The Amish "have a strong sense that history is a reliable guide, and in turn, their history offers clues for understanding their interaction with broader American culture" (Kraybill et al 2013: 23). Even before emigrating, the Old Order Amish were a minority culture and have had to struggle for their way of life to continue.

Figure 8: Berne Clock Tower

Figure 9: American and Swiss Flags in Berne Square

Chapter 2: Approach

2.1 Preliminary Research

In order to determine the current state of the different language varieties present in Adams County, I conducted an initial research trip lasting one week in July of 2013. This fieldwork consisted of informal conversations with eleven individuals of the Swiss-speaking Old Order Amish in Berne and Geneva, Indiana. Through these conversations, I confirmed that the community is primarily Swiss speaking, but that almost all individuals are also fluent in English. In addition, they are still using Standard German as a liturgical language, although many individuals do not understand the language fluently. Pennsylvania German and Alsatian are also encountered on a daily basis. Through these conversations, I also discovered that the community is not experiencing language shift (i.e. Swiss is still being transferred as a first language to children and is spoken almost exclusively in the home). Nonetheless, the individuals interviewed did express some concern about language change, namely the use of more English words in the Swiss dialect.

2.2 Interview Questions

The next step was to determine how Swiss has been maintained in the community for so long despite separation from their homeland, no arrival of new immigrants, and daily contact with a variety of other languages and dialects. In order to achieve these goals, I developed a set of interview questions, largely based on the list used by Herion (1987) in her study of language attitudes among the Old Order Amish in Geauga County, Ohio. Questions were meant to elicit answers that would provide insight into the language attitudes of the Old Order Amish – how they perceive the different dialects they encounter and what types of changes they have seen in

their lives and in their languages. The interview questions were divided into sections based on

how my interviewees use language in certain aspects of their lives – employment, school, church,

home, and other. Below is a list of questions I used to guide my interviews:

Employment
1. Which language do you use at work?
2. If English, when do you speak Swiss/PG at work?
3. What changes in employment have you seen among the Amish in your lifetime?
4. Do you learn new English words at work?

School
5. Did you attend a public or parochial school?
6. How much English did you know before starting school?
   a. None/a little bit/understood teacher well/fluent
7. Did you understand English better than you could speak it?
8. Did you ever want to answer the teacher in Swiss? What happened if you did?
9. Did you ever speak English with Amish friends outside of school? When?
10. Which language did you speak at recess?
11. Do you think it is important to keep teaching the children High German? Why?
12. How well do you read, speak, and write High German?
    a. Excellent/good/fair/poor
    b. Is it important to have good pronunciation of German?
13. Is fluency in English important?
14. Would you like to have learned to read and write in Swiss? Why?
15. How is education today different from when you were in school?

Church
16. Which language do you read the Bible in most often?
17. Which language do you prefer to hear your service in?

Home
18. Do you like to speak English?
19. Do you like to speak Swiss?
20. Is Swiss a beautiful language? PG? HG? English?
21. When do you speak English at home?
22. When did your parents speak English with you?
23. Do you like to keep learning new English words? Why?
24. Is there an Amish person with whom you speak only English? Why?
25. Do you know any Amish person who speaks English all of the time or most of the time?

Other
26. Are there words you use Swiss for and your children use English?

27. Are there ideas that you can only express in Swiss/German?
28. Have you seen any changes in your language during your lifetime? If yes, what are they?
    a. How is the language spoken by your parents/grandparents different than what you or your children speak?
    b. Do you feel that your language has lost ground to English? If yes, how did this happen?
29. Has English been a big influence on Swiss? PG? How?
    a. Do you use many English words in your language?
30. Is there a difference between Adams County Swiss/German and others?
31. Can you say anything that you want to in English? In Swiss? (without using AE words?)
32. If Swiss were no longer spoken, and you spoke only English, would you still be Amish?

Situations

33. You're in a restaurant eating only with Amish people. There are "English" people at the next table. Which language will you speak?
34. You're with a group of Amish people with one "English" person present. Which language will you use to talk to the group? What language to say something to the person next to you?
35. You're in a store shopping. The clerk only speaks English. Which language do you use to talk to the person you are with?
36. An "English" person is in your home. You into the next room to say something to your spouse (or whomever). Which language will you speak?
37. You meet an Amish person for the first time in the presence of an "English" person. Which language you greet each other in? Which language will you use the next time you see each other?

Concluding Questions

38. Is there a group among the Amish who speaks English more often than others? (Men, women, children, teenagers, factory workers)
39. Will your descendants in 100 years speak Swiss?
40. Have you ever met anyone from Germany/Switzerland? Could you understand one another?

