THE GERMAN BOHEMIAN CULTURE AND LINGUISTIC HERITAGE OF THE CATHOLIC BUCOVINIANS IN ELLIS, KANSAS

by

Gabriele Lunte

Beginning in the 1880s a number of German-speaking immigrants from the Austrian settlements in Bucovina began settling in west central Kansas. They settled in Ellis, Trego, and Rooks counties, with the town of Ellis as the center. The town of Ellis lies on the Union Pacific Railway line and used to be a stop where locomotives were repaired.

Bucovina which in English means the land of beech trees is located on the eastern rim of the Carpathians and owes its name to the extensive forests of beech trees in the hilly country of northeast Bucovina. This region has been a part of several different countries. Today the northern part of Bucovina, with the former capital Czernowitz belongs to the Ukraine, whereas the southern section is part of Romania.
In the 1870s this region was one of the most densely populated areas in that part of Europe. There were also a number of economic hardships, such as the closing down of the glass and timber industries. In addition there was a scarcity of land, caused by the rule of primogeniture, by which the first-born inherited property. This combination of factors forced many Germans in Bucovina to consider emigrating.

Land agents from the United States distributed flyers promoting the opportunities for those who would come to America. Some Germans in Bucovina also had friends or relatives who had emigrated many years before. Lured by the flyers, word from friends and relatives, and the possibility for employment by the Kansas Pacific Railroad, they decided to leave Bucovina and seek a new life on the Great Plains.

The first substantial emigration wave from Bucovina to the American Great Plains (Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas) occurred in the 1880s, followed by a second wave some twenty years later in the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century (1905).

The immigrants to west central Kansas call themselves either Swabian or Bohemian Germans. They came from Bucovina, but did not originate there. The Swabians came from southwest Germany, whereas the German Bohemians came from western Bohemia. They were commonly referred to as Austrians in their new country, as well as in their old country, Bucovina, because they had settled in Bucovina under the Austro-Hungarian Empire (i.e., the Hapsburg Empire, 1775-1918) beginning in the late eighteenth century. The Swabians, who were Lutherans, came from villages such as Illischen, Terebolest, and Alt-Frautz in Bucovina, while the Catholic German Bohemians, who were fewer in number, came from Karlsberg, Fürstenthal, and Buchenhain (i.e., Poiana Micului) to Kansas.

Although both groups must have had close ties since they were referred to as Austrians in Bucovina and traveled together when emigrating to America from Bucovina via Germany, they went different ways in the new country. Most of them initially engaged in farming. Single people, who did not have land, worked for the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company to get money to buy crops and/or land via the Homestead Act.

The Lutheran Swabians, who settled north of the city of Ellis, usually stayed on their land. The church was the center of their social life. The Catholic German Bohemians, on the other hand, who settled south of Ellis, integrated quickly into the ethnically diverse Catholic community in Ellis. For the first thirty years of settlement in Ellis there was no transportation and hardly any interaction between the different ethnic German communities. For most people it was a big chore to go the 12 miles to Hays to conduct business. They were mostly tolerant of each other. But nevertheless, only recently have intermarriages taken place. There were incidents of sports rivalries and fights at dances, even up to the 1960s.
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Like the Volga German settlers in eastern Ellis County, the Catholic

German Bohemians and the Lutheran Swabians persisted in keeping their

customs and speaking German. But because of World War I the effort to retain

their identity through their language began to weaken. The German language was

banned from schools, people got rid of German books, and department stores,

where often one of the requirements for hiring someone was the active

knowledge of German, hung up signs prohibiting the use of German. Speaking

German in public was discouraged. Because of the anti-German sentiment

parents stopped teaching their children their dialect. This trend worsened during

and after World War II. In 1946 the church ended German services. However,

fluency in both dialects prevailed among some second generation Bucovina

Germans in Kansas, because a parent or both parents could not speak English

and the children had to use their dialect. These people preserved their dialect

mainly by visiting one another, especially at church functions, weddings, baptisms

and funerals. The younger generation retains hardly any dialect knowledge; some

understand it, but cannot speak it.

Even with the gradual cultural, as well as linguistic acculturation to the

English-speaking environment some Catholic and Lutheran Bucovinians still hold

onto their identity by maintaining customs ranging from family functions to

farming. In addition to the traditional wedding march, it is still a custom with

some to sing a wedding song in German to praise God and the bride. However,

the remembrance of other traditions, such as singing of wedding songs by a group

of men at a wedding, the baptism by Christian names, the blessing of baskets full

of eggs in church at Easter, and even toasts for drinking, has vanished.

