Urban Migration and Koinéization in the Development of the Berlin Urban Vernacular

By

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1. Introduction

Despite being an extensively studied urban variety, much of the early development and mechanisms of change in the Berlin urban dialect remain unexplained or inadequately explained. Lasch's seminal early 20th century work (1928) provides the groundwork for a series of subsequent investigations tracing the development of spoken and written language in Berlin, and although her important work exposed many crucial aspects of early Berlinisch and its relationship to neighboring dialects of German, it also perpetuated traditional thinking with respect to the sociolinguistic situation in which the dialect developed. In analyzing primarily the effects of formal written and emerging supra-regional spoken language, and attributing most language developments in Berlin to the privileged classes of society, Lasch and others do not address the effect of the most numerous – and according to recent sociolinguistic studies the most linguistically influential – members of society. In Berlin's case, these were the masses of skilled craftsmen and journeymen, laborers, along with oft-ignored members of society (including women) who tended not to leave concrete traces of their existence in the pre-modern periods. Subsequent studies have crucially begun to incorporate social histories that start to address this shortcoming in the approach just mentioned;[1] however, Lasch's framework continues to provide the basic model for many of the modern investigations:

> Denn sieht man einmal von Agathe Laschs Arbeiten ab, so bleiben zu
> diesem Thema tatsächlich nur noch wenige wissenschaftliche Aufsätze in

[1] Especially during a sort of renaissance of Berlin studies occurring toward the end of the era of a divided Berlin including Schmidt/Schildt (1987), Dittmar/Schlobinski (1988), Langner (1988) and others.

> Zeitschriften sowie kurze Zusammenfassungen oder Anmerkungen in übergreifenden dialektologischen Arbeiten übrig, die sich alle mehr oder weniger auf die Untersuchungen Agathe Laschs stützen (Butz 1988: 1).

This is not to say, however, that Lasch's ideas went unchallenged: Just one year after the publication of her book, Teuchert (1929) published a review of Lasch and brought up many issues that anticipate the direction of more modern sociolinguistic investigations of this urban variety. Not least among these are the nature of the early settlement of the regions surrounding Berlin, and the underestimated role of the rural dialects in affecting the later formation of the urban vernacular.

This study will utilize similar linguistic data to that used by Lasch and others, but will also draw on new demographic and immigration data to show that the most important phases in the formation of Berlinisch were much more likely to have been initiated and carried out by the geographically and demographically diverse set of immigrants that at times made up over 70% of the total population. The arrival of the vast majority of these immigrants coincided with Berlin's growth into a formidable city beginning in the last decades of the 17th century and continuing into the mid-19th century with Berlin's transformation into a major industrial metropolis. As such, a thorough account of Berlin's social history follows, with particular attention paid to the upheaval in the century and a half following the Thirty Years War. Crucially, this account will consider aspects of Berlin's social and demographic history (such as marriage trends, origins of migrant population, and occupational/social relationships) that are directly relevant to language contact and change in urban environment. Though Kettmann pushes for such an approach in addressing Berlinisch during the Industrial Age

(Kettmann 1981: 38), there are no studies that employ this strategy for the duration of Berlin's expansion beginning in the late 17th century. Additionally, this study analyzes and summarizes the extant written data which, though limited, provide evidence of the character and development of the informal spoken language during Berlin's periods of significant growth.

Finally, this study will seek to place the development of the Berlin vernacular within a growing body of recent research (see Kerswill & Williams 2000/05, Trudgill 2004, Goss & Howell 2006, Hendriks 1998) treating dialect contact and new-dialect formation in various societal and demographic situations. In the former two studies, so-called 'new town' or colonial situations are investigated, where a very small or non-existent native population is overwhelmed by newcomers. By contrast, the latter two treat dialect contact in the context of Early Modern European urbanization, during which native populations plagued by high mortality rates were rapidly outnumbered by the sustained influx of immigrants. These studies have begun to establish a kind of typology of language and dialect contact situations by identifying commonalities between a variety of sociolinguistic circumstances, and then tracing their subsequent outcomes. Berlin's unique demographic development has many commonalities with the new town and colonial situations, but most closely resembles the Early Modern Dutch urban koinés investigated in Goss & Howell (2006) and Hendriks (1998). In any case, it is clear that the social structures and eventual linguistic outcome suggest that Modern Berlinisch formed as a result of similar processes.

The above-mentioned studies are based on a framework positing that varieties characterized by extensive dialect and language contact undergo a process called koinéization (this process has also been referred to as "new-dialect" formation, such as in Trudgill 2004). During this process, speakers in contact negotiate a new and simplified variety based on an interaction of features present in the speakers of contributing dialects. The resulting variety can also often contain features not seen in any of the contact varieties. Subsequent generations of children who are exposed to a wide range of dialect input then establish this negotiated speech as a native language, and the urban dialect is born.[2] Developments such as the leveling of morphological categories, frequent phonological mergers, and the selection of features present in the most prevalent contributing dialects are also typical hallmarks of a koiné. The details of this process follow in chapter 5.

Berlinisch indeed displays all of these characteristics, and an examination of the demographic situation supports the thesis that speakers using a wide variety of dialects and languages lived in Berlin. These dialects ranged from a host of Low German varieties, to Central and Upper German varieties that also stretched into the eastern German-speaking territories annexed by the Prussian Empire – along with French, Yiddish, and some Slavic dialects. The resulting dialect in Berlin, as is expected in a koinéization situation, corresponds with the features represented in these contact varieties.

---

[2] Siegel (2001) also concisely defines a koiné in the following way: "A koiné is a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent leveling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects. This occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties."

Chapter 2 will begin with a discussion of previous literature treating language use in Berlin, beginning with the early 20th century works, but also including a new series of works published largely by the Scientific Academy of the German Democratic Republic in the 1980s and 1990s. Then, a brief discussion of the theoretical framework and basic assumptions in this study will be given. Chapter 3 traces in detail the social and demographic history of Berlin beginning with its emergence as a *Residenzstadt* (residence of the Prussian monarchy) and trading center on the eastern periphery of German-speaking Europe, and ending with its rapid growth into an industrial metropolis in the mid-19th century. Particular attention will be given to the larger context of linguistically relevant social factors such as migration patterns and marriage behavior. Chapter 4 contains a summary and analysis of the extant written sources relevant to the Berlin vernacular, with a focus on the conclusions that can be drawn from the features exemplified in the various available text types. Chapter 5 begins with a detailed discussion of current theories on new-dialect formation and koinéization and its relevance to the situation in Berlin. There is a subsequent description of the developments and status of a set of interesting features within Modern Berlinisch and how they relate to the previously discussed theories. Finally, Chapter 6 provides discussion and conclusions on the development of Berlinisch along with implications and potential directions of future studies.

2. Definitions and Previous Literature

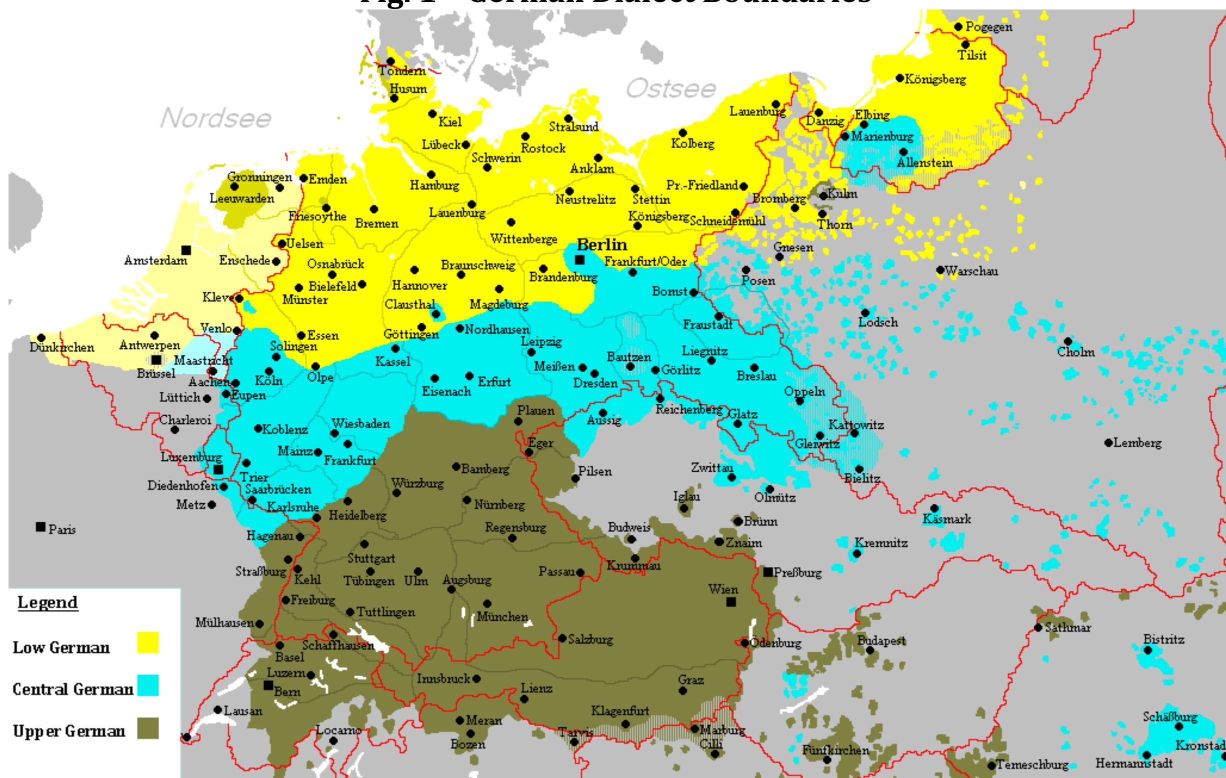
2.1. Terminology and Definitions

Before embarking on the journey through the history of the Berlin vernacular and the city's social and demographic history, it is necessary to clarify some conceptual distinctions that are key to a clear understanding of the subsequent discussion. Beginning with Lasch and continuing through to the more recent discussions of Berlinisch, the term *Hochdeutsch* (“High German”) has been used in previous literature in general opposition to the term *Niederdeutsch* (“Low German”). For the sake of clarity, this paper eschews the use of the term High German because of its more recent links with the modern written and spoken standard German languages (and the subjective value judgments that go along with them), the latter of which is essentially a 20th century phenomenon. The emerging written standard that arose largely from the increased prevalence of printed materials during the course of the 16th century will therefore be referred to henceforth as the “written variety” or “written German” (Elspass 2005: 29).

Among spoken dialects, Low German (LG) will refer to the diverse set of spoken dialects defined by their lack of participation in the second sound shift (see map below). Due to its particular relevance to the population of Berlin and its partial distinction from canonical LG dialects, *Mittelmärkisch* (MM) and *Brandenburgisch* will also be used to refer

to the dialects spoken in the area approximately defined by the modern borders of the province Brandenburg.[3]

Fig. 1 – German Dialect Boundaries



Upper German (UG) will refer to the dialects stemming from the more southern German-speaking regions such as Bavaria, Franconia, etc. Finally, Central German (CG) will refer to the set of dialects that developed in the areas lying between the LG and UG dialect areas, which is characterized among other things by its partial and sometimes

[3] This also corresponds approximately with the historical borders of the *Mark Brandenburg*. It should be noted here that dialect diversity even within this sub-region was substantial. For example, the areas to the south and east of Berlin - including Lower Lusatia and the Spreewald - were politically aligned with the Saxon state. As a result, settlement and dialect accordingly reflect more central German influence.

inconsistent reflection of the second sound shift; in the case of this study, this will largely concern the eastern sub-section of this dialect, which is also connected with the previously-discussed Upper Saxon *Halbmundart* (cf. Schirmunski 1962: 602). These families themselves contain a host of sub-varieties and registers, a fact which should be kept in mind when thinking about contact between them.

It is also worth addressing the term "Berlinisch" itself. In attempts to express the inevitable dynamism of Berlin's language use over time and among the population itself during particular periods, the plethora of literature on the topic has referred to this variety using a host of terms including but not limited to: *Umgangsprache, Stadtsprache, Mundart, Dialekt, Mischsprache,* and others. The goal of this study is to ultimately address both the synchronic variation as well as the temporal trajectory of spoken language in Berlin during the Early Modern and Industrial Periods, with a focus on identifying the process and key period during which a distinct urban vernacular arose. Following the work of Dahl (1974), Rosenberg (1986) and others, this study recognizes that at any given point in Berlin's history there were substantial differences as to the character or particular set of features in use by different social groups, and more importantly in informal versus formal domains. When referring to "Berlinisch" or "the Berlin urban variety/dialect/vernacular", this variation is subsumed within that term.

Despite these types of variation, there is a set of features that is well-recognized and attested in the literature as being "Berlinisch". Fig. 2 below gives a brief summary of these salient features as depicted in Meyer (1882), Lasch (1972), and elsewhere. This is intended as a brief introduction – not a complete list – of features associated with the

Berlin vernacular. The attestation and development of these features will be discussed in detail in sections 5.4 and 5.5.

Fig. 2 – Some Salient Berlinisch Features	
Phonology	
Lenition of [g]	*Jebacken, jloobe, jroß, Jott, sich ärjern, Sejen* *(= NHG gebacken, glaube, groß, Gott, sich ärgern, Segen)*
Leveling of [t] and [d]	*Dag, Droom, doll, dot, rumdreiben, schliddern, hadde*[1] *(=NHG Tag, Traum, toll, tot, rumtreiben, schlittern, hatte)*
NHG [ç] : Ber [ʃ]	*nischt, Kescher* *(= NHG nicht, Köcher)*
Velarization of NHG <nd>	*Schlung* *(= NHG Schlund)*
Unrounding of front rounded vowels	*Diere, Beeme, iberziehen, jrien, mechten* *(= NHG Türe, Bäume, überziehen, grün, möchten)*
Initial NHG [pf] : Ber [f]	*Feife, Ferd, Flanze, Fote* *(= NHG Pfeife, Pferd, Pflanze, Pfote)*
WGmc *au, *ai : Ber [oː], [eː]	*Boom, loofen, koofen, ooch, alleene, Arbeet, eenmal* *(=NHG Baum, laufen, kaufen, auch, alleine, Arbeit, einmal)*
Morphology	
Mixed LG and UG personal pronoun paradigm	*ick, du, er (he), sie, et* *(=NHG ich, du, er, sie, es)*
Variable plural marking	*Damens, Kinderkens, Fenstern, Knieen, Steener, Dinger, Ärme* *(=NHG Damen, Kinderchen, Fenster, Knie, Steine, Dinge, Arme)*
Variable gender assignment	*Der Öl, der Jehalt, der Armband (= NHG das)* *die Knie, die Rabe (NHG = das, der)* *das Draht, das Lohn, das Monat (= NHG der)*
Elimination of verbal vowel alternations	*loofe / loofst / looft / loofen / loofen* *(=NHG laufe / läufst / läuft / lauft / laufen)*
Variable possessive constructions	*von dem Vater, Vatan sein*
Neuter –et adjective declension	*'n arm**et** Kind, 'n klee**net** Männecken* *(= NHG ein armes Kind, ein kleines Männchen)*
Einheitsplural	*ihr koofen, sie koofen* *(=NHG ihr kauft, sie kaufen)*
Diminutive –ken	*bißken, Männecken, stilleken* (but *Freilein, Meechen*) *(= NHG bisschen, Männchen, *stillchen, Fräulein, Mädchen)*

In- verbal prefix	*injenommen, inpacken, injeladen* (=NHG eingenommen, einpacken, eingeladen)*
Syntax	
Akkudativ – two-case marking system	*...mit mir, ...ohne mir* *(=NHG ...mit mir, ...ohne mich)*

(Meyer 1882)

Temporally, this investigation operates under the assumption that the Berlin dialect – inasmuch as it can be called an 'urban' dialect prior to the late 17th/18th centuries – was subject to a new (and intensified) set of demographic and historical circumstances, thus suggesting a renewed process of dialect contact and mixing.[4]

We therefore assume Berlinisch to represent forms of spoken German within Berlin and among its diverse social groups that diverged from its constituent contributing dialects and began to contain features that later came to be defined as the urban variety. Finally, we make a distinction between the variety/varieties that existed prior to the rapid expansion of literacy over the course of the 19th century, and Berlinisch as it exists in later literature (such as the works of Meyer 1882, who himself distinguishes between 'older' and 'newer' Berlinisch) by introducing the term Modern Berlinisch (henceforth ModBer).

2.2. Early 20th Century Berlinisch Studies

Viewed by Berlinisch scholars as the first significant work detailing the development and formation of the Berlin dialect, Lasch's *Berlinisch: Eine berlinische*

[4] This assumption is also implicitly present in Teuchert's reference to *neu-Berlinisch* with reference to the variety that is attested in the second half of the 18th century and early 19th century (Teuchert 1929: 296).

Sprachgeschichte (1928) has remained relevant even in modern discussions of the variety. Her argumentation is centered around the rise of written proto-standard German during the 16th century, along with the shift of influence on Berlin from the Hansa cities to the north to the increasingly powerful Saxon centers to the south, including Leipzig, Dresden, and Halle (Lasch 1928: 66 ff.). Lasch also frames her explanation around the shift of chancery languages in Berlin from Low German to Central German and Upper German in the first decades of the 16th century (Lasch 1927: 72).

In essence, Lasch's argument focuses on the most educated sectors of the population and their connection to the educational and trade centers in Saxony. Thus, Lasch posits that the students and rich merchants during the 16th century traveled to cities like Leipzig, Halle, and Dresden, acquired the spoken dialect(s) they encountered there, and brought them back to Berlin. Subsequently, the less educated masses sought to emulate this group and their new 'prestigious' variety. In the words of Lasch: "der Berliner übernimmt obersächsisches Hochdeutsch. Als Vermittler kommt natürlich zunächst die Gruppe in Betracht, die die Beziehungen nach jenen Gegenden hat, die patrizischen Kreise, die die Leipziger Märkte besuchen, die studierende Jugend (1927: 73)." In supporting this argument, Lasch's most convincing evidence comes from the vowel system of Berlinisch, which largely coincides with the vowel system reflected in the literature describing Upper Saxon German of the time (cf. Morhof (1682), Bödicker (1746) and others).[5] In the chart below, we see that the distribution of selected long

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[5] Interestingly, Lasch utilizes source material largely from the 18th and 19th centuries to project backward toward the 16th century.

vowels and diphthongs in Berlinisch follows the pattern of canonical Upper Saxon of the time:

Fig. 3 – Middle High German long /i/ and /ei/

MHG	mîn	wîn	sîn	stein	meinen
Upper Saxon	mein	wein	sein	stên	mênen
Berlinisch	mein	wein	sein	stên	mênen
LG	mîn	wîn	sîn	stên	mênen

Middle High German long /u/ and /ou/

MHG	hûs	mûs	boum	ouch
Upper Saxon	haus	maus	bôm	ôch
Berlinisch	haus	maus	bôm	ôch
LG	hûs	mûs	bôm	ôk

(adapted from Lasch 1928: 77)

These charts provide evidence that what we call Berlinisch is in fact just the Upper Saxon dialect in the mouth of a Berliner. However, in addition to only mentioning a small set of features and oversimplifying the relevant dialects in her charts,[6] Lasch's assessment of the Berlinisch grammar in the second half of her book shows that there are in fact very considerable aspects of the dialect and its grammar that are the clear result of LG influence. Significant elements of the pronoun system, the realization of /t/ and /d/, along with the consonant clusters /ld/ and /nd/ are just a few examples. Lasch does little to explain how or why these elements remained as stable features of Berlinisch into the 20th century beyond suggesting that the Low German-speaking 'low classes' essentially highjacked the Berlinisch of the educated elite around the turn of the 19th century, while

[6] The dialect(s) of Low German spoken in and around Berlin at the time were in fact already substantially influenced by precisely those CG dialects whose features figure prominently in Berlinisch (cf. Teuchert 1929; Gessinger 2010), and the Upper Saxon dialects encountered by Berliners were equally diverse in nature. These points and their implications will be discussed in detail below.

maintaining some elements of their native dialect. In essense, the assumption is that the uneducated masses had imperfectly acquired the CG ‘prestige’ variety. Finally, Lasch does not adequately explain how or why the vast majority, and largely illiterate population of Berlin would have acquired this variety from the privileged members of society.

As mentioned above, Lasch's thesis did not go unchallenged. Teuchert (1929) wrote a review of Lasch's work shortly after its publishing, and pointed to the previously mentioned claim; namely, that too much LG material remained in Berlinisch for it to have developed simply as the result of the wholesale adoption and subsequent transmission of Upper Saxon spoken German. He instead posits a long period of mixing between LG and CG dialects, whereby vowel and consonant systems were leveled out based on their markedness: "...das Berlinische der hd. Periode erwächst auf dem Boden der nd. Heimatsprache durch Einführung des obs. Vokalstandes, soweit nicht schon Übereinstimmung bestand, und durch Anpassung der Verschlußlaute mit der gleichen Einschränkung (Teuchert 1929: 300)." Thus, Teuchert rejects Lasch's thesis of a wholesale (if imperfect) adoption of the Upper Saxon dialect, and instead attributes the meticulously-catalogued LG elements of Berlinisch in Lasch's book to the longer term contact between the indigenous dialects of Berlin and environs, and the increasing presence of Upper Saxon varieties.

Crucially, he anticipates the direction of later research on Berlinisch and language contact in general by implying that sounds or dialect features present in both (or the majority) contributing varieties tended to be adopted in the resulting compromise

variety. Furthermore, he points to the importance of Early Modern settlement and migration patterns around Berlin and the *Mittelmark* – instead of focusing on conscious adoption of a "foreign" dialect – in defining the character of Berlinisch (Teuchert 1929: 305). Finally, although Teuchert falls short of incorporating the socio-historical events of the 18th and early 19th centuries into his discussion, he implicitly alludes to a discrete phase in Berlin's language history by distinguishing "*Neuberlinisch"* from that which existed prior to 1700. These ideas will be explained in detail later.

The essence of the Teuchert/Lasch debate served as a starting point for essentially all of the studies that followed, though it would be several decades before interest in dialect studies and language contact was rekindled. Schirmunski (1962) marks an important step forward in how we view German dialect contact in general, and the section specifically treating Berlin is a valuable contribution to the question of its origins and formation; he also joins the Teuchert camp in his discussion of Berlinisch and builds upon the basic ideas put forward in the 1929 review of Lasch.

Schirmunski expounds on Teuchert's discussion of settlement patterns and the movement of peoples in the formation and development of dialects in the regions relevant to this study. Pointing to the particularly diverse settlement of the eastern areas in Germany and the expansion into previously Slavic territory, he emphasizes that commonalities in dialectal features east of the Elbe River can be traced all the way back to these movements in the late Middle Ages and into the Early Modern Period. Along with migration, the opening of trade barriers in the larger area between the Elbe, Oder, Havel and Spree helped catalyze dialect leveling in the region at large already from an early

date. This increased interaction between LG and CG dialect speakers began a process of what Kerswill (2003) calls “geographic diffusion” of features. As Teuchert had claimed three decades prior, these demographic factors that predated any urban dialect formation in Berlin played a significant role, because subsequent generations of this rural surplus population would later be subsumed into Berlins growing urban landscape (Schirmunski 1962: 813).

The two key points in Schirmunski's account of early migration in the eastern German-speaking regions help to reinforce some of Teuchert's claims: 1) the isoglosses between canonically LG and UG-speaking regions were substantially blurred by these migration patterns quite early on (many of the speakers in much of Brandenburg actually had many features of East Central German from a very early date), and 2) that migration patterns in general directly result in dialect contact that in turn leads to a negotiation of the features that eventually come to define the dialect of a given area. Schirmunski emphasizes this point for the Upper Saxon supra-regional *Halbmundart* (Lasch's *Obersächsisch*) that will be crucial in the development of Berlinisch (Schirmunski 1962: 602). In these cases, Schirmunski is largely referring to rural-rural or rural-town migration patterns typical of the 12th-15th centuries; however, these principles are very similar if not even more pronounced during Europe's – and of course, Berlin's – era of urban migration in the subsequent centuries, and must therefore also be applied to this period. As Schirmunski states: "Im Gegensatz zu den konservativen Reliktlandschaften sind die Städte und das ihnen benachbarte Sprachgebiet gewöhnlich die Vorhut bei der Ausbreitung neuer sprachlicher Formen (Schirmunski 1962: 602)." This is of due to the

fact that cities experienced overwhelming demographic upheavals in relatively short periods of time, thus providing an accelerated example of the type of dialect contact described above.

Schirmunski's subsequent analysis of the main features in ModBer are based on the idea that in the face of heavy contact with CG dialects and the written variety (the latter of which was based largely on CG/UG dialect features), PRIMARY FEATURES of LG are lost while SECONDARY FEATURES are largely preserved. Under his definition, primary refers to features that are most "salient" or "conspicuous" (*auffällig*) with respect to CG or written German, while secondary features may include elements where a similarity or congruence exists between both or many of the dialects in question. Pivotal in Schirmunski's analysis is that there is a mechanical – indeed almost predictable – nature to the process:

> [Die Stadtsprache] entwickelt sich aus der Lokalmundart durch fortschreidende Beseitigung von deren auffälligsten, primären Merkmalen, die in erster Linie zu einem Hindernis für den sprachlichen Austausch werden könnten (Schirmunski 1962: 617).

In the following table, we see a summary of what Schirmunski describes as some of the primary features that are eliminated during the formation of Berlinisch (with the exception of "relics" such as *ick*, *wat, det*, etc.), along with secondary features that appear in ModBer, in some cases resulting in generalized, modified or simplified form.

Fig. 4 – Some Primary and Secondary Features of LG

Primary Features	Secondary Features
No 2nd sound shift (*water, tid, maken)*	Unshifted initial and medial /p/ (ModBer *fennig, flanzen* <u>but</u> *pote*)
Long monophthongs (*hûs, lüde, îs, gôd, dêp*)	initial /j/ for /g/
nd > *ng* (later *nn*)[1]	Generalized initial /d/ (*dochter, doll*, etc.)
	Vocalism of MHG *ei*, *ou*
	Unrounding in front rounded vowels[2]

[1]This feature persists well into the 19th century (see chap. 5.4.)
[2]Schirmunski disagrees here with Lasch in stating that unrounding was present in both Upper Saxon and '*Brandenburgisch*' (*Mittelmärkisch*).

If we focus for a moment on the secondary features in this list, we see that these are all features that are at least partially shared by LG (*Brandenburgisch*) and CG dialect groups. Thus, Schirmunski's secondary features can also be described as features shared by two or more contributing dialects. As described in chapter 5, this fits nicely into Kerswill's (2010) framework for outcomes of new-dialect formation and koinéization, where majority forms are favored over features only found in one contributing dialect.

In summary, Schirmunski's analysis is particularly important in that it proposes a *systematic* mechanism for explaining the appearance of the peculiar set of features in ModBer. Embedded within this analysis is the emphasis on everyday spoken language behavior as the primary factor in urban dialect formation. It follows that the prevalence of certain types of input, and potential similarities between the dialects are also crucial in determining which features survive.

This aside, Schirmunski's analysis does diverge from that proposed here in at least one major way: Schirmunski focuses on the idea of the gradual elimination of LG primary features – in other words, speakers follow a one-way path in the direction of CG/UG features. By contrast, koinés, as discussed in detail in chapter 5, reflect the elimination of primary features from *all* of the contributing dialects. Indeed, the fact that the outcome of

the Berlin vernacular resembles neither a clean representation of the local LG dialects *nor* Upper Saxon of the time supports this supposition.

2.3. A Resurgence of Berlinisch Literature in the 1980s

The 1980's saw a renewal of interest in the Berlin urban dialect, thanks largely to the work of scholars at the *Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft*, a division of the larger Scientific Academy of the German Democratic Republic in Berlin. These works brought important historical factors back to the forefront of the discussion, and sought to further refine previous ideas about the development of the dialect. As Johnson (1995) asserts, Teuchert's (and later Schirmunski's) basic assumption that Berlinisch represented a “mixed variety” tends to be favored in more recent literature:

> On the whole, the views of Lasch are not shared by linguists today such as Schlobinski, Rosenberg, and Schmidt, who tend to agree with such scholars as Teuchert (1928-30). Teuchert, an expert on Brandenburg dialects, emphasized the influence of the original Low German-speaking population in Berlin and argued in favour of a 'mixed language', whereby the Berlin dialect grew as a result of High German influence on a Low German foundation. (Johnson 1995: 25)

In large part, it seems that the complexity of features present in Modern Berlinisch (henceforth ModBer) simply could not be realistically explained by the wholesale adoption of a particular variety posited by Lasch. In these newer works, we also find a keener interest in linking Berlinisch with its social history, but there are two lingering issues that remain untreated or inadequately explained: first, the importance of re-population and mass migration in late 17th/18th century Berlin, and second, the socio-linguistic mechanisms at work in the formation of the urban dialect - in other words, not just the 'what', but the 'how' and 'why' in Berlinisch's development.

One of the most comprehensive works from this period is the volume edited by Schmidt and Schildt (1986). As far as I am aware it is the only major study of Berlinisch that contains a detailed investigation of the historical development of the city along with a detailed analysis of many of the important written sources pertaining to the vernacular in Berlin. The two sections most pertinent to this discussion are Schmidt's section on language in Berlin between the 13th and 19th centuries, and Schönfeld's discussion of the *berlinische Umgangssprache im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.*

Beginning with the former, Schmidt starts with two important points that also inform the goals of the present study; namely, that Berlinisch was and still is a variety in flux, and its speakers were subject to the significant and sometimes radical demographic and societal changes going on around them (Schmidt 1986: 100). In light of this, it is necessary to not only view the status of the modern form of Berlinisch from this perspective, but to incorporate this into the context of the earlier historical and demographic environments of its speakers. We must also investigate any evidence of how language was used over time, regardless of how scant or incomplete the surviving source material may be. This may limit how detailed we can be in making claims about the specific origins of certain features or lexical items adopted in the dialect, but can support the most plausible description of its development.

Schmidt also points specifically to the importance of considering social structures and demography in the investigation of Berlinisch:

> Die Stadtsprache steht in ständiger Wechselbeziehung zur Sprache der Umgebung. Das gilt nicht nur für den engeren Umkreis der brandenburgischen Mittelmark, der wohl am intensivsten über die

> Marktbeziehungen zur Versorgung Berlins wirksam wurde, sondern auch für Fernkontakte, die schon früh durch politische oder durch Handelsbeziehungen und durch eine immer wachsende Zahl von Zuwanderern aus weit entlegenen Gebieten auf die Sprache der Stadt einwirkten (Schmidt 1986: 101).

The importance of rural-urban population movements are crucial in the case of Berlin and other Early Modern European cities, and many of the subsequent societal and structural changes (such as occupational, marriage, and educational trends) were direct consequences of the upheaval that came along with dramatic population growth.

In his analysis of the development of language use in Berlin, Schmidt begins in the 13th century. He traces the history of written language in official documents, beginning with a description of the *Berliner Stadtbuch* and the particularity of LG in Berlin at that time. In support of the previous discussion of Teuchert and Schirmunski's assertion that LG in and around Berlin was far from being congruent with canonical LG at that time, Schmidt confirms the early presence of some CG features even before 1400. Schmidt concludes further that the "most stable" forms moving forward are those which also occurred in the dialects to the south and east of Berlin (Schmidt 1986: 119), a claim which will be a key to our later discussion.

