Ukrainian German Bohemians

A Bavarian speaking community in East Central Europe

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Abstract

The article first describes the settlement history of various German-speaking communities in Transcarpathia (Ukraine). Then the historical and current sociolinguistic situation is presented. This is followed by a more detailed description of the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures as well as the lexicon of the Middle Bavarian variety in the German-Bohemian settlements of Transcarpathia.

1. Introduction: Historical background

The Ukraine in general has to be seen as a multiethnic state. Besides Ukrainians, there are Russians, Belorussians, Moldovans and minority groups of Poles, Romanians, Hungarians, Tatars from the Crimea and different German speaking minority language groups (Hvozdyak 2008: 85). As a result, many languages are spoken in everyday life: Ukrainian, Ruthenian (a variety of Ukrainian), Russian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak and different German varieties (Kanz/Wildfeuer/Zehetner 2006: 85). Especially Upper German varieties (Bavarian and East Franconian) have formed the two dominant groups of German-based minority languages.

Today a relevant part of the German speaking population is concentrated in the region of Transcarpathia/Закарпатська область, which is located in the Western part of the Ukraine. The term *Transcarpathia* refers to a historic part of the Hungarian kingdom which belonged

- to the Hungarian kingdom from the 10th to the 18th century
- to the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy from 1861 to 1918
- to the Czech Republic from 1919 to 1939
- to Hungary from 1939 to 1944 (Hvozdyak 2008: 93–94).

Since 1991, Transcarpathia forms part of the independent Ukraine.

The first German settlers came to Transcarpathia as early as the 12th century (Hvozdyak 2008: 89). This first group was assimilated in the following centuries. A larger proportion of German speaking immigrants came into the region predominantly from the 17th to the 19th century, when different settlements were founded. Especially craftsmen from Austria and Bavaria moved to Transcarpathia and established numerous villages from the 17th century on (see in detail Hvozdyak 2008: 90).

Map 1: Danubian Bavarian (= Central Bavarian), East-Franconian and other German-based minority languages in Transcarpathia (based on Melika 2002a, map created by Sebastian Franz)

1.1 German settlers with Franconian background

The Earls of Schönborn played a decisive role in establishing the German-Franconian settlements in Transcarpathia, especially around the town of Munkatsch/Мукачеве. By order of the Franconian Earl Friedrich Karl of Schönborn, colonists from the two Franconian towns

of Bamberg and Würzburg founded seven villages (Pausching/Пáвшино, Oberschönborn/Верхній Коропець, Unterschönborn/Шенборн, Birkendorf/Березинка, Deutsch Kučowa/Кучава, Mädchendorf/Лалово and Beregszász/Берегове). During the 18th century, around 700 settlers moved to the Schönborn`s properties in Transcarpathia. The journey took five to seven weeks and started in the Franconian towns of Würzburg and Nuremberg (see in detail Hvozdyak 2008 and Melika 2002a).

1.2 German settlers from Bohemia and Austria

During 1810 and 1878, settlers from the Southern part of the Bohemian Forest around the towns of Prachatitz/Prachatice, Winterberg/Horska Kvilda and Fürstenhut/Knižci Pláne (see map 2), came to the dominion of the Earl of Schönborn and established or settled in the villages of Unterhrabownitz/Ніжня Грабівніця, Pusniak/Пузняковцы, Blaubad/Синяк, Dorndorf /Драчино, Kobalewitz/Кобаловица and Dubi/Дубы (Hvozdyak 2008). These settlers spoke a Central Bavarian variety.
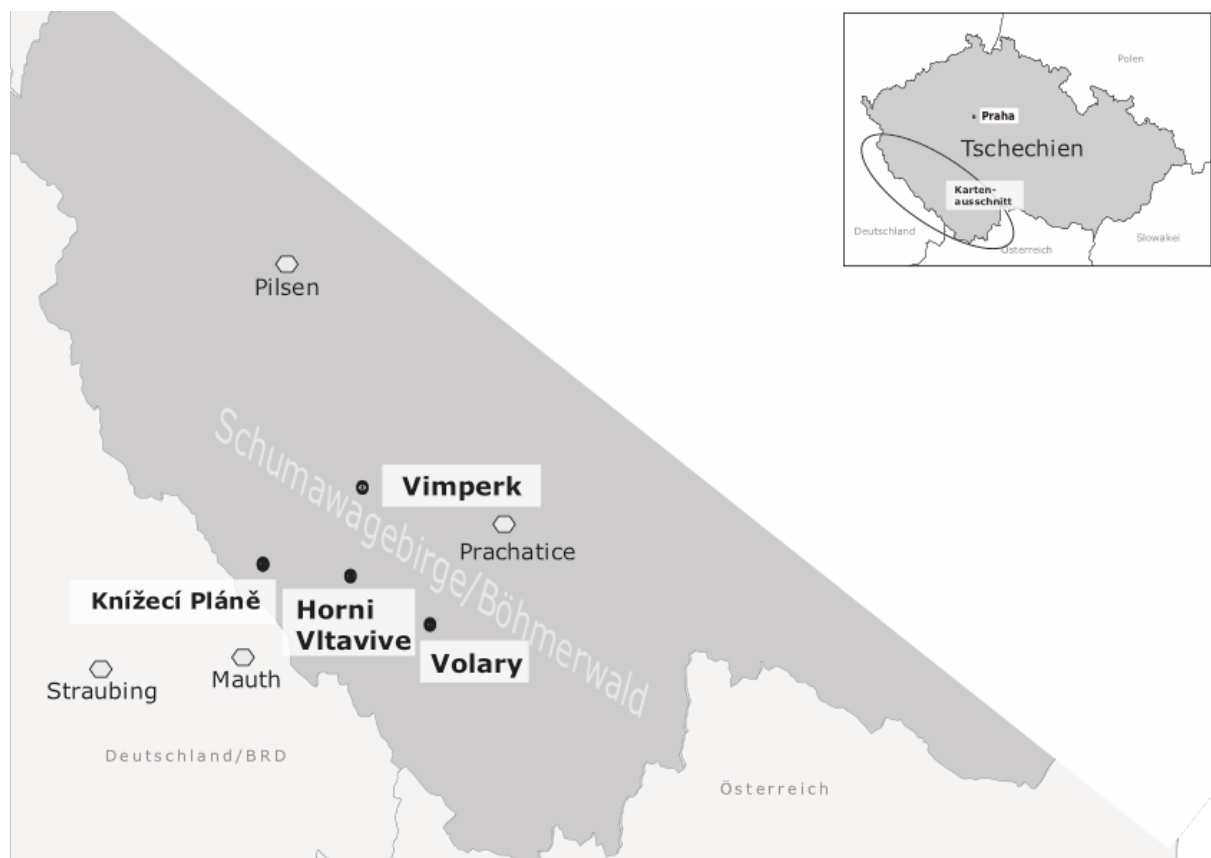
Map 2: Origin of the German-Bohemian settlers (map created by Sebastian Franz)