Vivid memories linger on, especially those of Christmas customs. Some

people remember a special room in the house being set aside for Christmas and

that no one was allowed to use it until then. Parents threatened their children

with Belzenickel on Christmas if children had not been obedient throughout the

year. Belzenickel was a mean person and accompanied the Christkindl (Christ

child) as he delivered gifts to the children.

Bertha Honas Flax, a Catholic Bohemian, reminisces about a childhood

incident. One morning she compared her sister's long fingernails with those of

the devil. Her father overheard the conversation and threatened her with

Belzenickel. When Christmas came she thought he had forgotten all about it, but

he had not. So she received her punishment from Belzenickel.

Since farming is an important part of their lives some people still bless their

crops by sprinkling them with holy water. According to Bertha Honas Flax, holy

water and candles are used to pray in bad weather. She puts some holy water

into her hand and sprinkles it all around her while praying. She also remembers

her mother saying a prayer called Ansprechen (prayer of request) in bad weather,

during which her children were not supposed to disturb her.

Songs for all occasions have been handed down through the generations and

are remembered by some people. In addition to songs like the wedding song or
the song of the holy three kings at the beginning of a new year, there are some that praise the homeland and their heritage. Oren Windholz in his book The Erberts shows such lyrics in songs about the village Poiana Micului and the Bohemian Forest.

Altes Hochzeitslied

Sing mit fröhlichem Gemüte
Bräutigam mit deiner Braut
Die dir heute Gottes Güte
Zur Gehilfin anvertraut

Daß sie dich in Angst und Plagen
Trösten soll in dieser Welt
Und die Bürde mit dir tragen
Welche dir beschwerlich fällt.

Tretet fröhlich zum Altar
Betet Gott mit Ehrfurcht an,
Dessen Güte viele Jahre
Euch gesund erhalten kann.

Bittet Jesum um den Segen
Ladet Ihn zur Hochzeit ein
Denn daran ist es gelegen
Wenn ihr wollet glücklich sein.

Reicht einander Hand und Herzen
Redlich ohne Heuchelei,
Trachtet daß in Freud'
und Schmerzen,
Eure Treue standhaft sei.

Immer soll die Liebe brennen,
Nach dem göttlichen Gebot
Niemand soll die Ehe trennen,
Niemand als allein der Tod.

Wedding Song

Sing with joyful exultation
Happy bridegroom with your bride.
Whom today God's loving kindness
Placed as helpmate at your side.

That in all your trials and struggles,
She may ever your comfort be
And in patience share your burden
Which along you could not bear.

Prayfully approach the Altar,
Reverently adore your God;
Whose kind providence and goodness
Can give health for many years.

Beg your Savior for His blessings,
Him as wedding guest invite,
For good luck and future progress,
Ever on it do rely.

Join together hand and heart,
Live faithfully without deceit,
Strive that through joy
and sorrow,
You may always loyal be.

Forever may your love be true,
Like unto Divine command.
May nothing ever separate you,
No one except death along.
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May nothing ever separate you,
In one except death along.

Buchenland-Heimatlied

Traute Welt der gold’nen Ahren,
Wölker, Fluren wunderbar,
Über Wipfeln schneebedeckt,
Wacht des Himmels Sternenschar
Das ist am Karpartenrand
Gottes grünes Buchenland.

In den Bergen, in den Hütten,
Bunter Stämme Liebe webt
Und der Deutsche schlicht inmitten
Als ein wahrer Bruder lebt.
Deutscher Geist durch deutsches Wort
Ist der beste Friedenshort.

Drauet Sturm und Ungewitter
Wankt der Damm in finst’rer Nacht,
Hält im grünen Land der Buchen
Deutsche Treu die Feuerwacht
Wo der Pflug die Scholle sucht,
Folgen heilig Recht und Zucht.

The Bucovina Homeland

Familiar area of golden corn,
Wonderful forests and meadows,
Over snowcovered treetops,
Heaven’s band of stars are watching
This is on the edge of the Carpathians
God’s green land of beech trees.

In the mountains, in the little houses,
The love of different tribes is weaving
And the German lives simply among them
As a true brother.
The German spirit through a German word
Is the best refuge for peace.

When storms and bad weather rise,
When the dam sways deep at night,
In the green land of beech trees
German loyalty is on guard for fire
Where the plow is looking for the soil,
Holy rule and order follow.

One aspect of Bucovinian culture that has been well preserved is food and
cooking. Famous foods include Hemetschwengers (apple-filled pastry) and
Halushkas (pigs in a blanket).