We then come to the so-called "transition period" in Berlin (16th-17th centuries), during which time formal domains of language eventually come to closely resemble the Saxon chancery language. Here, Schmidt introduces the Lasch/Teuchert debate discussed above, and unlike Schirmunski, does not stake out a clear position. On the one hand he seems to favor Teuchert in the following statement, asserting that we must consider the effects of both *Mittelmärkisch* as well as Upper Saxon in assessing the status

of Berlinisch: "Wir müssen die Fernwirkung des Obersächsischen und die Nahwirkung des Mittelmärkischen der städtischen Umgebung nicht als Gegensätze, sondern als nebeneinander bestehende und auf Ausgleich drängende Komplexe sprachlicher Normen begreifen...(Schmidt 1986: 134)." On the other hand, the pages following seem to focus almost exclusively on the effects of the emerging written standard and the imposition of the "*Hochdeutsche Sprache*" from above, which implicitly suggests adoption of the variety rather than a process of mixing.

Specifically, Schmidt refers to the profound effects of the founding of the new Viadrina University in Frankfurt an der Oder, the dissemination of print language from east central Germany, the alignment of Brandenburg with the Reformation in following Joachim I's death in 1535,[7] and the edict issued to Berlin's *Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster* to establish the *Hochdeutsche Sprache* as the language of instruction (Schmidt 1986: 135).

There is no question that these institutions played key roles in changing the trajectory of language use in the formal domains and among the most educated individuals; indeed, the body of official documents and substantial formal correspondence supports this fact. Schmidt also correctly asserts that a "passive"[8] knowledge of this variety would have also begun to take root at this time. However, as is outlined in detail later in chapter 2, their effect on the everyday speech of most Berliners must not be overstated. For example, Schmidt confirms that the language of instruction

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[7] Along with the Reformation came a shift from a Latin to a German liturgical language for Protestant Berliners.

[8] As far as I can tell, "passive" in this context assumes that a speaker is able to understand, but not necessarily produce a given dialect.

at the Viadrina in Frankfurt an der Oder had been, and continued to be, Latin. We must therefore posit that instruction in the spoken German language was of secondary concern if it was addressed at all, and that the primary factor affecting language use among university students was most likely extended social contact with other geographically mobile students.

In making a general assessment of the language situation in Berlin prior to 1700, Schmidt makes a key assertion that appears to depart from Lasch and Teuchert's view stating that the main formative period of Berlinisch lay in the 16th century. Though there was a notably increased role of *Hochdeutsch* among certain elements of the population, most Berliners had at best a passive knowledge of the variety:

> Was in Berlin während der ersten Anpassung an das Hochdeutsche schon im 16. Jahrhundert erreicht wurde, [ist] die Entwicklung zur niederdeutsch/hochdeutschen Zweisprachigkeit je nach den Erfordernissen der sozialen bzw. beruflichen Stellung. Im 16. Jahrhundert war diese Tendenz zur Zweisprachigkeit im passiven Sprachgebrauch, also im Hören und Verstehen...im aktiven Sprachgebrauch wird das Niederdeutsche in der breiten Bevölkerung noch dominiert haben (Schmidt 1986: 143).

Schmidt crucially points to this situation as setting the groundwork for "language mixing processes" that followed in the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, "die so entstehende Mischsprache mit dominierenden Merkmalen des Hochdeutschen bildet sich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert weiter aus... (Schmidt 1986: 143)." The conclusions of this investigation will largely agree with these conclusions by Schmidt, but will place particular emphasis on the significance of the re-population of Berlin by diverse groups of immigrants instead of attributing the formation of Berlin's *Mischsprache* primarily to the effects of

institutional factors.[9] Furthermore, Schmidt remains largely silent as to the underlying process of "mixing" that takes place during this period beyond alluding to the gradual elimination of LG features also present in Schirmunski's argumentation. In attempting to shed light on these questions we will be able to ascertain to some extent the relative effects of the emerging written variety versus the face-to-face communication of speakers in Berlin.

Finally, it is worth addressing the chapter in Schmidt/Schildt (1986) written by Schönfeld, which focuses on Berlinisch during the 19th century (Schönfeld 1986; 1989). At the outset, Schönfeld acknowledges that the processes that eventually result in ModBer were already underway in the 18th century, and like Schmidt, emphasizes the importance of patterns of social interaction for explaining language behavior within the city. This interpretation centers largely around an examination of class structures in early 19th century Berlin. Schönfeld refers to the emergence of the proletariat and bourgeoisie classes in the 1830's as crucial to the later development of Berlinisch, which resulted in stronger social differentiation and changes in occupational structures.

Specifically, Schönfeld points to the new "linguistic challenges" associated with changing working conditions, and perhaps most importantly, immigration: "Die Entwicklung Berlins zu einem Ballungszentrum der Industrie war aber auch mit einer massenhaften Zuwanderung von Menschen verbunden, was in der sprunghaften

[9] Though Schmidt addresses the role of the large number of new arrivals that to a large extent come from CG/UG-speaking regions containing a wide variety of dialects, their effect on the vernacular seems to take a subordinate role (Schmidt 1986: 153). The lack of emphasis given to the effects of the Thirty Years War and Friedrich I's immigration policies may be due to the multi-author structure of the volume, where the chapter treating Berlin's social history is written by a different author (see Mauter 1986).

Zunahme der Einwohnerzahl deutlich wird..." Schönfeld's class-based analysis brings up an important issue as to how to best address social groups in the urban setting. This study avoids class descriptions based on Marxist ideologies, instead analyzing group membership and composition inasmuch as they affect the social behavior or interactions among a given speech group. I therefore focus on composition of and interaction between occupational groups, along with marriage behavior independent of specific class membership.[10]

However, the substance of Schönfeld's point is entirely correct: as the guild-based production system began to decline and downward social mobility increased over the course of the 18th century, more and more skilled craftsmen and journeymen (and their offspring) worked in larger groups and intermarried with spouses of more diverse backgrounds, thus accelerating the process of dialect contact and mixing that had taken place in the previous centuries (Schönfeld 1986: 215).

Schönfeld's subsequent description of how these social factors affected the trajectory of Berlinisch as an urban variety are a valuable point of departure in beginning to describe a process whereby diverse dialects develop into a compromise variety:

> Die Zuziehenden brachten ihre Sprache mit. Das war häufig die Mundart mit einem nur das dörfliche Leben betreffenden Wortschatz, der den Anforderungen der Großstadt und des Industriebetriebes überhaupt nicht genügte. Das führte dazu, daß die zuziehenden Männer gewöhnlich die Sprache ihrer Berliner Arbeitskollegen übernahmen...Die tiefe soziale Differenzierung, z.B. in der Ausbildung, im Beruf, im Besitz und in der Lebensweise, war mit der Herausbildung stärkerer Unterschiede in der Beherrschung und Verwendung des Berlinischen und der Schriftsprache verbunden (Schönfeld 1986: 215).

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[10] In some cases where previous studies utilized a Marxist-type approach, it should be borne in mind that the implications of their occupation or marriage behavior, and not class membership itself, is of relevance.

There are two important processes of dialect contact that are implicit in Schönfelds description above: the first, called ACCOMMODATION in recent sociolinguistic work, occurring when adult speakers with differing dialect backgrounds are forced to communicate with each other, represents one key step in the formation of Berlinisch and new-dialects in general. And second, the REALLOCATION of a variety of features that arise due to social or geographic separation between groups of speakers. However, adult language behavior is only one piece of the puzzle. Indeed, the role of generational transmission of language is crucial in situations involving dialect contact. Moreover, processes like the one described here by Schönfeld were certainly present, but not limited to Berlin in the 19th century; the Industrial Revolution did result in a rapid geographic and population expansion in Berlin that accelerated social (and therefore dialect) contact among speakers, but the principles outlined in the quotation above were just as valid in the rapid growth following the Thirty Years War.

3. An Account of Berlin's Social and Demographic History (1500-1850)

3.1. The Early Modern and Pre-industrial City as Applied to Berlin

One of the most prominent developments of the Early Modern Period (usually defined by historians as the period between 1500-1800) was the rise of major urban centers across the continent. This transformation of European society was fueled by demographic and cultural changes that had dramatic effects on the interaction of language communities and behavior, and set the stage for the subsequent Industrial

Revolution beginning in the late 18th century. As DeVries (1984) states, these changes were pervasive, and in fact a necessary prerequisite for the onset of the Industrial Revolution:

> It is, therefore, a mistake to regard the rapid growth of industrial towns in the nineteenth century as creating the modern urbanized society of the advanced nations. On the contrary, the construction of an urban system was…a precondition for modern industrial growth. The rise of specifically industrial cities was dramatic and novel, but highly localized (on coal-fields and in textile districts) and episodic (the period of rapid growth was brief). (De Vries 1984: 150)

In general, a good understanding of the nature and patterns of city structure during this period – and leading into the Industrial Period (the 19th century and beyond) – are necessary to explain how and why urban varieties formed. Particularly important to this investigation is the fact that rapid urban growth experienced by Berlin and other European centers was supported largely by dramatic in-migration from directly adjacent regions, but increasingly from further afield. Crucially, the bulk of this in-migration came from population surpluses in rural areas.

Perhaps the most important demographic pattern of the early modern city is the concept of urban natural decrease. This means that over time, without the support of migration from surrounding regions, the early modern city stagnated or shrank. De Vries recognizes this fact as perhaps the most important aspect of the Early Modern city: "...the implied inability of cities to sustain themselves by natural generation constitutes what is easily the single most widely noted demographic feature of early modern cities" (De Vries 1984: 178). There are three primary factors that affect the phenomenon of urban natural decrease. First, hygienic and working conditions in the early modern city were such that

life spans in urban centers tended to lag significantly behind those of rural areas. Compounding this fact is the increasing density of population within city walls, which further encouraged outbreak of disease and epidemics. This fact will be particularly important for Berlin during the 17th century (De Vries 180).

Second, low marriage rates among many groups in the city resulted in a lower fertility rate in urban centers. For groups such as the *Gesellen* (journeymen) in Berlin, several years of travel and training abroad, and the subsequent long wait for a mastership meant that the means and stability for supporting a family often did not come until late in life, if at all. The most educated groups encountered a similar problem in that studies and the long process of gaining employment often lasted well into their adult years. In a time when average life expectancies hovered around 35 years even for the most privileged – and were as low as 12 years for manufacture workers – this meant there was simply no time to start a family (Schultz 1987: 143).

This low life expectancy compounds a natural decrease of population most significantly among wage laborers. As one would expect, unskilled workers, day laborers and soldiers tended to die earlier of such maladies as disease resulting from poor health conditions, lack of proper nutrition, or accidents occurring in dangerous work environments. As a result, these occupational groups experience the quickest turnover; in other words, the vast majority of new in-migrants tend to come from those sections of society with the highest mortality rates (indeed, they also represent the vast majority of the general population). Aside from the aforementioned difficulty of reproducing, this factor induces more and renewed in-migration to replace the population. This trend is

particularly pronounced during, and especially following wars, epidemics, and economic stresses (De Vries 1984: 184).

It must, however, be mentioned that Berlin – as a relative late-comer on the scene of the European urban landscape, and with its particular city structure consisting of a small urban nucleus and surrounding satellite villages – shows birth/death rates that are more stable than those of other European cities. The question then arises whether Berlin provides a counter-example to De Vries' thesis that Early Modern cities had to rely on migration for growth. However, Schultz's demographic study of Berlin in the 18th century clearly shows that the city alternated between periods of minor birth surpluses and deficits depending on the presence of conflict or the periodic epidemics that plagued all urban centers of the time. In the hundred years from 1700-1800, Berlin saw death surpluses during 67 of those years. During the Silesian Wars in the second half of the century (which alongside military casualties brought with it urban poverty and famine) deaths outstripped births by upwards of 35% (Shultz 1987: 328). Thus, although Berlin's population indeed sometimes replaced itself, the dramatic growth during the 18th century and continuing through the 19th century could also only be sustained by strong flows of immigrants from the Mark Brandenburg and beyond.

All of these factors underscore the fact that migration indeed was an absolutely necessary condition for urban growth in the Early Modern Period. In Berlin following the Thirty Years War, this growth was dramatic enough to overwhelm and virtually replace the indigenous population within several decades. This fact bears heavily on the linguistic development in the urban setting in that a rapidly growing city is characterized

by a diverse set of new inhabitants bringing their own unique dialects along with them, thus affecting the language character of the whole city in a relatively short period of time.

The question remains: why does urban migration take place at such a large scale during the Early Modern period, overcoming urban natural decrease to the extent that cities like Berlin could more than triple in size in fewer than five decades? De Vries explains this phenomenon by identifying incentives (or disincentives) for migration and the mobility of the population. Potential migrants could be influenced by negative factors such as famine, joblessness, or lack of land, which could induce migrants to uproot themselves and usually move toward an urban center. Incentives for migration can also be found in attractive aspects of the urban center. In the Early Modern period this was usually the opportunities for employment or finding a spouse (De Vries 1984: 215-219).

However, for all of these factors to actually play out, the mobility of the migrating population must be sufficient for the population surplus areas (primarily rural) to be able to reach the cities. De Vries states that many village dwellers had no choice but to move toward larger population centers; for males, the primary reason was the lack of employment, while the surplus female offspring sought spouses or service employment in the city. Moreover, statistics on migration to cities like Berlin, Amsterdam, London, and other major urban centers show that rural-urban migrants stem from regions much further afield than one might expect. However, the exact nature of this mobility is realized differently among different social groups.

As one would expect, perhaps the most mobile group during this period are the educated elite, who often traveled long distances for education purposes as well as for

employment purposes. This factor was particularly important for Berlin, as the city did not have a university until 1809. Thus, as Lasch clearly points out in her book about *Berlinisch*, most students were either educated at the universities in Saxony (such as Leipzig or Halle) or at the Viadrina in Frankfurt an der Oder (Lasch 1928: 89). Another group that was particularly mobile were *Gesellen*, whose *Wanderjahre* brought them to the most prominent centers of trade. Until Berlin established itself as one of these hubs of trade, craft and culture around the middle of the 18th century, Saxon cities were also the primary destination of the smiths, tailors, and other skilled laborers born in and around Berlin. In contrast to these distantly mobile groups, the undereducated and agrarian population tended to migrate shorter distances and in a step-wise fashion. For example, an agrarian worker from Saxony may first migrate to a smaller city in southern Brandenburg before finally landing in Berlin. With this in mind, the inherent instability of their existence meant that these latter groups were the most frequent movers; during boom years in the cities, migrants flooded toward trade centers to fill demand for more jobs, and during harder economic times, these groups were the first to seek sustenance elsewhere as they did not have the means to wait out crises (De Vries 1984: 201).

The resulting picture is that new Berliners were quite mobile, and that – as discussed later in detail – areas in CG-speaking areas were the most common destinations of short- or long-term migration; likewise, in the wake of the Thirty Years War and with jobs and houses to fill, Berlin attracted thousands upon thousands of new residents not only from the surrounding province of Brandenburg, but also Saxony, Thuringia, France, and later Silesia, Bohemia, and Poland. Whether a migrant arrived in the city because he

had no prospects in the rural setting, or because new business opportunities arose, the key point is that sufficient incentives and disincentives in migration during the Early Modern period resulted in an unprecedented migration of people from diverse backgrounds populating the new urban landscapes of Europe (De Vries 1984: 213). The exact character of these migration trends in Berlin will be discussed in the following sections.

Another aspect of the Early Modern and pre-industrial city is the general lack of education infrastructure and illiteracy among the vast majority of the population. Well into the 18th century, and in many cases longer, extensive reading and writing were skills reserved for only a select few. Those members of the less-privileged groups lucky enough to receive one or two years of instruction more often than not had only a limited ability to read, and were instructed by unqualified teachers without a particular method. As a report on so-called *Winkelschulen* (small non-public schools operated by ordinary members of the community) in Berlin in the late 18th century reports: "[Diese Winkelschulen] werden von verdorbenen Predigern und Candidaten, von Soldaten, Handwerksleuten und Weibern gehalten, sind theils deutsch, theils französisch, ohne Methode, ohne Zucht, ohne Aufsicht, ein unleugbares Verderben für unsere Stadtkinder und die ganze Stadt (Geiger 1893: 569)." Thus, although the Prussian bureaucracy proposed educational reforms to improve and expand literacy in Berlin and beyond, the process of its implementation did not really begin until at least the turn of the 19th century. The specific development of this trend in Berlin and its implications for spoken language use are also addressed in detail below.

3.2. Berlin Before and During the Thirty Years War (1500-1648)

In comparison to other major European urban centers, Berlin was relatively slow to develop into a focal point of culture and population in central Europe. Though first mentions of Berlin and its sister city Cölln (both of which would later be united under the former name at the end of the 17th century) go back as far as the mid-13th Century, they for centuries remained insignificant trading posts in what is often referred to as a 'backwater' deeply embedded in continental Europe. Berlin and Brandenburg retain unmistakable influences from early Slavic settlers reflected both in place names, which exist to the present day along with language minorities persisting well into the Early Modern Period and beyond. It is therefore tempting to assign a significant role to these groups in the formation of the Berlin variety. However, later dramatic population changes in relatively short periods of time meant that this connection to Eastern European regions was primarily significant in the sense that these groups were contributing sources of migration toward the city in the subsequent centuries. In this sense, the early Slavic populations around Berlin cannot be seen as having a fundamental influence on urban dialect formation. Indeed, a brief glance at the population development of Berlin leading into the Early Modern Period shows that whatever indigenous language tendencies were present during this early period were subsequently overwhelmed by later influxes of immigrants.

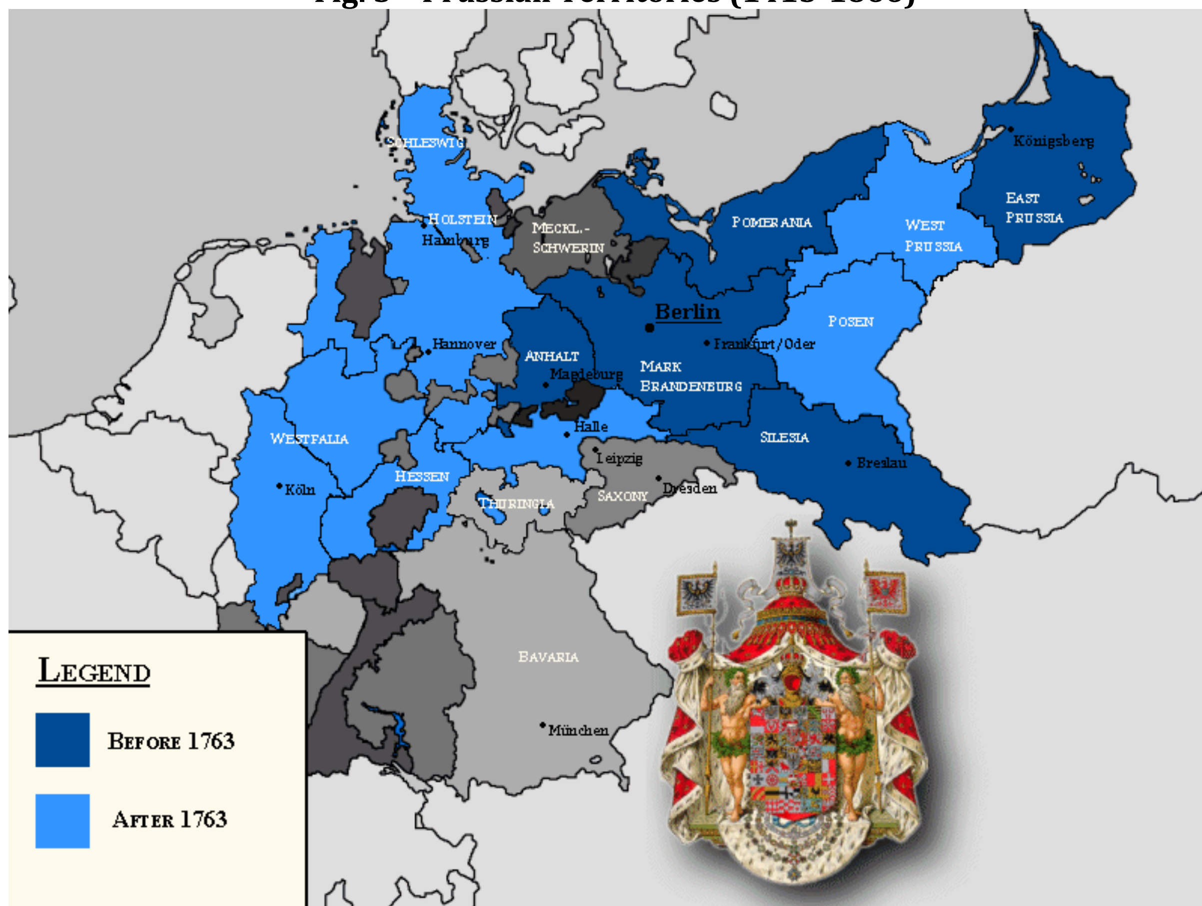
Thus, although Berlin's history can be traced back to the late Middle Ages, an examination of the city dialect must focus on the time between the 16th and 19th centuries

– a period when it became the residence of the Hohenzollern dynasty and Prussian bureaucracy, and began to develop into an important city and destination for migrants from increasingly large distances. In essence, the questions to be answered include the following: How do demographic changes and upheavals contribute to dialect change in the city? Also, what is the process at work during the formation of the dialect, and which social conditions were present or necessary for this process to take place? With these questions in mind, we will begin a detailed investigation with the period leading into the Thirty Years War (approximately 1500-1650), and later turn to the dramatic growth period following the end of the war. This section will trace Berlin's path toward becoming an important Prussian city of residence and center of power was not a steady one; rather, the city's growth and prosperity in the 16th and early 17th centuries were interrupted by the devastating effects of the Thirty Years War. In tracing the social and demographic development during this tumultuous period, we find that dialect contact was already underway in Berlin and its environs during this first growth period prior to the Thirty Years War. However, the effects of the conflict and disease in the city resulted in a population collapse that was dramatic enough to also interrupt the development of the dialect of its speakers and play a fundamental role in the later formation of the urban variety.

The period between 1500 and the beginning of the Thirty Years War in 1618 saw Berlin gradually grow into a small city and begin to lay the groundwork for urban social and occupational structures. There are two major developments that drove this first transformation of the city; first, Berlin was established in 1451 as the new *Rezidenzstadt*

of the Prussian monarchy, bringing significant numbers of officials and members of its bureaucracy to Berlin. These "outsiders" from the perspective of the autochthonous population, consisting mostly of the Hohenzollern's retinue and bureaucracy, were largely from Upper German-speaking Franconia and were for many decades spurned by local Berliners and Cöllners; it also appears that this dislike resulted in a relative lack of intimate contact and intermarriage among the groups well into the 16th century (Schmidt 1986:130).

Fig. 5 – Prussian Territories (1415-1866)



(Deutsches Historisches Museum)

The arrival of the Hohenzollerns also led to in a major shift of influence on Berlin in general; after ending its alignment to the Hanseatic League, Berlin's trade and cultural connections to the emerging Saxon centers of power (such as Dresden and Leipzig) were strengthened. This shift in influence will be a key factor in Berlin's social development all the way into the Industrial Period. With the rising importance of Saxony came a shift in the chancery language used by the Prussian bureaucracy – and later for guilds and businesses – from East Low German to Saxon. Lasch's extensive history of the written language of Berlin shows that this transition came relatively quickly, as scribes and officials of the Prussians were typically sourced from Saxony and Franconia (Lasch 1910: 33).[11] One example of this shift in importance is Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg's appointment of the Leipzig-born Lampert Diestelmeier as his chancellor in 1550. While initiating significant changes to Berlin and Brandenburg's infrastructure, Diestelmeier also brought in other officials and scholars from his home region to occupy important positions in Berlin's growing bureaucracy (Demps et al. 1987: 167).[12] This shift within the written language domain at the official and learned levels of society – which if it resembled the better-documented occupational proportions of 18th century Berlin demographics consisted of less than 7% of the total population (Schultz 1986: 23) – had a limited effect on the vast majority of the population.

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[12] This of course occurs in parallel to the development that Lasch brings to the forefront in her argument about the formation of the Berlin dialect. Namely, that aspiring students sought their education in Saxony or in Frankfurt an der Oder given the absence of a University in Berlin until the first decades of the 19th century.

The above developments were accompanied by another major change that has been asserted by scholars as having had perhaps the most fundamental effect on spoken language in Berlin; namely, the spread of the Reformation to Berlin during the 16th century. Given the movement's epicenter in East Central Germany around Luther's Wittenberg and environs, the liturgical language and eventual Bible translations heavily reflected features of those dialects. Scholars have claimed that as churches began to preach and disseminate religious texts in this variety, speakers were more apt to adopt this language in their everyday speech (Schmidt 1986: 132). As Lasch herself points out, however, the acceptance of these new theological principles was far from rapid, referring to the 1530s and 40s as a period of religious "tepidity" in Berlin. In fact, the Elector and his government actively suppressed the movement initially. Only over the course of the ensuing decades stretching to the close of the 16th century, as the religious practices of the majority gradually shifted toward Protestantism, would the texts accompanying this movement also be widely read by the still quite limited literate population.[13] Eventually, Luther's Bible translation and largely Central German-influenced orthography did further strengthen the shift toward non-Low German language use in the written and formal domains in Berlin, but the effect on the informal spoken domain was minimal (Lasch 1910: 148).[14] Schmidt is by all accounts accurate in limiting the effect of the Reformation

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[13] According to Clark (2004), the conversion of Brandenburg was in fact not complete until near the end of the 16th century during the reign of the Elector Johann Georg (1571-98) (Clark 2004: 7).

[14] This development was also experienced in other smaller and middle-sized cities with formerly Low German writing traditions, such as Frankfurt/Oder, Magdeburg, and others. As a general rule, the smaller the city or town, the longer it took for the Central German chancery language to penetrate the official written language of these locations.

on spoken language, suggesting that the Luther catechism really could have only nominally augmented receptive language repertoires among the general populace (Schmidt 1986: 143) .

Thus, although the influx of Saxon officials and the use of their chancery language and Central German religious texts certainly had a fundamental effect on the language history of Berlin and other northern German cities, it is important not to overestimate the effect these developments had on the informal spoken language of the general population, most of which were illiterate, and therefore had no access to these emerging official varieties. Indeed, written texts are the sole sources available to the historian and linguist (and texts from this period reflecting spoken language behavior of the general population are scant), and positing a major shift among speakers in the informal domain in the wake of a written language shift is tempting. However, with only a small percentage of the population having access to education, and an even smaller percentage able to actively use the written language, the effect of this transition in the religious and official domains on the spoken language of Berliners must be kept in perspective. In short, while an apparently pervasive shift in written language in a given location could be carried out by replacing a handful of officials, scribes and clerics, a major shift in spoken vernacular rarely occurs without massive demographic change or migration. As a result, the language character of Berlin in the 16th century was characterized by a contrast between a written variety that had been introduced at the most formal domains of

society, and spoken varieties dominant among the masses in informal situations.[15]

Schmidt (1986) offers this perspective:

> Was in Berlin während der ersten Anpassung an das Hochdeutsche schon im 16. Jahrhundert erreicht wurde, ist eine wesentliche Differenzierung der Sprachsituation, die weitgehende Durchsetzung hochdeutscher Schreibnormen und die Entwicklung zur niederdeutsch/hochdeutschen Zweisprachigkeit je nach den Erfordernissen der sozialen bzw. beruflichen Stellung (Schmidt 1986: 143).

In the short term, therefore, this adoption of Central and Upper German written varieties would have only (potentially) had an effect on the spoken language of Low German speakers employed in the bureaucratic or perhaps religious realms. In the long term, the shift would result in some teaching of Central German norms in the more advanced *Gymnasien*, thus affecting a limited slice of the young population, but even then only having a modest effect on the vernacular. Concisely put, the much more numerous uneducated population went on speaking their dialects, dependent on their place of origin.[16]

Another view that has been suggested is an increased LG/CG bidialectalism during this period (Gessinger 2003: 2682). Determining exactly how pervasive this bidialectalism was – and if it became a feature of the majority of the population at this

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[15] This spoken language landscape in Berlin could still at this time be described as overwhelmingly Low German (i.e. *Mittelmärkisch*), but demographic data will show that longer distance migration among the middle and lower classes from areas south and east of Berlin were also relevant in the 16th Century. Clark also points to "waves of German immigrants who came from Franconia, the Saxon states, Silesia and the Rhineland to settle on unoccupied farms...." This rural-rural migration pattern arose due to growing prosperity in the sparsely populated Brandenburg countryside, thus affecting the character of the dialect even outside the confines of the city (Clark 2006: 4).

[16] Previous studies describe the remainder of the population as being "Low German" speakers, giving the false impression that all less or non-educated Berliners derived from Low German-speaking regions. As shall be discussed below, while a majority of these individuals did indeed come from nearby villages in Brandenburg, there were large numbers coming from areas further afield, and Brandenburg itself was not a monolithic linguistic landscape (cf. Teuchert 1929).

time – can only be hypothesized, as the only informal written documents we possess (to my knowledge) are theatrical texts. We can surely make some conclusions about language behavior and features based on these sources, but our statements must remain measured. One of the most interesting texts preserved from this period is the third *Weihnachtsspiel* performed in 1589 at the electors court. In it, the four shepherds in the so-called *Hirtengespräch* display differing sets of dialect features deriving from a combination of Central/Upper and Low German dialects. Although all four of these characters apparently belong to the same socioeconomic group, they display widely differing dialect features. As Schmidt points out, the second and third shepherds have more Central/Upper German features, while the first and fourth reflect largely Low German features (Schmidt 1986: 40). As discussed in detail in chapter 3.1., we have no unequivocal evidence of a conscious "striving" toward a particular variety, as Schmidt claims. In regard to bidialectalism, then, it is certainly possible that these characters commanded a range of styles that included more or fewer LG/CG features, but a true bi-dialectalism cannot be surmised from these types of sources. It is therefore safer to conclude from this text that there is significant variation of linguistic repertoires even among the more agrarian-oriented elements of the population residing in the immediate surroundings of the city. This is an expected outcome given the discussion above about the early demography of Berlin and its rural surroundings.

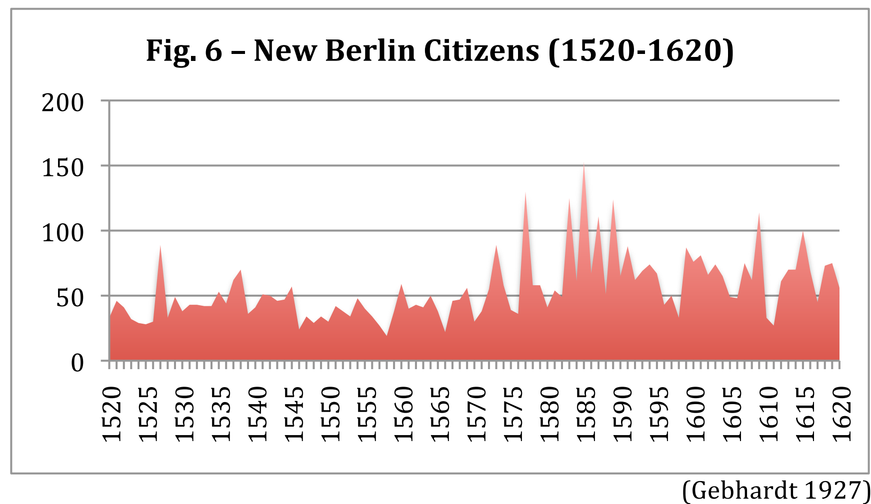
With the previously discussed societal and written language developments in mind, we now turn to demographic evidence from the period preceding the Thirty Years War. In examining the origins of Berlin's incoming population during this period, we are

able to gain a better picture of which dialects may have played a role in contributing to dialect variation in the city. As outlined in section 2.1., low life expectancies and unhealthy conditions in the Early Modern city meant that mortality rates often exceeded birth rates. Thus, as Berlin experienced the aforementioned societal transformations and a modest increase in population, immigrants moved to Berlin both from the surrounding rural regions, and in increasing numbers from the Central German-speaking areas south and east of Berlin. Thus, although the establishment of the Prussian court and the formation of a large garrison provided a boost in population, migration of rural dwellers, craftsmen, and generally those seeking a better life in the city was the primary engine for population growth.