2.3 Follow-Up Interviews

In December of 2013, Five and a half months after my first trip to Adams County, I returned to

conduct interviews using these questions as a guide – some with participants I had already

spoken with, and some with new participants. On this second trip, I conducted interviews with

thirteen individuals in Adams County in the towns of Geneva, Berne, and Monroe. I connected

with these interviewees mostly through contacts that my grandfather, mother, and family friends in the area had. I visited these individuals at their homes to set up interview times and then returned to conduct the interviews. I interviewed male and female participants ranging in age from twenty to eighty. All but one of the interviewees was Old Order Amish. The one who was not had been raised Amish, but his family recently left the Amish church. The interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants and usually lasted about an hour, although we stayed and visited after each interview. The interviews were mostly in English, although I attempted to speak some German with each interviewee and almost all of those interviewed asked me to read aloud from their German Bible. In order to preserve anonymity, the interviewees were assigned pseudonyms. Below is a table outlining the background, languages, and locations of the individuals interviewed and a map with the locations of the towns where I conducted the interviews.

Map 1: Map of Adams County – research conducted in Berne, Geneva, and Monroe
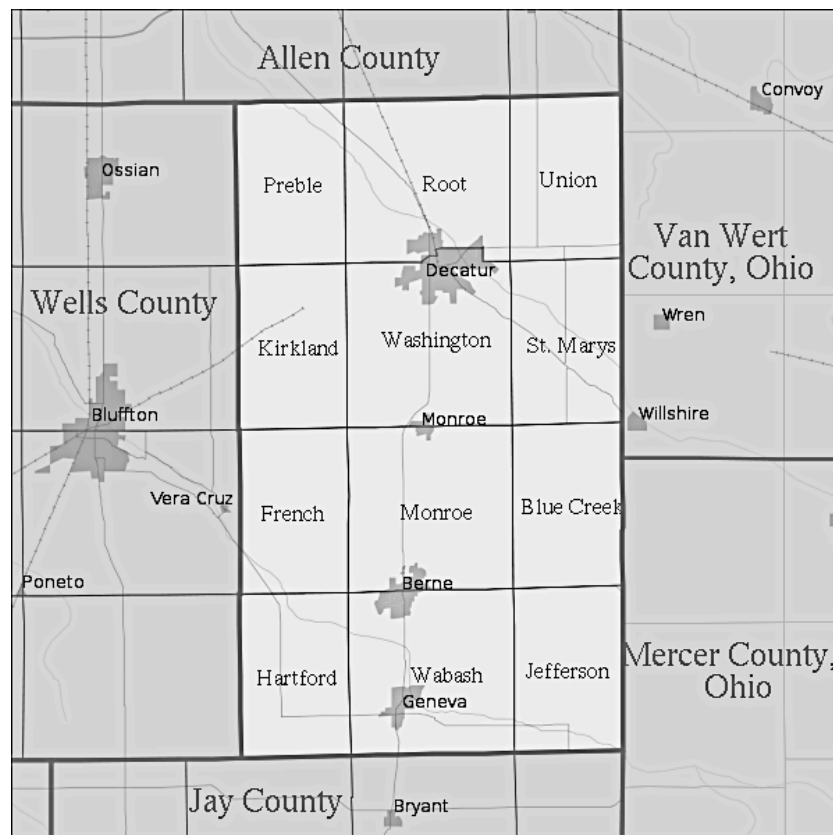
Figure 10: Demographics of Interviewees

Participant	Pseudonym	Age	Sex	School	Occupation	Birthplace	Town	First Language
1	Aaron	25-35	M	Parochial	carpenter	Adams County	Geneva	Swiss
2	Katy	25-35	F	Parochial	homemaker	Adams County	Geneva	Swiss
3	Rachel	55 - 60	F	Public/Parochial	homemaker	Adams County	Geneva	Swiss
4	Sam	35-40	M	Parochial	duck farmer, Construction, etc.	Adams County	Geneva/Ceylon	Swiss/Pennsylvania German
5	Emily	35-40	F	Parochial	homemaker/duck farming	Adams County	Geneva/Ceylon	Swiss
6	William	65-70	M	Public	retired	Adams County	Geneva/Ceylon	Swiss
7	Eliza	50-60	F	Public/Parochial	homemaker	Ohio	Geneva/Ceylon	Pennsylvania German
8	Joseph	35-40	M	Parochial	shop owner	Adams County	Geneva/Ceylon	Swiss
9	Richard	65-75	M	Public	teacher, animal medicine (former)	Adams County	Berne	Swiss
10	Katy	45-55	F	Parochial	homemaker	Ohio	Berne	Pennsylvania German
11	Dennis	19	M	Public	construction	Adams County	Berne	Swiss/English
12	Hannah	30-35	F	Parochial	teacher	Adams County	Berne	Swiss/Pennsylvania German
13	Mary J.	25-35	F	Parochial	teacher	Adams County	Monroe	German
14	Zora	30-35	F	Parochial	quilter, shopkeeper	Adams County	Monroe	German
15	Mary R.	75-85	F	Public	homemaker	Adams County	Monroe	German