Hemetschwengers

1 cup heavy whipping cream
1 cup (2 sticks) butter softened
2 1/2 cups flour
4 to 5 tart apples (peeled and finely chopped)

Mix cream and butter by hand until blended. Add flour and mix until ball
forms. This dough is similar to pie dough, so do not overwork it. Roll dough
out 1/2 ball at a time on floured surface. Cut into squares. Put small amount
of chopped apple in the center, and sprinkle on a little sugar. Bring four
sides together in center and pinch shut. The Hemetschwengers may be frozen
at this point. Bake at 350° for 25 to 30 minutes. While warm, roll in mixture
of sugar and cinnamon. If they have been frozen, do not thaw them before
baking.
Linguistically we have to differentiate the two groups of Bucovina Germans, the Lutheran Swabians, who speak a Palatinate type of dialect from southwest Germany, and the Catholic German Bohemians, whose dialect derives from the area of the Bohemian Forest in the western part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. This dialect mainly shows features of Central Bavarian with an interference of North Bavarian characteristics and borrowings from Czech.

There is a great concern that the Catholic German Bohemian dialect is dying out with the older generation because the dialect is not entrenched among the young people at all, and language loyalty is rapidly vanishing among Bucovina German-Americans. For this reason, and to show its unique characteristics a number of examples of sentences, words, and free speech are included. The following examples are based on interviews with informants whose parents were born in Poiana Micului and who evidence a certain degree of fluency in their dialect. Both informants have knowledge of Standard German. The Standard German and English equivalents are also included. The orthography is based on the recommendation for orthographic renderings of dialect texts in the Palatinate dialect by Rudolf Post in his book *Pfalzisch: Einführung in eine Sprachlandschaft*.

The first four of the five sentences that serve as examples are taken from the *Wenker* test sentences for German dialect research. The forty original *Wenker* sentences developed by Georg Wenker in 1876 are used as the basis for the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, which is a collection of data on the German dialects at the University of Marburg.

1) Wenker sentence No. 5

   English:  He died four or six weeks ago.
   Standard German:  Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.
   German Bohemian:  Er Is g'storbm vier or sechs Wocbe zuruck.

   The sentence structure is influenced by English while Standard German uses a prepositional phrase. The plural -n- for *Woche* (=week) has disappeared. The unstressed vowel -e- of the *-ge* prefix in the participle *g'storbm* (=died) adapts to the following sound and is reduced to a -g-. This is a typical feature in Bavarian, whereas the sound is kept in Standard German.

2) Wenker sentence No. 6

   English:  The fire was too strong. The cakes are burnt black on the bottom.
   Standard German:  Das Feuer war zu stark. Die Kuchen sind unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.
   German Bohemian:  S’ Feler Is zu stork. Dr Kalk Is schworz brennt Inter se.

   The singular is used for the plural form of *Kuchen* (=cake). The word is a loan word from English. The participle *brennt* shows leveling and the *-ge* prefix is
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Kuchen (=cake). The word is a loan
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omitted completely. This is typical for Bavarian as well as the pronunciation of
- a - as -o- like in stork (=strong) and schworz (=black), and the use of -ei- for -eu-
as in Eifer for Feuer (=fire). The phrase inter se is a Bavarian rendition of the
Standard German uten (=on the bottom).

3) Wenker sentence No. 7
English : He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.
Standard German: Er ißt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.
German Bohemian: Er toat die Ojer essn mitaus/mitoane Solz und Pfeffer.

German Bohemian uses the verb toan (=to do) as an auxiliary with the verb essn
(=to eat). The Middle High German -ei- in Standard German Eier (=eggs) is
realized as -o- in the beginning of the word Ojer. The preposition mitaus is a loan
translation from the English without whereas the preposition mitoane is a
blending of the English preposition with and the German preposition ohne. The
sound combinations of -oa- (as in mitoane), as well as -ua-, -ia-, and -ea- parallel
the Bavarian diphthongization of those vowels which leads to a stretching of the
vowels.

4) Wenker sentence No. 27
English: Could you all wait a moment for us?
Then we will go with you.
Standard German: Konnt ihr nicht noch einen Augenblick auf uns warten?
Dann gehen wir mit euch.
German Bohemian: Kenns ole woarten II
Well? Aft geh mir mit enk.