One of the most important sources for determining the origins of the population of Berlin are the *Bürgerbücher* – or citizenship rolls – of Berlin and Cölln. These sources trace the newly granted applications for citizenship between 1453 and 1700. Listed in this source are the name, place of birth, and occupation of each individual.[17] Though this source provides the most detailed cross section of the Early Modern Berlin population available, it still must be borne in mind that the so-called uncountable members of society are absent from this list. This included the poor or homeless, transients, most Jews, and a large number of day laborers without the means to pay the dues required to obtain *Bürgerschaft*. If we observe the raw numbers of new citizens approved each year from

[17] Though the earlier years generally only record name and occupation, the listings of name, occupation, and birthplace become more consistent as of approximately 1570.

1520-1620, we confirm that Berlin's relatively new status as the seat of Prussian court did result in modestly higher numbers of arrivals seeking citizenship in the city.



(Gebhardt 1927)

This relative increase in citizenship applications in Berlin was accompanied by a cultural upswing in the city, during which artists, craftsmen, and academics increasingly came to Berlin; more Berliners also began to seek higher education in cities like Frankfurt an der Oder, Leipzig, and Rostock. This transformation in Berlin was in part spurred on by the establishment of a ballooning bureaucracy whose positions had to be filled, but also by the need for luxury products at the court and beyond. Twenty-six new guilds were formed by the beginning of the 17th century, the craftsmen and artisans in part coming from the local population, but also brought in from Saxony, Hamburg, and other cities further afield (Mauter 1986: 51).

The establishment of the garrison army in Berlin is yet another effect of Prussian rule on the demography of Berlin. Their numbers grew steadily up to the beginning of the Thirty Years War, especially during the years that the Prussian leadership tried to

prevent Berlin from suffering the same fate as cities like Magdeburg (the latter of which was occupied and burned to the ground in 1631 by General Tilly's army). Not only the large number of soldiers, but also their diverse origins are important for an accurate history of Berlinisch.[18] Early modern armies were by no means comprised solely of local elements. In fact, mercenaries were the norm, and the persistent shortage of able-bodied men meant that regents and commanders were forced to take soldiers wherever they could get them. Many came from the rural surplus population of Brandenburg, but a large number were also pulled from the outer reaches of the growing Prussian kingdom and beyond. Furthermore, the concept of a modern barracks or permanent army base was essentially absent from the Early Modern city. Instead, soldiers slept, ate, and lived within the city walls in the houses and with the families of the city.[19] These soldiers thus further diversified the linguistic picture of Berlin.

Despite all of the developments discussed above, the period leading into the Thirty Years War is not one of drastic population increase. The increased citizenship applications depicted above are coupled with brutal population losses, which included increasingly persistent waves of the plague. In one year, Berlin suffered a one-year death toll from the disease exceeding 4,000 people. Mauter emphasizes the fact that this period

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[18] The specific composition of the garrison population will be doubly important for the 18th century; as the influence and power of the Prussian Empire increases, so does its garrison. By the mid-18th century the garrison has nearly 5 times as many members as the entire city's population during the late 1500's, and the majority of these soldiers and their wives and children become permanent residents of Berlin.

[19] Although the Prussians would later be major European innovators housing their military in organized barracks, at this point in time and well into the 18th century, the Prussian army still consisted largely of hired soldiers that were put up in citizens' homes within the city.

does not reflect a significant growth of the city of Berlin, but rather a transformation of the character of the city:

> Die kurze kulturelle Blüte und die frühkapitalistischen Keime in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts führten in Berlin und Cölln nicht zu einem allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung - man muß eher von Stagnation sprechen (Mauter 1986: 51).

According to Mauter's figures, Berlin grew from 8,500 inhabitants in 1400 to just 12,000 before Berlin would finally succumb to the effects of the war.[20]

As reflected in the new applications for *Bürgerschaft* in the Cölln and Berlin *Bürgerbücher*, the majority of new migrants between 1570 and 1618 not surprisingly came from areas within the province of Brandenburg. We can also ascertain from the data that Saxony, Anhalt, Thuringia, and Lower Lusatia contributed more than a quarter of the new citizenship applicants between 1570 and 1600 (see figure below). As discussed in chapter 5, the dialects of this region are characterized by a rich interplay of canonically Low and Upper German features, as they lie near or on many of the major isoglosses and historically have been settled, conquered, and resettled by many diverse groups. These new arrivals in the city would have brought their respective provincial dialects with them. In this period, therefore, the most prevalent dialect family would have been East Low German, primarily belonging to the category of *Märkisch* dialects. The largely Low German character of the uneducated classes is also present in Lasch's picture of Berlin during the 16th century; however, Lasch (and later Berlinisch scholars) tend to oversimplify in referring to this most numerically significant group of Berliners as a

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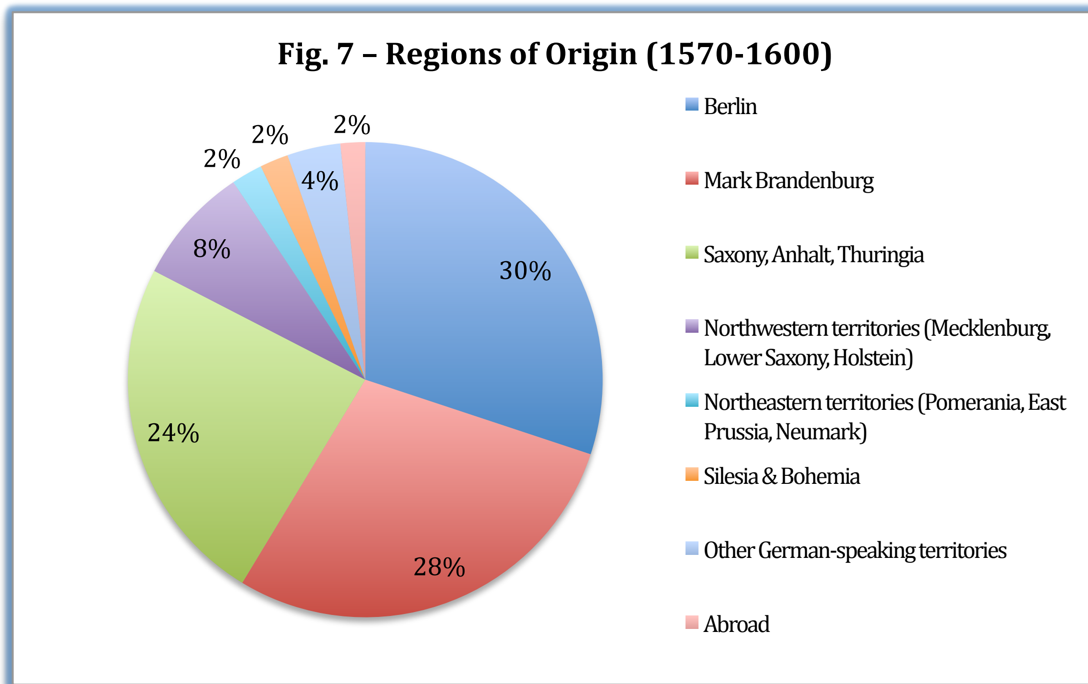
[20] Christopher Clark's estimate puts Berlin/Cölln's population at only 10,000 (Clark 2004: 4).

homogenous whole speaking Low German, when in fact this period represents the first identifiable and significant case of Low



(Data source: Gebhardt 1930)

and Central/Upper dialects in contact among the Berlin population. Indeed, perhaps the most striking feature of this data is that less than one-third of the new citizens are reported as having been born in Berlin. It should also therefore come to us as no surprise that the four *Hirte* discussed above, even being members of the same social standing, were depicted with significantly varying dialect features. Gessinger (2003) underlines the point that even variation within Brandenburg itself was significant enough to encompass much of the spectrum of features present between Low and Central/Upper German dialects. These differences lie mostly in the distinction between areas north and west of Berlin (*Mittelmark* and *Havelland*) reflecting features tending toward Low

German, and those lying south and east of Berlin (such as *Niederlausitz* and *Meissen*), which lie further toward the East Central German end of the spectrum:

> Beim Blick auf das Verhältnis von Schreib- und Sprechsprachen zeigen sich gravierende Unterschiede: Gegenüber dem südlichen und südöstlichen Brandenburg mit seiner nordobersächs. gefärbten Sprechsprache führt die Entwicklung im nd. sprechenden mittleren und nördlichen Brandenburg zur Diglossie zwischen gesprochenem Nd. und geschriebenem Hd. (Gessinger 2003: 2682).

It is therefore more accurate to view the influx of immigrants at this time not as a dichotomy between upper classes aspiring toward an increasingly 'prestigious' Central and Upper German dialects, but rather as a shift in the official and chancery languages that is also accompanied by immigration of both Low and Central/Upper German dialect speakers.

Though many of these new arrivals were highly mobile salesmen and merchants, a large proportion belonged to the growing number of artisans and day laborers. Thus, speakers of these different dialects of *Mittelmärkisch* along with dialects from Saxony, Thuringia, Anhalt and other areas of the German-speaking area came into intimate contact as new migrants married and interacted in the city. Although in nearly all cases mutually intelligible, interaction among speakers from different regions of Brandenburg, and these speakers with arrivals from further afield, would have resulted in significant changes in the evolution of the city dialect. The specifics of this process will be discussed in chapter 5.

Next to the establishment of Berlin as the Prussian *Rezidenzstadt*, the most dramatic event in Berlin's earlier history was the Thirty Years War. Brandenburg and present-day Saxony-Anhalt were the primary battlegrounds of what became a series of

semi-connected wars based on political power struggles and confessional conflict beginning in 1618 and ending with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The exposed Hohenzollern territories were geographically wedged between the Catholic and Protestant sides, and despite the Elector's attempts at neutrality and forming advantageous alliances with both sides in the interest of saving his realm, both camps still wreaked havoc on Brandenburg's plains. Armies marched and plundered the countryside, burned villages, and rampaged through cities, all the while carrying and spreading diseases they had picked up along the way. With generals viewing their armies as "property", outright battles were often eschewed in place of the occupation of towns and villages, which meant even more misery for the civilian population. By the end of the war, half of Brandenburg's population had perished; some towns were left completely deserted in the wake of the conflict (Clark 2004: 31 ff.).

Berlin and the Prussian monarchy, through bribes, payoffs to the crisscrossing armies, and pure luck, successfully avoided the famous fate of Magdeburg, whose utter destruction had left it with a population referred to by historians as "a few hundred".[21] However, as Faden (1926) asserts, Berlin still tasted the full effects of the war. The first decades brought a collapse in trade and harvests that plunged the city into poverty; along with that came multiple waves of the plague in 1626, 1631, 1637, and 1640. In 1631 alone, 2,066 Berliners perished (the reader is reminded that the pre-war population was

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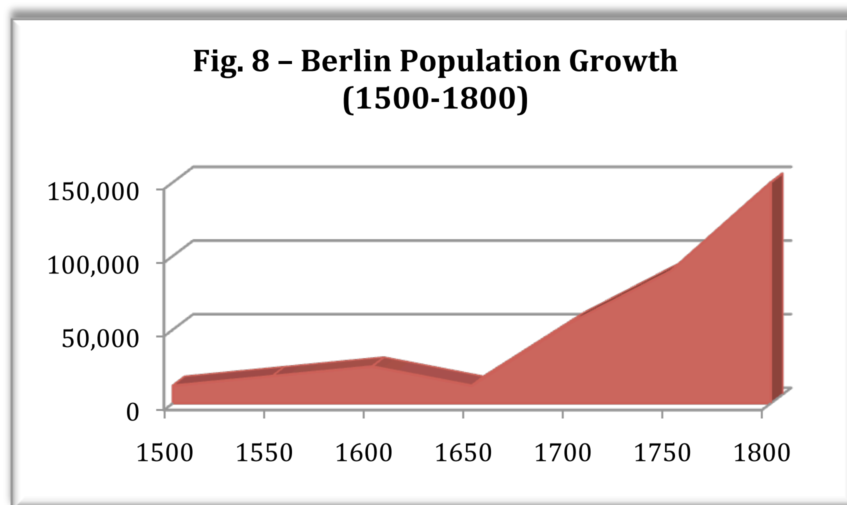
[21] Just how close Berlin came to outright invasion can be seen in the arrival of Gustav Adolphus' troops at the gates of the city, threatening to attack if the Elector did not switch his loyalties from the Habsburgs to the Protestant Alliance. After sending his female relatives out to meet the Swedish army for negotiation and subsequently meeting with the General himself, Georg Wilhelm flipped sides in the conflict, saving Berlin from a fate similar to Magdeburg's (Clark 2004: 24).

only between 10,000-12,000) and only 16 new citizens are recorded for that year. At this point, fewer than half of the houses in Berlin were occupied (Faden 1926: 217).

Conditions in the city deteriorated to the point that the Elector fled to eastern Prussia in 1638, leaving Berlin and its residents to fend for themselves. Many of the more privileged population followed the example of the Elector, often departing for places as far away as Hamburg. Some returned in the months and years following, but they came back to a Berlin that had been completely overturned, both physically and demographically; as historian Eberhard Faden puts it: "...das Bild des mittelalterlichen Berlin war verschwunden (Faden 1926: 232)." Estimations of the population of Berlin after the Peace of Westphalia range from 3,000 (Wenzel/John 1990: 41) to just over 6,000 (Schmoller 1922: 248). By any measure a devastating drop from its pre-Thirty Years War total. As discussed in detail in the following section, this devastation would be followed by a dramatic increase in immigration to Berlin, so that from 1648 to the end of the 18th century, Berlin grew to more than 20 times its size at the close of the war.



(Data source: De Vries 1984: 272)

In a discussion of the development of spoken language use in Berlin, one would certainly expect this massive population fluctuation to play a major role. However, research up to this point has focused mostly on the available written evidence largely independent of these major social developments. Population movements like the one occurring after the Thirty Years War reshaped the entire city, and most importantly, the proportions of different dialect speakers that were living there. As such, it must play an equally large role in an analysis of the urban variety.[22] We must also remember that previous studies could not make use of modern demographic research that tells us exactly how many, and from whence this massive new population came. The following sections will therefore identify the origins and importance of different dialect regions in the re-populating and subsequent explosion of Berlin into a major manufacturing center over the following 150 years.

3.3. 1650-1740 – Migration and Immigration Policy Drive Growth

3.3.1. Introduction

Berlin was left economically and physically pillaged in the wake of the war, with its outer districts burned to protect the urban core, and a large percentage of its houses either vacant or uninhabitable. It was out of this virtual vacuum that Berlin would

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[22] Although it contains a thorough discussion of the social history of the city, the chapters in *Berlinisch: Einführung in die Sprache einer Stadt* is presented by separate authors, thus also separating the social history from the history of the dialect. The result is that the 30 Years War and the population change associated with its effects are not mentioned at all in the discussion of the history of the city dialect (Schmidt/Shildt 1986).

expand dramatically to become one of the most important production centers in central Europe. There are two main reasons why this period is crucial in the eventual formation of the modern Berlin city dialect: first, the unprecedented population growth that begins in the 1680's – and continues throughout the pre-Industrial period and into the 19th century – is fuelled overwhelmingly by migration from both nearby and distant regions. The well-documented influx of Huguenot French population plays a significant role in this initial growth. As a result of this rapid growth, Berlin's population reflects robust dialect diversity at all levels of society, perhaps most importantly among the most numerous groups of craftsmen, journeymen, soldiers and laborers. Second, Berlin undergoes a gradual, but fundamental societal transition from a feudal economy centered around craftsmen, artisans and journeymen under the guild system, to a city centered around a ever more consolidated group of wage laborers with production based in large factories. Though many point to industrialization as a 19th century phenomenon, the social changes that culminated in this development were well under way in the late 18th century. As Helga Schultz (1987) states:

> Der zweite...Prozeß war die Wandlung Berlins aus einer regionalen Handels- und Gewerbestadt in ein riesiges Manufakturzentrum. Beiden Prozesse hatten ein Größenwachstum zur Folge...Allein dieses Größenwachstum mußte schon qualitative Veränderungen der Berliner Gesellschaft nach sich ziehen (Schultz 1987: 11).

As discussed in detail below, this social transition begins to alter the social networks of speakers in the city, resulting in the negotiation of spoken forms consistent with the process of koinéization.

3.3.2. POPULATION GROWTH

In the decades following the Peace of Westphalia, Berlin's population stagnated in the wake of a war that had a wide-reaching effect on the entire Mark Brandenburg. With new citizenship applications averaging only 24 per year between 1650-1680, migration was not sufficient to incite growth. The resident population only just managed to replace itself, with burials and births essentially cancelling each other out (Schultz 1987: 31). Indeed, Berlin was in danger of suffering the same fate of Magdeburg – of never fully recovering from the population decrease suffered in the 1630's and 1640's. There were probably two primary reasons for the delay in Berlin's recovery. First, the typical source for urban population growth – the surplus rural population – had been ravaged by the plundering armies of the war. Second, the incentives for migration toward the city were not yet significant enough to attract ample migrants from further afield. The business of the court and Prussian bureaucracy had to reestablish its presence, and trade within the city and regionally needed time to recover.

In the ensuing decades, as the rural populations began to replenish themselves, external factors also served to fuel a drastic increase in immigration to Berlin in the closing decades of the 17th century. The Edict of Potsdam was issued by Friedrich I in 1685 in response to the revocation of the Edict of Nante in France, which had hitherto granted freedom of religion among the protestant Huguenots. In the Edict of Potsdam, the Elector granted significant privileges to the Huguenots that ranged from freedom from taxation, to grants for housing construction, to exemption from the requirement of

craftsmen belonging to guilds (Wenzel/John 1990: 39). Thus, largely as a result of these policies, Berlin received by far the largest contingent of *Refugiés* beginning in the 1680's. By the turn of the 18th century, the approximately 5,000 *Refugiés* made up one fifth of the total population of the city (Wilke 1988: 57). The Huguenots, however, were not the only source of migration during this time of upheaval.

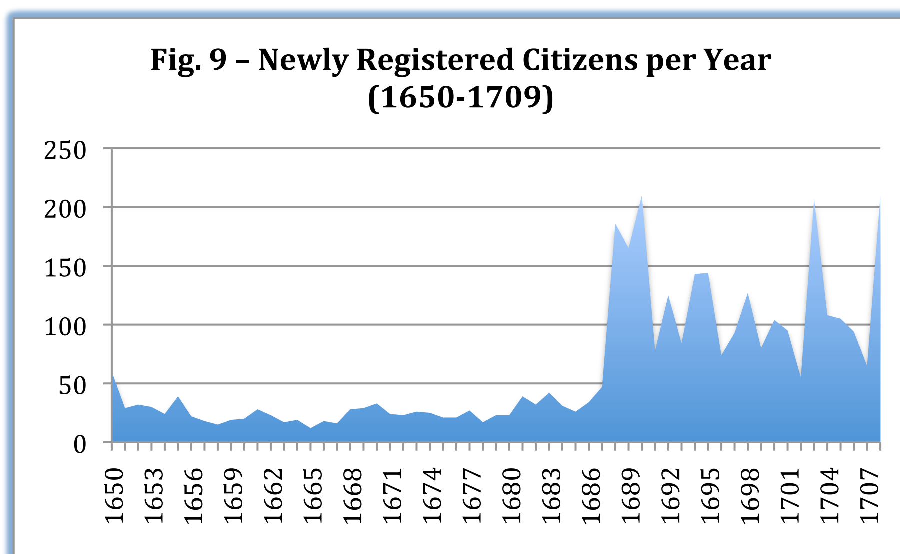


Fig. 9 – Newly Registered Citizens per Year (1650-1709)

(Data source: Gebhardt 1930)

A glance at the numbers of new citizenship applications between 1650-1700 (which almost categorically exclude the Huguenot population, who were granted the benefits of Prussian citizenship without actually applying for it) reveal a clear and rapid change beginning in the early 1680's – a change that far outshines the modest growth seen in the latter half of the 16th century, discussed in the previous section. Crucially, fewer than half of these new applicants came from within a ten mile radius of the city.

The growth induced by Friedrich's policies were later coupled with general settlement and immigration policies put into action by his son Friedrich Wilhelm and

grandson Friedrich II. In the early 1700's, large swathes of land largely in the floodplains of the Mark Brandenburg were drained, and the Prussian king lured settlers from near and far to work the new land. Other new Prussian acquisitions that included the city of Halle were also settled by large numbers of *Refugiés*. Alongside the 16th century settlement of the Brandenburg countryside discussed in chapter 2, this development served to diversify the population in the rural areas that would later feed Berlin's growth (Clark 2006: 92). Later in the mid-18th century, Friedrich II opened colonization agencies in major non-Prussian cities to attract skilled labor and fill manufacturing jobs. Wool spinners from Saxony, manufacture workers from new Prussian provinces, and silk producers were sourced from France and Switzerland (Clark 2006: 175).

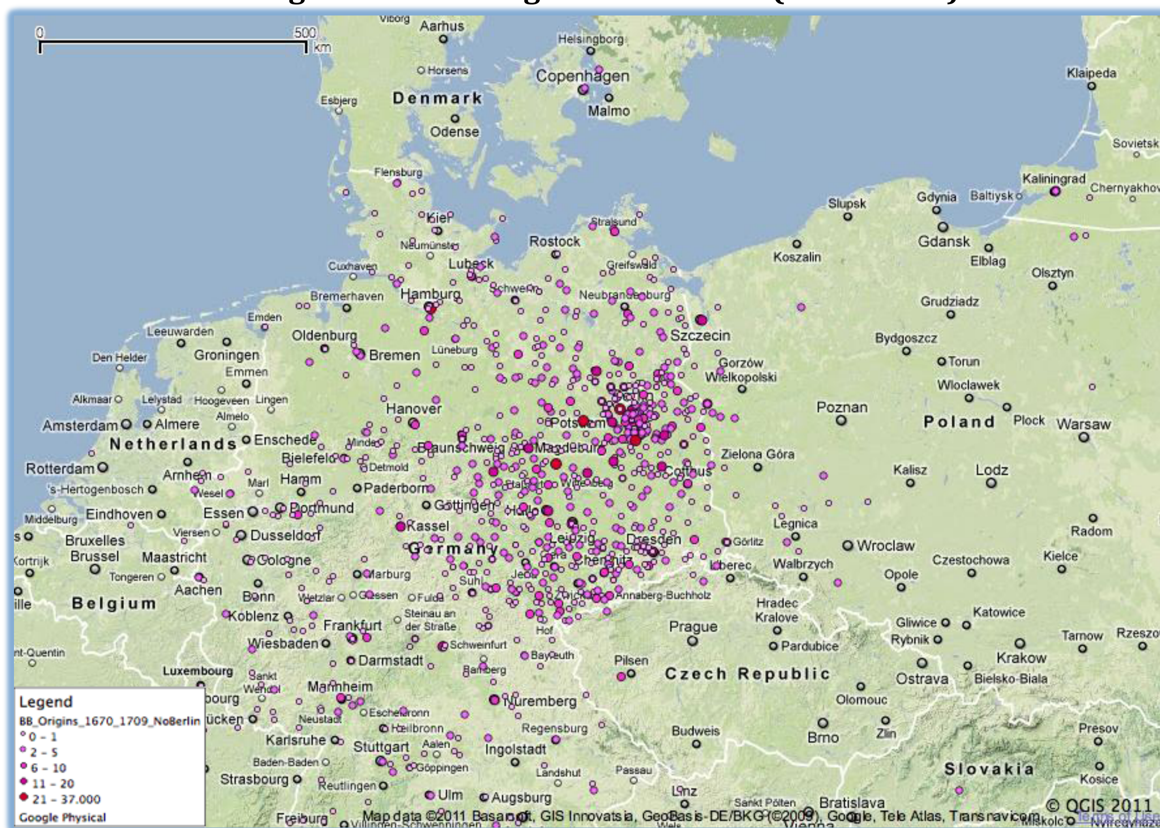
Indeed, the significance of immigration to the social and dialectal composition of Berlin's inhabitants cannot be understated. With over half of the population coming from somewhere other than Berlin and sustained immigration in the following decades, one must seriously question the claim that the "Berlinisch" of the 16th century was simply adopted by these new arrivals, and that the evolution of the dialect reflects a consistent and constant development running from the mid-16th century to the present. Historian Helga Schultz states quite clearly that the indigenous inhabitants of Berlin were rapidly outnumbered by the new arrivals:

> Die Höhe der Wanderungsraten zwischen 1680 und 1770 läßt die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Einheimischen und Zugewanderten sinnlos erscheinen, da nach diesen drei Generationen keine "Urberliner" mehr zu finden gewesen sein dürften. Nahezu ein jeder stammte schon in der ersten oder zweiten Generation von mehr oder weniger weither. Auch darauf beruhte die Integrationskraft der pulsierenden, aufblühenden Stadt. (Schultz 1987: 339)

These dramatic changes are strong evidence that the formation of the Berlin spoken vernacular that we later find clearly attested in theatrical and meta-linguistic texts actually derives from the processes of integration, social interaction, and dialect contact among migrant and autochthonous populations in the 18th, and continuing into the 19th century. An investigation of this process must therefore begin with a detailed account of the origins of the growing population of Berlin, along with their socioeconomic standing and subsequent integration (or lack thereof) into the fabric of the city.

The Berlin *Bürgerbuch* recorded citizenship data up until 1709, thus encompassing much of the dramatic growth shown in the figure above. As with the 16th century data, we are able to ascertain where most applicants are born (scribes were not perfect in their recording all applicants' origins). Although a hugely valuable source, the *Bürgerbuch* underrepresents large sections of the population in Berlin; in general, women, the nobility, and those who did not have the means (money and/or a house) to obtain citizenship are absent from these records. This aside, trends in migration toward Berlin can clearly be identified. The map below uses GIS mapping techniques to show the reported place of birth of each new citizenship applicant between 1670 and 1709. We can see that the Mark Brandenburg (generally, the area directly surrounding Berlin along with the areas north and west of the city) is the most prevalent birth place outside Berlin.

Fig. 10 – Berlin Migration Patterns (1670-1709)



(Data source: Gebhardt 1927)

It is unsurprising that this close-proximity migration is most significant.[23] If we look at long-distance migration, areas south and east of Berlin are most prominent (the Saxony, Anhalt, Thuringia, and Hessen regions). This continues a pattern that had begun in the late 16th century, with a large number of immigrants coming from dialect areas that lie in the East Central German dialect areas and on the border between Low and Central German dialect areas. This sustained migration illustrates that speakers possessing dialect features consistent with Upper Saxon and Central German were flowing into Berlin in ever larger numbers. Thinking back to Lasch's thesis on the formation of early

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[23] As discussed in chapter II.i., Early Modern migration took place most often in a step-wise fashion, which led to most migration taking place from nearby rural landscapes to nearby urban centers.

Berlinisch, these data illustrate that migration led to exactly the type of dialect contact in the city that would have resulted in Central German/Upper Saxon features interacting with the Low German features brought in by close-proximity migrants from the Mark Brandenburg.

Another key fact that can be extracted from these data are the number of rural-to-urban versus urban-urban migrants to Berlin. In previous studies of Early Modern cities, scholars have shown that larger cities tend to source their populations from further away, and are characterized by more urban-urban migration. Erik Thoen, for example, finds that between 1331 and 1478, the percentage of urban-urban migrants to Brugge grows from 39.5% to 51.9% (Thoen 1993: 337).[24] In addition, Thoen finds that the closer a migrant's place of origin, the higher the tendency for that migrant to be from a rural area. In the chart below, we observe a similar phenomenon for Berlin between 1670 and 1709, where just under half of the migrants from the more distant Saxony/Anhalt/Thuringia regions can be characterized as urban-urban, whereas only 28.5% of migrants from the *Mittelmark* come from another city.

Fig. 11 – Urban versus rural migration to Berlin (1670-1709)

Region	Rural/Urban	Urban/Urban	Percent Urban/Urban
Saxony/Anhalt/Thuringia	456	204	44.7%
Mmark	425	121	28.5%

(Data source: Gebhardt 1930)

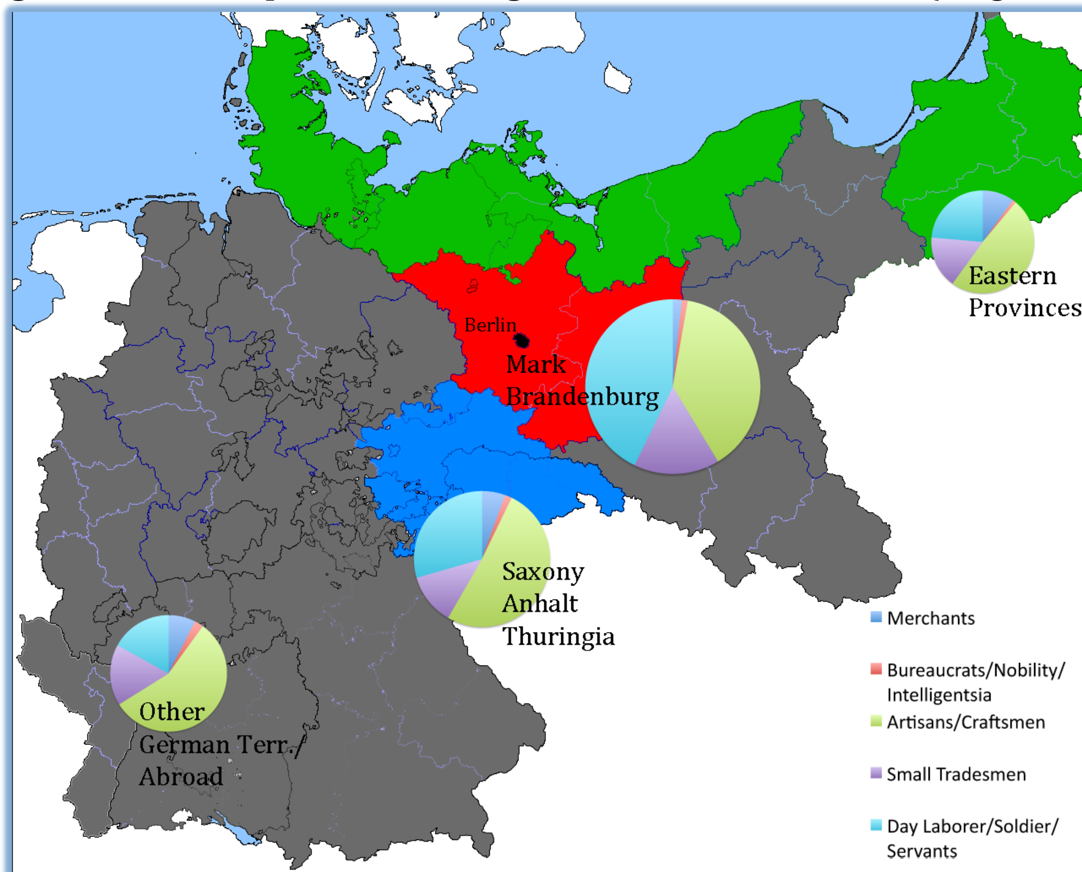
This pattern in urban growth is an potential indicator of how certain linguistic features essentially can leap from one city or town to the next without spreading to the area in

[24] This is of course due both to the stronger pulls of larger cities attracting populations from further afield, but also a result of the simple fact that more and more of the general population resided in cities over time.

between (cf. Trudgill 1986). In short, this phenomenon lends support to the idea that population movements and migration – rather than the adopted language behavior of Berlin's mobile elite – can account for the presence of Saxon dialect features in Berlinisch.