2.4 Monroe Dialect

While the Amish I interviewed in Berne and Geneva all referred to their home language as Swiss, the group I interviewed in Monroe called theirs "German". When I asked for an explanation, inquiring about the Swiss speakers to the south, they seemed unaware of the difference in dialects, and remained firm in the description of their language. Unlike the Swiss speakers, they were less interested in and did not actually know where their ancestors emigrated from in Europe. While I was unable to record the speakers in order to further analyze the exact dialect variety they were using, I noticed that unlike in Bern and Geneva, the Amish in Monroe used a dialect

fairly similar to Standard German. It was significantly easier for both of us to understand one another when speaking than with the Swiss speakers. In addition, I attended the winter program at the Amish school where Mary J. teaches and when interacting with the children beforehand, they all also seemed to be speaking a dialect different from Swiss and more like Standard German. Other studies done in this area group Berne, Geneva, and Monroe together, making no distinction between dialects. It is possible that the one group I encountered speak a different variety, while most Amish in Monroe speak Swiss. However, this particular group of speakers has not been reported on at present. This variety does not appear to have had a significant influence on Swiss in Berne and Geneva.

2.5 Constraints

Due to time constraints, only two weeklong visits to Adams County were possible. These time constraints restricted the number and range of people interviewed. It was also not possible to call or email these interviewees before arriving in Indiana to set up interview times, so all of that needed to be arranged after I had arrived. Although I had significant help from my family with transportation and finding contacts, I was conducting my research alone. In addition, because I was largely relying on contacts "English" people I know held with certain Amish individuals, many of the Amish I interviewed had a significant amount of contact with English people. This may not necessarily be the norm in the community. The most significant constraint was the inability to record interviews, so all research notes were taken by hand during and immediately following interviews.

Chapter 3: Research Findings and Analysis

3.1 Language Maintenance

The current generation of Amish in Adams County has seen significant changes to the Amish lifestyle and language during their own lifetimes. Due to more modernization resulting in loss of farmland and a subsequent occupational shift, points of contact with the external society have increased in both number and intensity, both with English speakers and speakers of other German dialects. Despite these changes, the Amish have still successfully maintained their colloquial dialect of Swiss and their liturgical language of Standard German. The attitudes and social structures of the Old Order Amish have supported the maintenance of their heritage language varieties in spite of increasing forces encouraging language shift.

3.2 The Great Change

Warren (1963) coins the term the "Great Change" to refer to a shift in American society during the second half of the nineteenth century away from horizontal, or local structures within a community, to vertical ones, which "serve to link a community to the larger society surrounding it" (Bousquette & Ehresmann 2010: 248). This trend is referred to as "verticalization" and signals a shift in control from the local community to the often urban and external society. This shift resulted in rising land prices, an increasing population, more advanced farming technology, and division of labor. These changes resulted in the breakdown of the local community structure that support language maintenance and, in many other heritage language speaking communities resulted in a "shift from the immigrant to the dominant language" (Bousquette & Ehresmann 2010: 248).

The Amish interviewed in Adams County have seen their community moving away from traditional farming and towards other occupations like carpentry, shop owning, and duck farming. The reasons cited for this shift, as Warren suggests, include rising land prices and limited availability of land. In addition, rising costs of other equipment, seeds, and resources needed to farm also make it incredibly difficult to sustain this lifestyle today. These alternative occupations have lead to increased contact with the external society, which can make language maintenance more difficult. At the time of the interview, one Amish man was working in construction to tear down the old Bern Furniture factory, and he said that it can be difficult switching from speaking English all day at work to speaking Swiss at home. Because the Amish do not own cars, in order to get to jobs farther from home, they hire "English" or non-Amish drivers to take them to and from work, again increasing contact with the English speakers.

The Great Change did not only initiate more contact with English speakers, but also with speakers of other German dialects. Because Adams County was later to modernize than larger settlements in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and even other areas in Indiana, Pennsylvania German speaking Amish from these areas have been settling in Adams County in search of better land prices and more space to start farms (Humpa 1996: 39). Pennsylvania German has also entered the community due to intermarriage. For a long time, members of the Adams County Old Order Amish usually married within their community, however, over time, this practice resulted in an increase of certain genetic disorders, namely muscular dystrophy, leaving many Amish in the area in wheelchairs. To fight this trend doctors suggested the Old Order Amish in Adams County marry Amish from other surrounding communities (Humpa 1996: 35). Therefore, over the last few decades many Amish in Adams County have found spouses from outside the Adams County community, most of who speak Pennsylvania German. The results of this have been that

Pennsylvania German is now an integral variety in the community and many children grow up with at least one Pennsylvania German speaking parent (Aaron, Sam, and Hannah all grew up with one Pennsylvania German and one Swiss-speaking parent).

Alsatian is spoken in Allen County to the north of Adams County, and like, Pennsylvania German, has entered Adams County due to intermarriage and migration. Although "being mostly descended from the same families" as the Adams County Amish, the Allen County Amish "speak primarily Alsatian German, a different Alemannic dialect" (Thompson 1994: 496). According to Gregory Humpa, "intermarriage between the Allen County and Adams County settlements has introduced Low Alemannic into the linguistic repertoire of the Adams County Old Order Amish community." (Humpa 1996: 36).