The subjunctive form kenns shows an unrounding of the umlaut realized in the
Standard German könni, as well as the contracted form for the second person
plural with the -s- marker, typical for Bavarian, whereas Standard German uses
the verb form and the personal pronoun, as in könni ihr (=could you). The
expression a Weil is a Bavarian expression and also shows apocope, a typical
Bavarian feature which means the final unstressed -e- as in Standard German
Weile has disappeared. The personal pronoun euch (=you, 2nd person plural) is
realized as enk in German Bohemian. It is an old dual form used as plural and
is common in Bavarian usage. The adverb oft, which is distantly related to the
English word after, is genuinely Bavarian while Standard German uses noch or
dann.

5) English: I wish I would leave.
Standard German: Ich wünschte, ich würde fortgehen/ginge fort.
German Bohemian: I volt, I ust fuatgeh.
For the auxiliary würden (=would) in the conditional (=general subjunctive) German Bohemian uses a form of tun (=to do) as a subjunctive marker which is also a typical periphrastic form in Bavaria.

The Conjugation of two of the most common verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German Bohemian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haben</td>
<td>to have</td>
<td>ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ich habe</td>
<td>I have</td>
<td>i hon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du hast</td>
<td>you have</td>
<td>du host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er/sie hat</td>
<td>he/she has</td>
<td>er/sie hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wir haben</td>
<td>we have</td>
<td>mir ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihr habt</td>
<td>you have</td>
<td>des zwei hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sie haben</td>
<td>they have</td>
<td>sie/die hamant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seln</td>
<td>to be</td>
<td>sâ (=nasalized)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ich bin</td>
<td>I am</td>
<td>i bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du bist</td>
<td>you are</td>
<td>du bist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er/sie ist</td>
<td>he/she is</td>
<td>er/sie is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wir sind</td>
<td>we are</td>
<td>mir hama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihr seid</td>
<td>you are</td>
<td>des zwei hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sie sind</td>
<td>they are</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the verb *ham* (=to have) the first person singular has a zero-ending, the final vowel -e- is missing (=apocope). The first person plural is identical with the infinitive, whereas the third person plural is not, but rather keeps the Middle High German ending -nt- (sie/die hamant). The second person plural *des zwei hats* with its final -s- parallels the Bavarian, as a reflex of the old dual ös/enk preserved only in Bavarian.

The verb *sâ* (=to be) with its irregular verb stem as in Standard German exhibits unique forms in the plural. The plural forms *hama, has, hans* (we, you, they have) parallel the equivalent forms in northeastern Bavarian, where older forms of the verb *to be* have been replaced by forms of *to have* in the plural. The suffix *ma* in the first person plural is tagged on to the conjugated verb as a reduplication of the pronoun *wir* which is assimilated to *mirina* when following the labial -m- in *ham*. The third person plural shows a Middle High German ending -nt- (sie/die hant).
German Bohemian uses a compound form in order to describe past events. This would correspond to the preterite and perfect form in Standard German. The forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German Bohemian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Past:</td>
<td>habe</td>
<td>to have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Perfect:</td>
<td>habe gehabt</td>
<td>I have had</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Austro-Bavarian origin of the German Bohemian dialect is apparent in the dialect vocabulary. The examples are grouped into semantic categories.

1) Cardinal Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<th>German Bohemian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>eins</td>
<td>eins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>zwei</td>
<td>zwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>drei</td>
<td>drei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>vier</td>
<td>vier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>fünf</td>
<td>fünf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>sechs</td>
<td>sechs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>sieben</td>
<td>sieben</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first three cardinal numbers do not have the appearance of the final unstressed vowel -e-, whereas the other numbers show it. The numbers from four onwards end in an unstressed vowel and have a softer sounding pronunciation. The numbers are inflected according to the gender; this feature can also be seen in Bavarian.

2) Kin

<table>
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<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>Junge</td>
<td>bua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Großmutter</td>
<td>nadi, groasmuater</td>
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The conditional (=general subjunctive) =to do) as a subjunctive marker which Irian.

Ibe

IDOl!

I be

Common verbs:

German Bohemian

ham

i hon

du hast

er/sie hat

mir ham

des zwei hats

siedie hamant

sä (=nasalized)

i bin

du bist

er/sie ist

mir hama

des zwei hat

siedie hant

In singular has a zero-ending, the final person plural is identical with the is not, but rather keeps the Middle High German stem as in Standard German. The examples are grouped into semantic categories.

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<td>vier</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
aunt  Tante  busl
uncle  Onkel  feter
 cousin  Kusin/Kusine  geschwisterkind

The words show Central Bavarian origin.