The next question with respect to immigration is the occupational and social standing of this new population, and how quickly they subsequently integrated into the existing population.

Fig. 12 – Social composition of immigration to Berlin 1680-1709 (*Bürgerbuch*)



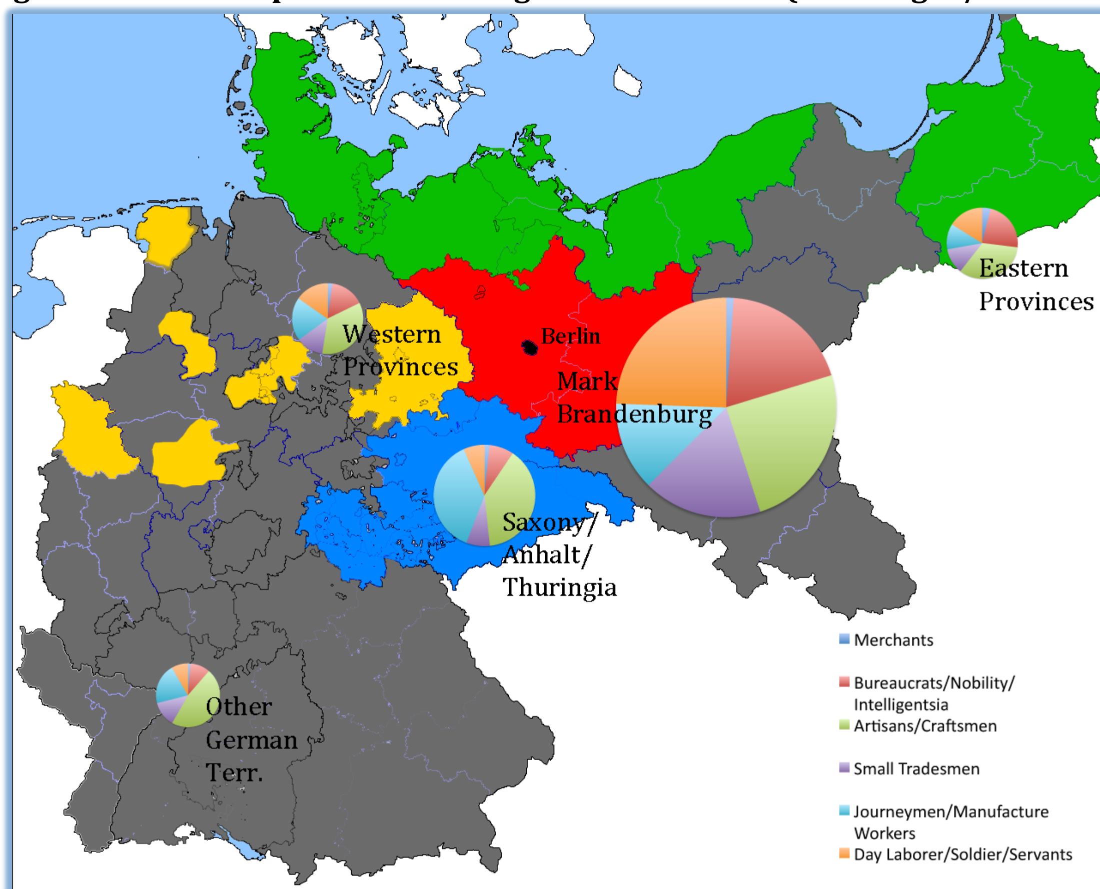
(modified from Schultz 1987: 74)

The results show that for close-proximity migration, the dominant occupational groups are wage laborers, soldiers and servants (43%), closely followed by craftsmen (39%),

while the merchants, bureaucrats and intelligentsia combined represent just a small fraction of the incoming population (2.8%). The same general pattern holds for Saxony, Anhalt and Thuringia, a close second in contributing to Berlin's growth during this period. Here, we see that artisans are the most numerous (51%) followed by the wage laborer/soldier/servant group (30%).

Turning to the more specific data from the centrally located St. Georgen and St. Nicolai church parishes, we find slightly different proportions in comparison with the *Bürgerbuch*, but a preservation of the general pattern described above.

Fig. 13 – Social Composition of Immigrants 1680-1709 (St. Georgen/St. Nicolai)



(modified from Schultz 1987: 75)

Using a slightly different division of occupational classes, Schultz finds a significant number of journeymen and manufacturing workers in these parishes, representing 37% of migrants from the Saxony region. We also see slightly higher proportions of the upper socioeconomic groups, probably as a result of the central location of these parishes within Berlin. These slight differences remind us that migration has different effects on different areas of the city. More affluent areas in cities tend to house more of the native-born population, while newly-established districts tend to house a larger number of recent arrivals. From a linguistic perspective, this means that dialect contact can and does play out differently in different areas of the city: more stable areas will tend to reflect more conservative linguistic features, while areas of heavy migration will be subject to more variation.

In general, the most important conclusions that can be drawn from these numbers are twofold: first, that virtually all of Berlin's occupational and socioeconomic classes were represented by a diverse amalgamation consisting of indigenous Berliners, Low German speakers coming from Brandenburg and other northern and eastern provinces, as well as East Central and Upper German speakers from Saxony, Thuringia, and Saxony-Anhalt and beyond. This diverse character of the city and the numerical significance of the migrant population is underscored in Schultz (1977):

> Die Residenz- und Hauptstadt bildete nicht nur ihre eigene Wirtschaftsregion aus, sie formte auch einen eigenen Menschenschlag. Die Menschenarmut und gewerbliche Unterentwicklung des Hinterlandes brachte es mit sich, daß Berlin sich noch mehr als jede andere europäische Hauptstadt durch Zuwanderung ausbildete. Vor allem in der Aufbau-Phase um 1700 stellte Berlin einen Schmelztiegel von Arbeitsuchenden und Abenteurern der verschiedensten europäischen Fürstentümer und Reiche dar (Schultz 1977: 10).

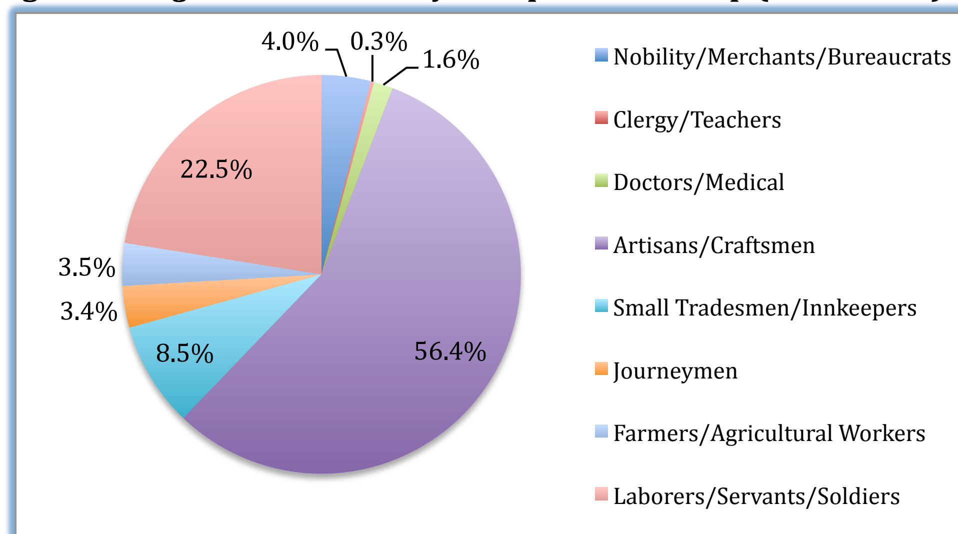
In other words, both the active immigration policies of the Prussian Emperor and the significant shortage of workers in Berlin resulted in significant enough incentive for longer distance migrants from all walks of life to seek work and sustenance in the growing city.

Second but no less important, Schultz's data further emphasize the role of Saxony and other Central German-speaking regions filling the plethora of skilled and unskilled jobs vacated in the wake of the war. Indeed, more than 50% of artisans and craftsmen (who also represented the most numerous occupational group in the city) during this period were not born in Berlin. It therefore comes as no surprise that Saxony, Anhalt, and Thuringia represent the most important population source for Berlin outside the Mark Brandenburg (Schultz 1993: 24). This prevalence of speakers coming from Central German regions to Berlin is a trend that continues until the second half of the 18th century as Berlin's transition into an industrial metropolis gains traction.

This trend further suggests that previous claims in *Berlinisch* literature that the lower classes in Berlin (i.e. day/wage laborers, soldiers, servants, etc.) simply "continued to speak Low German" well into the 18th century are an oversimplification that actually distort the language contact situation during this period (Lasch 1928: 87; Schmidt 1986: 143; etc.). These data in fact show that dialect contact between Low, Central, and Upper German varieties (as well as non-German varieties) was an active process playing out at all levels of society.

With this cross-sectional diversity of the Berlin population in mind, it is also important to consider their relative importance from a numerical perspective. The social/occupational composition of the city remains remarkably consistent throughout the course of the 18th century,[25] and this underscores the fact that the middle and lower socioeconomic groups represented the vast majority of the population in the city throughout this and the following periods. In the following figure depicting the occupational status of all individuals listed in the *Bürgerbuch* (including native-born Berliners), we see that the groups representing the top of the socioeconomic scale (including the nobility, merchants, bureaucrats, clergy, teachers, and doctors) comprise an exceedingly small proportion of the entries, while the artisans, craftsmen, and laborers comprise more than three quarters.

Fig. 14 – *Bürgerbuch* Entries by Occupational Group (1670-1709)



(Data source: Gephardt 1927)

[25] This consistency can be misleading in that records were taken from just one parish. Notably absent from this cross section is the military population, which was largely recorded in the garrison church records. As Berlin's importance as a garrison city of the Prussian Empire grew, the garrison ballooned to over a fifth of the population leading up to the Silesian Wars.

Indeed, Berlin began to define itself as a center of craftsmanship during the 18th century, and this is reflected in the large percentage of artisans and craftsmen in these data.[26] Furthermore, as will be explained in the following sections, Berlin's continuing growth led to a corresponding expansion of the labor classes in Berlin, in part drawing their numbers from downwardly mobile offspring of artisans and craftsmen.

This picture of the social composition of Berlin's population calls into question previous models of language contact in Berlin. Considering the mass migration of mostly craftsmen, wage laborers, and small tradesmen (with large numbers hailing from CG-speaking regions) in combination with the social/occupational cross-section depicted above, it appears even less likely that the 'prestige' of Upper Saxon spoken by students and the elite could have been the essential element in affecting the evolution of the Berlin dialect.

3.3.3. The Huguenots

Absent from the citizenship and church data are the Huguenots, who with 17% of Berlins' total population in 1700 represented a notable element of Berlin's linguistic landscape. Their absence from the records of the *Bürgerbuch* and church records is in itself an indication of the special status the community of *Refugiés* enjoyed during the first half of the 18th century (and to some extent into the 19th century). Friedrich I attracted

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[26] The actual number of artisans/craftsmen as a percentage of the total population was lower than that recorded in the citizenship rolls due to the exclusion of any residents who either stood to gain nothing from becoming a citizen, along with those who did not have the money or means to acquire this status.

the new arrivals by giving them privileges afforded only to citizens of the city (and in some cases benefits not even given to citizens): freedom from taxation, exemption from guild membership of craftsmen,[27] and perhaps most importantly, the freedom to practice in their own churches and establish their own bureaucracies. The settlement of the Huguenots, in contrast to that of their German counterparts, was centered largely around a few areas of the city, namely Friedrichsstadt and Cölln, which housed over half of the total colony of Huguenots (Wilke 1987: 360). The French *Kolonie* quickly founded its own French-speaking churches and established its own court system and social programs (such as orphanages and poor houses), thus setting them further apart from the greater population of Berlin.

The regions of origin of the *Refugiés,* similar to the other German-speaking immigrants, were diverse. Though a majority came from either the Languedoc or the North (such as Normandy or Metz), the *Refugiés* came from widely differing backgrounds within France (Wilke 1987: 364). The occupational status of the French immigrants generally reflects the same pattern as that of the German-speaking immigrants; nearly 70% of all of the Huguenots in Berlin were either craftsmen, manufacture workers, or journeymen, and although the most privileged were more prevalent among the Berlin Huguenots in comparison to the resident population, they still comprised less than 20% of the total population.

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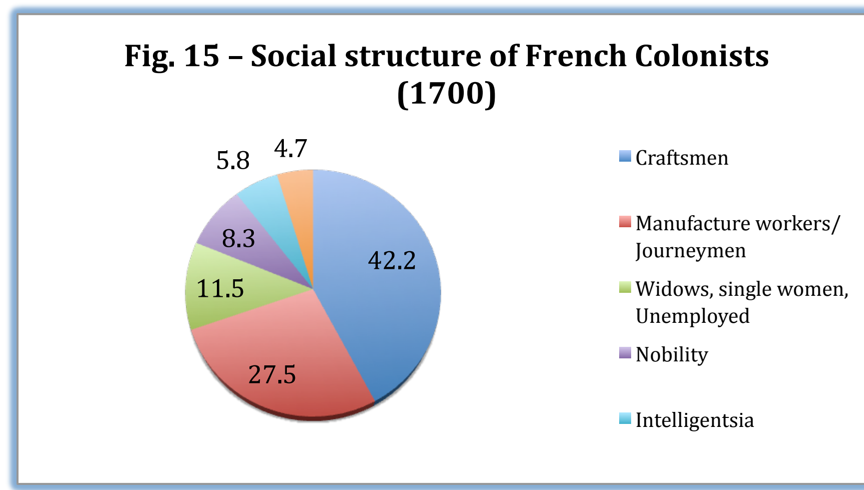
[27] In fact, many French guilds, such as glove-makers, bakers, and tanners, were founded separately to the German guilds, much to the dismay of the latter, who resented the competition (Wenzel/John 1990: 34).



(adapted from Wilke 1987: 365)

Perhaps as one would expect, the first generation of *Refugiés* maintained close ties to their home culture and language, still clinging to the belief that Louis XIV would reinstate the Edict of Nante, thus clearing the way for their eventual return to France (Wilke 1987: 393). This is supported by the fact that only 5.1% of marriages within the *Kolonie* between 1674-1709 involved a German and a Huguenot. Furthermore, a policy enacted by the Elector to combine the French guilds shortly after the turn of the 18th century was largely not fulfilled by most French and German guilds until well into the 1700s. In a conflict between German and French bakers, the German guild pushes for the combination of the two organizations, while the French guild, partially on linguistic grounds, wishes to maintain its identity:

> French guild*:* "Pour Ce qui reguarder la langue Allemande Nous Avons un tier de nos Boulanger francois qui ne saver point dalement" (Was die deutsche Sprache betrifft, so kann ein Drittel von unseren französischen Bäckern kein Deutsch)
>
> Berliner guild*:* "weilen die Frantzösischen bäcker bereits naturalisiert, daß sie die Teutsche Sprache ebenso gut, als die Teutsche bäcker wißen, zu Verhütung aller ferneren Dispute und beschwerden, so sollen sich die

> Teutsche und frantzösische bäcker gleich anderen hiesigen Handwerkern combinieren."
>
> (Landesarchiv Berlin: I. Rep 122I. 7b Nr. 16)

Interestingly, the respective claims about the ability of the French bakers to speak German are conflicting; indeed, the German guild perhaps had the motive of attempting to incorporate the French competitors into their guild, therefore perhaps exaggerating the Huguenots' German language abilities. In any case, we can conclude that there is still a significant enough economic, cultural, linguistic tension between the German and Huguenot population that the combination of the groups does not succeed at this time.

All of this aside, it is undeniable that even at this early stage, the Huguenots could not have entirely avoided social, business, and therefore linguistic interaction with the German-speaking population in Berlin. Especially the poorer sectors of the Huguenot population quickly had to adapt to their surroundings in finding employment and living opportunities wherever they could find them. As Wilke states: "[Man kann] davon ausgehen, dass mit Einwanderungsbeginn sowohl ein enger Wohnkontakt als auch – wenngleich wohl etwas später anzusetzen – ein Arbeitskontakt zwischen der deutschen Bevölkerung Berlins und den Refugies einsetzte (Wilke 1988: 58)." Especially as the second generation of Huguenots were born in Berlin, this process of contact and interaction intensified.

In summary, the Huguenot population leading into the first decades of the 18th century remained a largely separated entity from the rest of the population, maintaining their own institutions, marrying amongst themselves, and to a large extent speaking their home language; however, the process of integration had begun shortly after their arrival,

as the close quarters and interconnectedness of city life imposed certain interactions even among largely segregated groups. This period therefore witnessed the beginnings of the social and linguistic assimilation of the Huguenots that would continue at an increased rate in the following decades, and this development did not transpire without linguistic consequences.

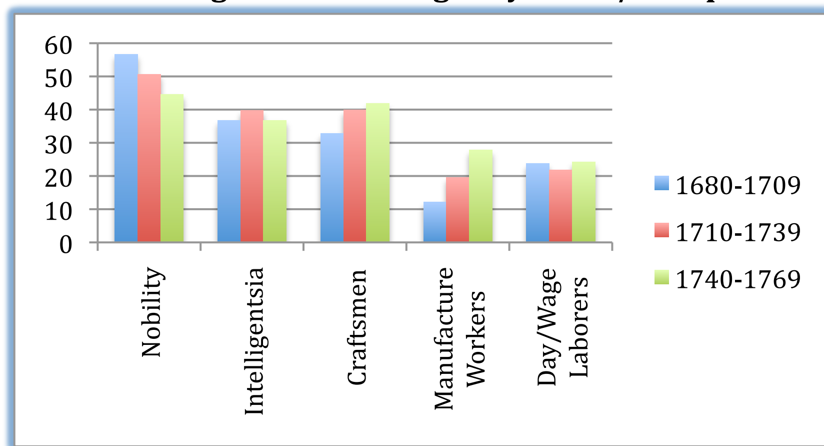
3.3.4. Marriage, Integration, and Social Structure

Given the trends and developments discussed above, the task remains to investigate exactly how quickly, and whether the remainder of the mostly German-speaking populations integrated into the fabric of Berlin during this period. It is first important to discuss what is meant by INTEGRATION. In two previous studies on emerging Dutch urban varieties in the Early Modern Period, both Hendriks (1998) and Goss (2002) emphasize the importance of social networks as an indicator of how quickly migrants integrate. They claim that immigrants in Amsterdam and the Hague who had “open” or “diffuse” social networks were more likely to be active participants in the koinéization process and negotiation of the urban variety. Crucially, they find that immigrants of lesser means were more likely to have open networks. This is largely due to the fact that – like the poorer Huguenot immigrants just mentioned – their hands were forced. Poor unmarried immigrants tended to arrive alone without substantial connections or an established social group in the destination city, and therefore had to seek a spouse and job wherever they could find them.

Social networks can be quantified in a number of ways using demographic data, including occupational data, familial ties, or other social connections that result in significant and daily contact among speakers. In the framework of koinéization, familial integration and intermarriage represent the most important of these factors in that: 1) it is the most measureable in a historical context, and 2) that it implies generational patterns of linguistic input for subsequent generations of children. In short, if we are able to point to a high level of marriage between spouses of different provenance, we can conclude that the following generation of children is provided with variable linguistic input during the language acquisition process. Details of the implications of this will be outlined in chapter 5.

In Schultz's demographic examination of the growing population during this period, two primary characteristics of the Berlin societal structure appear most salient. First, the data display a clear preference for marriage within a given occupational class over marriage to a partner born in the same region.

Fig. 16 – Percent Endogamous Marriages by Social/Occupational Class



(adapted from Schultz 1987: appendix tables 2-4)

This is a tendency that is sustained over the course of this period, and among the craftsmen and manufacture workers we see a notable increase in social endogamy (marriage within one's socioeconomic class). Clark, in examining the Prussian elite in the mid 18th century, finds an interesting example of how social endogamy indicated geographically mixed marriages:

> Whereas virtually all Brandenburg families married within their own provincial elite until the end of the seventeenth century, things had changed by the 1750s and 1760s....Almost one-half of the marriages contracted by leading families in Brandenburg, Pomerania and East Prussia were to lineages based in another Hohenzollern territory (Clark 2006: 157).

Thinking back to the composition of immigration to Berlin mentioned above, we can therefore conclude that already from the beginning of the 1700s, diverse populations from Low, Central, and to a lesser extent Upper German-speaking regions married and had families together. This phenomenon occurred from the top to the bottom of the social scale, encompassing the educated elite along with the less-educated and illiterate masses who brought their native dialects to the city and provided variable input to the subsequent generation of children.

The second tendency follows naturally from the first; namely, that social/occupational endogamy led to a compartmentalization of the social hierarchy. In other words, the contact between various social groups was often limited to contact outside the familial domain. So while individual social classes certainly reflected dialectal diversity due to the lack of geographic preference among brides and grooms, they

experienced limited intimate contact *across* boundaries drawn by socioeconomic status (Schultz 1987: 349).[28]

3.3.5. Soldiers and the Military

Any examination of the social composition of Berlin in the Early Modern and Pre-Industrial period must also consider the military population. As the extent and power of the Prussian Empire expanded over the course of the 18th century, so did the number of soldiers stationed in Berlin. By the start of the Silesian Wars in 1740, the garrison population (including wives and children) grew to over 21,000 people, or 21.7% of Berlin's total population. The words of a Saxon emissary in Berlin emphasize the influence of the military on the demography and character of the city: "Berlin gleicht nicht einer Residenz, sondern einem Heerlager an der Grenze, wo die Stärke der Bewohner in der Garnison besteht und wo der Rest der Ansiedler, Männer wie Weiber, nur dazu ist, die Soldaten zu bedienen (Kathe 1978: 46)." Though the ballooning garrison prompted the Prussians to begin building barracks in the outskirts of the city, this process had only just begun in 1740, so that the burden of quartering still fell to a large extent upon the homeowners of the Berlin population. The effect of this situation on the everyday life of Berlin residents is underscored by Helga Schultz:

> Wenn auch schon 1715 einige Baracken auf der Wachsbleiche errichtet wurden, so blieb doch bis zum Ende des Siebenjährigen Krieges 1763 nahezu die ganze Garnison noch in Bürgerquartieren untergebracht. Das bedeutete, daß Berlin Ende der dreißiger Jahre rund 5000 Häuser besaß,

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[28] There is no doubt that within the urban setting, all classes had at least had some contact with all others; in this case what is meant are complex contact relationships that lead to dialect transmission to subsequent generations of speakers; in other words, the types of contact that have direct influences on children's speech.

> daß nahezu jedes Haus zwei bis vier Soldaten bzw. eine Soldatenfamilie aufnehmen mußte (Schultz 1987: 102).

These striking numbers represent another catalyst for dialect contact within the city. The poorer homeowners even took on additional soldiers in order to collect more *Quartierungsgeld* offered by the regiments of the army. By contrast, the richest Berliners were able to buy themselves out of the obligation by paying seven *talers*, a sum that was out of reach for most ordinary Berliners. As a result, the quartering of soldiers was mostly limited to the less affluent members of society, including small businessmen, day laborers, and the class of craftsmen who in large part originated from the East Central German speaking provinces (Schultz 1987: 102).

The provenance of these soldiers was as diverse, if not more so, than the origins of citizenship applicants discussed above. The garrison church books contain records of all of the approved marriages of soldiers and officers in Berlin. Similar to the *Bürgerbuch* data above, the church records also note the place of birth, occupation, and occupation of the father of the bridegroom and bride.[29] The records confirm that the majority of the garrison population reflects a similar ratio of birthplaces to the immigration numbers for the population at large. The Mark Brandenburg again represents the largest group, followed by the east central regions of Saxony, Anhalt, and Thuringia. Perhaps the most noteworthy number, however, is that of a total of only 21 bridegrooms out of a total of 435, less than 5% are reported as having been born in Berlin.

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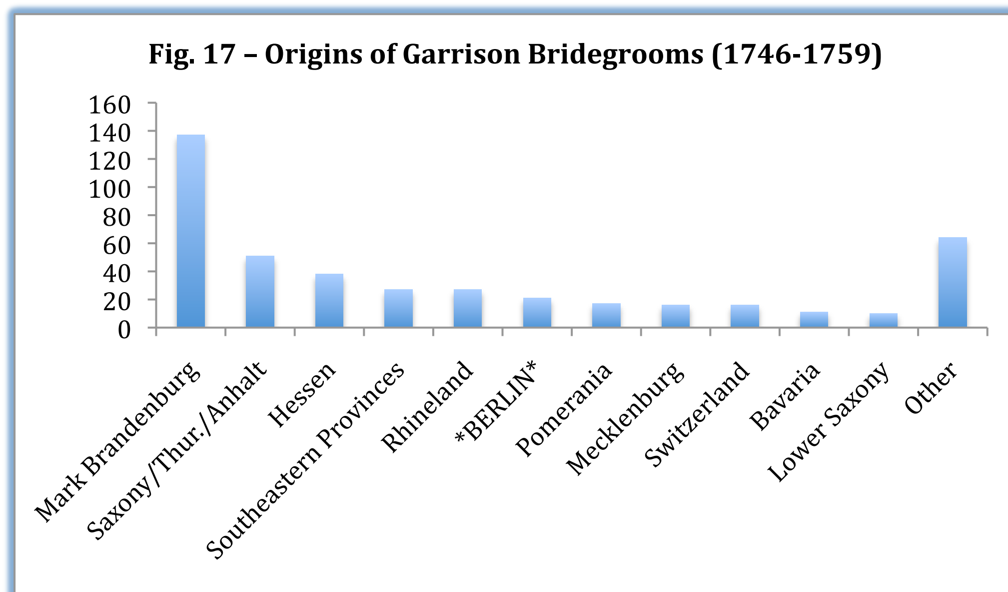
[29] However, also like the *Bürgerbuch*, the scribes did not always record all of these pieces of information for each marriage. Out of a total of 495 marriages between 1746 and 1759, the place of birth was absent for the groom in 60 cases, and for the bride in 110 cases.

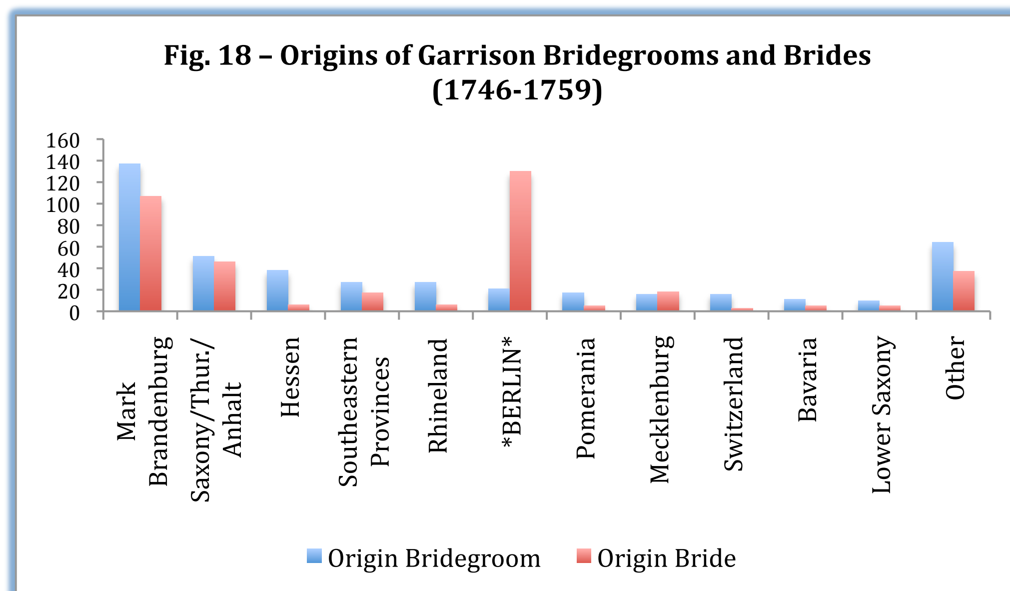


(Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz: VIII. HA, MKB, Nr. 428)

This number can first be explained by policies put in place by Friedrich Wilhelm I, whereby the sons of Berliners were exempted from military service (provided their yearly income exceeded 10,000 *talers*). This meant that the small percentage who were born in Berlin were generally poor and less educated. Additionally, being employed as a soldier was perhaps the least desirable occupation at that time, and as such, the Prussian military filled their ranks with the poorest, most desperate people from all corners of the empire. As was the case with immigration among the civil population, the rural surplus in Brandenburg and other provinces was most heavily recruited. This new influx of a relatively significant number of uneducated people only added to the already diverse set of dialect speakers in the city. Thus, what Agathe Lasch refers to as a *"Verwelschung"* of the spoken language in Berlin over the course of the 18th century – though also laden with negative connotations – actually provides an accurate insight as to the sustained and

perhaps increased diversity of dialect use among the masses in Berlin at the time (Lasch 1927: 92ff.). This diversity was fuelled largely by immigration among the civil population in the early 1700's, and later by the rapid growth of the garrison.[30]

While the bridegrooms recorded in the garrison church book reflect a high level of diversity, and were overwhelmingly born outside Berlin, the brides show a marked contrast in that a large proportion were from Berlin. This is due to several factors: first, lower life expectancies for men naturally lead to a surplus of women in the urban setting, meaning that women often found themselves in the situation of having no choice but to marry a man from another province or region.