Two other villages in the Eastern part of Transcarpathia (Deutsch Mokra/Німецька Мокра, Königsfeld/Усть-Чорна) were founded in the 18th century by settlers from an Austrian region called Salzkammergut Mountains (see map 1). These settlers spoke a slightly different, South-Central Bavarian variety (Hvozdyak 2008: 90 and Wildfeuer 2007: 161), a difference which is still noticeable today.

Especially the group of settlers from the Bohemian Forest and from Salzkammergut Mountains stayed rather isolated and separated concerning their language and culture for some decades. Thus, contact with other ethnic groups was not intensive (Kanz/Wildfeuer/Zehetner 2006: 85 and Melika 2002b: 56). While the above mentioned Franconian settlers (see 1.1) in Munkatsch/Мукачеве were surrounded by Ruthenians (speakers of a Ukrainian variety), Hungarians and sometimes Slovaks from the beginning on and, consequently, found themselves in a multi-ethnic surrounding, the Bohemian settlers' contact with other ethnic groups was mostly limited to contact situations with Ruthenians (Melika 2002b: 55). Demographic and economic reasons, such as overpopulation, inheritance rights which preferred the first-born son, job perspectives and the chance to acquire their own property, were the driving force behind the migration of German-Bohemians to Transcarpathia (Klaube 1984: 19–22).

2. Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects

Based on the census of 2001 the recent *Ethnologue* (2016) estimates a number of around 33.000 German speaking people in the Ukraine and classifies the status of the spoken language as "dispersed". *Ethnologue* doesn't differentiate its overview, so no separate numbers of speakers of German for Transcarpathia are available. The *UNESCO Atlas of endangered languages* doesn't even mention the German based minority languages in the Ukraine (for further details see http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/). Approximately 15,000 Germans lived in Transcarpathia in 1939. Nearly 2,000 of them were deported to Germany before the Red Army arrived in 1944 and 8,000 Germans were expelled afterwards. About 8,000 Germans are estimated to have lived Transcarpathia in the 1960s (see Hvozdyak 2008: 94-95). From 1980 on, the number of German-speaking citizens decreased rapidly in Transcarpathia, due to the fact that many of them had the right to gain German citizenship and – as a consequence – moved to Germany. Several villages and towns as well lost many of their German-speaking inhabitants. According to recent estimates, about 5,000 people of German origin are still living in Transcarpathia.

Institutional support – for example from schools, churches and the constitution – played an ambivalent role for the survival of the German language and dialects in the course of time. First of all, schools: From 1868 on, instruction in the native language was more and more on the decline (Hvozdyak 2008: 100). After the school system was reformed again in 1919, seven German schools existed in the region in 1921. There were also a few kindergartens, like in Plankendorf/Паланок (a Franconian speaking settlement), which are still in existence. The German-Bohemian settlements instead, lost all this support. No kindergartens or schools with German as the language of instruction are in existence in these settlements at present. During 1945, as soon as the Ukraine belonged to the Soviet Union, the German schools became Ukrainian or/and Russian schools (Hvozdyak 2008: 101). Nowadays pupils are offered the possibility to learn German as a foreign language.

Second, the churches: Most of the Germans in the Ukraine are Roman Catholic. Until today there are sometimes masses in German in some villages, for example on special occasions in the Bohemian settlement Kobalewitz/Кобаловица.

The Ukrainian constitution (1996) granted "the complete equal rights of all citizens, independent of their national, confessional [...] affiliation" (Hvozdyak 2008: 96). Therefore, members of the German minority had the right to build their own schools, kindergartens and so on. The implementation of the law "On the language in the Ukrainian RSR" (1989) conceded the "development of their language" and granted furthermore to "every citizen the right to speak any language [translated by the authors]" (Hvozdyak 2008: 99). Nevertheless, the number of speakers of German varieties has been on the decline for decades. In the year 1938, some 81 villages with German-speaking settlers, so called *Swabians*, existed, whereas roughly a dozen villages with a small fraction of German-speaking inhabitants can be found nowadays. The term *Swabian* is used generally for all German-speaking people in Transcarpathia (and as well in Hungary) and refers neither to the spoken language nor to the origin of the settlers. The term includes the Bohemian settlers as well. Wolf (1975: 21) introduced the term "Nennschwaben" ("Call-Swabians"), referring to the fact that most of these groups don't have any ancestral connection with the region Swabia in Southwest Germany. Nevertheless, the German speakers in Transcarpathia, of both German or Austrian origin, call themselves predominantly *Swabians*.

As already indicated above, at present, there are four significant Upper German minority groups in Transcarpathia (see Scheuringer 2006: 14–15 and Scheuringer 2014: 289–290; Melika 2002a; the data is also based on our own field research conducted between 2005 and 2017):

1. The descendants of the German-Bohemian settlers from the Bohemian Forest in the villages Unterhrabownitz/Ніжня Грабівніця, Pusniak/Пузняковцы, Blaubad/Синяк, Dorndorf/Драчино, Kobalewitz/Кобаловица and Dubi/Дубьі. These are located in the highlands north and east of Munkatsch/Мукачеве. This group still speaks a Central Bavarian variety.

2. The descendants of the Franconian settlers in the villages Pausching/Пávшино, Oberschönborn/Верхній Коропець, Unterschönborn/Шенборн, Birkendorf/Березинка, Deutsch Kučowa/Кучава, Mädchendorf/Лалово and Beregszász/Берегове, which are located south-east of Munkatsch/Мукачеве. The descendants still speak an East Franconian variety.