3) Days of the Week

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<th>German Bohemian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Montag</td>
<td>monta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Dienstag</td>
<td>irta/erta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Mittwoch</td>
<td>minwoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Donnerstag</td>
<td>pfinsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Freitag</td>
<td>freita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Samstag</td>
<td>somsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Sonntag</td>
<td>sunta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final -g- in the unstressed syllable is not pronounced in German Bohemian, which parallels the Bavarian usage, as do the days Tuesday and Thursday that are based on Greek. The word for Tuesday (=irta/erta) is taken from the Greek god Ares whereas the word for Thursday (=pfinsta) is derived from the Greek pempie hemera, i.e., the fifth day of the week.

4) Food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>German Bohemian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>potato</td>
<td>Kartoffel</td>
<td>treapfl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cucumber</td>
<td>Gurke</td>
<td>umurkn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn</td>
<td>Mais</td>
<td>kukruts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horseradish</td>
<td>Meerrettich</td>
<td>kre, kren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet cream</td>
<td>Sahne</td>
<td>schmettn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loan words from Slavic are not uncommon in German Bohemian in names for food due to the interaction with Czech-speaking residents of Bohemia prior to the settlement in Bucovina.

5) Parts of the Body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>German Bohemian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eyelid</td>
<td>Augenlid</td>
<td>augendeckl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>Genick</td>
<td>gnack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ankle</td>
<td>Knöchel</td>
<td>knechhl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molar</td>
<td>Backenzahn</td>
<td>stockzont</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This selection of words is of Austrian-Bavarian origin.
6) Illnesses and Blemishes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>German Bohemian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stomachache</td>
<td>Bauchweh</td>
<td>mognweh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn on the toe</td>
<td>Hühnerauge</td>
<td>henneraug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bump</td>
<td>Beule</td>
<td>binkl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words parallel Bavarian usage. The same can be noticed for the animals category. In addition, the diminutive ending -er of the German Bohemian word for gosling (=gansl) is also the diminutive marker in Bavarian. The -er suffix on words like *gonserer* and *anterer* seems to be the marker for the masculine gender of a certain noun class.

7) Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>German Bohemian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gander</td>
<td>Gänserich</td>
<td>gonserer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gosling</td>
<td>Gänseh Ren</td>
<td>gansl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rooster</td>
<td>Hahn</td>
<td>hona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drake</td>
<td>Enterich</td>
<td>anterer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8) Verbs and phrases (idioms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>German Bohemian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurry up!</td>
<td>Beeil' dich!</td>
<td>dummel di!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to catch a cold</td>
<td>sich erkälten</td>
<td>verkiehln, s' kolte kriagn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to yawn</td>
<td>gähnen</td>
<td>s' mal afspreizn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cockle</td>
<td>gackern</td>
<td>kefn, kraan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pinch</td>
<td>kneifen</td>
<td>zwicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pull weeds</td>
<td>Unkrant jäten</td>
<td>gros ausreißn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cry</td>
<td>weinen</td>
<td>flennen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the verbs in this selection are also of Austro-Bavarian origin with *dummel di* (Austrian: *tummeln*) and *verkiehln* (Austrian: *sich verkühlen*) commonly being Austrian. The expressions *sich verkühlen* and *flennen* are also common colloquial German usage.

The following two examples, an anecdote and a recipe, show free speech of the German Bohemian dialect.
Anecdote (by Martin Flax)

Haman zwei junge g'heirat in Bucovina. Und er hot gern weich'kochte ojer 'gessn. Unt she hot se immer hercht 'kocht 'khat, immer hercht 'kocht. Unt aft woaar mol von disch, hat sie's wieder 'kocht 'khat, wieder hercht 'kocht. Hot er g'sacht: No olte, ihon g'sacht i tat die ojer gern weich 'kocht ham. Eist hast es wieder hercht." Und sie hot g'sacht: "Na oalter, i weiß net, woaas loas is mit de ojer. Ihon's zwo stund 'kocht unt hon's net weich 'kriakt."

Two young people got married in Bucovina. The husband loved to eat soft-boiled eggs. And she always boiled hard ones for him. And once they were sitting at the table, she had boiled them hard again. Then he said, "Woman, did I not tell you I would like soft-boiled eggs? You boiled them hard again." She answered, "Man, I do not know what is wrong with the eggs. I boiled them for two hours and could not get them soft."