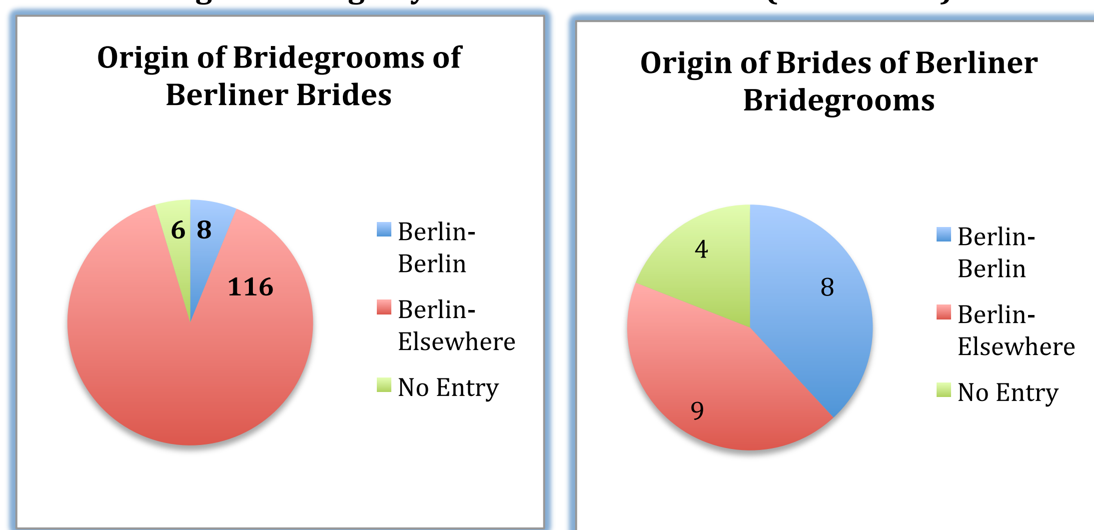
(Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz: VIII. HA, MKB, Nr. 428)

In this case, the brides from Berlin outnumber the bridegrooms from Berlin six to one (130 brides to 21 bridegrooms). A look at the graph combining the place of origins of the

[30] The word *Verwelschung* is a negative term utilized by grammarians and language purists at that time to refer to the 'pollution' of the language with foreign or undesirable features.

men and women suggest that in the vast majority of unions, a woman from Berlin was marrying a man from elsewhere. From the same set of data, we can extrapolate how many of these marriages actually took place between two Berliners, a man from Berlin and a woman from elsewhere, or vice versa.

Fig. 19 – Exogamy in the Garrison Parish (1746-1759)



(Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz: VIII. HA, MKB, Nr. 428)

These data clearly show that a man from Berlin often chose a bride of the same origin, but among female Berliners the numbers are striking. Nearly 90% of the women from Berlin chose (or were compelled to choose) a husband from somewhere other than Berlin. As discussed above with respect to the civil population, these types of trends are clear indications that parents of different provenance and correspondingly different linguistic repertoires are providing their children with equally various input.

One might perhaps ask how soldiers, being one of the poorest sectors of the population, were able to fulfill the relatively strict prerequisites for marriage dictated by Prussian law. The answer lies in the political strategy that had driven many of the

policies of the Prussian sovereigns since the late 17th century: population growth. As Prussian power expanded, more soldiers were needed to fill the ranks, and more workers were needed to accommodate the needs of a growing civil population in Berlin itself. As a result, soldiers were encouraged to marry and procreate, and they did just that:

> Man begünstigte das Heiraten, um die Bevölkerung zu vermehren; man wollte dadurch die etwa die Hälfte ausmachenden Soldaten, die aus der Fremde kamen, an die neue Heimat fesseln. Die Zahl der Frauen, Kinder und Dienstboten der Garnison machte durchschnittlich zwei Drittel bis drei Drittel der aktiven Mannschaft aus...1786 hatte [Berlin] auf 33,572 aktive Soldaten 27,105 Militärweiber, -kinder, und Dienstboten. (Schmoller 1922: 294)

This policy to ease marriage restrictions had two primary implications for the demographics of Berlin leading into the second half of the 18th century: it led to the garrison and military families being some of the most fecund in Berlin, with birth surpluses of over 20%, and it resulted in the permanent settlement of a large proportion of the soldiers and their families in Berlin (Schultz 1987: 139).

Another potential argument against the idea that the garrison population had an influence on dialect use in the city: namely, that the garrison and military population, as such, had little contact, social or occupational, with the civil population. However, this argument is refuted first by the aforementioned fact that soldiers were quartered among the civil population at least until the Silesian Wars, and additionally, that garrison soldiers rarely counted military duties as their only occupation. Soldiers supplemented their incomes in any way they could; they worked legally or illegally as journeymen or handworkers, or joined the ranks of wage laborers in the city, and therefore became an integral part of the city's population. As they married and had children (often with

daughters and widows of the large population of craftsmen), they were subsequently folded into the fabric of the city.

3.3.6. Education

The education system in the Prussian Empire represents another key aspect of society that has been argued to have had a large effect on the city dialect of Berlin. In particular, Berlinisch scholars have often pointed to the increased influence and prestige of the Upper Saxon spoken variety beginning in the 16th century, along with the influence of Protestant texts as having a strong effect in the adoption of Upper Saxon features in the Berlin variety (Schlobinski 1987: 7). It must, however, be borne in mind that the breadth of society that had access to education and were literate was limited to select groups in the population. In *Geschichte des geistigen Lebens der preußischen Hauptstadt*, historian Ludwig Geiger outlines the lack of access to education for the vast majority of Berliners:

> Von den Berliner Schulen ist in jener Zeit kaum etwas zu sagen; der Anfang einer Reform gehört erst der folgenden Periode an [nach 1750]. Außer einigen Armen-, Soldaten- und wenigen Stadtschulen, die etwa den Elementarschulen gleichzustellen sind, gab es nur die schon erwähnten fünf Gymansien... (Geiger 1893: 245).

These shortcomings of the education system were also true of Prussian territories at large, and ran counter to the fact that Friedrich Wilhelm issued edicts in 1717 and 1736 on the improvement of the education system. Though Berlinisch scholars have pointed to these reforms as evidence of the expanding influence of the written variety in Berlin and beyond, "a thorough survey of the relevant local records suggests that the edicts of 1717 and 1736 may have been completely unknown in many parts of the Hohenzollern lands (Clark 2006: 112)."

In lining this idea up with the social composition of the city laid out above, the vast majority of Berliners (or recent arrivals) remained without formal education and illiterate during this period, and therefore had no practical access to what grammarians may have considered the leading variety of the time. Instead, speakers such as artisans and craftsmen, who more often than not had limited or no writing skills – or their wives, who were nearly categorically illiterate – were primarily influenced by the dialects that were most saliently represented and prevalent in their respective social networks (Schultz 1993: 55). This pragmatic 'choice' of dialect, which is in fact much more accurately described as being determined by external circumstances rather than being the result of a conscious intent of the speaker, is a much more likely scenario for a city where reading and education was reserved for a select few.

3.4. 1740-1810 - The Silesian Wars, Prussian Expansion and the Beginnings of Industrialism

3.4.1. Introduction

The onset of the Silesian Wars in 1740 and the decades leading into the turn of the 19th century mark another major societal transition in Berlin's history. As the Prussian Empire was at war with Austria and Saxony and expanded its territory, there was a corresponding shift in migratory patterns toward Berlin; the most significant long-distance source of migration had for a over a century been Saxony, Anhalt and Thuringia, and it continued to contribute to Berlin's population. However, newly acquired territories in Silesia, Lusatia, and partitioned Poland grew to be a primary engine of

growth for the city over the course of this period. Though the effect of the Silesian Wars on the population and overall character of the city paled in comparison to the aftermath of the Thirty Years War, this period did see increasing impoverishment and a brief drop in population. As craftsmen, small tradesmen and laborers failed to make ends meet and the number of widows increased, Berlin's poor population swelled. Growth rates also slowed during this period, so that for the first time since the end of the Thirty Years War, the proportion of first generation migrants among the marrying population decreased.[31] Though numerically more people were moving to the city from elsewhere, their representation as a percentage of the population shrank.

In concert with this development came a crucial transition in the structure of the production of goods and labor that would have a long-lasting effect on social networks and interaction within the city; namely, the transition from small, individual modes of production to factories and large enterprises employing hundreds of wage-earning employees. This is a development that would continue and intensify throughout the course of the 19th century.

Finally, members of the Huguenot *Kolonie* continued their process of integration into the population. Though some Huguenots underwent the process of language shift during the previous period, the vast majority only began to marry outside the Kolonie and raise German-speaking offspring by the third generation (Wilke 1988: 396).

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[31] Using data from Schultz (1987), the *Georgenkirche* records show that between 1770 and 1799, just over 30% of the grooms and bridegrooms came from outside Berlin, in comparison to the previous generation 1730-1760, where over 40% were migrants. This of course can in part be attributed to the fact that as the city grew geographically, newer migrant populations tended to settle in the newer, outermost areas of the city.

Indeed, Berlin during this period continues to be a place defined by the diversity of its population, and the further expansion and relative significance of the poorer population underscore the fact that Berlin remains a place in social and linguistic flux. In the words of a foreigner residing in Berlin in 1783:

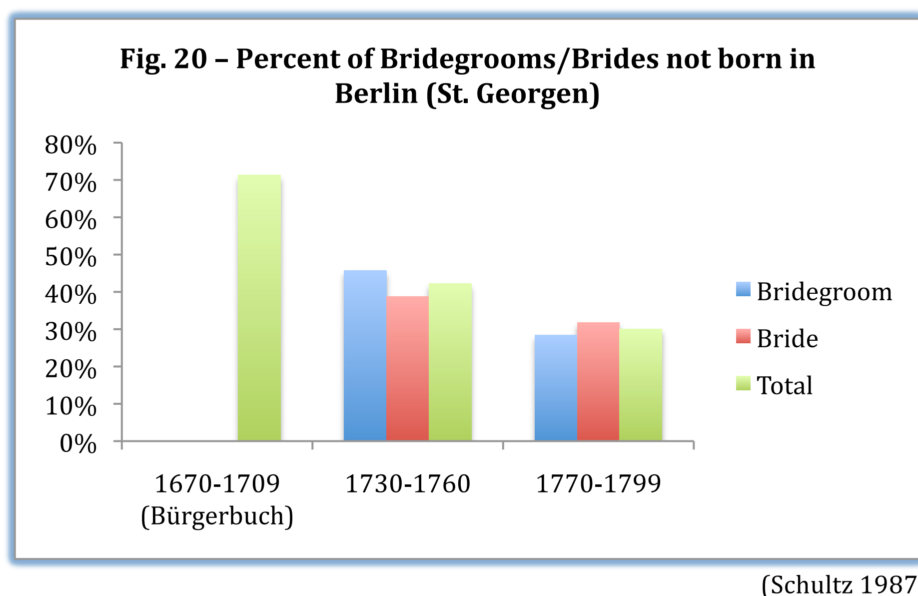
> Mehrentheils kommen die neuen Einwohner aus der Fremde; und wer freiwillig kommt, muß allerdings willkommen sein. Die erstaunliche Menge Fremde hat freilich wohl der Originaliche des Nationalcharakters Schaden gethan, hat die sonst langsamere, aber dafür festere im Innern selbst bewirkte Aufklärung zu schnell zur Reise gebracht, hat auch das ekelhafte Chaos des niedrigen Pöbels, der ohne Vaterland, Glauben, Sitten, Grundsätze ist...nur die wenigsten angesehenen Gelehrte sind gebohrne Brandenburger. (Gedicke 1783: 455)

Despite this description of Berlin as a "chaotic" blend of inhabitants, the second half of the century saw a marked stabilization of the native-born population. The following section traces the slowing of growth as the relative proportion of foreigners in the city subsided.

3.4.2. Immigration and Demographic Patterns

The population of Berlin eclipsed 100,000 shortly after 1740. This figure would nearly double by 1800 despite a period of famine and hardship in the latter years of the wars with Saxony and Austria, during which time Berlin's population shrank for the first time since the Thirty Years War. In general, this period reflects an ebb in population growth, with rates for the most part hovering at less than 1% each year. Particularly high mortality rates that corresponded with these hardships meant that growth continued to be fuelled by migration to Berlin, but the rate at which migrants flowed into the city had slowed from the first half of the century (Schultz 1987:296).

This slowing of growth in Berlin corresponds with a decline in the percentage of the population born outside of Berlin. Statistics from the St. Georgen parish in Berlin show a steady decrease in non-native bridegrooms and brides between 1730-1760 and 1770-1799, and with data from the *Bürgerbuch* included, the pattern extends across the entire 18th century.[32] In essence, this data provides a snapshot of how much of the population in central areas of the city were new arrivals.



(Schultz 1987)

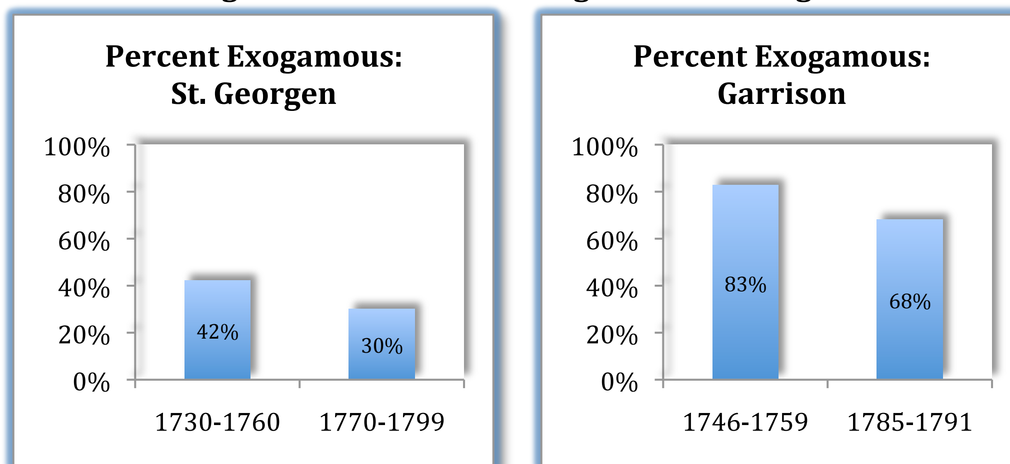
This pattern is interesting for several reasons: first, the high percentages of immigrants, especially in the earlier periods, are clear indications that Berlin's population was in flux well into the middle of the century. The formation or persistence of a homogenous city variety during this time is very unlikely. Second, these figures suggest a gradual

[32] It must be kept in mind that the *Bürgerbuch* records new citizenship applicants for the entire city, while the St. Georgen data reflects the marrying population in that parish. We must therefore keep in mind that numbers for newly established districts in Berlin would have reflected even higher percentages of migrants. This comparison across sources was chosen because the parish records only reach back to 1730. The graph is intended to show the general demographic trend rather than exact figures.

saturation of the more central areas of Berlin, whereby the native population begins to fill areas like St. Georgen and sustain itself to larger degrees by internal reproduction. In other words, as the population of the St. Georgen parish and city grew larger, it developed a more stable core population, which also reflected upon the linguistic landscape.

Marriage patterns during this period largely follow the pattern identified above. As the percentage of new migrant population declined over the course of the century, so the marriages also tended to more often take place between two Berlin-born individuals. Over 40% of the marriages between 1730-1760 in St. Georgen had at least one person born outside Berlin. By the following generation 1770-1799, this number drops to less than one third.

Fig. 21 – Generational Exogamous Marriage[33]



(Schultz 1987; Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz: VIII.HA, MKB, Nr. 428)

Likewise, exogamy in the garrison church dropped from a remarkably high 83% between 1746 and 1759 to less than 70% between 1785-1791. Again, this trend is

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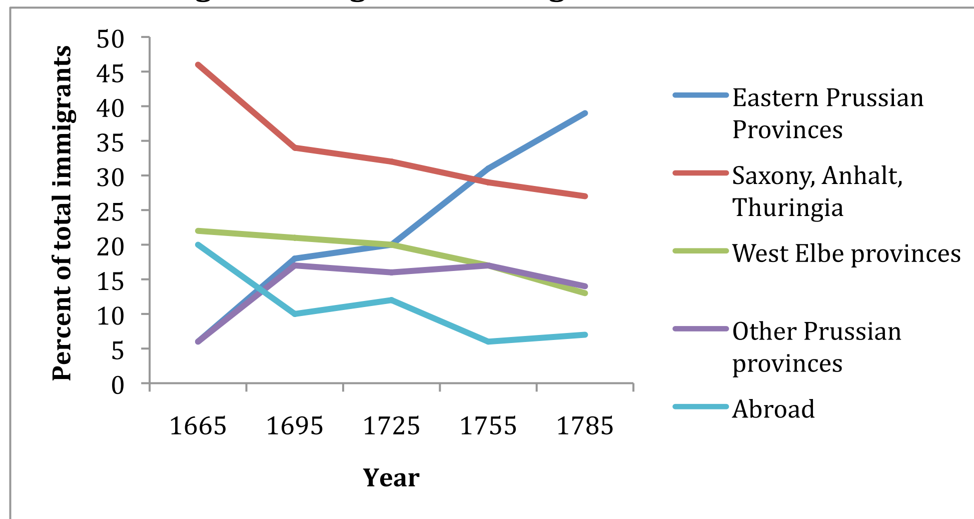
[33] Total number of individuals for each source and time period are as follows: St. Georgen (1730-1760) = 4009; St. Georgen (1770-1799) = 6092; Garrison (1746-1751) = 813; Garrison (1785-1791) = 687. Discrepancies in the time periods selected are due to inconsistent record keeping or gaps in the garrison church records.

another good indication that linguistic input for children of the last generation in the 18th century gradually became more stable toward the end of the century. The specific implications of this effect will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Perhaps the most marked change in the character of immigration to Berlin, however, is that the regions south and east of Berlin largely sustained their importance, while the so-called eastern provinces of the Prussian Empire, including East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia became a more significant source of population growth.[34] Surprisingly, even as Prussia was in a conflict with Saxony, migration from that region remained relatively stable through the 1740s. However, in the ensuing decades, the eastern provinces proceed to eclipse Saxony as the main source of long-distance migration to Berlin, exceeding 40% of the total long-distance migration by 1790.

Fig. 22 – Long-Distance Migration Patterns

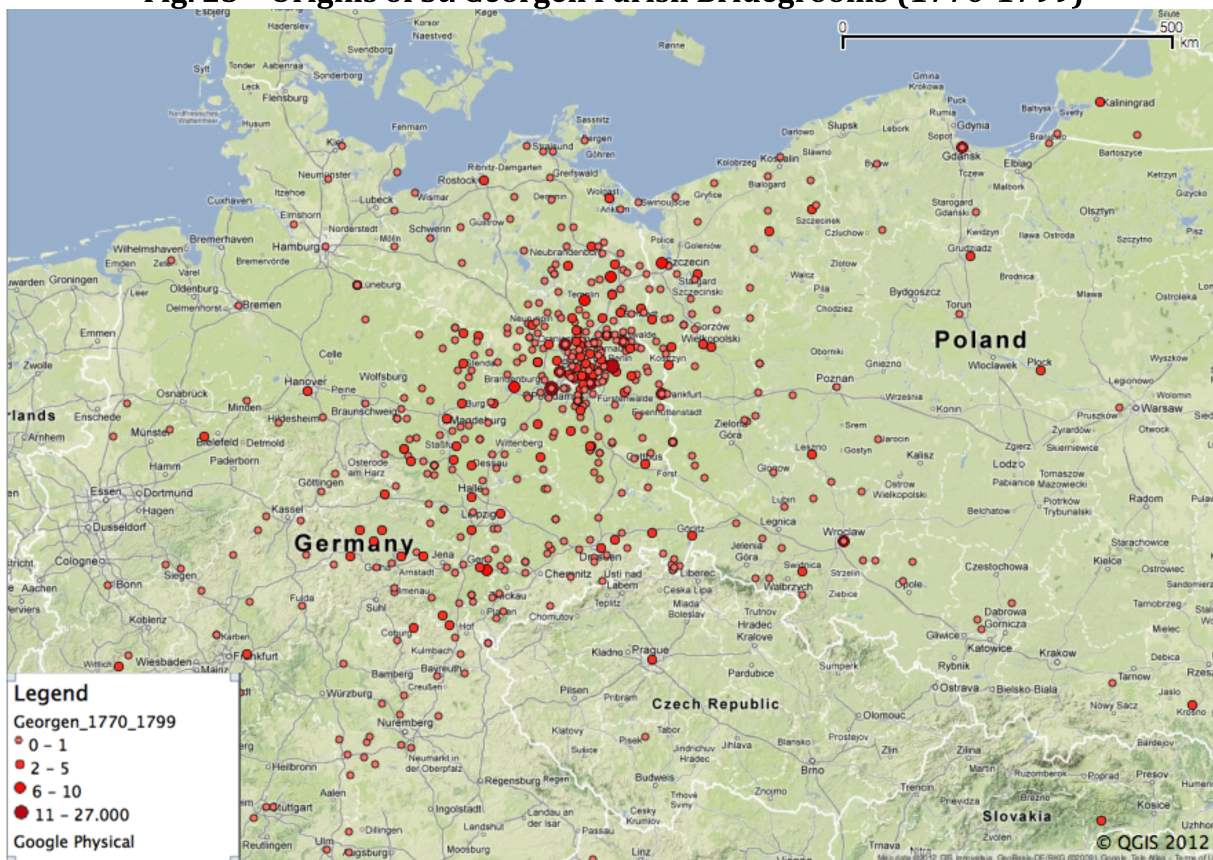


(modified from Schultz 1987: 342)

[34] The latter migrations took place largely upon the end of the first Silesian War in 1742 and its annexation into the Prussian Empire.

This pattern in long-distance immigration must be viewed alongside the continuing dominance of immigration from the surrounding regions of the Mark Brandenburg, which continued to contribute the majority of the migrant population as it had in the previous periods. A map constructed from the St. Georgen church records clearly shows the extensive long-distance mobility of the population of the growing Prussian Empire, along with the continuing significance of the Saxon provinces stretching as far south as Vogtland.

Fig. 23 – Origins of St. Georgen Parish Bridegrooms (1770-1799)



(Adapted from Schultz 1987; Source: St. Georgen parish records)

Moreover, the most prevalent occupations of the migrant population shifts during this period as well, foreshadowing the transition discussed in detail below from a craft-

oriented to a manufacture-oriented economy. Thus, where new arrivals from Saxony had in large part hitherto been craftsmen, they now consisted largely of journeymen and manufacture workers: "Hatten früher die selbstständigen Handwerksmeister aus allen Fernwanderungsregionen das größte Kontingent der Zuwanderer gestellt, so waren es nun vor allem die Manufakturarbeiter und die Gesellen (Schultz 1987:190)."

3.4.3. THE RISE OF MANUFACTURING

The work environment that had defined Berlin over previous centuries began to shift around the middle of the 18th century. Craftsmen and journeymen belonging to guilds had previously dominated consumer production in small businesses consisting of fewer than five employees – in most cases masters only had one or two journeymen or apprentices. Although the existence of the guilds persisted into the 19th century, this period sees a shift in production toward larger, centralized factories. This development took hold first in the textile industries of Berlin, which in large part were tasked with clothing and supplying the massive military population. In the wool, cotton and silk industries, between 60 and 69 percent of all workers were employed at businesses with more than 16 employees. However, this transition was even more dramatic in other industries such as gold and silver production by 1800, where numbers of employees in each factory often exceeded 800 (Schultz 1987: 195 ff.). Although this set of circumstances does not yet reflect the conditions in the massive factories during the peak

of industrialization in the latter half of the 19th century, it does have real and lasting effects on the interactions and relationships of people within the city.

In an urban environment hitherto dominated by small and isolated working structures, contact among the population was limited, and personal relationships tended to be limited to one's immediate family and surroundings. By contrast, the increased concentration of labor in fewer and larger production centers led to more daily contact among larger numbers of people. As Schultz asserts, this contact also leads to a greater sense of identity and belonging among certain groups, which is reflected in the fact that the manufacture workers show an increased tendency to marry and designate godparents within their particular social group. This tendency was particularly strong among the wage labor force. Additionally, this growing sector of the population began to encompass wider swaths of the social spectrum outlined in previous sections. The day laborers are the largest group that are increasingly incorporated into the growing number of manufacture workers; however, in growing numbers – and especially in the textile industries – the sons of craftsmen begin working in large factories. Even more common was the downward mobility of craftsmen's daughters, who out of necessity married men below their standing in ever larger numbers (Schultz 1987: 202 ff.). As is discussed in the following section, this is a process that continues to intensify and culminates in the elimination of guilds and the absorption of craftsmen into the wage labor economy of the 19th century.

All of these developments in the working domain had consequences for the social structures, and therefore linguistic behavior of speakers in the city. Workers who had

previously spent the majority of their working life within and around the house or workshop of the master artisans increasingly became exposed to many more people in the factory, and therefore more people and dialects on a daily basis.

3.4.4. THE PRUSSIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

The education system in Berlin and Prussia only begin to experience significant reform by the first decades of the 19th century. Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow had proposed education reforms to improve literacy in the second half of the 1700s, but these had still not been carried out in any real sense by the end of Friedrich II's reign around 1780. In fact, in some cases the school system – in the wake of financial hardship caused in part by the relentless Silesian Wars – actually worsened. By the late 1700s there were still only four higher schools (*Gymnasien*) in the entire city, and in 1781 charity schools and so-called free schools were eliminated, further reducing the proportion of the population with access to education. Those who were lucky enough to receive any education at all often had to resort to *Winkelschulen*, literally 'corner schools' that were run by people who themselves had little or no formal education (Geiger 1893: 568 ff.).

Thus, although Prussia had on paper instituted compulsory schooling already in 1717, and educators such as Rochow proposed an expansion of the education system, the vast majority of Berlin's populace continued to be illiterate or were only provided with a couple of years of very basic instruction. As Hans Herzfeld notes, the establishment of the *Volksschule* still hadn't caught up to the population growth of the city as late as 1833

(Herzfeld 1968: 29). It is also important to note that *Gymnasien*, as modes of education for the more privileged sectors of society, spent comparably little time dealing with German instruction (and, much like the military schools discussed above, essentially no time prescribing spoken pronunciation norms with the exception of rote recitations).

The sustained lack of education (specifically with respect to German language use) among the general population in Berlin for the duration of the 18th century is yet another suggestion that a history of Berlin's spoken language variety must focus primarily on dialect use and demographic trends during the relevant periods. Written varieties such as the Saxon chancery language – or emerging preferred spoken varieties identified by grammarians in the later 1700s – continued to only be accessible to a small fraction of the population during this period.[35] It thus comes as little surprise that nearly all of the surviving written evidence from Berlin only comes from official domains, or from writers and scribes who had access to higher or university education. Indeed, standard schooling at the time consisted only of limited math and reading instruction. Those who wished to write had to attend one of the city's four *Gymnasien* or pay extra for private instruction (Böhm 2010: 455). Literacy would only finally begin to penetrate the poorer segments of the population by the middle of the 19th century in the decades following the development of a official Prussian school curriculum in 1817 (Herzfeld 1968: 519).

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[35] An interesting contrast to this situation was the Huguenot Kolonie, who generally had much more developed schools that afforded access to education for most of its residents. In fact, the Kolonie, with a quarter to a fifth of the total population at its peak, had the same number of schools as the rest of Berlin (Böhm 2005: 117). Moreover, education at the orphanage focused on orthographic differences between French and German. Interestingly, as Böhm concludes, the Huguenots, who are in the midst of language shift toward German, still opt for the informal spoken variety despite having better access to the emerging written standard (Böhm 2010: 455).

3.4.5. The Huguenots

As is outlined in the previous section, the bureaucratic and religious autonomy of the Huguenot *Kolonie* in Berlin led to a relatively high rate of endogamy and language maintenance through the first two generations, with only 5% of all marriages among Huguenots involving a German speaker. Manuela Böhm points out that the period between 1720-1750 represents the "high point" of the Huguenot *Kolonie*, as the size of the community peaked and the church hired three new pastors to preach to a thriving French-speaking community. However, Böhm also identifies the first signs of acculturation during this period (Böhm 2010: 137). As the social and bureaucratic barriers between the German and French communities in Berlin began to break down, exogamy became the norm among the Huguenots, so that the vast majority of Huguenots by the end of the 18th century had linguistically become either German-dominant, or at least bilingual (Wilke 1988: 396).

Just as with the German-born population in Berlin, marriage patterns among the Huguenot population provide valuable concrete evidence of language contact among the Huguenots. In looking at the statistics for exogamy among the Huguenots between 1674-1806 in generational time spans, it is apparent that the Huguenot population begins to marry German-speaking spouses in large numbers between the second and third generations, with the peak occurring in the second half of the 18th century.

Fig. 24 – Exogamy Among French Refugiés

Year	GER-Male HUG-Female	GER-Female HUG-Male	Percent Exogamous Marriages
1674-1707	20	35	5.10%
1708-1747	116	340	17.60%
1748-1806	316	1640	69.20%

(Adapted from Wilke 1987: 369; Marriage register of the Fr. parish, Archive of the French parish)

This rapid increase in intermarriage between Huguenots and Germans suggests the linguistic integration running parallel to this development. As more of the French population were folded into the fabric of Berlin, the numbers of people identifying themselves as members of the *Kolonie* dwindled and the importance of French as a language of instruction also declined. Böhm identifies complaints about the increasing weakness of students' French in the *Kolonie's* orphanage school beginning as early as 1760. This weakness was of course a direct result of the exogamy identified above, but also of the decreased utility of French within the city: "[diese Schwächen] verweisen auch recht pragmatisch auf die berufliche Zukunft der Mädchen: Für später als Haus- oder Dienstmädchen Angestellten sei der französische Grammatikunterricht vermeintlich reine Verschwendung (Böhm 2004: 33 ff.)." Indeed, if *Kolonists* wished to find work in homes or businesses outside of the shrinking population of the *Kolonie*, it was increasingly important for them to have knowledge of German.

The integration of the Huguenots was also accompanied by an extended period of bilingualism, which varied depending on the education level of the individual. As Böhm points out, the highly educated French most likely were domain-specific bilinguals. Thus, they continued to maintain French in the formal domains, but used informal spoken

German for everyday communication. By contrast, the less educated – which also reflected a higher level of exogamy – underwent a period of non-domain-specific bilingualism. With an increasing amount of both German and French spoken input, along with limited language education, bilingualism among this segment of the population was much more "organic" in that the different varieties were not necessarily limited to certain situations (Böhm 2004: 40 ff.).

In summary, the increasing intermarriage and eventual linguistic integration of the Huguenot population leading up to the turn of the 19th century was another critical factor in the development of the Berlin dialect. The families resulting from intermarriage with German speakers and the extended bilingualism of the Huguenots provided the conditions for extensive French material (mostly in the form of lexical items or set phrases) to enter the Berlin dialect. Moreover, the chronology of integration identified above, which posits that the vast majority of Huguenots either shifted to German or became German dominant in the second half of the 18th century, suggests that previous claims that the lion's share of French material in Berlinisch as a direct result of the Napoleonic occupation beginning in 1806 may be oversimplified.[36] As outlined below, the quartering of Napoleon's army certainly resulted in contact between German and

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[36] Harndt (1977) states that most of the French lexical items in Berlinisch (such as *Budike (Boutique), seefe (c'est fait), Bölletasche (Bel etage)* – whose spellings suggest that they have been incorporated into the phonologies of German speakers – were a direct result of contact between the native population and the French occupying forces (Harndt 1977: 27). In contrast, Huguenot scholar Jürgen Wilke underscores the importance of intense contact (especially marriage) in the adoption of French words or phrases: "Es muss jedoch bezweifelt werden, daß es nur in großtuerischer Absicht geschah, wenn die Berliner viele französische Wörter aufgriffen...Oftmals war dies einfach die Folge intensiver Kontakte mit den Zugewanderten und ihren Nachkommen, die fast zwangsläufig zu solcher Beeinflussung führten...(Wilke 1988: 405)."

French speakers in the city, and served to bring the French language even more strongly into the informal domain, but it was not characterized by the extensive intermarriage and bilingualism seen among the Huguenots and native Berliners.