3. Members of a German-based minority language group, who live in the former villages Plankendorf/Паланок und Kroatendorf/Підгород (which are now both a part of Munkatsch) and in the town of Munkatsch/Підгород. The variety is a result of a mixture of rural East Franconian and Central Bavarian varieties and of an Austrian-Bavarian urban standard variety. The language is today influenced by structures of the different coexisting languages (Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Russian).

4. The descendents of settlers from Austrian's Salzkammergut Mountains in the eastern half of Transcarpathia in the villages of Deutsch Mokra/Німецька Мокра, Königsfeld/Усть-Чорна. There are still a handful of people there speaking a South-Central Bavarian dialect.

The current situation in these four groups of German speaking settlements varies:

In and around Munkatsch/Мукачеве, one can still find an intact speech community with a few hundreds of speakers (based on our own estimate). What is astonishing, is that a few children are still brought up with the German-based variety. As a consequence, a group of young speakers still exists. The situation in the Franconian speaking villages like Pausching/Пávшино and Oberschönborn/Верхній near Munkatsch/Мукачеве is quite similar. The linguistic situation in the Bohemian settlements in the highlands east and north-east of Munkatsch/Мукачеве is clearly different: This variety is no longer passed on to the following generation and the estimated current number of speakers is not higher than a few dozen. Around the year 2005 – when our linguistic project in Transcarpathia started – two female speakers lived in Pusniak/Пузняковцы and another two in Blaubad/Синяк. Two male speakers lived in Unterhrabownitz/Ніжня Грабівніця. In Kobalewitz/Кобаловица, there were at least five speakers and in Dubi/Дубьі four (Wildfeuer 2008: 100). The youngest German-Bohemian speaker we were able to detect, was born in 1961 and lives in

Kobalewitz/Кобаловица. She is married to a Ukrainian, who is not able to speak a German variety. This relatively young female speaker, who has six children, stated that her children had not learned to speak the German-Bohemian variety. According to this sociolinguistic situation, it is quite safe to estimate that the German-Bohemian variety in the Transcarpathian highlands will die out in a few decades (for a more detailed analysis see chapter 7).

The situation of the speech community of Salzkammergut Mountain origin in eastern Transcarpathia is not clear at the moment as no research has been conducted so far in the last few years. Based on information gathered during a research visit to Transcarpathia in 2017 it is safe to estimate that there are still a few speakers in existence.

With regard to the current situation, Scheuringer (2012: 56) asserts for the region of Transcarpathia and especially for the German settlements an "omnipresent multilingualism" as well as a "linguistic field of experience". An ordinary citizen speaks several languages (up to five languages).

The following table shows the spoken languages in the several generations in summary (based on own field research; Hvozdyak 2008: 106; Neuber 2017: 271–278):

	Generation I (born before 1930)	Generation II (1930 until 1945)	Generation III (1946 until 1970)	Generation IV (1971 until today)
German variety	excellent proficiency (with a few lexical transfers)	good to excellent proficiency (lexical transfers)	poor to very good proficiency (lexical transfers)	non-existent to good proficiency (lexical transfers)
Standard German	good proficiency	good to poor	good to poor	good to very good
Contact languages	Hungarian, Ruthenian, Russian, Czech	Hungarian, Ruthenian, Russian, Standard Ukrainian	Hungarian, Russian, Ruthenian, Standard Ukrainian	Standard Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Russian, Hungarian (sometimes)

Table 1: The spoken languages in comparison over several generations

3. Phonetics and phonology

The following analysis of the current state of a German variety in Transcarpathia focuses exclusively on the Bohemian-Bavarian dialect spoken in several villages east and north-east of Munkatsch/Мукачеве. This is due to the fact that the Bohemian variety has not extensively been presented in a publication so far – unlike to the Franconian varieties in and around Munkatsch/Мукачеве and the South-Central Bavarian variety in eastern Transcarpathia (e.g. Neuber 2017 and Schabus 2006) – and to the fact that our field research in the years 2005 to 2008 mainly focused on these villages.

3.1 Current inventory of vowels and consonants

The variety belongs to the group of Central Bavarian dialects mainly spoken along the river Danube in Bavaria and Austria. Typical for this group is the presence of different kinds of diphthongs which date back to former stages of German. For example, the protophonemes /uo/, /ie/ and /üe/ have mainly remained as so-called falling diphthongs in the following examples:

(1) a /gʰuɐ/   Kuh   'cow'

    b /vɪɐː/   Vieh   'animal, cattle'

    c /hiɐdn̥/   hüten   'to guard, to tend'

Another significant phenomenon in Central Bavarian dialects and in the respective German-Bohemian variety of Transcarpathia is the vocalization of post-vocal laterals in examples like:

(2) a /bɔɪːn/   bellen   'to bark'

    b /ʒmoɪː/   schmal   'small'

    c /ʒdi/   Stiel   'stick, handle'

    d /zuɪːdz/   Salz   'salt'

Typical for the variety in question are some conservative features which have vanished in most parts of homeland Central Bavarian regions in Austria and Bavaria. An example of this is the different development of protophoneme /ei/ to /oɐ/ in monosyllabic and to /ɔɪ/ in polysyllabic words, a phenomenon which is lost in less conservative regions but still in existence in the Bohemian villages:

(3) a /ʒʊoɐv/   Schweif-SG   'tail'

    b /ʒʊɔɪf/   Schweife-PL   'tails'

	c	/oɐ:/	Ei-SG	'egg'
	d	/ɔɪ:ɐ/	Eier-PL	'eggs'

Compared with many homeland Bavarian varieties the diphthongization of /o/ in a list of words is remarkable as most dialects in the home country retain a monophthong. Examples are:

(4)	a	/rɔʊ:z/	Ross	'horse'
	b	/ɡhɔʊ:bv/	Kopf	'head'

This development is today only in existence in few – more remote – areas of Central Bavarian in Southern and Eastern Lower Bavaria.