Halushki (pigs in a blanket)  
(by Bertha Honas Flax)

I nimm von hamburger unt aft der schweinefleisch aa. Unt dann der reis; der reis nit kochen. Unt zwiefel, solz unt pfeffer. Unt aa zwei knoifele, so poudert tua i eine aa; unt no die krauthiepeln. Miß ma bladeln owachnee, unt die miß ma aft dann warm machen, daß sie net hirch wern, weil sie voll brechen. Unt damit halushkis ewickeln. Unt dann taan mir's kochen. Sie missen langsam kochen. Das sind about zwo stund, owa net länger, wenn sie langsam kochen, daß sie net verkochen kinnen. Wenn mir se kochen, tuan ma essich ein ins wosser, daß sie net zu sauer wern, ower wenn koa essich drin is, han sie owa au net guat.

I take hamburger and ground pork. Then I take rice that should not be boiled. And onions, salt, and pepper. And also two garlic cloves—I also use garlic salt—and then the cabbage heads—you have to cut off the leaves. They have to be warmed up, but not heated, because they often split. And then wrap the meat inside the cabbage leaves. And then they are cooked. They have to cook slowly, for about two hours, but no longer, so that they are not overcooked. While cooking them you put vinegar in the water, but so that they do not get too sour, but, if you do not add vinegar, they are not good either.

These examples indicate that the German Bohemian dialect shows features that can sometimes generally be attributed to all Bavarian dialects. However, the features are mainly associated with Central Bavarian, but also show reflexes of the Central/North Bavarian interference zone. It has borrowings from Slavic in names for food which was probably due to the geographical proximity to the Czech-speaking area of Bohemia prior to settlement in Bucovina. Interferences
The husband loved to eat soft-boiled im. And once, they were sitting at the he said, "Woman, did I not tell you them hard again." She answered, "Man, I boiled them for two hours and (a blanket) (as Flax)

fleisch aa. Unt dann der reis; der reis Unt aa zwei knofele, so powder tua i adeln owaschni, unt die miß ma aft, weil sie völ brechen. Unt damit hen. Sie missen langsam kochen. Das inn se langsam kochen, daß sie net an ma essich ein ins wosser, daß sie rin is, han sie owa au net guat.

... take rice that should not be boiled. two garlic cloves—I also use garlic to cut off the leaves. They have to often split. And then wrap the meat cooked. They have to cook slowly, at they are not overcooked. While but so that they do not get too sour, good either.

in Bohemian dialect shows features, to all Bavarian dialects. However, the Bavarian, but also show reflexes of ne. It has borrowings from Slavic in the geographical proximity to the tlement in Bucovina. Interferences with English have been an inevitable factor for the German Bohemians in Ellis County, partly because of the topographical and climatic differences between the New World and Bucovina where their parents had emigrated from. It looks, though that the mixed dialects that the emigrants used in Bucovina accompanied them to their new settlement in Ellis, Kansas, and lingered for several generations."

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my appreciation to the Bukovina Society of the Americas in Ellis, Kansas, and especially to Bertha Honas Flax, Martin Flax, Ethel Haneke, Ralph Burns, and Oren Windholz, without whose contributions this article could have never been written.

Memorial honoring Bucovina settlers in Ellis, Kansas.
NOTES

1. While many people who write about Bucovina use the spelling of the -k- in the word Bucovina, I decided to follow the English spelling with a -c-. The historical background presented here is based on an interview with Bertha Honas Flax, Martin Flax, Ethel Hanek, Ralph Burns, and Oren Windholz in Ellis, Kansas in September 1993.

2. Martin Flax, a Catholic Bohemian, can tell much about the toasts. The person with a glass of Schnapps in his or her hand says: "So ist's Leben" (such is life), and the person who is being toasted says: "Trink g'sund" (Drink healthily).

3. Bertha Honas Flax could not remember the punishment.

4. Interview with Bertha Flax, Ellis, Kansas, September 2, 1993.


7. Lyrics by Heinrich Kipper who was a well-known author from the Bucovina. Courtesy of the Bukovina Society of the Americas, Ellis, Kansas. Translated by Gabriele Lunte.


10. Each example includes the English translation, the same in Standard German, and finally the German Bohemia version recorded in interviews in Ellis, Kansas.

11. In 1988 the Catholic German Bohemians and the Lutheran Swabians formed the Bukovina Society of the Americas to promote recognition of the Bucovina German people and preserve their heritage. In memory of the Bucovina people that came to Kansas the society created a memorial to the Bucovina settlers in the city park at Ellis. The memorial shows the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and its inscription includes a tribute to the settlers. The memorial was dedicated at the Fifth Bucovinafest in July 1993.