Sometimes speakers of these different German varieties have trouble understanding one another. Most interviewed stated that it is more difficult for Pennsylvania German speakers to understand Swiss than it is for them to understand Pennsylvania German. This lack of understanding has resulted in more use of English as a lingua franca.

Typically "as people from minority language-speaking communities interact more with those from outside their communities, they are more apt to use those people's language than their home language" (Frey 2013:31). The Amish in Adams County interact on a daily basis with speakers of English, the majority language of the external society and Pennsylvania German, the majority language of their fellow Amish. However, Thomason and Kaufman observed that in language contact settings "purely linguistic factors are easily overridden when social factors push in the other direction" (Humpa 1996: 157 following Thomason & Kaufman 1998: 4). Therefore, despite increasing points of contact, the Amish have maintained their colloquial and home variety of Swiss and liturgical variety of Standard German due to the interaction of positive

attitudes towards Swiss maintenance and the maintenance of horizontal social structures in the community. Attitudes are reinforced by horizontal social structures, which allow the Amish to more easily regulate their contact with the external society and ensure daily contact with fellow Swiss speakers. The interaction of these factors has successfully deterred language shift in the community.

3.3 Language Attitudes

The first language of the Old Order Amish in Adams County is Swiss. All Amish children in Adams County are taught Swiss as their first language and grow up speaking it with their family and community. One Amish woman told me that she could only express baby talk in Swiss, because she has never heard it in English. While children sometimes pick up some English, they are not taught it explicitly before starting school. Almost all of those interviewed referred to Swiss as natural and comfortable to speak, and although it is not necessarily viewed as beautiful by all, as one Amish woman said, it is just what she was brought up with.

The other language varieties present in Adams County are "compartmentalized into specific domains" (Humpa 1996: 161). While Swiss is the language of the home and the community, English is the language of the external society and is used when interacting with non-Amish. One Amish man said that he was raised to speak English with the English always out of respect, but if with a group of fellow Amish men, even in public within earshot of the English, it is okay to speak Swiss, because it is in their nature.

Because the Amish view it as important to be able to communicate with the largely English monolingual community in which they live, Amish schools are conducted in English and therefore all Amish have are able to speak the language fluently. English is also the language

used for reading and writing. While some Amish feel just as comfortable speaking English as they do Swiss, some find it uncomfortable and feel that they do not speak it well. Those that felt uncomfortable with English though more often worked in the home and had less contact with non-Amish than those who felt very comfortable with English.

While Pennsylvania German has entered the home due to intermarriage, children in mixed language homes are discouraged from mixing the two languages, and are taught to keep them separate, often speaking Swiss to one parent and Pennsylvania German to the other. In addition, individuals who speak Pennsylvania German are also discouraged from speaking Swiss, and it is preferred that everyone continue speaking their own dialect in order to avoid mixing of the varieties. While at first some struggle to understand each other, over time both learn to easily understand their spouse's dialect.

Although I did not conduct any research in Allen County, the Swiss speakers in Berne and Geneva stated that the Amish in Allen County are currently losing their language and shifting to English in the home, even teaching English as a first language to their children. The Amish that mentioned this expressed sadness and saw it as a significant loss to their community.

The Old Order Amish in Adams County also use Standard German, but only as a liturgical language. It is the language of their church services and the Bible (although many OOA read the Bible in English in order to understand it, or have split Bibles, with one side in German and one in English). As one interviewee stated, the Amish learn German, but just enough to understand the Bible. When asked about the preferred language for church services, every interview answered German with no hesitation, and the same for the preferred language of the Bible. While some found Swiss to be a beautiful language, German, as stated by one participant, is the most beautiful.

3.4 Stable Diglossia

This compartmentalization of languages has resulted in a diglossic and fairly stable language environment, with different language varieties in the area occupying certain domains. Speakers only use each variety in its own domain. Because the different languages and dialects in the community inhabit different domains with fairly strict borders and little overlap of usage, it is easy for individuals to know when to use which variety. Louden states, for example, that "Amish children simply learn that when they are in school, they use English with one another, and when school is over, they revert to Pennsylvania German", or Swiss in Adams County (Louden 1991: 127). And because each variety serves its own purpose, all the varieties remain relevant and an integral part of the community. In addition, as Herion (1987) states, "the attitudes of the speakers who make up the society are a determining factor for the behaviors of the society" (11). She argues that when the speakers of a language are aware that their own dialect is separate from others they come in contact with and they recognize the value of their own variety, they are more likely to preserve it (Herion 1987: 11). In Adams County, the Swiss Amish are highly aware of the differences between their own variety in relation to others they come in contact with, and make a conscious effort to keep them separate, even if it means new people moving into the area continue speaking their own variety instead of learning Swiss.