More widespread is the realization of /ô/ as a diphthong, which is in Transcarpathia slightly different from Central Bavarian as the first component is more open compared to its counterparts in Austria and Bavaria:

(5)	a	/brɒo:d/	Brot	'bread'
	b	/ʒdrɒo/	Stroh	'straw'
	c	/rɒo:zn/	Rose	'rose'
	d	/rɒo:d/	rot	'red'

Newer developments in Central Bavarian are missing in the conservative variety of Transcarpathia. A good example is the preserving of the *umlaut* /e/ before /r/ (which was raised to an *i*-sound in more modern varieties) as the following examples illustrate:

(6)	a	/ɛɐrtɐ/	Ertag, Dienstag	'Tuesday'
	b	/mɛɐrgʰɐ/	merken	'to remember'

Another example of preserving conservative forms is the diphthong /ui/ in examples like:

(7)	a	/dzuɪŋ/	ziehen	'to pull'
	b	/ʒuɪm/	schieben	'to push'
	c	/vuɪ:ɐ/	Feuer	'fire'

Also, an indicator for the conservative inventory of the sound system is the preserving of epenthetic vowels in an example like:

(8)		/bi:rɐnɐ/	Birken-PL	'birch trees'

The inventory of the current system of consonants is identical to the system of West-Central Bavarian of Lower and Upper Bavaria and parts of Upper Austria. Very significant for this group of varieties is the change of initial /s/ to /h/ in the plural forms of 'to be' which is still widespread today in the above mentioned inland varieties:

(9) a /mɪɐ hand/   wir sind-1PL.PRES.INDIC   'we are'

   b /dɛɪz hats/   ihr seid-2PL.PRES.INDIC   'you are'

   c /zɛɪ hand/   sie sind-3PL.PRES.INDIC   'they are'

As already mentioned above, the German-Bohemian variety of Transcarpathia takes part in a sound change which is known as *L*-vocalization and which affects the post-vocalic lateral. The results of this process are a mixture of diphthongic West-Central Bavarian and unrounded monophthongic East-Central Bavarian (known as type 'Salzburg') sounds as the following examples show:

(10) a /moɪχɐ/   melken   'to milk'

   b /goɪd/   Geld   'money'

   c /voɪd/   Feld   'field'

   d /huɪd̥z̥/   Holz   'wood'

   e /ʒbiːn/   spielen   'to play'

   f /miː/   Mühle   'mill'

Also, typical of more conservative varieties of Central Bavarian is the loss of final consonants, especially the final fricatives /ç/ and /x/. On the contrary, final /b/ and /g/ is preserved, which differentiates the German-Bohemian variety from conservative forms of interior Central Bavarian:

(11) a /gruː/   Geruch   'smell'

   b /bɔː/   Bach   'creek'

   c /lɔʊː/   Loch   'hole'

   d /bao/   Bauch   'belly'

   e /loɐːb/   Laib   'loaf'

   f /bvluɐːg/   Pflug   'plow'

   g /ʋɛɪg/   Weg   'way, path'

   h /doɐːg/   Teig   'dough'

Another aspect is the frequent loss of final postvocalic /n/ which occasionally results in a nasalization of the preliminary vowel:

(12)	a	/ʒraeː/	schreien	'to shout'
	b	/grãː/	krähen	'to crow'
	c	/maː/	mähen	'to mow'
	d	/ghõo/	Hahnenkamm	'coxcomb'

The following tables show the current inventory of monophthongs, diphthongs and consonants in the Bohemian variety of Transcarpathia. With respect to the inventory of consonants, it is important to mention that there are no voiced stops, fricatives and affricates. The absence of voiced stops/fricatives/affricates is widespread in Central Bavarian and not a unique feature of the Bohemian varieties in question. The difference between /p/ and /b/ for example is not generated by the opposition *voiceless* vs. *voiced* but by a combination of more articulation pressure and a longer time span in articulation for the fortes consonants. The following tables do not specially mark voiceless consonants.

Monophthongs

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

Table 2: List of monophthongs

Diphthongs

falling diphthongs	rising diphthongs
uɐ	uɪ
iɐ	ɔʊ
oɐ	oɪ
ɛɐ	ɔɪ
	ɛɪ
	ɒo
	ae
	ao

Table 3: List of diphthongs

Consonants

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
STOPS							
fortes	p		t			k	
lenes (voiceless)	b		d			g	
FRICATIVES							
fortes		f	s	ʃ		χ	h
lenes (voiceless)	ʋ	v	z	ʒ		x	
AFFRICATES							
fortes		pf	ts	tʃ			
lenes (voiceless)		bv	ds	dʒ			
NASALS	m		n			ŋ	
LIQUID			l				
TRILL			r				
APPROXI-MANT					j		

Table 4: List of consonants

3.2 Syllable structure

The syllable structure shows a widespread feature of Central Bavarian dialects, a development known as *Pfalz'sches Gesetz* (*Pfalz' Law*, see Pfalz 1913). The key point is that in a Central Bavarian syllable a nucleus containing a short vowel is followed by a voiceless fortis consonant (stop, fricative or affricate) and a nucleus with a long vowel is followed by a voiceless (!) lenis consonant. For the Bohemian variety in Transcarpathia, the length of the

nucleus is not as distinctive as described in *Pfalz' Law*, for instance the length of the preceding vowel or diphthong is occasionally not very distinctive, the quantity is more fluid between short and long forms. The important feature in the German-Bohemian variety is thus the fortis-lenis distinction. The following chart provides examples of this sound and syllable change in the variety in question:

(13) a /viːʒ/ Fisch-SG 'fish'
/viʃ/ Fische-PL 'fishes'
b /biːz/ Biss-SG 'bite'
/nus/ Nuss-SG 'nut'
c /goɐz/ Geiß-SG 'goat'
/gɔɪs/ Geißen-PL 'goats'
d /drɔːgɐd/ trächtig 'pregnant'
/ɔkʰɐn/ ackern 'to plow'
e /doɐːv/ Dorf 'village'
/ʒʊɔɪf/ Schweife 'tails'
f /boɪːds/ Pelz 'fur'
/gʰɔts/ Katze 'cat'

The word stress is similar to patterns in other Bavarian varieties and thus quite similar to Standard German. The recorded questionnaires do not exhibit forms which differ from common Bavarian stress patterns.