3.4.6. THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF BERLIN: OCTOBER 1806 - DECEMBER 1808

On the heels of several defeats at the hands of Napoleon's army in 1806, the government, royal entourage and garrison quickly fled its *Residenzstadt* for safety in the eastern provinces of Prussia. This left the door open for French troops to march into and occupy the city beginning on October 27, 1806. Shortly thereafter, wealthy homeowners and renters were burdened with the quartering of the French occupying forces in their homes. The intentions (covert or otherwise) of the Napoleonic occupation can be found in the establishment of a committee of sixty citizens whose task was the "finanzielle und materielle Auspressung der Berliner Bevölkerung... (Köhler/Richter 1954: 36)." Despite Berlin's substantial connection to French language and culture due to the large Huguenot population and the established tastes of court culture at that time, the Napoleonic armies were clearly viewed as a foreign force that had wounded the identity of the rising power of Prussia. The flight of various literary personalities from Berlin upon the arrival of the French signifies the negative mentality of the intelligentsia, who had spoken positively of the developments of the French Revolution in previous decades (Herzfeld 1968: 16).

In addressing the impact of the occupation on the general population in Berlin (and therefore its potential impact on the spoken language), personal accounts from both

sides reflect on this period with conflicting reports about the feelings and relationships of Berliners toward the occupiers. In a diary from Ludwig Rellstab (1861), the young boy remembers how individual French soldiers were not viewed with contempt by his family because they were seen as powerless pawns, and therefore victims, of the wars instigated by Napoleon. He also notes the friendly behavior of the soldiers toward his family with only one exception, and how the French soldiers appreciated their ability to communicate with their hosts in their native language:

> Meine Mutter, die, wie ich erwähnt, das Französische ganz geläufig beherrschte, vermittelte leicht ein Verhältnis freundlichen und wohlwollenden Verständnisses der Einquartierung mit unserem Hause...Von den gemeinen Soldaten wurde kein einziger Unfug irgendeiner Art begangen. Sie waren höchst beglückt, daß man ihre Sprache mit ihnen redete und sie sich ausschwatzen konnten (Kohler/Richter 1954: 41).

Aside from presenting the interesting scenario of friendly interaction between the occupiers and the occupied, this report also underscores how widespread German/French bilingualism was among the general population. Although Rellstab's family comes from a highly educated sector of the population, French clearly was still an important language among the general population of Berlin.

However, this benevolent situation was more likely an exception to the rule during these long two years, as found in the example of reports by French soldiers upon their departure in 1808 paints a different picture. Despite the fact that their opinions are surely colored by his own views vis-à-vis the Berliners and Prussians (just as Rellstab's remembrance is colored by his family's affinity to French language and culture), reports on the reception of the French soldiers are quite clear in one example from a French

enlistee: first he identifies the soldiers as unfriendly and combative due to their distaste for the French, along with their clear desire to resume conflict with the French at the first opportunity. He also identifies the lack of education among the general population, and that although those who managed to profit from the French presence in the city would quickly welcome them back, the vast majority followed the opinion of the military (Köhler/Richter 1954: 55).

These reports aside, perhaps the most important aspect of the French occupation was its relative lack of long-term effects on the resident population and demography of Berlin. The total time that the French forces spent in the city was little more than two years, and although the quartering of these troops in citizens' homes certainly resulted in some linguistic contact among those people,[37] there are no reports of French soldiers remaining beyond this short period. Furthermore, there are no known reports of French soldiers learning German or the vernacular of the time, or intermarrying with the Berlin population and having children. Indeed, when compared with the long-term and intimate interaction and eventual social and linguistic integration of the Huguenot population, the contact between Berliners and French soldiers appears to have been relatively superficial. In light of the previously described Huguenot integration and the directly subsequent French occupation, it is much more plausible that the occupation simply

[37] The quartering of troops was primarily limited to the more wealthy homeowners during this period, who were proportionally less significant in a city with a growing number of workers who simply did not have the means/space to house soldiers. As a result, the intimate contact resulting from the quartering of soldiers was limited to an even smaller proportion of the population than the quartering of Prussian garrison soldiers leading up to the Silesian Wars (Köhler/Richter 1954:36).

served to reinforce or strengthen the French language's presence in the informal daily language of both bilingual German/French speakers and the Berliners themselves.

3.5.1810 Onward – Industrialization and Geographic Expansion

3.5.1. Introduction

Upon the retreat of the French forces and the return of the Prussian court and bureaucracy from the Eastern Provinces, Berlin quickly resumed the rapid growth that had also defined much of the previous century. As was the case in the late 18th century, immigrants from the immediate surrounding regions of Berlin and the Eastern Provinces of Prussia were the most numerous, while the impact of Saxony continued to wane during this period.

Berlin's population growth was accompanied in the subsequent decades by what Joachim Schildt identifies as the culmination of a transformation of both societal and demographic structures in the city. Crucially, Schildt also recognizes that this process had already begun decades prior: "wie wirtschaftshistorische Forschungen ergaben, existierte [diese Strukturen] bereits Jahrzehnte vor dem Einsetzen der industriellen Revolution (Schildt 1981: 13)." As a result of this transformation, the already eroding divisions between social groups within the city (especially among craftsmen, journeymen, wage laborers, etc.) became even less of a hindrance to interaction among the most numerous social groups in the city. This societal transformation was concretely reflected in the abolition of the guild laws in 1810, which eventually resulted in greatly increased

social mobility between the previous craftsmen and wage laborer population groups (Zedlitz 1834:274). Manufacture transitioned into industry, and smaller operations thus evolved into ever-larger factories with hundreds of workers.

Education also finally undergoes significant reform during this period. With the development of a standardized Prussian curriculum in 1817, there was an official attempt to establish standards for education in hopes of reaching more of the ever-growing population. However, not until the middle of the century did the school system begin to catch up the relentless pace of population growth during this period (Herzfeld 1968: 29).

Lastly, as the sphere of influence and size of Berlin's industrial sector expanded, so did the mobility of workers populating the new factories. Although certainly not a new phenomenon, the number of *Pendler*, or commuting workers living primarily outside the borders of the city proper, grew steadily during this time period, which resulted not only in further dialect contact among these workers and those residing in Berlin, but also expanded the range of use of the urban dialect that had already begun to cement itself in the urban population over the course of the previous period.

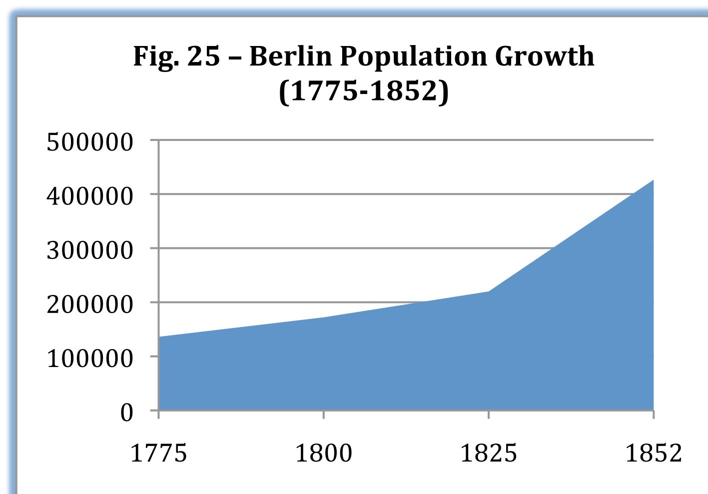
The period following the French occupation represents not only the culmination of societal processes at work since the 18th century, but also the culmination of linguistic contact among the inhabitants experiencing this transformation. In the words of Schildt's study on the German language during the Industrial Revolution:

> In Städten und industriellen Zentren trafen in diesem Zusammenhang – das ist für die Sprachentwicklung bedeutsam – Menschen mit zum Teil recht unterschiedlicher territorialer Herkunft, die gezwungen waren, sich sowohl im Arbeitsprozeß als auch im Privatleben miteinander zu verständigen, zusammen. (Schildt 1981: 15)

Thus, as barriers between social groups continued to break down, barriers to exogamy and dialect contact were also reduced. As the mobility of close-proximity and back-and-forth migration increased, so did the dialect contact between the region's speakers. As discussed in the following chapter, this linguistic process resulting in a distinct urban variety is reflected in the written record (albeit admittedly scant) over the course of the periods discussed in this chapter.

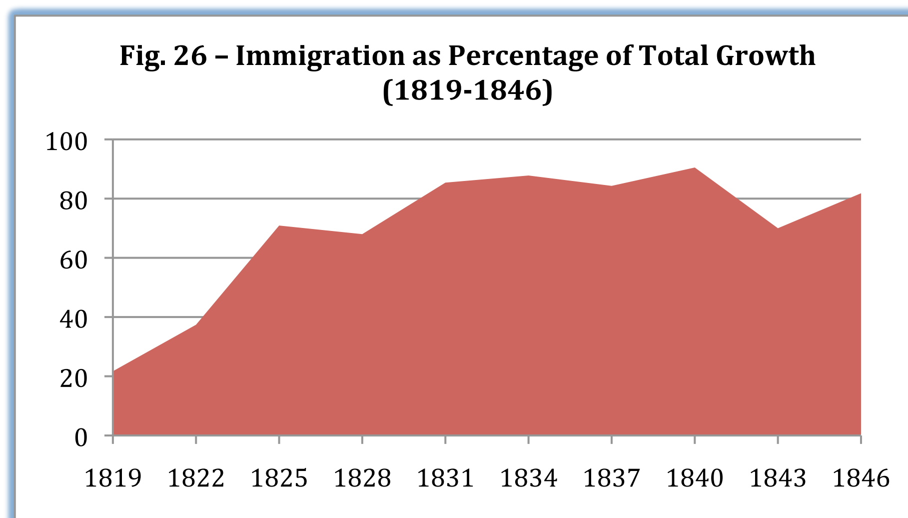
3.5.2. Immigration and Demographic Patterns

The population of Berlin continued to rise despite the increased poverty in the aftermath of the Silesian Wars of the 1770s, and also during the French occupation in the early 19th century; however, in the decades after the occupation, population growth rates increased even further. Berlin's population nearly doubled in the 50 years between 1775-1825; however, it took only another 25 years for it to double again between 1825-1850.



(Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg)

Though healthier conditions in the city, a lack of major wars and epidemics, and a larger homegrown population meant that Berliners themselves contributed more to the increase than in decades prior, migration continued to be a significant factor for growth. During the three decades following the French occupation, the percentage of Berlin's growth attributed to immigration reached values as high as 90%, and consistently exceeded 70% (see chart below). Thus, between 1825-1846, with an average percentage of growth attributed to in-migration of approximately 79%, we can conclude that from about 200,000 new Berliners (out of a total population of just over 400,000), 158,000 of them were born outside the city.



(Hubert 1998)

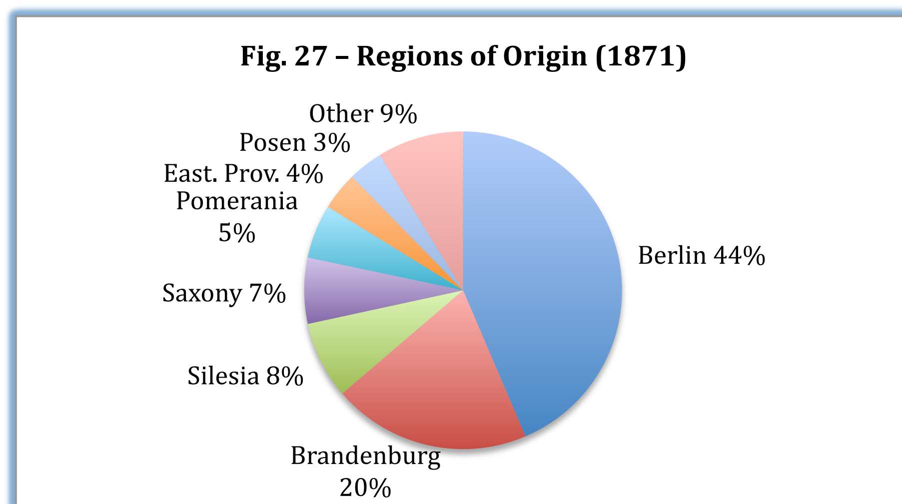
By 1852, Berlin had become a true industrial metropolis in central Europe, ballooning to over 426,000 people. As was the case in previous periods, the rural surplus population was the main source of migration. In fact, as agricultural work became more mechanized

and commercialized, this surplus ratio increased and spurred an even larger exodus of landless offspring toward the growing urban centers (Schildt 1981: 14).

This period also sees the growing importance of so-called *Pendelverkehr* (commuter traffic) between Berlin and the adjacent towns and villages. Though this type of contact was certainly relevant long before this period, the establishment and expansion of transportation methods along with the physical expansion of the city of Berlin itself meant that daily contact between the largely LG-speakers of the surrounding region and Berliners grew more significant. Former agricultural areas or villages such as Wedding, Siemensstadt, and Moabit now became part of the urban landscape. Areas such as Charlottenburg, Rixdorf, and Schöneberg now had populations comparable to a small cities. In the wake of this growth process, Joachim Gessinger identifies two crucial developments that further catalyzed contact between Berlin and its surrounding region: first, the improvement of infrastructure and transport between Berlin and surrounding regions, and second, the fact that as Berlin's urban core grew, it increasingly relied on the agrarian surroundings to supply food to the population. Both of these factors resulted both in food producers traveling more frequently into the city to sell their products, as well as livestock and vegetable dealers traveling out to do business with farmers (Gessinger 1999: 162).

The origins of migrants to Berlin during the mid and later 19th century are familiar to us from the previous sections (see figure below). Although these data stem from the period following 1850, they give a clear indication of the continuing trends in

migratory patterns. As in all previous periods, the Mark Brandenburg was the most significant source of migration.



(Adapted from Schildt 1981: 15)[38]

However, the Eastern Provinces – and in particular Silesia – also contributed a growing contingent of immigrants. In fact, Silesia, Pomerania, and Posen together amounted to nearly 17% of newly registered Berliners. By contrast, the influence of Saxony continued to decline over the course of the 1800s, representing only 7% of new residents in 1871.[39]

In effect, the growth and demographic development during this period can be viewed as a second phase of dramatic growth in Berlin (following that of the late 17th to mid-18th centuries), whereby the immigrant population significantly changed the social and linguistic landscape of the city. The major difference during this period, however, is that in contrast to the virtual population vacuum following the Thirty Years War, Berlin

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[38] The "other" category in this chart, which has been consolidated for clarity, includes the following regions: Rhineland (.98%), Hannover (.7%), Westphalia (.59%), Hessen (.33%), Schleswig (.27%), and Abroad (5.91%).

[39] It is interesting to note that although migration from Saxony decreases significantly during this period, many of the new source regions reflect many similar dialect features of the Upper Saxon dialect.

already had a much more substantial native population. That aside, this renewed influx of mostly rural migrants did serve to, in a sense, refresh the pool of rural dialect speakers in Berlin.

3.5.3. CONSOLIDATION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES/WORK ENVIRONMENTS

As outlined in the previous sections, social and occupational structures had already begun to change before the 19th century. Although groups such as craftsmen and journeymen continued to remain largely endogamous within their social groups, an increasingly large proportion of Berliners worked in factories. According to Köhler/Richter (1954), more than 49,000 Berliners worked in large concerns already by 1802 – one third of the civilian inhabitants of the entire city (Köhler/Richter 1954: 13). It is therefore more accurate to view this structural development as a process stretching over many decades reaching back into the 18th century.

Perhaps one of the most important catalysts in expediting the industrialization of the Berlin economy was the law in 1810 that decreed *Gewerbefreiheit*, eliminating privileges of the guilds. As discussed above, many crafts such as clothing production and gold/silver manufacture had already transitioned toward larger factories, and nearly all of the newly established crafts did not found new guilds, so the law could in this sense be viewed as a formality. However, the new free trade laws did mark a codified break from the previous age of production dominated by small operations based on the system of guilds, craftsmen and journeymen (Zedlitz 1834: 274). Thus, as the guilds and their

member craftsmen faded from numerical significance in the city, their children and grandchildren were forced to seek work and/or spouses within the growing group of manufacture and industrial workers. Again, this was a process that had already begun midway through the 18th century and culminated over the course of the 19th. As Helga Schultz asserts in *Das Ehrbare Handwerk*, the high fecundity of the craftsmen's families in the later 18th century meant that many of their children were forced to marry 'downward'; that is, into the wage laborer, agrarian, or military classes:

> Da die Zunfthandwerker allgemein relativ hohe Heirats- und Geburtenraten bei niedrigerer Sterblichkeit hatten, blieben in jeder Generation mehr Handwerkerkinder...Im Gegensatz dazu konnten nahezu alle städtischen Lohnarbeitershichten wie gezeigt die einfache demographische Reproduktion nicht erbringen. Sie mußten sich also ständig durch Absteiger aus dem Zunfthandwerk – und der Bauernschaft! – ergänzen (Schultz 1987: 291).

This consolidation of previously distinct social and occupational groups is also a sign of an ever-increasing exogamy among the masses, in turn signaling the intense social and linguistic contact among the diverse working population. In effect, marriage patterns prior to 1750 (and in part leading into the later 1700s) indicated that people from different regions did readily marry each other, but more often than not within their own social group. Thus, the sort of limited or compartmentalized contact between Berliners and outsiders was broken down with the slow erosion of the endogamous tendencies of the craftsmen, journeymen, and day laborers.[40]

[40] See Helga Schultz (1987) for a detailed table of marriage patterns by occupation/class.

3.5.4. THE INSTITUTION OF PRUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

With the founding of Berlin's first university in 1810 and the gradual improvement of schooling for the masses, education finally begins to increase levels of literacy among the growing population by the end of this period. However, this was by no means an instantaneous change; the dramatic population growth that resumed after the French occupation meant a constant struggle to open enough schools and find competent teachers to accommodate the growing number of pupils.

Perhaps the most significant development in education in Berlin during this period is the establishment of the university in 1810. Already by 1830 it had 2,000 students, thus becoming the largest German university at the time. This development certainly changed the overall status of Berlin so that now it also became a center of higher learning along with the much earlier established universities in Halle, Leipzig and Wittenberg (Köhler/Richter 1954: 224). However, much like the few *Gymnasien* discussed below, its effect on the education of the general population of the city remained limited.

As in the previous period, the *Gymnasien* continued to only serve small numbers of children coming from richer families, and the curriculum still followed the humanistic approach, with little time devoted to the so-called "new languages", which included German. However, with the founding of the *Kölnisches Realgymnasium* in 1824, the groundwork was laid for schools that devoted more attention to languages in use:

> Erst 1824 wurde mit dem Kölnischen Realgymnasium, in dem die neueren Sprachen und die Realwissenschaften einen bevorzugten Platz einnahmen und der Gewerbeschule auch jenen Rechnung getragen, die sich einem praktischen Beruf zuwenden wollten (Köhler/Richter 1954: 222).

Though this provides evidence that written language and the emerging standard language perhaps had a growing effect on speakers in the city, its effect, being one school among a population now in the hundreds of thousands, would have also been quite limited. Generally, access to this school and the *Gymnasien* continued to be attended only by a small fraction of the population.

In addition to the establishment of the *Realgymnasium*, an official curriculum was established by the Prussian government in attempts to improve education of the masses. The government also began to build more *Volksschulen* (elementary schools), but it was unable to keep up with the rapid growth of the city until around the middle of the 19th century.

In summary, despite these institutional improvements on the educational system in Berlin and Prussia at large, the practical implementation of these reforms continued to lag far behind. Compulsory education was still not written into law in in the 1820s, meaning that large swathes of the population still went without any education at all. For the children of manufacture workers, craftsmen and the like that did receive instruction, schooling remained very rudimentary at best. These children attended parochial and charity schools *"in denen kaum die nötigsten Kenntnisse im Lesen und Schreiben vermittelt wurden."* Religious instruction continued to dominate the curriculum in these schools, largely consisting of rote memorization of bible passages. Furthermore, the education of

girls continued to be viewed as either undesirable or unnecessary; as before, "Stricken und Nähen galt als Hauptsache" for girls (Köhler/Richter 1954: 222).

Thus, as was the case in the previous periods of Berlin's history, adequate education remained a privilege of the few. Notably, even those who did attend school – be it a *Gymnasium,* elementary school or charity school – had limited exposure to German reading and writing skills, and as far as can be extrapolated from the literature, there was no emphasis on preferred pronunciation. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the written language (or indeed any real or perceived 'high' variety of spoken language) could have had any significant or lasting influence on the everyday language behavior of the vast majority of the population of Berlin during the course of the time periods discussed in this chapter.

3.6. Demographic and Historical Trends 1650-1850

From the social and demographic history outlined above, we can discern a handful of overarching phases and trends in the history of Berlin that are important factors in understanding its language history. Indeed, until we fully link the history of Berlin's population and speakers with the trajectory of its vernacular over time, we are telling two stories separately that are in fact fundamentally linked. The urban development and growth of Berlin also fits within the larger context of widespread European urbanization and migration spanning from the beginning of the Early Modern Period to the Industrial Era (cf. De Vries 1984 and others). Establishing how Berlin fits into this framework, and

how its growth into a metropolis was either analogous to or different from Europe's other urban centers also informs the development of the vernacular in Berlin. What follows is a summary of the patterns drawn from the above sections that had the largest effects on the development of the Berlin vernacular.

3.6.1. Immigration as the Engine of Growth and an Underestimated Factor in Language Use

When examining historical situations, it is a natural human tendency to project the rules and features of our own current perceptions and realities onto the period that we are examining. Indeed, this is as tempting as ever when addressing the movements and developments that took place during Europe's (and Berlin's) dramatic urbanization between 1500-1800. The ultimate goal must be to identify those similarities that do exist between earlier periods and the present, while avoiding those that represent false or misleading comparisons. As De Vries states, we must examine Early Modern urbanization "...by placing it in the context of [its] specific features, rather than applying the standards of contemporary urbanization" (De Vries 1984: 13). In following this framework with respect to Berlin (16th-19th centuries), we have found that there is one overarching trend that defines its growth more than any other; namely, the absolute necessity of substantial and sustained immigration for growth.

Berlin's birth to death ratio between the 16th-18th centuries were rarely as low as those present in the Netherlands during the 16th century, where overall population increase was virtually ground to a halt due to high death rates, even in the face of massive in-migration (De Vries 1984: 180). However, the effects of epidemics, wars, and poor

working conditions in Berlin did lead to persistent periods between 1600 and 1850 when deaths substantially outstripped births. Despite that fact, Berlin's population grew in fits and starts throughout this period (with the notable exceptions of the Thirty Years War and the period surrounding the Silesian Wars). And as Stulz-Herrnstadt concludes, this was in large part due to an influx of migrants from near and far:

> Denn auf Grund des in der Regel geringfügigen Geburtenüberschusses dürfte in der gesamten Frühen Neuzeit und noch weit bis in das 19. Jahrhundert hinein das Bevölkerungswachstum, insbesonder dasjenige der größeren Städte, im wesentlichen auf Zuwanderung beruht haben (Stulz-Herrnstadt 2002: 34).

This mass movement to Berlin, as is laid out in detail above using data from the *Berlin Bürgerbuch* and Schultz (1987), stemmed largely from rural surpluses both in the *Mark Brandenburg* as well as places further afield such as the *Ostelbischer Raum* (the regions east of the Elbe including Saxony, present-day Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia), and later, the newer eastern Prussian provinces including Pomerania, Lusatia, Silesia, etc. Adding to this type of migration was the policy-induced migration in the wake of the Thirty Years War, bringing in a huge contingent of protestant French Refugiés that around 1700 comprised over one-fifth of Berlin's total population. The result is an urban landscape where the definition of a "native" and "non-native" Berliner became increasingly cloudy:

> Vor dem Hintergrund einer derartigen demographischen Entwicklung relativiert sich in der historischen Dimension die Kategorisierung "Alt-eingesessen" und "Zuwanderer" in besonderem Maße, ist doch davon auszugehen, daß für die hier behandelte Periode [18./19. Jh.] im Zeitraum einer Generation jeweils mehr als ein Drittel bis über fünfzig Prozent der Bewohner Zuwanderer waren (Stulz-Herrnstadt 2002: 33).

In fact, Stulz-Herrnstadt's estimates provide a more conservative view of these percentages than those given in previous studies. Looking at these figures from the

perspective of immigration as a percentage of total growth only serves to clarify this depiction: Hoffmann (1839) states that in 1816, over three quarters of Berlin's growth was attributed to immigration (Hoffmann 1839: 110). Thus, the demographic picture of post-Thirty Years War Berlin was highly dynamic, so that the native-born population comprised just a fraction of the population as a whole.

We must also consider the social and economic make-up of these immigrants. Were Berlin's newcomers highly educated merchants, students, and professionals seeking fortune in a growing city, or were they the desperate and poor looking for a means for survival and work? Historians have found that the latter far outstripped the former. The vast majority of migrants had differing motivations for moving to the city; sons and daughters without land or marriage prospects sought opportunity in the fast-growing urban centers. More often then not these young adults arrived single, with little or no previous education, and arrived without any cohesive family structure (Ehmer 2004: 21). As discussed previously, therefore, migrants sought spouses in the chaos of the burgeoning city wherever they could find them, establishing families and forming social ties that intensified dialect contact in the city. There was a rapid and direct effect on language behavior as a result: "Dieses wiederum ist ein wichtiger Hinweis auf das Ingangsetzen übermundartlicher Tendenzen auch im Familienkreise - in einer soziologischen Gruppe mithin, in der die Mundart den stärksten Rückhalt besaß" (Kettmann 1981: 40). Here, we can also find striking parallels elsewhere in the European landscape of urbanization. Like Berlin, immigrants to Amsterdam originating from the northern Netherlands and Germany also arrived without any concrete prospects or social

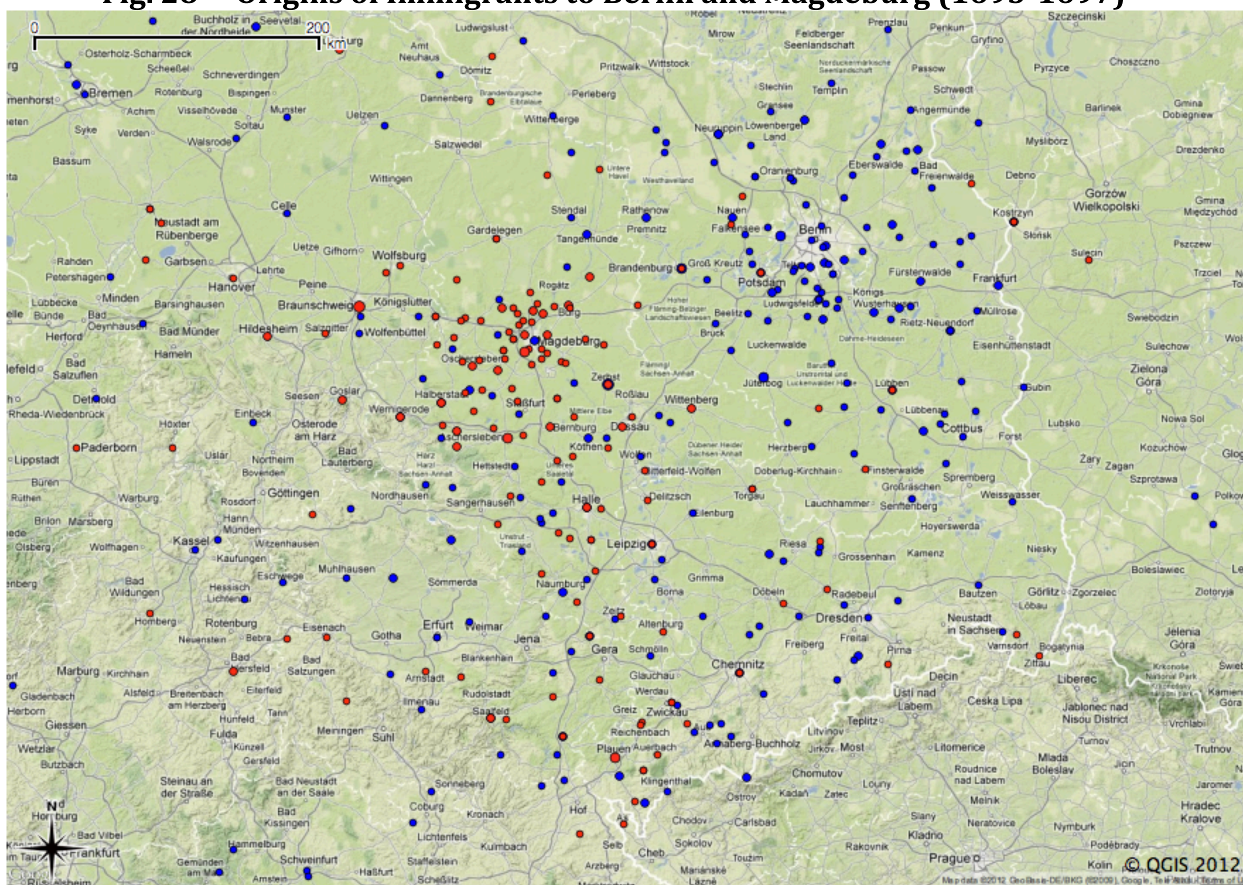
structure, and were therefore outwardly oriented from a social perspective. In order to succeed, these migrants had to cultivate diffuse social networks that put them into contact with a welter of different regional dialects (Hendriks 1998: 225 ff.). Concisely put, Berlin did not only possess a large non-native population during these times of significant growth, but the social situations of these immigrants was a further catalyst of linguistic integration and contact in this new urban setting.

The third important factor to consider regarding immigration in Berlin is geographic origins. If we view long-term trends in immigration and the respective influence of particular regions on Berlin's demographic makeup, we can identify two primary phases: the first, beginning actually prior to the Thirty Years War and culminating between 1680-1720, involves the well-documented heavy influence from Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. The second, defined by an increased influence of the newer Prussian provinces, begins in the second half of the 18th century and continues through the 19th.

Regarding the former, Lasch underpins her arguments about Berlinisch with arguments that as Berlin left the Hanseatic League in 1442, mercantile and cultural influence shifted south to Saxony. By the 16th century, Saxon universities were the primary destination for Berlin's student and professional population, and this highly mobile group decided to adopt the variety they encountered, subsequently bringing it back to Berlin and "imparting" it to the indigenous population. The first part of Lasch's analysis agrees with the data pertaining to migration patterns in Berlin: having no university until the beginning of the 19th century, Berlin sent its students to the leading

universities of Leipzig, Halle, and later Frankfurt/Oder to be educated as doctors, lawyers, and such. However, the recent demographic research included in this paper (Schultz 1987, Böhm 2004, Stulz-Herrnstadt 2002 and others) also reveals that the interconnectivity of Berlin with the entire geographic region to its south and east ran much deeper than that.

Fig. 28 – Origins of Immigrants to Berlin and Magdeburg (1693-1697)



(Data source: Berlin/Cölln an der Spree/Magdeburg Bürgerbücher)

What we actually find is an interconnectivity and interaction of the rural populations *and* urban centers east of the River Elbe characterized not just by the traffic of students and rich merchants, but also by rural-rural, rural-urban, and urban-urban migration and

localized trade patterns that spanned more than a century and a half. We observe the clear overlap of 'catch regions' of migration to Berlin and Magdeburg in the following figure, which displays migrants to Berlin in blue and to Magdeburg in red.[41] Along with the expected cluster of migration from the immediate surrounding regions, we see significant contingents from Upper Saxony and Thuringia. The resulting cultural and linguistic diffusion in Berlin and elsewhere in this entire region therefore stretched over a much longer period, and involved a much wider swath of the population than Lasch and others report. Where the movement of less than 5% of the city's population cannot convincingly explain the corresponding linguistic developments, the fundamental contact apparent in these data can.