3.5 Horizontal Social Structures

In addition to maintaining positive attitudes and a stable diglossic situation, the Old Order Amish in Adams County have maintained horizontal social structures despite verticalization of the external society. The Amish church in particular has played a major role in deterring verticalization by acting as a center for internal verticalization, meaning that decision-making is

centralized within each individual church district. There is no overarching central structure where all members of the congregation meet every Sunday. Instead, churches are mobile – the congregation gathers every other Sunday, moving from one member's house to another in the congregation. Because the services are held in the home, the congregations must remain small. Once a congregation gets too large to fit comfortably, it will split and form a new one, keeping the social networks small and close-knit. Milroy and Milroy state that this sort of network "functions as a conservative force, resisting pressure for change originating from outside the network" (1992: 13). In addition, the rules of the church are defined by social sanctions, are known within the community, and change from church to church. For these reasons, the Amish church has maintained Standard German as a liturgical language. There is no evidence of any Amish church in the area using English or even Swiss (at least not extensively) in the church services. The church is an integral part of Amish life, and German is an integral part of the church. Therefore the German language is tied to the core of Amish religious and social life, even though many do not even have a fluent understanding of this variety of the language. As Humpa noted, "in the Adams County contact setting, the dominant social force pushing against sound changes that occurred in the ancestral variety is surely religion" (Humpa 1996: 157). Although Humpa was referring to only sound changes, this idea can be generalized to also apply to language shift.

Almost all of the Amish interviewed agreed that teenagers tend to speak more English than adults. Because teenagers are not yet part of the church, they are not yet part of the core of the social network. As Milroy and Milroy explain, "those whose ties are weakest approximate least closely to vernacular norms and are most exposed to external pressure for change" (1992: 13). Upon joining the church, they are expected to adhere to certain standards, so while they

may have the possibility to "innovate" as children, new expectations after joining the church inhibit these innovations, perhaps reverting them completely. Sam, Aaron, and William all talked about teenagers using English more often than other members of the community, but referred to this usage as only a phase, implying that at some point they will stop speaking English as often. Joining the church has certain expectations with regards to behavior, one of these including speaking Swiss and teaching it to one's children. While children and teenagers may speak a slightly different Swiss than their parents did, the church system still effectively acts as a regulator of language shift.

It is not only religious conservatism maintaining the language, however, but also horizontal social structures. Adams County is also home to a large population of Mennonites, who share "similar geographic and linguistic ties" as the Old Order Amish (Humpa 1996: 39). However, where the Amish have maintained their heritage language, as of 1996 the Mennonite variety of High Alemannic was "in the last stages of language death and [had] reached the final generation of fluent speakers" (Humpa 1996: 39). Despite also being religiously conservative, the Mennonites have lost both Standard German in their church and Swiss in their homes, shifting to English in both domains. During my research, I did not encounter a single Mennonite Swiss speaker or anyone who knew one still alive. The First Mennonite Church, which still stands in the center of Berne, conducted sermons in Swiss-German until switching to Standard German in 1870. However, over the years, the church began conducting more and more sermons in English, until 1922, when the sermon was in German only once a month. (Owen 2003: 13). Part of the reason for this switch is likely the verticalization of the Mennonite church. The Mennonite church grew rapidly and has expanded several times over the years, currently having over one thousand members. It also is an active member of Mennonite Church USA, an

organization that aims to connect Mennonite churches across the country (mennoniteusa.org). Mennonites also embraced modernization in a way the Amish have not. As Bousquette & Ehresmann discuss, "vertical, or regional/national structures lead to a stronger influence on the community from the society at large" while "horizontal, or local structures promote cohesion of smaller units of the community" (2010: 250). Where the Mennonites have allowed their church system to verticalize, the Amish have maintained horizontal structures and therefore the language of their sermons has not been affected.

The church system keeps community networks small and helps to establish a system of close-knit horizontal ties, and the Amish developed their schools to fit into this system. Each school is associated with one or sometimes two churches – the children from that church will all attend school together, and the teacher will most likely also be from that same church. This system enables the community to maintain a dense, multiplex social network where each individual relates to one another in multiple capacities. This type of network supports language maintenance.

The Great Change also resulted in consolidation of the schools in America. From 1913 to 1963 the number of schoolchildren in America who attended a single-teacher school dropped from 50 percent to 1 percent due to consolidation, which resulted in small, local schools combining to form larger districts. In addition, during this time states were taking more control over these new districts and setting standards for teacher education, length of the school year, and curriculum (Kraybill et al 2013: 251). As Salmons states:

"…before the Great Change local schools were more closely connected to local religious, political, and other institutions; after the Change they were more closely connected to a state board of education and national educational policy. This systematic transfer of

power and authority weakened local ties almost everywhere in American society,

including minority-language communities, unraveling the institutional threads of a social

fabric indispensable for language maintenance" (Salmons 2005: 135).