The variety exhibits complex syllable onsets and offsets and ambisyllabic consonants. This leads to a strengthening of the word boundary. Complex consonantic boundaries help to mark the phonological word and ambisyllabic consonants strengthen the integrity of a word. These phenoma are typical for word-languages like German or English, compared to syllable-languages like French or Spanish which tend to strengthen syllables and prefer a clear CV structure (see in detail Auer 1993). Following examples show onset- and offset-strengthening (14 a–e) and ambisyllabic consonants (14 c, f–i), typical for word-languages:

(14) a /ʒdɔːd/ Stadt 'town'
b /ʒdrixln/ Stricheln, Zitzen 'duds'
c /gʒdɔʊxɐ/ gestochen 'stung'
d /ɔʊːgẓn/ Ochsen 'oxen'
e /ʐeŋgẓd/ Sense 'scythe'
f /brumɐ/ brummen, schnurren 'to purr'

g	/eɪmɐ/	Eimer	'bucket'
h	/ʋɔʊsɐ/	Wasser	'water'
i	/moɪxɐ/	melken	'to milk'

Another argument for a classification of the German-Bohemian variety as a word-language is the dichotomy of syllables with full and reduced vowels (the last only in unstressed syllables):

(15)	a	/brumɐ/	brummen, schnurren	'to purr'
	b	/eɪmɐ/	Eimer	'bucket'
	c	/ʋɔʊsɐ/	Wasser	'water'

3.3 Language Contact and the sound system

There is no evidence for dialect and language contact affecting the sound system. As the villages with a German-Bohemian variety have been quite remote from the regional center of Munkatsch/Мукачеве and, in its surrounding Franconian speaking villages, there is no evidence for dialect contact between this Central Bavarian variety and the Franconian varieties (Melika 2002a: 43–47). The Bohemian settlers who left their homeland in the first half of the 19th century came from different, but more or less neighboring villages in the Southwestern part of the Bohemian forest. Thus, minor dialect levelling between these closely related Bavarian varieties might have occurred. If and to what degree is unclear, however, which is also due to the fact that we do not know exactly from which villages the settlers came from and what language features were present in the different villages in Western Bohemia at the beginning of the 19th century.

The above-mentioned result of missing evidence for contact affecting the sound system in the new homeland in Transcarpathia corresponds to Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 37), who stress that "extensive structural borrowing [...] apparently requires extensive (though not universal) [...] bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers over a considerable period of time."

This quotation mentions an important factor. It must be considered that bilingualism in the German-Bohemian settlements was limited to around 150–170 years. And, in the beginning, only a tiny fraction of the German speaking population might have acquired one of the surrounding languages. It is completely unclear when widespread bilingualism was established in the community, so it is possible that only in the second or third generation a significant part of the Bohemians became bi- or multilingual. Nevertheless, bilingualism became a factor only in a comparatively short period of time from the perspective of other German speaking settlements in Europe (e. g. in Northern Italy) and North America (e. g.

Pennsylvania German), which have been in existence for several hundred years and which exhibit heavy structural borrowing. The non-existence of structural borrowing affecting the sound system can be explained by these two factors – limited bilingualism and (very) short period of time of settlement.

4. Morphosyntax

4.1 Inflection of pronouns and nouns

The variety shows a 3-case-system with nominative, dative and accusative as the following examples illustrate. There is no genitive. Examples from the pronominal system will be presented (16), then examples from the noun system (17). Remarkable for the nominal system is the dative plural inflective *en*, which is nowadays lost in most of the homeland varieties.

(16) a *i muas*
        ich-1SG.NOM muss
        'I have to'

    b *des is mia oas*
        das ist mir-1SG.DAT eins
        'this doesn't bother me'

    c *leg i mi hi*
        lege ich mich-1SG.ACC hin
        'I lay myself down'

(17) a *des hand seine kia*
        das sind seine Kühe-PL.NOM
        'these are his cows'

    b *du gibst hiatz an kian zun fressn*
        du gibst jetzt den Kühen-PL.DAT zu fressen
        'you give the cows something to eat now'

    c *am hendnan*
        an den Händen-PL.DAT
        'at the hands'

    d *in darman drin*
        in den Gedärmen-PL.DAT

'in the bowels'

e   *er hod en oam obrocha*
    er hat den Arm-SG.ACC abgebrochen
    'he has broken the arm

Nouns are inflected in three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter). A few nouns show a different gender attribution compared to Standard German as in the following examples:

(18) a   *schneckn*   Schnecken-MASK   'snail'
      b   *dalla*   Teller-NEUT   'plate'
      c   *buda*   Butter-MASK   'butter'

Pronouns and nouns have two numbers (singular and plural). Dual is lost but one reflex of the historic three-number-system (singular, dual, plural) is exhibited in the pronoun system insofar as the pronouns kept their lexical dual form:

(19) a   /dɛɪz/   ihr-2PL.NOM   'you'
      b   /ɛɪŋ/   enk, euch-2PL.DAT/ACC 'you'

These personal pronouns are successors of historic dual pronouns which have gained plural meaning in the course of time in the vast majority of Bavarian dialects.

To mark plural in noun inflection several possibilities emerged:
- No plural marking:

(20) a   *schof*   Schaf/Schafe-SG/PL   'sheep'
      b   *andn*   Ente/Enten-SG/PL   'duck/ducks'
      c   *daum*   Taube/Tauben-SG/PL   'pigeon/pigeons'
      d   *bai*   Biene/Bienen-SG/PL   'bee/bees'

- Plural marking with a stem vowel change:

(21) a   *ghua*   Kuh-SG   'cow'
          ghia   Kühe-PL   'cows'
      b   *schwoaf* Schweif-SG   'tail'
          schwoif Schweife-PL 'tails'
      c   *goas*   Geiß-SG   'goat'
          gois   Geißen-PL   'goats'
      d   *boug*   Bock-SG   'ram'

	beig	Böcke-PL	'rams'
e	*woung*	Wagen-SG	'cart'
	wang	Wägen-PL	'carts'

- Plural marking with a change from lenis to fortis consonant:

(22)	a	*hund*	Hund-SG	'dog'
		hunt	Hunde-PL	'dogs'
	b	*di:sch* (/diːʒ/)	Tisch-SG	'table'
		disch (/diʃ/)	Tische-PL	'tables'