Regarding the second phase of migration, the expansion of power of the Prussian Empire following the Silesian Wars (1740-1763) and the status of Berlin as its center of power led directly to a gradual shift in migratory patterns to the city. The flood of Saxon/Thuringian tradesmen and laborers to Berlin continued, but were eventually numerically dwarfed by the number of Silesian, Pomeranian, and East Prussian workers from the so-called new provinces won by Friedrich II during the Seven Years War. As the historian Hubert reports, significant drops in growth in the 1840's in these areas were a direct result of Berlin pulling the surplus population from these areas (Hubert 1998: 51). This shift in influence is particularly interesting from a linguistic perspective. Though areas such as Pomerania and parts of East Prussia brought more Low German influence

[41] This is supported further in the section outlining the migration and demographic situation in Magdeburg, which experienced a strikingly similar population pinch as a result of the 30 Years War and was re-populated by immigrants from similar dialect areas.

to Berlin, many of the new provinces (including Silesia, Lusatia, and the *Osterländisch*-speaking part of East Prussia) spoke dialects with many similarities to those spoken in Upper Saxony, a fact rooted in the earlier settlement histories of these regions connected with the *Ostexpansion* (eastward expansion).

Here again, a striking comparison can be drawn between Berlin's demographic and linguistic history and that of the urban Dutch vernaculars. In her study of the Amsterdam vernacular, Jennifer Hendriks underscores that *sustained* cross-generational migration from one particular dialect region tends to result in a stronger influence of those dialects on the resulting urban koiné:

> The long-standing linguistic effect of a highly concentrated stream of immigrants will, without significant replenishment, become diluted over time. But if the immigration pattern holds constant…the linguistic effects of that immigrant population will never become fully diluted, since there is a steady influx of monolingual speakers…(Hendriks 1998: 109).

In the case of Amsterdam and Dutch, the long-term trends of close-proximity migration from the northern Netherlands and long-distance migration from northern Germany are contrasted with the intense, but short stream of immigrants from the southern Low Countries. Likewise, the continuing influx of Saxons and Brandenburgers to Berlin meant that monolingual speakers were continually 're-injected' into the linguistic landscape, thus increasing their effect on the dialect outcome.

All of these factors in Berlin's demographic history tell us that the effects of immigration on the linguistic development in Berlin cannot be underestimated. While previous investigations have often focused on the effects of the emerging written variety or individual ethnic minorities (such as the Jews or the Silesians) on the character of the

dialect, it is the continued overall presence of a wide variety of immigrants and dialect variants during this period – centered around the interplay between LG and East Central German dialects – that played a fundamental role in establishing the character of Berlin's vernacular.

3.6.2. A Shift from Guilds and Small Crafting to Manufacture and Industrialism, along with Geographic Expansion of City Boundaries

While the demographics of Berlin and its growth were being driven largely by in-migration from near and far, social networks and patterns of interaction were also undergoing fundamental change due to two primary structural developments in Berlin: first, the transition from smaller, guild-based modes of work and production toward larger, centralized manufactories and industrial complexes; and second, the physical expansion of the city and subsequent 'swallowing-up' of satellite towns surrounding Berlin.

As outlined in the previous sections, the guilds and broader social institutions defining social divisions in fact had two contradictory effects on social and linguistic diffusion among the growing and diverse population of Berlin. On the one hand, strict occupational endogamy shown by Schultz (1987) encouraged marriage between spouses of similar background regardless of origin. On the other hand, this same factor led to a compartmentalization of the population, so that social mobility (i.e. upward or downward movement) was minimal, thus serving to limit contact between groups belonging to different *Stände* (literally "classes", but perhaps more appropriately interpreted as

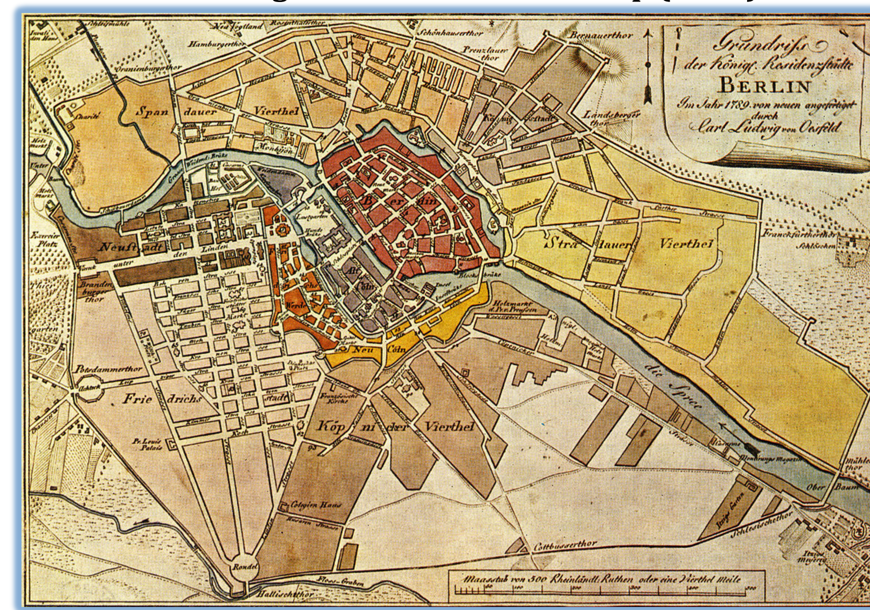
"professions" or "occupational classes"). These two conflicting forces probably resulted in the parallel development of different sociolects corresponding to these *Stände*, which helps to explain the robust variation within the Berlin vernacular itself as it is attested in the later 18th and 19th centuries.

However, consolidation of guild structures (and the eventual integration of German/Huguenot guilds) toward the end of the 18th century and the establishment of ever larger centers of production culminating in the immense factories of the mid-19th century broke down this compartmentalization (cf. Schönfeld 1986). As early as the 1770s and 1780s, workers had daily contact with cohorts consisting of hundreds, rather than perhaps a dozen or fewer people. Furthermore, Berlin's growing pains and persistent war brought with it an increase in downward mobility that further broke down the obstacles to the diffusion of the population. All of this broad social change coincides with yet another development that served to intensify dialect contact and diversity: namely, the shift of the vast majority of the Huguenot French-speaking population, which according to Böhm (2004/5) and Jersch-Wenzel/John (1990) lined up temporally with the above-mentioned events.

Finally, the inevitable physical expansion of the city that accompanied population growth further accelerated social and dialect contact in the city as previously rural areas outside the old city walls (and later, satellite villages) and their populations were officially subsumed into the commercial and social fabric of the city. The borders of Berlin had remained relatively stable leading up to and shortly after the Thirty Years War, then rapidly expanded in correspondence with the population rise described in the

previous sections; between 1681 and 1825 the borders expanded almost sevenfold from 217 to 1,400 hectares. Eight new districts were added to Berlin-Cölln in 1710 in response to the dramatic growth between 1680-1720. In the figure below, one can see the original core areas of Berlin-Cölln in darker red and yellow, respectively, along with the newly incorporated areas in brown and pastel surrounding the older core.

Fig. 29 – Berlin District Map (1789)



(Schneider 1983: 203)

The expansion of the city continued, so that by 1861 Berlin swelled to encompass nearly 6,000 hectares (Schwenk 2002: 144). This brought an ever-increasing number of rural inhabitants surrounding Berlin into daily contact with the diverse urban dwellers, thus representing yet another piece of evidence that dialect contact continued to intensify over the course of the 18th century and into the 19th century (Schildt 1981: 14).

3.6.3. The Limited Role of Formal Education and the Emerging Written Standard Language

A transformation in the working environment (and to an extent the related social structures) in 18th and 19th century Berlin did not correspond with an immediate transformation or improvement in the dissemination or methods of education to the masses. This fact runs counter to two developments that – at least on the surface – seem to suggest otherwise: first, the increased scholarly interest in the codification and regularization of the German language both through written language reform and spoken language prescriptivism (cf. Gottsched (1748), Heynatz (1770), Adelung (1781) and others), and second, the attempt(s) by the Prussian bureaucracy to fundamentally reform the school system. Regarding the former, we find in fact that the grammarians' actual success in changing the language behavior of everyday citizens – much less the educated classes – was highly limited. An anecdote from the childhood memories of Karl Friedrich Klöden (1786-1856) indicates that even toward the end of the 18th century, the petitions of the grammarians remained distant and incomprehensible even to the more privileged:

> Mehrfach hatte ich bei meinem großen Mangel an Büchern versucht, in dem mir von Karl Rohleder geschenkten Buche: 'Adelungs Auszug aus der deutschen Sprachlehre' zu lesen. Seitdem ich es erhalten, war ich allerdings älter geworden, allein ich verstand immer noch keine Zeile. Ich konnte nicht begreifen, wie das zuginge, denn das Buch war deutsch, und ich fragte deshalb meine Mutter, die mir aber nur sagte, das Buch sei unverständlich (Klöden 1874 :118).

This quotation comes not from a laborer, craftsman, or even a merchant, but from the son of an officer, student of philosophy and theology, and the eventual founder of a trade school in Berlin.

Regarding the Prussian school system, we find that the gap between the initial conception of plans to improve the system and their successful implementation is quite significant. Schultz (1987/1993) finds that throughout the 18th century, even master craftsmen remained largely illiterate or only partially literate, and the lack of a defined class of teachers meant that even those lucky enough to attend school for a few years received dubious instruction at best. Moreover, as outlined in section 2.4., von Rochow's proposals to vastly increase literacy were continuously postponed due to the protracted conflicts of the Silesian Wars and rising debt and poverty in the city.

These factors, along with the fact that curricula during this period were simply not focused on providing children with clear and effective *spoken* language instruction, all lead to the conclusion that the written German and its proto-standard spoken counterpart in fact played a negligible role in the earlier development of the spoken vernacular in Berlin. In tracing its formation, we must therefore turn our focus to the dialects that were strongly represented in everyday use among the population of Berlin rather than looking to the grammar tracts during these period that have received so much attention.

3.6.4. Post-Thirty Years War Berlin as a "New Town"?

The overarching migration trends discussed above are framed within a significant break in the history of Berlin; namely, the effects of the Thirty Years War and the recurring epidemics of the mid 17th century, followed by the immigration policies and

dramatic growth between 1680-1720 during the reign of Friedrich I. Though Berlin's status as *Residenzstadt* for the Prussian Empire was unchanged (the royal family eventually returned to Berlin from their refuge in the east to resurrect its capital), it had been reduced to a population of around 10,000 (Schultz 1987: 61), and experienced a cultural and economic decline that would take many decades to recover from. The sudden and dramatic population growth that followed (essentially between 1680-1720) can be described as a virtual re-population of the city both by means of close-proximity migration, but perhaps even more significantly by increased long-distance mass migration from other German-speaking areas, and the granted asylum and eventual settlement of the Huguenot *Refugiés*.

As mentioned in chapter 1, previous language contact studies have investigated so-called "new towns" (Kerswill & Williams 2000 & 2005) and colonial settlements (Trudgill 2004) where intense dialect contact eventually leads to new, or compromise varieties among speakers. Although the demographic pinch that Berlin experienced in the second half of the 17th century can perhaps not be directly equated with a new town situation in that Berlin's previous status as a center of Prussian power is not directly analogous to Kerswill's studies, there are unmistakable parallels that can inform our analysis. In an urban growth situation (as in that of Berlin) in which the autochthonous population is quickly outnumbered by incoming outsiders, the established linguistic norms in this view become just another possible variant among many, rather than an example to be followed by the newcomers. This idea is also not a new one; in fact,

Berlinisch scholars have already alluded to the fact that dialect contact played a significant role in Berlin (see also Schmidt 1986: 143 ff.; Schönfeld 1986: 215):

> Im Verlauf dieses Prozesses verließen immer mehr Menschen das Dorf und konzentrierten sich in den Städten und industriellen Schwerpunkten....In Städten und industriellen Zentren trafen in diesem Zusammenhang - das ist für die Sprachentwicklung bedeutsam - Menschen mit zum Teil recht unterschiedlicher territorialer Herkunft, die gezwungen waren, sich sowohl im Arbeitsprozess als auch im Privatleben miteinander zu verständigen, zusammen (Schildt 1981: 14).

Additionally, work by Hendricks (1997) and Goss & Howell (2002) have outlined similar circumstances in the development in Amsterdam Dutch, proposing that many aspects of Kerswill & Williams and Trudgill's models can also be applied to the burgeoning urban centers of Early Modern Europe. In the coming chapters, I seek to build upon the idea that the Berlin vernacular was in large part shaped by the historical and social factors described above, and that its formation can be explained in the context of the mass migration movements of the Early Modern and Industrial periods in Europe.

4. Primary and Meta-linguistic Texts on Berlinisch and Upper Saxon

4.1. Introduction

We must draw on written evidence of the spoken variety in Berlin in order to link the historical developments discussed above with the language of its speakers. However, as many scholars have noted, definitive source material reflecting the Berlin variety is remarkably scant. Agathe Lasch mentions her failure to find Berlinisch in the writings of various craftsmen's guilds of the 16th and 17th century (Lasch 1928), and Georg Butz

cites the "*ungünstige Quellenlage"* as a major hurdle to shedding further light on the development of the dialect. Butz is specifically referring to a period he calls the *Übergangszeit*, or "transition period" – a moniker aptly given to the late 17th and earlier 18th centuries in Berlin due to the near absence of any evidence of spoken dialect during this time (Butz 1988: 1).[42]

In the attempt to unearth sources to improve the *Quellenlage* relating to the Berlin vernacular, I have examined several additional hand-written textual genres ranging from court protocols, guild protocols and record books to personal letters, diaries etc., in hopes of turning up further sources that might contain hints at dialect use. However, thorough searches at the *Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, the *Landesarchiv Berlins*, the *Märkisches Museum* and others have revealed little primary source material reflecting anything remotely resembling the Berlin vernacular. Instead, we find a remarkably consistent reflection of the emerging written variety in the documents from the later 17th and 18th centuries.

Far from being an indication that Berliners were speaking something resembling the written variety, this situation rather reflects a clear separation of written and spoken domains during this period. Indeed, it appears that the vast majority of surviving texts were written by a relatively small number of composers with a practiced hand in written German: court protocols and interrogations were re-written by bureaucrats into reported speech format from their in-all-likelihood verbatim originals, request and complaint

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[42] Not insignificantly, this gap in the written record coincides exactly with the timeline of significant demographic upheaval that was described in detail in chapter 2.

letters from craftsmen were largely written by a designated *Schreiber* appointed by the guild,[43] and surviving informal correspondence often contained in *Familiennachlässe* (family archives) belongs solely to the highly educated sectors of the population, including doctors, professors, nobility, and members of the intelligentsia.

Previous studies on Early Modern urban varieties (Goss & Howell 2006, Hendricks 1998, and others) during the 16th and 17th century and earlier successfully utilize variation within personal texts to identify dialectal variation and change. However, it appears that the primary reason for the lack of variation in written texts of Berliners was that Berlin was a latecomer into the scene of European metropolises; the city had not yet developed into a substantial city until the 18th century, by which time the dissemination of a written proto-standard (expedited by the development of the printing press in the 15th century and the subsequent spread of the Reformation) had been established in the East Central German-speaking areas. While cities like Amsterdam, London, or Antwerp had booming populations already by the 1500's, Berlin remained – as historians often describe it – an insignificant "backwater" on the eastern fringe of central Europe until its recovery from the Thirty Years War and growth during the 18th and 19th centuries. By this time, developments toward a supra-regional and proto-standard written variety – in part induced by the spread of printed materials and the Saxon chancery language – led to

[43] This is supported by the fact that most of these documents are also signed by the scribe, whose signature appears consistently in a body of documents for a given period until they are no longer employed in a given guild or post. One can also note the consistency of handwriting in documents where a scribe's signature is absent.

more uniform usage in the written domain, and therefore fewer hints of spoken language use in those texts.[44]

Despite these facts, one might still express surprise, as I did, that spoken dialect is almost never reflected in the written record of Berlin and its inhabitants. There are several further reasons why this may be the case: first, although the number of documents and texts available is substantial, the breadth of the population that is reflected in these documents is quite narrow. As outlined in chapter 2, it is likely that upwards of 75% of the population had either very limited or no writing ability even as the turn of the 19th century approached, and as a result, the documents that have survived the centuries stem from a small minority of literate Berliners. Even master craftsmen, as Helga Schultz asserts, were more often than not unable to write: "Die Berliner Handwerksmeister konnten schon zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts lesen, weniger gut aber schreiben. Für ihre Frauen galt dies weit weniger. Sie mußten oft noch mit drei Kreuzen unterzeichnen... (Schultz 1993: 55)." As discussed above, even those who possessed some skill in writing more often than not employed the guild's designated scribe to compose any official correspondence.

Furthermore, the typically informal text types such as personal letters or diaries held in Berlin archives unsurprisingly stem from the most famous or wealthy families

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[44] An additional factor here is the increased tendency of Friedrich I and his successors to appoint bureaucrats and ministers that were not natives of the region surrounding Berlin. As Clark states, the "nobility of the Brandenburg hinterland had become a marginal presence within the nascent Hohenzollern bureaucracy...." In the period spanning the reigns of Friedrich I to his grandson Friedrich the Great (1640-1786), only 10% (!) of senior court, military, and diplomatic posts were occupied by a member of the Brandenburg landowning class (Clark 2006: 62).

living in Berlin. We therefore only have a picture of the most geographically mobile and moneyed sectors of Berlin's population. In addition to widespread partial or complete illiteracy limiting the evidence of spoken Berlinisch in the written record, the genre and formality of surviving material masks features of the spoken language. Court protocols made use of reported speech rather than recording verbatim,[45] diaries and letters of Berliners tended to contain very deliberate and formal language.

Of course, all of these factors do not suggest that informal documents and written material from "everyday" Berliners never existed. To put it mildly, Berlin has undergone a tumultuous several centuries and experienced substantial destruction, but the near-complete leveling of the city during the Second World War was by far the most devastating event in the city's history,[46] and certainly resulted in the destruction of countless primary sources that could have provided important clues as to the linguistic behavior of Berliners prior to 1850. With these facts in mind, there is still some small hope that informal written documents have somehow survived these calamities, but their discovery at this point relies entirely on luck, for they probably lie buried among private belongings in an attic, or in the unsorted mountains of material not yet processed by the many archives in Berlin.

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[45] This is likely due to the fact that scribes were very often recruited from abroad due to the lack of schooling within Berlin. The cleanness of the manuscripts also suggests that potential original scripts were re-copied into reported speech format.

[46] One of the most devastating losses during World War II was the demolition of the lion's share of priceless collections of the *Verein für die Geschichte Berlins* (established in 1865), who had collected and collated documents relevant to the history of Berlin reaching back to its beginnings.

All of this aside, there is indeed a series of texts that, when combined with the historical investigation above, give us a strong idea as to how spoken language developed in Berlin over the centuries. As Hartmut Schmidt asserts, we must still utilize those texts that are available in order to understand the social and functional diversity that defined Berlin's dialect over the centuries (Schmidt 1986: 103). The important thing to keep in mind as we interpret these texts is to consider the limitations on claims one can make given the genre, author(s), and intended audience of the text. It is tempting to make sweeping as well as very specific claims based on written evidence we find on Berlinisch – this temptation is even more pronounced given the paucity of material. The goal here is to tease out relevant clues in these texts without reaching for conclusions that cannot – or should not – be made based on the nature of the documents. Perhaps most importantly, however, these texts will be considered within the detailed demographic context outlined in the previous chapters.

Given that the focus of this study is primarily on the development of the urban vernacular in Berlin after its emergence as an urban center following the Thirty Years War, this section will investigate the texts from this period in greatest detail. It is by no means an exhaustive list (and there is no question that pre-WWII scholars had many more texts at their disposal); rather, it attempts to compile the most important and compelling sources. As they still provide context for the subsequent time periods, a brief summary of sources prior to the Thirty Years War is also included.

4.2. TEXTS PRODUCED PRIOR TO 1650

The earliest textual sources stemming from Berlin (between 1300-1500) are essentially limited to charters, deeds, and the *Berliner Stadtbuch* (late 14th century).[47] Though Latin continued to be the dominant language used in these documents through the end of the 14th century, Low German (or Central Low German) was used in an increasing number of official writings (Schmidt 1986: 109). Because the emergence of proto-standard written varieties had not yet begun to penetrate the Mark Brandenburg, we can surmise that these documents, despite their official nature, are relatively good reflections of spoken language at the time. As is clear in the example text from the *Berliner Stadtbuch* below, Low German was solidly positioned as both the official written variety during this period:

> Umme desse myssedat ward Mathis wiff gebrand vor Berlin. Irst, dat sy med bozer thuholtnisse und med bozen rade brachte dat darthu, dat Jacob von dem Ryne thuplichte med Claus Jordens wyff, dy syn eyghen wedder was, und lach med der in unechte. Und nemen beyde, Jacob und dat wiff, sodan cleyder, geld und ander gherede Clavus Jorden alz Claus dat best hadde, und lypen met eynander wech heimliken und levenden med eynander in unechte alz rechte ketter. Des folgede Clavus Jordan na wente thu Wittenberge. Dar fand he sin wiff und Jacob Rymanne synen vedder, dy em sin wiff hadde untfurd. Dar feng Claus Jorden sin wiff und Jacobe synen vedderen und lyt sy richten als sy vordined hedden. Dar bekanten sy beyde, dat Mathis wiff hadde sy beyde, Jacob und Claus Jordens wiff, thu hope gebracht med bozen rade und met allen bozen thuhold, und hadde darumme ghenomen gifft und gave von Jacob von dem Ryne und von Claus Jordens wiff. Und umme der myssedat wille so ward Mathis wiff gerycht und gebrand vor Berlin (Berliner Stadtbuch 204).

This use of LG in official domains (alongside Latin) continues through the end of the 15th century, but with an increasing appearance of CG/UG texts. Lasch, and later

[47] The *Berliner Stadtbuch* is a sort of chronicle recording revenues, legal proceedings, and rights given to various guilds in the city.

Schmidt, identify several reasons as to why Berlin officials began to use CG/UG in more and more circumstances. First, cultural and trade relationships in Berlin were in flux during this period. Leading into the 15th century, Berlin was aligned culturally and commercially toward the Hanseatic League in the north. Being only a peripheral member of the league[48] in the 14th and 15th centuries, Berlin finally withdrew from the Hanseatic League in 1442. Thus, as Lasch claims, the orientation of trade and commerce in Berlin begins to shift south toward cities such as Leipzig and Dresden (Lasch 1927: 66-69). With this change comes an increasing tendency for scribes to adjust the language of official correspondence according to the recipient. Thus, as more transactions take place with CG/UG-speaking cities, more CG/UG documents begin to appear. Second, the arrival of the Hohenzollern ruling family and their Franconian-speaking entourage (which consisted of officials and scribes as well as court employees such as musicians, cooks, and doctors) brought an immediate presence of UG speakers to Berlin. The scribe Nether, official scribe in the city beginning in 1504, marks the decisive switch to CG/UG in charters and deeds in Berlin, and although his writing is sprinkled with occasional LG lexical items, the transition is actually quite abrupt (Schmidt 1986: 129 ff.).

This transition in Berlin from a LG official written variety to one stemming from East Central Germany undoubtedly had an effect on the overall picture of language use in the city. Most importantly, it established a clear separation for literate speakers between written and spoken domains that would persist all the way into the modern period. The

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[48] The Hanseatic League was a trade union centered around the Baltic and North Seas whose German-speaking centers of power (Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock, etc.) were largely centered around LG-speaking regions.

increased Franconian presence would have at least made the everyday citizen aware of a difference between the native LG-speaking population and their new UG-speaking rulers. What we *cannot* assert from this transition is that Berliners quickly recognized and acknowledged an inherent 'prestige' of the CG/UG varieties and subsequently began speaking it. As is clearly outlined in chapter 2, the literate population during the Early Modern Period represented only a small fraction of the total population. In other words, a shift in the written language is a long way from indicating a shift in the spoken domains.

As previously discussed, another important written source from the period preceding the Thirty Years War is an anonymously written *Weihnachtsspiel* performed in 1589. In a scene featuring four shepherds and the angel Gabriel, the angel is depicted with a near-written style of language, while the four shepherds are depicted largely with LG features, but with varying degrees of CG/UG features. We must keep in mind that theatrical sources can be misleading in that the writer often depicts exaggerated or satirical representations of speakers; however, we can draw some general conclusions about the presence or absence of certain features among speakers of the city.[49]

In analyzing the characters' language use, Hartmut Schmidt asserts that the *Erste* and *4. Hirt* have the most canonical LG features, while the second (*Ander*) and third display some aspects of CG/UG. However, Schmidt also makes a claim regarding the intentions of the characters that perhaps goes a step too far; namely, that the presence of CG/UG features in the second and third shepherds reflects a conscious *"bemühen"*, or

[49] As Schmidt additionally asserts, we can also ascertain which language forms may have been in the passive repertoire of speakers in the city since the audience of course had to be able to understand the dialogues (Schmidt 1986: 139).

striving, toward these forms because of their inherent prestige (Schmidt 1986: 140). Indeed, this is merely a conversation among apparent equals and involving no obvious hierarchal relationships that would indicate an attempt to 'elevate' one's register. A more tempered conclusion about the shepherds' language use in the text would be that this variation among the characters should be viewed as exactly that: possible or variable forms that were present and/or recognized forms among the speakers and writers in and around the city at that time. Indeed, as described above, Berlin was increasingly defined by its older LG-speaking population[50] and the newer arrivals from Franconia and Saxony, and as is common in more modern German *Volksstücke*, the author often showcases a wide variety of regional and social dialects. It should therefore come as no surprise that the anonymous author depicted these characters with a variety of LG along with CG/UG features.

Der 4. Hirt.
Gy gesellen, heffe gi nu gehoredt,
Watt uns Gott upperstundt hatt beskerett?
Watt mutt datt vor en wunger sin!
Die allene erheltt all dingk,
Is nun worden en klen Kindeken
Undt soll liggen in Krippeken
Inn sottener Kölde uppen Windelken
In dustern stall bi datt Eselken,
Uppen harden stro bi datt Rindigken.
Life Gott, datt mudt gu selten stan.
Lott uns ohn all vertugernis hingahn!

Der erste Hirt.
Ja, liebenn bruders allgemein,
Ed muchte truwen unuerweslich sin.
Wu kommen wie tu solker gnade,
Dett uns so ewen unne gerade
Uns armen herden up dem feldt

[50] We must also keep in mind in this context that Berlin and the surrounding Mark Brandenburg were in fact *not* monolithic LG-speaking territories, as outlined in chapter II.

Die Nige Könnig wirt vermeldt!
Unne wi sin doch so gar veracht
By iederman, wert man recht betracht.
Ma mutt sic skchir verwungern drub,
Watt Gott vor en bedenken heb,
Datt hä die hohenpristers all
Vergetten thudt in dissen fahll.
Die solten gu billig den kingeken klen
Ennen Nahmen habben gemack sin.
Si menen, mit oppern sis uttgericht,
Drumb hä Ihr ock achtedt nicht.
Ann oppers lett Gott nicht sehre veil,
Bahrmhertigkeidt hä heppen will.
Wollup, folget mi, lieben bruers gudt!
Na Bettlahem steht al mi sin undt mudt.
Hui doch, latt uns gan upperstundt,
Datt wie ju balde kommen up den grundt!
Mitt grotenn fröden ga ick dahin,
Thun nigen kingeken itt mi sin.
Utt gantten hertenn ick mit frew,
Datt seck ick Ju on allen scheu.
Fingen wis bälde, so seh ichs gerne,
Gott vater werdt uns det wol geweren.

Der ander Hirt.
A Ju, wu bleven aber mene schaff,
Das ich gu nicht ubergih ene straff,
Indän wir sähen nach dem kindt?
Sehr hungerig Itzt die wulffe sindt,
Jo truwen, sie durffen greffen an.
Alles, was ihn itz warden kan.

Der dritte Hirt.
Du solt dafur nicht sorgen thun.
Der Gott, welher uns sinen Söhn
Hatt offenbardt Zu dieser frist,
Derselb auch unser schutzer ist.
Der wirdt durch seinen Engell gudt
Die schaff haltenn in seiner hudt.
Es ist uns mer gelegen dran,
Daß wir daß kingeken sehen an,
Welkes Gott brenget in die weldt,
Den daß wi hebben gudt unne geldt.

Der vierte Hirt.
Gy ilendt altumall thur statt hinnin,
Unne Juer kener wet, wu dät hus mag sin,
Darrinne datt kindt gebaren ist.
Watt mene gi, datt wi hebben frist,
Bett wie die öllern uthfragenn
Unne in det rechten huse Komen?

Danne so ist enttweder worden Nacht,
Denne heppen wi truen wol gewacht.

Der erste Hirt.
Greme di man nig, darffts di ock nicg den Kop dreuer [tubreken]
Wie werden io nicht vordt ene gantze wecke
Thubrengen met desse unsere rese.
Gott ist io wol so klugk unne wise,
Datt ha den mittell treppe darin,
Thu tigen, welk datt hus mudt sin.
Sine wergk hä allethitt fordern khan,
Ga du man fortt up frischer ban.
Sig da, watt strett ginger fur dem hus?
Ett werdt furwar desse Engel sin,
Der uns herden in der nacht erschein
Unne di bottschafft von dem kinggeken bracht.
Gott hatt uns io recht wol bedacht.
Datt werdt datt hus gewisse sein.
Latt uns met fröden gan hinnein!
(Bolte 1926)

Schmidt also identifies two contrasting texts from the mid-17th century. The first text is a dialogue/poem performed at the wedding of a church musician in 1637. In this piece, the domain is again informal (a conversation between the musician and the sheriff) and largely reflects LG features.

Kroeger:
Doch hoert: Mut ick ock eenen Knecht,
De my im schmeeden helpt, annehmen? segget recht?

Schulte:
By lief' vnn gude nich. Sal sy ju recht Curiren,
So moete gy alleen met macht den Hamer fuehren,
Hier dienet Huelpe nicht, Sal ju geholpen syn,
So helpe Sie alleen, Suest nempt man tu de Pyn.

Kroeger:
Nu, eh' mie sall so ball de Kranckheet in die Erden
Verscharren, wil ick eh' een Isentwinger werden,
Versoeken, wiel et doch sall syn, by welchem Stueck
Ick werde hebben nu henfort dat beste Glueck,
Efft werden beter my de Lieder gahn van staden,
Oder dat Schmeedewerck? dartu gy my so raden.
(Schmidt 1986: 144)

Again, Schmidt makes some important claims about the text: namely, that LG (and in this text with few or no CG forms) is still very relevant as a variety in the city by the mid-17th century. We can perhaps go a step further and say that LG was also far from being relegated to a status as speech of the "lower classes" of Berlin leading into the period of the Thirty Years War. Indeed, the smith, the musician (Kroeger) and the sheriff all use LG in this text. Schmidt uses the *Berliner Bürgereid* from the mid-17th century as a contrast to this text, in which the language much more closely resembles the emerging written variety at the time.