When schools began consolidating in Indiana, the Amish applied a similar horizontal approach

as they have with their churches by creating their own parochial schools, which keep the children

close to home and prepare them for an Amish life. The Amish parochial schools allowed the

Amish to cater education to meet their own needs. Children start school in 1st grade at age 7 and

go through 8th grade. Most of the work is completed during the school day so that the children

have very little homework, giving them time to complete their chores and help out around the

house after school. The school year begins at the end of August and runs through April (with no

Spring Break, only Christmas Holidays and Good Friday off). The subjects include arithmetic,

reading and writing, geography, and health. They will begin Standard German lessons in the 2nd

or 3rd grade. Teachers are Amish and are selected by the church from a list of interested

applicants who have successfully completed a teacher examination.

The language of the schools is English, and in this way the Amish have internalized the

teaching of English by absorbing this language into their community. By being the teachers of

the language, they can maintain control and ensure that the children learn it fluently but also

know when and where it is appropriate to speak it. Despite English being the language of

instruction, attending school with other children who all speak the same home language, as

Milroy (1987) discusses, "can provide the basis for the establishment of linguistic norms" (50).

While at school, the children are supposed to speak English with each other, but they will often

speak Swiss at recess or during breaks. At the Monroe school, when the children were on recess,

they spoke the Monroe variety with each other, thus enforcing that variety with their peers, whereas at a public school, most of the other children would only speak English.

3.6 Renegotiation

Horizontal structures support small, tight-knit communities, which allows for more flexibility when dealing with changes in the external society. Because the Amish communities are locally centralized it is easier to adjust in order to maintain community traditions, values, and language. Because rules are known in the community, not decreed or listed in a concrete way, the Amish are able to operate within those rules while remaining flexible in how they do so.

In this way, as the world changes, the Amish are able to re-negotiate their place in it. Despite fairly firm rules for clothing and technology use, the Old Order Amish community is quite flexible when it comes to dealing with the external society. As Louden explains, "what one finds in Amish society are not so much patterns of rejection of things such as cars and telephones and the English language, but rather selective interaction with the social mainstream" (Louden 1991: 113). Instead of creating firm barriers, linguistically or otherwise, to block out the external society, the Amish have created permeable barriers. This flexibility keeps the community borders intact, protecting the more fundamental values of the community.

For example, traditionally the Old Order Amish are a farming community, where the family will live and work together on the farm. This lifestyle allowed the Amish to stay close to home, the family, and the church. However, as discussed above, rising land prices and an increasing population have resulted in more and more Amish shifting away from family farming. Some of these alternatives include carpentry, working in a shop, and construction. As Frey discusses – Højrup's (2003) model of life modes addresses the changes in attitudes resulting

from switching from working in life mode 1 as a family farmer to life mode 2 as a factory worker (or another waged worker). This change can have serious implications on the social structure of the society, promoting language shift (Frey 2013: 23). Instead of continuing with the family farm or agreeing to factory work, the Amish in Adams County have sought out alternative work. Instead, the Amish in Adams County have found ways to protect their core values and consequently their language, by switching from farming to work that still allows them to remain self-sufficient and stay close to home and their community.

One of these alternatives, chosen by Sam and Emily, is duck farming. They are contracted by a company to keep the ducks for a year, collect the eggs (800 or more a day handpicked) and then a truck will come and pick up the eggs each day. After a year, the ducks are taken away for slaughter and they get a new set for the next year. This business, which has become fairly popular in the area, allows the family to all work together at home collecting eggs and caring for the ducks, all while speaking Swiss. And while a large company outside of the community contracts the business, the Amish have little direct contact with them; the truck comes at the end of the day and collects the eggs, and the truck drivers and Amish often do not even interact. While the Amish are contracted to work from a larger, international company, the day-to-day interaction is limited or nonexistent.

Another example is Aaron, who was working in construction during the initial interview visit and had to hire a driver to take him to and from work. He spent most of the day away from home. By the time I returned in the winter and we spoke again, he had completed building a workshop behind his home, where he now builds sleighs and buggies for the Amish in the community. This change has allowed him to stay close to home and also teach his sons carpentry, all while in the home and speaking Swiss. Like the family farm, this lifestyle is

"highly self-sufficient"; Not only can he supply much of his own wood from his own land, but he can provide a service to his own community, while teaching a new generation of craftsmen, keeping the process contained, much like the family farm did, and limiting need for contact with the external society.

Another area where flexibility with interaction comes into play is in the use of mass-produced goods. Because the Amish are beginning to spend more time working outside of the home or pursuing alternative work than farming, it is not always possible to personally produce all of the items a family needs. More Amish, for example, shop at places like Dollar General or Berne Community Market (the supermarket in Berne). Many also are beginning to use more cosmetic products, like Avon. Zora has muscular dystrophy and is in a wheelchair. In order to help support herself and her family, she makes quilts and greeting cards for the community in Monroe – yet another example of the push towards alternative but still self-sufficient work. Zora also sells Avon, but instead of working for the company, like most Avon representatives, she buys the products from an English person, who works for the company in Berne, and then sells the products to other Amish, thus limiting the connection to the outside to one person. Instead of every Amish person who wants to buy lotion interacting with the representative, they can interact with a member of their own community. So even though they are using national brands, this approach is limiting the amount of actual contact with the outside world. As with other points of contact, the Amish make a compromise in which they will make a connection with the external society when necessary, but will, as they have always done, decide to what extent that contact will be able to influence their community.