- Plural marking with morphemes *n* and *a*

(23)	a	*ougs*	Ochse-SG	'ox'
		ougsn	Ochsen-PL	'oxen'
	b	*schwai*	Schwein-SG	'pig'
		schwaina	Schweine-PL	'pigs'
	c	*hein*	Henne-SG	'hen'
		heina	Hennen-PL	'hens'
	d	*eing*	Egge-SG	'harrow'
		einga	Eggen-PL	'harrows'

- Plural form with morpheme *a* and stem vowel change

(24)	a	*doaf*	Dorf-SG	'village'
		deafa	Dörfer-PL	'villages'
	b	*oa*	Ei-SG	'egg'
		oia	Eier-PL	'eggs'
	c	*rous*	Ross-SG	'horse'
		reisa	Rösser-PL	'horses'

4.2 Inflection of adjectives

Like many other German varieties, the Bohemian in Transcarpathia shows strong and weak adjective inflection. Definite articles cause weak, indefinite or zero articles strong inflection:

(25)	a	*da uidi bam*	der alte-ADJ.SG.WEAK Baum	'the old tree'
		a uida bam	ein alter-ADJ.SG.STRONG Baum	'an old tree'
	b	*da uidi bvoara*	der alte-ADJ.SG.WEAK Pfarrer	'the old priest'

	a scheina dog	ein schöner-ADJ.SG.STRONG Tag	'a beautiful day'
c	*des uide haisl*	das alte-ADJ.SG.WEAK Häuslein	'the old small house'
	a guads joar	ein gutes-ADJ.SG.STRONG Jahr	'a good year'
d	*dei ghuadsn neisd*	die kurzen-ADJ.PL.WEAK Äste	'the short tree branches'
	ghuadse neisd	kurze-ADJ.PL.STRONG Äste	'short tree branches'

There is no superlative suffixing. To indicate superlative a periphrastic form is used as in the following examples:

(26)	a	*da ula gressa*	der aller größer-ADJ.SG.SUPERLATIVE	'the biggest'
	b	*da ula gleana*	der aller kleiner-ADJ.SG.SUPERLATIVE	'the smallest'

Comparative is formed with the suffix *a* (realized as [ɐ]). If there is a vocalic nucleus in the stem which can form an *umlaut* or if there is another pattern of regular vocalic change available, these alternations frequently occur. The following table shows adjectives (basic form and comparative) with and without vocalic changes:

(27)	a	*uid – eida*	alt-ADJ.BASIC – älter-ADJ.COMP	'old – older'
	b	*ghuid – gheida*	kalt-ADJ.BASIC – kälter-ADJ.COMP	'cold – colder'
	c	*broad – breada*	breit-ADJ.BASIC – breiter-ADJ.COMP	'broad – broader'
	d	*hoas – hoisa*	heiß-ADJ.BASIC – heißer-ADJ.COMP	'hot – hotter'
	e	*schlecht – schlechta*	schlecht-ADJ.BASIC – schlechter-ADJ.COMP	
				'bad – worse'
	f	*schwar – schwara*	schwer-ADJ.BASIC – schwerer-ADJ.COMP	
				'heavy – heavier'

4.3 Inflection of articles

The system of indefinite and definite articles resembles the patterns of interior Central Bavarian. For the nominative, the same indefinite article is used for all three genders (28 a–c). Before vocalic onset, the definite article shows linking *n* (28 d):

(28)	a	*a bam*	ein Baum-MASK.SG	'a tree'
	b	*a floschn*	eine Flasche-FEM.SG	'a bottle'
	c	*a joar*	ein Jahr-NEUT.SG	'a year'
	d	*an ougs*	ein Ochse-MASK.SG	'an ox'

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The definite article has a three-gender-system:

(29) a *da bvoara*   der Pfarrer-MASK.SG   'the priest'

    b *d'strah*   die Streu-FEM.SG   'strewing'

    c *s'via*   das Vieh-NEUT.SG   'the livestock'

In the recorded questionnaires, no assimilated forms of the definite article are listed. So far it is unclear if forms like *b'flaschn* (die Flasche-FEM.SG 'the bottle' – an example from interior Central Bavarian) – are in existence in the Bohemian variety of Transcarpathia.

4.4 Inflection of numerals

In line with historic varieties of German, the Bohemian dialect (and Central Bavarian in general) has kept the inflection of the cardinal number *zwei* 'two' according to the gender of the noun:

(30)   *dswei mona – dswou ghia – dswoa haisa*

        zwei Männer-MASK.PL – zwei Kühe-FEM.PL – zwei Häuser-NEUT.PL

        'two men – two cows – two houses'

The inflection of cardinal number *drei* 'three' is not in use any more. The following examples show no inflection:

(31)   *drai mouna – drai ghia – drai haisl*

        drei Männer-MASK.PL – drei Kühe-FEM.PL – drei Häuslein-NEUT.PL

        'three men – three cows – three little houses'

4.5 Inflection of verbs

With regard to verb morphology, the Bohemian variety in Transcarpathia exhibits high complexity. There are a variety of different morphemes for the infinitive as the following examples indicate:

(32) a *hiadn*   hüten-INF   'to herd, to guard'

        aivuin   einfallen-INF   'to come to mind'

        schdessn   stoßen-INF   'to push'

    b *avdraim*   auftreiben-INF   'to get hold of sth.'

        gluim   klieben-INF   'to chop'

    c *aileŋ*   einlegen-INF   'to insert'

d	*vodean*	verdienen-INF	'to earn'
	gei	gehen-INF	'to go'
e	*schloufa*	schlafen-INF	'to sleep'
	soicha	seichen-INF	'to urinate'

The different infinitive forms in (32) are a result of phonetic processes which are similar to most Central Bavarian homeland varieties in Lower and Upper Bavaria. For an in-depth analysis of these developments see Wiesinger (1989).

The following table lists the morphemes of person and number for the present tense forms:

(33)   Present tense morphemes (indicative present active)

	morphemes and examples		
1. Sg.	*-Ø*		
	zuig	ich ziehe	'I pull'
2. Sg.	*-sd*		
	zuigsd	du ziehst	'you pull'
3. Sg.	*-d*		
	zuigd	er/sie/es zieht'	'he/she/it pulls'
1. Pl.	*-nd*[1]		
	zuiŋd	wir ziehen	'we pull'
2. Pl.	*-ds*		
	zuigds	ihr zieht	'you pull'
3. Pl.	*-nd*[2]		
	zuiŋd	sie ziehen	'they pull'

Table 5: Present tense morphemes

The tense system is reduced as there is no preterite form in existence any more. Preterite is replaced by perfect tense forms, pluperfect does not exist and no substitute forms – such as the so-called double perfect/perfect II (e.g. *Er hat nichts gegessen gehabt*) – are known either.

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[1] There is another flexive (-*mɐ*) in use for 1. Pl.: *mia leiŋmɐ* wir legen-1PL 'we lay'
[2] A long form (-*ɐnd*) is also in existence: *mia geiŋɐnd* wir gehen-1PL 'we go'

This pluperfect substitute double perfect is widespread in Bavarian varieties in Central Europe (see Eller 2006, Rowley 2013). Thus, the question arises why there is no such form in Transcarpathia. A possible explanation might be that the spreading of double perfect started in the more progressive dialects along the Danube and did not reach the fringe parts of the Bavarian speaking world like, for example, the Southwestern part of Bohemia, where the Bohemian variety of Transcarpathia had its origin. Future II, which is another form in interior Central Bavarian, does not exist either. So, when compared to other Bavarian varieties in the homeland the tense system of the variety in question is rather reduced as the following list indicates (present and future I forms are included, too):

(34) a   *d'rous hand schdei blim*

          Die Rösser sind stehen geblieben-PERF

          'The horses stopped'

     b   *der mou hod sei hai nosse aigfiad*

          Der Mann hat sein Heu nass eingefahren-PERF

          'The man brought in his hay wet'

     c   *des hod an ganzn dog gschnim*

          es hat den ganzen Tag geschneit-PERF

          'It snowed the hole day'

     d   *er sogt nua des mia*

          er sagt-PRES nur das mir

          'He only says this to me'

          d'eipfl ghousd greani eissn

          die Äpfel kannst-PRES du grün essen

          'The apples you can eat green'

     e   *i wia mi fiachtn*

          ich werde mich fürchten-FUT I

          'I will be afraid'

Moreover, there is no periphrastic form of aspect which is formed with the auxiliary *werden* and the present participle and expresses an inchoative meaning. Forms like *es wird regnend* 'it will start raining soon' used in interior Central Bavarian dialects in order to indicate an incident which is about to happen, could not be recorded in Transcarpathia. Instead, future I or present tense forms are used to express an action which is about to happen (inchoative), as the following examples show:

(35) a   *es wiad boid reinga*

          Es wird bald regnen-FUT I

          'It will rain soon'

     b   *aofanga duads zon schnaim*

          anfangen tut es zu schneien-PRES

          'It starts to snow'

With respect to mood, only subjunctive II exists. The formation of the subjunctive II forms follows certain patterns: Weak and strong verbs are transformed into subjunctive II by adding the morpheme *-ad* (36 a, b). Strong verb forms use – if possible – *umlaut* in the stem plus the suffix *-ad* (36 e–f). Another general possibility to express subjunctive II is the periphrastic form which uses the auxiliary *daad* 'täte' (36 c, d):

(36) a   *wenn a nua boid afhearad*

          wenn er nur bald aufhörte-SUBJ II (weak verb form with *-ad* morpheme)

          'If he would stop soon'

     b   *zuigad*

          (er) zöge-SUBJ II (strong verb with *-ad* morpheme)

          'he would drag'

     c   *er daads zuing*

          er täte-SUBJ II es ziehen (periphrastic form)

          'he would drag it'

     d   *er daad essn a broud*

          er täte-SUBJ II essen ein Brot (periphrastic form)

          'He would eat bread'

     e   *afstantad*

          (er) aufstünde-SUBJ II (strong verb with *umlaut* and *-ad* morpheme)

          '(he) would stand up'

     f   *gangad*

          (er) ginge-SUBJ II (strong verb with *umlaut* and *-ad* morpheme)

          '(he) would go'

     g   *gabad*

          (er) gäbe-SUBJ II (strong verb with *umlaut* and *-ad* morpheme)

          '(he) would give'

     h   *kamad*

          (er) käme-SUBJ II (strong verb with *umlaut* and *-ad* morpheme)

'(he) would come'

4.6 Syntax

Typical of the German variety in question and of other Bavarian dialects in general are certain syntactic features, as, for instance, the so-called verb bracket in main clauses. Verb brackets are formed on the basis of discontinuous elements of the verbal predicate. In declarative sentences the left element of the bracket is formed with a finite verb form, the element on the right side with non-finite parts of the predicate. The part in between is labelled middle field and can be filled up with several phrasal constituents. As this variety is a V2-language, the field before the left bracket is filled with one constituent. In the following examples the elements of the verb brackets are highlighted:

(37) a *der mou **hod** sei hai nosse **aigfiad***

der Mann hat-FIN sein Heu nass eingefahren-INFIN

'the man brought in his hay wet'

b *i **hou** an wouŋ **nodaud***

ich habe-FIN den Wagen angeschoben-INFIN

'I pushed the car'

c *i **wia** an nougl **aischloung***

ich werde-FIN einen Nagel einschlagen-INFIN

'I will knock in a nail'

d *des **hod** mi mai muada **gleand***

das hat-FIN mich meine Mutter gelernt-INFIN

'This my mother has taught me'

Only a few sentences exhibit a reduction or loss of the verb bracket. One rare example is the following:

(38) *er **hod obroucha** d'heind*

er hat-FIN abgebrochen-INFIN die Hand

'He broke his hand'

An explanation for rare examples with abandoned verb brackets could be that verbal conceptual language shows more freedom. Thus, reduced verbal brackets are also an indicator that this minority language has not been under the influence of written Standard German for a

longer time. The fact that there are no verb brackets in the main contact languages, may support or even increase the variability in the German variety in question.