3.7 Slop-Bucket Deutsch

The attitudes and social structures discussed above have hindered language shift and successfully maintained Swiss as the colloquial language of the Adams County community, but they have not stopped internal language change. As Humpa (1996) observes – the basic phonology and lexicon of Swiss has undergone some convergence with the other contact languages, "but not to the extent that one would expect, given the period of separation from the base dialect region and the intensity of the contact settings" (Humpa 1996: 156). The Amish interviewed were all fully aware of these changes, and many referred to their language as "Slop-Bucket Deutsch", meaning it is all mixed up. Despite these changes, no one interviewed was particularly worried about the future of their language. As one Amish man said – it's just changing – and another doesn't believe Swiss will ever go away completely, because people want to keep it and will work for it. Swiss is also a way for the Amish to differentiate themselves from the "English" (non-Amish) and plays an important role in their group identity. Standard German, in addition, is closely tied with their religious teachings, and therefore remains a vital part of their cultural traditions. These "attitudes play an integral role in language maintenance" (Herion, 11). While the OOA feel that more English is entering the language, the important part for them is that they are still speaking Swiss, so while they would prefer it not to happen, they make the compromise of not having a central institution to regulate language use and not keeping all English out of their language in order to keep it from shifting. They want the language to stay as pure as possible, but in the end the more important factor, as Sam stated is that they continue speaking some version of Swiss. Herion discusses Enninger and Wandt's (1982) theory that "the larger percentage of American English loanwords is a maintenance technique that minimizes the amount of code-switching necessary for communication" (Herion 1987: 7). Some of the

domains most conducive to borrowing appear to be "human and animal diseases…people and/or places, crops…electronic devices, and modern farm machinery" (Humpa 1996: 146-147). However, while the Amish feel that the amount of loanwords is increasing, they are often "given PG [Swiss] phonological and morphological characteristics" as a way to integrate them into the language (Herion 1987: 7). Some of the areas cited by interviewees in which their children use English include counting, telling time, days of the week, and meals. As Enninger and Wandt (1982) explain, adopting English loans may "destabilize the structure of the language but ultimately allows for the "retention of functional stability" (93). All of the Amish interviewed agreed that although more English is being used in the language today, they would not stop speaking Swiss anytime soon.

The Swiss Amish value Swiss very highly, not only because it ties them to their cultural heritage, but it also acts as its own barrier to help separate them from the external society. Humpa encountered the same attitudes in his study – "the maintenance of Adams County High Alemannic [Swiss] is viewed by many of my dialect consultants as a protection or buffer from the American English speaking non-Amish world" (1996: 125). However, as Herion discusses, because the Amish speak both Swiss and American English, they are not excluded from any parts of the surrounding society in which they desire to take part" (Herion 1987: 14). In this way, the diglossic language situation allows the Amish to selectively participate in the external society, while still maintaining a degree of separation with the use of their language. In this way the language is not only maintained due to preservation of social networks, but it also aids in protecting social networks by acting as a barrier to the external society, and in so doing reinforces its stable status in the community.

Chapter 4: Conclusion and Future Research

4.1 Conclusion

The Old Order Amish community in Adams County is one of the largest Amish settlements (5th as of 2010) in the country and one of the strictest. However, relatively little research has been done here, especially compared to Pennsylvania German speaking Amish communities. This study has aimed to classify the languages and dialects spoken by the Amish in Adams County and how attitudes and social factors have played a role in maintaining their home/colloquial variety of Swiss.

Despite being separated from their homeland for generations and living in an extreme contact situation with not only American English but also Pennsylvania German and Alsatian, the Old Order Amish in Adams County have successfully maintained Swiss. While the language has changed since the Amish emigrated from Switzerland, Amish children still learn Swiss as their first language, and they speak Swiss almost exclusively in the home and with other members of their community. English is only spoken as a way to communicate with outsiders and for most reading and writing.

The Amish have been able to maintain their language due to the horizontal nature of their social structure, which successfully limits contact with and control by outside organizations. By avoiding verticalization of social domains, the Amish have been able to keep local ties, which strengthen community bonds and limit outsider involvement. Their church system, for example, is horizontal because it remains small and mobile and is not tied to any larger outside group. This system has helped to maintain Standard German as the language of their sermons, which also acts to deter outsiders who do not understand the language. The church, as the center of Amish religious and social life, acts as a model for other social systems, including Amish

parochial schools. When school districts in Indiana began consolidating, the Amish fought for their own schools in order to keep them small, local, and as independent as possible from larger institutions.