Another specific feature of German and its varieties is the moving of the finite verb into the last position of introduced subordinate clauses. This phenomenon is widespread in Bavarian varieties and also in the Bohemian dialect in Transcarpathia. In the following examples the finite verbs are highlighted:

(39) a   *des is des haisl wous i kaft **hou***

das ist das Häuslein, was ich gekauft habe-FIN

'That's the small house I have bought'

b   *dos wai wos dou gwein **is***

das Weib, was da gewesen ist-FIN

'The woman who was here'

On the other hand, there are some rare sentences in the corpus where the finite verb does not occur in final position:

(40) a   *wann is nua **kannt** findn*

wenn ich es nur **könnte-FIN** finden-INFIN

'If I could only find it'

b   *wia a **is** jung gwein*

wie er **ist-FIN** jung gewesen-INFIN

'When he was young'

This alternation between final and non-final position is not untypical for present Bavarian varieties. For Central Bavarian dialects in Lower Bavaria Eroms/Röder/Spannbauer-Pollmann (2006) present examples with non-final position of finite verbs. For modal auxiliaries see for example Eroms/Röder/Spannbauer-Pollmann (2006: 258) and for auxiliaries see Eller (2006: 154), who lists a parallel sentence to our example above (40 b). There is a tendency – but not a fixed rule – in Central Bavarian dialects, both in the homeland and abroad, to place finite modal verbs and auxiliaries before infinite forms in introduced subordinate clauses (for further discussion see Eller 2006).

As a first conclusion, it is obvious that the morphological and syntactical features of this Bohemian variety are very close to the Central Bavarian donor dialects. But it is also clear

that the variety in question is reduced in its system as typical features like aspect and double perfect forms are apparently lost.

5. No structural transfer

There is no evidence for structural borrowing from the contact languages. The morphological and syntactic systems are not influenced by patterns of other languages. This stands in line with research conducted in other contact situations. In particular, morphology often resists influence from contact languages, a finding which is for example emphasized by Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 52):

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

In a relatively short contact situation as the one described in this article – Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 41) state a period of several hundred years as a requirement of widespread structural borrowing in most cases – influence from the contact languages is mostly limited to the lexicon and – with reference to the Bohemian variety – only affects content words.

6. Lexicon

The lexicon of this variety is characterized by a mixture of lexical borrowing in Transcarpathia, older borrowings in West Bohemia, and words of Bavarian origin. The first part of the following analysis focusses on lexemes which support the classification of the variety in question as being part of Bavarian dialects. The second part lists loan words which were integrated into the language during its history in Transcarpathia. Loan words which were borrowed in the homeland from Slavic varieties are neglected as these have already been described in literature.

6.1 Words of Bavarian origin

The following lexemes link the investigation area in the Transcarpathia to Bavarian homeland varieties. These words are mostly restricted to this Upper German group and are a significant feature to distinguish Bavarian from other regional dialects. All of these words are still in use

today in more conservative varieties. Remarkably, some frequent native words, e.g. *Dult* Fest 'fest' and *aper* schneefrei 'snow-free', do not exist in Transcarpathia. The following list presents the most important native Bavarian words:

(41) a *ouft*   after, dann, danach-ADV   'after that'

b *bai*   Biene-SG.SUBST   'bee'

c *enk*   enk, euch-2PL.PERS.PRON.DAT/ACC   'you'

d *earta*   Ertag, Dienstag-SG.SUBST   'Tuesday'

e *vead*   fern, voriges Jahr-ADV   'last year'

f *des*   es, ihr-2PL.PERS.PRON.NOM   'you'

g *kuchl*   Kuchel, Küche-SG.SUBST   'kitchen'

h *bvoad*   Pfeit, Hemd-SG.SUBST   'shirt'

i *bvindsa* Pfinztag, Donnerstag-SG.SUBST   'Thursday'

j *schear*   Scher, Maulwurf-SG.SUBST   'mole'

6.2 Lexical transfers

Lexical transfer is limited to contend words. In contrast to Bohemian settlements in an English-speaking environment which exhibit a widespread integration of discourse markers and other transfer effects like loan translation, loan coining and hybrid forms (see e.g. Wildfeuer 2017), the Bohemian variety of Transcarpathia only shows a relatively short list of borrowed content words. This stands in line with Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 77), who state that

> [w]ith a minimum of cultural pressure we expect only lexical borrowing, and then only in nonbasic vocabulary.

Thomason/Kaufman (1991: 74) further mention, that in casual contact content words are borrowed "[f]or cultural and functional (rather than typological) reasons, non-basic vocabulary will be borrowed before basic vocabulary."

When the interviewed speakers were brought up in the 1930s there was no pressure to adopt another language or culture and German was still a language of instruction at schools (see in detail Melika 2002a: 219–231).

Because of the multilingual sociolinguistic situation, several contact languages functioned as donor languages for content words as the following examples will show:

(42)	a	*daschka*	Tasche	'bag'	(< Slovakian *taška*)
	b	*garab*	Karpfen	'carp'	(< Ukrainian короп)
	c	*has*	Gas	'gas'	(< Ukrainian газ)
	d	*legvar*	Marmelade	'jam'	(< Hungarian *lekvár*)

7. Current linguistic and sociolinguistic situations

Taking into account that the transmission to the next generation has – to our knowledge – come to a standstill decades ago, the variety is on the verge of extinction. The following scale of endangered languages (Gorter 2008, based on Fishman 1991) shows the degree of vulnerability minority languages may face. We rate Transcarpathian Bohemian on stage 7 out of 8:

> Stage 7: Cultural interaction in the language primarily involves the older generation of the community. Saterfrisian in Germany can serve as an example, where grandparents go to the playground to talk with the young children to teach them the fundamentals of Saterfrisian, a language their parents did not learn at all. (Gorter 2008: 171)

This situation is very similar to the Bohemian-German variety in Transcarpathia. During our recordings in 2008, one of the interviewed speakers, a woman born in 1938 in Kobalewitz/Кобаловица, sometimes used the dialect in conversation with her granddaughter, who learned Standard German at school at that time and was thus able to understand some of the utterances. Comparing the situation described by Gorter (2008), "Saterfrisian" in the quote above can easily be replaced by "Bohemian-German".

The last speakers still have a great command of the variety and long conversations can easily be held in the dialect. This also indicates that the concept of *language erosion* – often used to describe the linguistic state of endangered minority languages – is not always helpful to categorize the real linguistic situation which can be found in languages approaching their extinction. This observation was also made by others on other endangered minority languages, as, for example, Dorian (1978) and Nützel (2009) regarding a Gaelic speaking community in Scotland and an East Franconian German variety in Indiana/USA, respectively. Our study adds another example of an extinction in full (linguistic) rig.

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