The second major reason the Amish have been able to maintain their language is that, as the world has modernized, they have renegotiated their place in it.   By allowing peripheral social variables to change, they are able to keep core values and structures intact. This "dialogue with modernity" is happening across multiple domains including work, consumption of goods, and language (Kraybill 1989: 250 ff.). More and more Amish are moving away from farming and working in other jobs, but they are maintaining the social purpose of family farming as a lifestyle, which is to remain self-sufficient and close to home. Although more Amish are using mass-produced products, they are selling them themselves, in their own stores, or just person to person, to limit daily contact with the external society. Lastly, they are making this same compromise with language, where by allowing some English to enter the language, allowing some language change, they are able to hinder language shift. Even though the language may be changing, it matters more to the Amish that they keep speaking Swiss, even if it isn't the same Swiss their ancestors spoke – not only because it has cultural value to them, but because the language itself acts a barrier to separate them from the external society. Because they speak English, and their non-Amish neighbors do not speak Swiss, they are able to choose to what extent they want to participate in the external society, thus benefiting from what the external society has to offer, while still effectively maintaining a barrier around their own community. This form of selective interaction has proven an effective way to maintain their heritage language and hinder language shift. This community demonstrates what it means to experience language contact for many years and still successfully maintain a heritage language.

In addition, this study serves as a test case for this particular theoretical framework of border maintenance strategies as suggested by Lucht, Frey & Salmons (2011). They propose a strong tie between social structure and language maintenance, particularly as it relates to Warren's "Great Change". Adams County offers a community in which two groups sharing a coming history, and formerly a common language, have diverged, one losing their heritage language and one keeping it in part due to changes in social structure.

This approach shifts away from the approach taken by Kloss (1966), who suggests:

> "by shutting themselves [members of some religious groups] off from the dominant cultural trends of their time, they succeed in keeping alive their ancestral tongue. In the United States their point of departure has always been religion rather than nationality or language...Neither language nor nationality is valued for its own sake." (Kloss 1966: 206)

While the Adams County Amish language communities are centered on the church, nationality and language are equally important factors in binding the group and creating distinct boundaries. For the Swiss Amish in particular, they value their heritage and language not only because it distinguishes them from the English, but from other non-Swiss speaking Amish communities. These borders created by the community include horizontal social structures, working close to home, and speaking a language that the external society does not speak. These borders are permeable and allow the Amish to participate in the external society when and how they choose, without risking too much influence on their own community. While language may be used as a barrier and a distinguisher, not only from the English, but also from non-Swiss speaking Amish, the Adams County Amish value the language for cultural reasons. They value their shared history and traditions, and speaking Swiss is a major part of staying connected to that shared

history. They are not concerned about losing Swiss to English, because Swiss has such a strong

cultural value and as one Amish man said to me, it is "in their nature" to speak it. He went on to

explain that while the language is not a part of their religion - he would still feel and be Amish if

he did not speak Swiss or hear his sermons in German - but nonetheless he feels that speaking

Swiss is an essential part of his identity.

4.2 Future Research

This study is preliminary given the limited time and resources of the researcher. Therefore,

mostly qualitative evidence was collected, based on interviews and participant observation, and

the first step for further research would be to collect more quantitative evidence to more securely

back up the theories presented in this paper.

The Old Order Amish in Adams County believe that they use more English words in their

language today than they used to, so the next step would be to determine if this is in fact

happening in the language and to what extent. In addition, it would be helpful to find out if

English loanwords have been naturalized into Swiss or if the Amish are code switching. One

way to determine this would be to look at pronunciation of English loanwords. Are they

pronounced with Swiss rules or English ones? And also are the English loans grammaticalized

according to English or Swiss grammar rules? One major difficulty with collecting and

analyzing this kind of data is that most of the Amish in the area do not want to be recorded in

any way, so any analyses would need to happen in the moment and could not be collected for

later use.

The next piece of qualitative evidence to gather would be to look at children growing up

in homes with one Swiss-speaking and one Pennsylvania German-speaking parent to see if they

are in fact maintaining two distinct dialects, as most families aim to do, or if they children are combining the two varieties, and in what way that is happening. Again, the inability to record could be problematic, but otherwise one could compare language use by children growing up in these mixed language homes to language use by Amish children growing up in homes with both parents speaking the same dialect – both Swiss or both Pennsylvania German.

As discussed above, it appears that teenagers stop speaking as much English after joining the church, but it is necessary to analyze the language use of Swiss speakers before and after joining the Church and see if frequency of English and Swiss actually changes.

Another important step would be to classify the dialect found in Monroe. All past research suggests that this area is also Swiss speaking, but this particular pocket seemed to be speaking a different variety than the Swiss Amish in Berne and Geneva, which does not appear to have been documented before. It would be good to determine if just this one church community is speaking a different dialect, or if other communities of the Monroe Amish are also not speaking Swiss – then to determine how and when these groups came to reside in Adams County.

The Adams County Amish believe that the Old Order Amish in Allen County are experiencing language shift. If so, why is this occurring in Allen County and not Adams County? What would the implications be for Adams County Amish? If Allen County is not experiencing language shift, why do the Amish in Adams County think they are? And lastly, although the Amish in Adams County are not concerned about losing Swiss anytime soon, if the Amish of Allen County really are experiencing language shift, what could that mean for the future of the Adams County Swiss community?

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