> Ich N. gelobe und schwere, dem curfurstin zu Brandenburgk, meinem gnedigstem herrn, und einem erbarn rat beider stedte Coln und Berlin jederzeit getreu...So oft ich auch von curf. g. und einem erbarn rat beider stedte, bei tag und nacht, in heimlicher oder offentlicher sachen von wolgemelten räten beider stede Berlin und Coln verbottschaft werde...
> (Schmidt 1986: 145)

Although this is a text that would have in all likelihood been orally recited by new citizenship applicants, the domain is also very different from the text just discussed. The former contains informal, conversational speech, while the latter is formulaic in nature, representing a recitation that the applicant would have to learn, read or repeat aloud.

Schmidt interprets the presence of LG and written CG/UG texts in Berlin as evidence of a "widespread bilingualism" in the 16th and 17th centuries among the Berlin population according to social and occupational status, but includes the crucial clarification that this bilingualism was “domain specific”. In other words, the written variety or CG was used in official situations, while LG continued to dominate in everyday speech interactions (Schmidt 1986: 143). While I largely agree with this assessment of language use in Berlin at the time and this conclusion is indeed supported by the texts

above, I would add the following: first, that access to and active use of the variety we see in the *Bürgereid* was perhaps not as widespread as Schmidt suggests, but limited to the literate population and used in written texts or recitations. Second, I would emphasize that the primary CG/UG (or as Schmidt puts it, *Hochdeutsch*) influence on the spoken language in Berlin moving forward was more likely *not* the language represented in the *Bürgereid*, but rather the CG *spoken* dialects represented by the increasingly diverse set of dialects present in the city. This is of course supported by the fact that most phonological and morphological features in the latter text actually do not bear much of a phonological or morphological resemblance to what later becomes Berlinisch.[51]

The approaching Thirty Years War led to the most significant social change thus far in Berlin's history; the demographic diversity that had emerged in the 16th and early 17th centuries with the rise of the Hohenzollern court and increasing immigration from the south and east intensified rapidly in the wake of the war and would continue into the 19th century. It is therefore in the following period(s) of mass migration when we see the increasing evidence of the incursion of CG/UG dialect use also into the spoken domains in Berlin.

[51] The following are a handful of examples: *auch* vs. *ooch*, *beider* vs. *beeder*, *tag* vs. *dag*, the use of the dative and genitive cases, etc. One exception can be found in *geloben*, which matches the expected vowel in Berlinisch.

4.3. Texts from 1650-1780

As mentioned above, the period following the Thirty Years War is characterized by a paucity of data relevant to the spoken dialect in Berlin. Perhaps somewhat ironically, the most significant body of writing displaying spoken language characteristics seem to come from the Prussian ruling family itself, the Hohenzollerns. Due to the influence of the French language among the most privileged classes, and therefore also at the court of the Hohenzollerns, the Prussian rulers during this period had very limited schooling in the German language. As a result, in less formal correspondence (such as the famous letters of Friedrich II with his servant Fredersdorf), they had to rely to varying extents on their own spoken language to inform their orthography. This is perhaps most present in the speech of the beloved Friedrich II in the late 18th century.

We additionally have an increased and invaluable body of meta-linguistic sources appearing in this period that correspond with the increased scholarly interest in the German language, and more importantly with identifying (and combating) variation in written and spoken forms. The observations of these scholars can also provide valuable insight as to how language was developing in Berlin during this period.

4.3.1. The Hohenzollern letters (~1700-1780)

The letters of the Hohenzollern rulers are particularly interesting in that they provide the only known coherent cross-generational account of language use in Berlin that clearly departs from the emerging written proto-standard. We have three

generations of letters from this family beginning with Friedrich I (1657-1713), and continuing with his son Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688-1740) and grandson Friedrich II (1712-1786). Much like the previously discussed dramatic texts, we must be careful in making broad conclusions about the language in these texts because the Hohenzollern rulers can hardly be considered to represent the life or language of the ordinary citizen. However, the unique situation (especially among the latter two rulers) that they were well-practiced in writing but not in the written German variety means that we are able to capture many traces of spoken language in Berlin over the course of those generations. Moreover, the life spans of these three figures straddles Berlin's rapid growth into an urban center.

Friedrich I was born in 1657 in Königsberg, East Prussia, and soon thereafter put under the supervision of Baron Otto von Schwerin, a key minister in the Hohenzollern court. Soon thereafter, Von Schwerin appointed the notably stern and highly educated Eberhard Danckelmann as the young prince's educator. His tutelage was strict and thorough; French was central in his education and daily spoken routine, but Latin and German catechism lessons also played an important role in his daily education (Schmidt 1996: 31 ff.).[52] Because the majority of his childhood was spent being educated by non-Berliners in Altlandsberg (approximately 20 miles northeast of Berlin), we cannot reliably view Friedrich I's letters as potential sources for the Berlin vernacular; however,

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[52] It is also of note that from what we know about Friedrich's childhood education, there is no mention of oral practice in the German language aside from rote recitation of Bible verses during religion lessons (Schmidt 1996: 32). Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that the vast majority of Berliners had any access to oral language instruction if the future Prussian king himself did not.

as the father of two subsequent Hohenzollern rulers whose language is in fact relevant to Berlinisch, they provide a useful starting point.

Among many other documents, most of which were composed in French, we have a set of letters in German written to his second wife, the Electress Sophie von Hannover, beginning in the final decade of the 17th century. In general, Friedrich's written German is a much closer representation of the written variety than that of his descendants; we find in his letters that the case system is largely intact, with consistent usage of the genitive case and only isolated variation in the dative/accusative cases (this type of variation will vastly increase in Friedrich Wilhelm and Friedrich II's letters). We also find examples of <g> written for an expected <j>, such as in *das genige* and *gugend*. As discussed in chapter V, this phenomenon likely represents a Franconian dialect feature, but could also reflect a hypercorrection of a lenited initial /j/ typical of Brandenburg and the surrounding regions. In either case, it is another feature we see much more often in his descendants' writing. Indeed, Friedrich's writing is notable in its relative *lack* of features corresponding with typical features of Berlinisch.

The letters of the son of Friedrich I, named Friedrich Wilhelm I (henceforth FWI), begin in the first decade of the 18th century and stretch up to his death in 1740. FWI was also known as the "Soldier King" because of his relative lack of interest for anything outside the realm of the military. As such, most of his everyday and social interactions that were not directly connected to the court took place in this setting. Furthermore, in light of the spread of French as the primary language of the court, FWI was tutored by a

Huguenot Refugié and had little or no instruction in the written German language. In fact, FWI had few or no reading and writing skills in German at age nine (Hummrich 1910). FWI himself was fully conscious of the fact that his written German reflected the vernacular, as he states in a letter from 1711: "...Euer Lieben nehmen nicht ühbell das ich so Platt schreibe...(Krauske 1905: 47)." Perhaps most importantly, however, is the fact that FWI is born just as Berlin experiences an explosion of population growth, which included the arrival of thousands of French Huguenots and the sustained increase (from approximately 1680-1720) in migration from Saxony and East Central Germany. Thus, following the theory that the Berlin vernacular underwent an important formative process as a result of immigration and substantial dialect contact – and given the fact that FWI grew up with little instruction in written German – we should observe variation in his letters that reflects features from some or all of these influences.

Indeed, the language in FWI's letters has been described by scholars such as Hummrich (1910) as "chaotic, folksy", and as a "mixture of Central and especially Low German features". FWI's letters also include many of the French loan words that later become a staple of the Berliner's vocabulary. As Hummrich states: "Was wir aus unseren Betrachtungen erkannt haben, läßt sich dahin zusammenfassen, daß uns ein deutlicher Einfluß der mittel- und besonders der niederdeutschen Mundart auf die Sprache des Königs entgegentritt, neben besonderer Vorliebe des Herrschers für volksmäßige Ausdrucksweise (Hummrich 1910: 89)." Lasch also describes FWI's writing in detail, and makes the interesting observation that his German is "nicht etwa Berlinisch, er schreibt nur vielfach der Aussprache näher, als dies gewöhnlich ist, wie es ihm durch den Kopf

schoß...daher auch durchaus nicht immer gleich...(Lasch 1927: 101). What Lasch describes is precisely what we would expect given the environment in which FWI learned German; the variation in FWI's writing – that fact that it in fact does *not* reflect Berlinisch as we would expect it – is a clear indication of the rapid increase in dialectal diversity in Berlin, and can be viewed as a sort of incomplete stage of the koinéization process.

Looking at some of the specific trends in FWI's writing, taken both from FWI's letters themselves as well as Hummrich's excellent study on his language, we find the following:

- **Phonology**
    - i. /p/ ⇔ /b/, as in *Prauhaus, eropert, erpschaft* but *Bulver, Bapier, Leibzig*
    - ii. /t/ ⇔ /d/, as in *daugen, deilen, dag* but *teutl. (deutlich), austeuten*
    - iii. /j/ ⇔ /g/ in both directions
    - iv. /f/ for /pf/, along with hypercorrections
    - v. both /k/ and /ch/ for /g/, as in *vorschlack, weck, mack, genuck* but *dach, jacht (Jagd), fleißich*
    - vi. /ee/ for /ei/, as in *kener, wachtmester*
    - vii. long monophthongs /î/ and /û/, as in *flißig, verblibe, schriben* and *gebruchen, herrus, duget (taugt), durette (dauerte)*
    - viii. unrounding of front rounded vowels

- **Morphology/Syntax**
    - i. prevalence of the -s plural, as in *flügels, gerteners, jegers, Idees, Junckers, spions, Kerrels*
    - ii. 'incorrect' use of dative and accusative pronouns in *both* directions[53]
        - Acc.: *mich tuet auch leidt, ich reservire mich zwey, ich würde gezwungen sein mich selber zu helfen*
        - Dat.: *sonder mir zu befragen, er hat mir bitten lassen*
    - iii. same as ii. with all prepositions

- **Lexicon**
    - i. prevalence of French loan vocabulary, mostly in military context, as in *Chargiren (Fr. charger), sentiment, opinion, allegirte,* etc.

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[53] As Hummrich interestingly notes, FWI makes the 'mistake' in the direction of the dative much more often than the other way around, which matches the eventual system adopted in ModBer, where the dative *mir* represents the 1st person pronoun in the oblique case. As we shall see, this tendency becomes even more solidified in the language of Friedrich II (Hummrich 1910: 42 ff.).

Friedrich II (henceforth FII) – also known as "the Great" – was perhaps the most popular and beloved of the Prussian electors, and as a result, his letters and usage in German have been thoroughly studied. Like his father, French was the language of instruction during his education, and remained the most important language at court during his lifetime. Many have suggested, as with FWI, that the variation in FII's writing is a sign that he was essentially a non-native speaker of German, but scholars such as Richter (1926) contend that, like his father, it was simply a reflection of his lack of formal schooling in written German: "Bezüglich seiner Ausdrucksform dürfen wir allerdings unser scharfes Urteil in gewissen Sinne einschränken: Liest man sich nämlich die Briefe laut vor, so wirken sie ganz wie gesprochen, gesprochen im Ton des "Mannes aus dem Volke" (Richter 1926: 14)." Lasch also agrees with Richter when she states that he was simply not "familiar with the mechanics of written German" due to his formal education in French (Lasch 1927: 102).

In any case, FII unsurprisingly displays many of the same tendencies in his German as his father, but we can also find some interesting differences that are suggestive of a generational development of the vernacular in Berlin. First, FII's use of case shows a marked increase in consistency in comparison with FWI (though it continues to *not* reflect the written variety). Where FWI's marking of case fluctuated between dative and accusative (with a preference for dative), FII uses the dative for pronouns with notable consistency. Indeed, FII follows perfectly the well-known phrase about the Berliner's case use: "Der Berliner sagt immer mir, ooch wenn't richtig ist!." In

addition to the famous letter closing "Gott bewahre Dir!", there are countless other examples to support this:

> Gott bewahre **Dir**!
>
> ...lasse **Dihr** nur nicht die geduld bei dehme allen vergehen...
>
> ...so Schreibe doch zwei oder drei Mahl die Woche, wie Du **Dihr** befindest.
>
> ...und wann ich einen Menschen finden könte, der Wirklich im Stande **Dihr** zu helffen wehre, so Wolte ich im vom Japan Komen lassen.
>
> ich verlange keine andere erkenntlichkeit von **Dihr**, als **Dihr** gesundt wieder-zu-Sehen, was mir Sehr freuen wirdt. gottbewahredir!
>
> (Richter 1926: 30 ff.)

FII's phonology largely mirrors what we observe in FWI, with some of the following most salient tendencies:

- the collapse of /t/ and /d/ in *due (tun), disch, donderstach, deudlicher, alledage*, etc. (Richter 1926)
- lenition of initial /g/ only in certain lexical items such as *jetzunder*
- shortened vowels in *Brif, auf-Schlissen, gekrigt, friden*

Morphologically, we find the same tendency as FWI to favor the -*s* plural, as in such examples as *messers, wagens, schlüssels*. Many of these are attested in ModBer as well. Additionally, the frequent -*chen* diminutive suffix is reliably written as -*ken* or even -*quen* in some cases, again showing LG preference.

To summarize, the three generations of Hohenzollern letters provide important indications of the types of variation and dialect contact that undoubtedly was the norm during the late 17th and 18th centuries in Berlin. When we consider the language use of the three generations together, we can almost observe the process of chaotic variation in action, followed by a settling of features and tendencies in the letters of FII. To reiterate,

we must be cautious in categorically attributing the language of the Prussian royal family to the rest of the city's residents; however, equally dubious is the claim that Lasch makes in classifying the language of the Hohenzollern letters as only reflecting the language of the patricians: "Kein Zweifel, daß das [sic] Hoffsprache, Sprache der Gesellschaft ist (Lasch 103)." Instead, we must view these letters, much like the earlier dramatic texts discussed above, as reflecting possible forms and tendencies rather than definitive representations of the language of particular groups. Lasch's strong claims are of course made in the context of her particular story of Berlinisch, namely, that it was adopted and formed by the upper classes of society. It should therefore come as no surprise that she felt compelled to fit these letters into this framework.

4.3.2. THE *BÄCKERMEISTER* JOHANN FRIEDRICH HEYDE (1703-1790)

One of the few handwritten documents stemming from a 'typical' Berliner from this period is the *Chronik Johann Friedrich Heydes*, a long-lived baker from Berlin who composed a lengthy description of current events alongside a timeline of his own life events. As a member of the baker's guild in Berlin, Heyde's text is a crucial historical artifact in understanding the everyday lives of Berliners of the 18th century, but it also provides an important glimpse into the language of one member of a substantial group in Berlin's demography. As always, we must take Heyde's specific life circumstances into account, and be cautious in generalizing his language behavior too ambitiously.

Heyde's birth in 1703 corresponds with the historically tumultuous period in which Friedrich I's immigration policy had brought thousands of new inhabitants to the city each year, so from that we can be relatively certain that the linguistic environment in which Heyde grew up was highly variable. That said, Heyde's family history also underlines the extent to which the class of craftsmen in Berlin were endogamous: the extensive family tree provided in Helga Schultz' edition of the text (Schultz 1988) reveals that Johann Friedrich's brother, father-in-law, brother-in-law, and four of his cousins were all bakers. All three of his sons that survived into adulthood also went on to become bakers. This agrees with the assessment in chapter 2 that marriage within a certain trade seemed to trump geographic endogamy. As Schultz puts it, Heyde's family is a *Bäckerdynastie* where work, familial and social relationships were all connected.

Another very notable conclusion we can draw from Heyde's family tree is confirmation and a clear example of how uncertain life in an 18th century city was. Heyde had five siblings, four of whom died before the age of five; his wife Eva Maria saw only one sibling out of six survive past age ten. Heyde, in turn, fathered eight children, three of whom died before their fifth birthday. Thus, in Heyde's family tree we have a picture of why cities at this time were veritable cultural and linguistic melting pots. Death rates outstripping birth rates for extended periods of time coupled with high growth rates are clear indications of the high turnover rate of the population at this time.

As Schultz points out, Heyde's text is unique in that it reflects "naïve" reporting of the events of the time, and comes from a man who was embedded within the class of bakers in Berlin, and who also never left the city for any significant period of time

(Schultz 1988: 7). The text type itself is largely formal in nature; only brief glimpses of emotion or spontaneity can be found in his narration of the Russians' near-invasion of the city in 1760 or in the interjection of his personal feelings about the execution of certain criminals. Following Koch/Österreicher's (1985) continuum of *Distanz-* and *Nähesprache* (essentially formal vs. informal language respectively), Heyde's text has clear elements of deliberateness, permanence, contains a fixed theme, and has no explicit interlocutor (as we would have in a personal letter or hypothetical recipient in a true diary), all of which are characteristics of the written domain. His descriptions of his own life events are remarkably succinct:

> 1759 wurde meine Tochter Anna Sophia mit Mossie Zechmeister Bürger und Kaufmann ehlich eingesegnet den 26ten Januari. Gott segne sie... Anno 1762 den 18ten Juni ist mein Sohn Gottfried in der Frembde gegangen den Gott begleiten wolle. (Schultz 1988: 35)

Also reflecting a more formal style, his recollection of current events of the time have a strict narrative quality:

> 1760 Jahr mit 110 000 Mann. Die preusche Armee wurde auch verstärket. Der König bombardieret Dresden im Monat Juni, ging darauf nach Schlesien, der Prinz Heinrich kommandieret gegen die Russen, die Österreicher berenneten Breslow, wurden aber weggetrieben, gleich darauf wurde Glatz verraten durch den Kommandanten. Kam in Österreichs Gewalt. (Schultz 1988: 78)

Despite all of this, we are actually able to locate limited variation in Heyde's writing that may give an indication of some of the corresponding variation in the spoken domain during the 18th century. As Schultz asserts, the craftsmen in Berlin were in all likelihood the ‘lowest’ group to have any ability in writing, so we can assume that Heyde was probably not as practiced as the scribes and bureaucrats of the time. However, Heyde had indeed had enough written training from his unusually well-educated mother,

and later maintained or improved those skills when he was appointed churchwarden. His mother had married Heyde's father as widow of a lawyer, and was the daughter of a court assessor. As such, she was able to supplement the education of her son, a necessary step in a city where elementary and parochial education offered at best a cursory knowledge of written German to most (Schultz 1988: 8). So although Heyde had a relatively practiced hand in writing, we still find variation in his texts. It is therefore interesting to identify those places where Heyde slips up or strays from what we would expect from the written variety of the time. Below is a brief overview of some of the features we observe:

- **Phonology**
  - lenition of /g/ - *battali**g**e* (also *battallie*); botelli**g**e, *Alle**g**irt (also alliiert)*; ***g**enseits; Schlesi**g**en (also Schlesien); **G**ork* (York)
  - /ç/ in final position - Braunschwei**ch**; einjäri**ch**ten (*einjärigen*)
  - rounding of /iː/, /ɪ/ - *geCopp**ü**rt, w**ü**rcklich, verm**ü**scht, d**ü**ck, F**ü**nsternis*
  - fortition of initial /b/ - ***p**loccade* (also *Blockade*); ***p**lessirt* but *Ca**b**bretong* (Cape Breton)
  - fortition of /g/ - *rocken (also Roggen)*
  - unrounding of front rounded vowels - ***E**stereicher* (also *Österreicher*), *W**i**rten berg* (*Württemberg), Kennen (können), Disseldorf*
  - /ʃ/ for /s/ - (post-consonental) *ahn**sch**bach,* (post-rhotic) *per**sch**on*
  - /d/ and /t/:
    - */t/ - **t**rücke (drücken)*
    - */d/ - Mußke**d**ier, **d**ausendt, Ge**d**reide, **d**uch, fu**d**er (Futter)*
  - collapse of long /e/ and /ä/ - *Schr**ä**cken*, F**e**lle
  - 2nd sound shift - *daß **p**erdt, ...über 1000 **f**erde, mit einen **Pf**erde; To**p***

The variation in Heyde's orthography with respect to phonology is a first indication that despite his relatively well-trained hand in writing,[54] he is unsuccessful in purging all aspects of his spoken dialect from his writing. It also hints at the highly variable dialect situation alluded to earlier. In many of the above-listed cases, we find multiple

[54] It is also useful to consider the appearance of Heyde's handwriting. His handwriting style does not show the consistent regularity of the bureaucrats of the Prussian government or even of the guild scribes, but is clearly legible and relatively consistent in its representation of the alphabet.

representations of the same token or phonemic form, with variation between dialect and written form as well as between LG and CG dialect forms (as in the case of *perdt/ferde/Pferde*. We are also able to find aspects of both LG influence as well as features we can identify as typically CG, such as the /ch/ realization of final /g/ and the writing of "sch" for "s", respectively.

Notably absent from Heyde's writing are some of the most salient features of ModBer. Among others, long /oː/ for expected /au/ and /eː/ for expected /aɪ/, lenited initial /g/ (especially in past participles),[55] along with some of the most salient LG features such as *ick, det*, etc.[56]

- **Morphology/Syntax**
  - Case variation
    - Dat. for Acc. - ...mit seiner größesten Macht **gegen ihnen**...;
      ...*Den 15ten Juni reisete H. Wilhelm* **in der Frembde**...
    - Acc. for Dat. - ...starb die fr groß Mutter Rohdin **inß** 93te Jahr ihres alters;
      ...kahm es bey Soor noch **zu einen** Haupt treffen...;
      ...**von einen** Jungen Mußkedier...;
      *...**mit den** beile enthauptet wurden...;*
      *...**In diesen** Monat...;*
      *...**in seinen ganzen** Leben...;*
      *...bis es...wie eine Perle **stehet auf den Teller***
      *...da wir abermal **ein Sieg** erhielten...*
  - Adj. endings - ...nach dehm wahr**( )** Friede...;
    ...nach dehm selbige**( )** 36 stunden...;
    ...einen herlich**( )** sieg...
    ...ein dück**( )** [dick] Stück[57]

[55] We do, however, observe convincing evidence that Heyde's spoken /g/ was in fact lenited. Namely, in the phonetic spellings of French borrowings such as *batalge* (bataille) and *alligirt* (*Allierte*) in which /g/ is written where a glide is expected.

[56] This does not necessarily mean that he did not reflect these features in his spoken language, but it may be a factor of either very high or low salience; thus, though Heyde may use *ik* or *wat* in certain interactions, it is highly frequent and diverges strongly from the written norm and is therefore not present in his writing. Conversely, his perception of his own vowel use may not be sharp enough to register the 'oo' versus 'au' pronunciation, and because of this it does not appear in his writing.

[57] Variation in adjective endings during this period was widespread both in vernaculars and in emerging standard varieties.

- Gender - *mit den beile; sein**( )** Krankheit; in unser**( )** Mark; auf **den** Felde*[58]
- Plural - *Schicksal**s***
- Use of *vor/für* - ***Vor** ein sächsisches 6 Pfennig Stück wollte kein Mensch 1 Pfennig geben*; *Dieses war ein gefährlicher Tag **vor** Berlin; Es war kein Holz **für** die Hofstadt*
- Verb Cluster Word Order - ...hatt sich müßen retiriren...;
  ...so beschleunigt wäre worden;
  ...Wir hatten auch...Torgo und Halle müssen über geben
- Strong Verb Forms **-** *Die Russen **drungen**...* (also ***drang***); *Die Russische Haupt Armee **stund*** (frequently ***stand***); *Dieses Jahr **golt** der Roggen...*

Heyde's general use of morphology and case in this text further suggest that he is fairly well-practiced in the written variety. In the majority of cases (especially compared to what we observe in the later Hohenzollern letters) Heyde correctly uses case and adjective endings, including frequent use of the genitive case. However, Heyde's case use following dative and two-way prepositions reveals many forms straying from the written variety, but which show striking regularity. As the chart below reveals, feminine and plural objects following *mit, von,* and *zu* are nearly always dative, while neuter and masculine objects tend to reflect the accusative.

Fig. 30 – Case Use of Johann Friedrich Heyde Following Dative Prepositions

	FEM DAT	FEM ACC	MASC DAT	MASC ACC	NEUT DAT	NEUT ACC	PLUR DAT	PLUR ACC
mit	22	0	0	4	0	4	7	1
von	9	1	1	4	0	0	7	1?
bei	6	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
zu	13	0	6	2	0	5	0	1
Total	**48**	**1**	**8**	**11**	**0**	**9**	**15**	**3**

[58] The examples involving prepositions could also be the result of case uncertainty.

There is an interesting exception with *zu*, where six of eight masculine examples are in fact dative. In this case, Heyde seems to have generalized the dative case for definite articles with a contracted preposition (i.e. *zum Generale, zum Reichs Tage, zum Brandenburger Tor*), but uses the accusative for indefinite constructions as in: *zu einen Scharmutzel* and *zu einen Treffen*.

With the two-way prepositions *auf* and *in*, Heyde shows considerable divergence from the expected written norm. Out of 72 examples, 23 do not reflect the written form. Moreover, Heyde makes 22 of these 'errors' in the direction of the accusative case (as in *auf den Kirchhof* or *auf das Kriegsschiff* used with the *sein* verb). To sum up, Heyde's use of case with prepositions leads to several conclusions: first, that his use of case with prepositions is remarkably consistent (with the possible exception of *zu* with the masculine) but does *not* reflect the written variety; second, that Heyde seems to reflect a definite preference for accusative forms in masculine and neuter nouns.[59] Interestingly, ModBer follows Heyde in reflecting a systematic preference for the accusative case, but does so across *all* genders following dative prepositions, as in "*...mit die Bahn fahrn wa*" (Schönfeld 1986: 242).

- **French Loans**
  - Military - *battalige/battalge/batallie; alliirten/alligirt; anrollirt (enrolliert), infanterie, Mußkedier, retrangemaneng (??), bleßirte, Magasiene*
  - Other - *geCoppürt (kopiert); Mossie/Moshie (Monsieur), retiriren, Condenmnirt, per accordt, parat, Possesion, Securs (Fr. Secours = assistance)*

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59 Unfortunately, the narrative style of the text does not allow us to compare Heyde's pronoun use to ModBer or the Hohenzollern letters.

Finally, in Heyde's text we find an expected abundance of French loans almost always reflecting phonetic spelling. It is certainly likely that Heyde received some instruction, probably from his mother, in the French language; however, the fact that so many tokens are clearly spelled as he spoke them suggests that Heyde's primary exposure to French was via spoken language. This, along with the quantity of French found in Heyde's writing further suggests the strong presence of French influence not just among the elite, but also among the classes of craftsmen and workers in Berlin.

In Heyde's text, therefore, we have a valuable contrast to the Hohenzollern letters in that Heyde represents a more typical Berliner (if still tending toward the more educated end of the spectrum). In considering the conclusions that can be drawn from this text in combination with those above, we have further confirmation that there was considerable variety during the period when we would expect it (~1680-1750). Moreover, we find that there are many features and trends reflected in these texts (such as reanalysis of case, unrounding, and the prevalence of French loans) that later define ModBer. Perhaps most importantly, we see many hints that there are competing variants (see *perd, ferd, pferd*), suggesting that the highly diverse population during this period is still 'negotiating' a unified dialect.

4.4. META-LINGUISTIC TEXTS AND GRAMMARIANS (1680-1800)

The beginning of the 18th century also marks the continued and intensified scholarly interest in the German language, specifically in the attempted establishment of

norms of usage both in the written and spoken domains. Such well-known names as Morhof (1682), Bödicker (1690) and Gottsched (1748) all wrote about observed variation within different dialect areas of German. Additionally, they introduce (often in contradictory fashion) a prescriptive written and spoken norm, with the latter being based most often upon the former. Thus, Bödicker and Morhof criticize the (Upper) Saxon's use of /j/ and /g/ in *Jott* (Gott) and *Gar* (Jahr), or his pronunciation of /ei/ as /ee/. Gottsched in *Grundlagen einer deutschen Sprachkunst* (1748) provides a pronunciation guide based on common 'mistakes' in various dialect areas, for example: "**Au**, wie in Brauch, Glauben, taub, welches nicht wie **globen, toob** lauten soll (Gottsched 1748: 31)."[60] Having spent a good portion of his adult life in Leipzig, many of these mistakes stem from Upper Saxon dialects. Lasch points to the appearance of such works as an indication of the increased primacy of the written variety's influence over the everyday spoken language (Lasch 1927: 115); however, even contemporaries of the aforementioned grammarians noted the continued futility of their cause. As stated by a commentator in the journal *Merkur* (1750) in response to a publication by another grammarian Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806):

> Die Sprache die im südlichen Chur-Sachsen gesprochen wird, ist, nach Hrn. A. Behauptung, das wahre Hochteutsch; und ist es, ebenfalls nach seiner Behauptung, aus keinem andern Grunde, als weil dieser kleine Theil von Teutschland die blühendste Provinz desselben ist, und weil der gute Geschmak schon vorlängst seinen Siz darinn auf erschlagen hat - und falls jemand daran zweifeln wollte, so soll er kommen und sehen - und was? - daß man in Chur-Sachsen - Chur-Sächsich spricht...Daß man in Chur-Sachsen von dem großen hauffen (d.i. bey weitem von der größern Anzahl) in den untern Classen Beene und Kleeder und korschame Diener, soviel man nur will, zu hören bekomme...Aber was für eine Rangordnung

[60] Original author's boldface.

> sollen wir zu Hülfe nehmen, um die unbestimmten und unbestimmbarn Wörter obern und untern Classen, rechts ins klare zu setzen? (Musophilus 1782: 203 ff.)

We can draw two valuable points from the meta-linguistic commentaries published during this period: first, that although the academic and literate classes develop an increased interest in promoting 'correct' usage in German, their influence on the spoken language of even the literate population is limited. Second, there is a conspicuous absence of any mention of the speech of the Berliner. Lasch would explain this by saying that Berliners simply spoke more or less canonical Upper Saxon or Low German depending on social class. However, another potential interpretation paints a more probable picture: that spoken language use in Berlin – along with its demography – was still in significant flux during the first half of the 18th century, with a bevy of features in use depending both on one's social network and the circumstances or domain of a given situation. Thus, although a lack of evidence here does not prove the fact that Berlinisch did not yet comprise a coherent set of phonological and grammar features, it certainly is suggestive that the formation of the Berlin city vernacular, like its population, was in flux at least until the second half of the 18th century.

4.4.1. Karl Phillip Moritz (1781)

Perhaps the richest pre-1800 source on the character and state of Berlinisch is the meta-linguistic text *Über den Märkischen Dialekt* written in 1781 by the teacher and grammarian Karl Phillip Moritz. Born in 1756 in Lower Saxony in the town of Hameln, he

eventually landed in Potsdam and later Berlin as a scholar, teacher, linguist and writer. Thus, Moritz wrote his account of the *Märker* (in this case to be understood as the people in and around Berlin) after having observed the language of his students and other Berliners as an outsider. From this information we can conclude with reasonable certainty that, as a well-traveled man and language enthusiast, he wrote this piece with considerable meta-linguistic awareness, but also with a certain amount of prejudice regarding value judgments of dialects and variants of the time.[61] In this vein, the tone in his writing is both descriptive and prescriptive. His list is compiled as a collection of common mistakes, along with distinctions for certain observed features considered *pöbelhaft*, or “plebeian".

Significantly, we find in Moritz (1781) the first definitive collection of feature descriptions that can be lined up with what is later defined as the Berlin vernacular. This is in part due to the fact that this, in contrast the earlier material, is an explicit description of spoken language behavior rather than a letter or dramatic text offering only hints, tendencies, or caricatures of the spoken language. However, the fact remains that we

[61] Crucially, Moritz also hints that written and ‘prestige’ varieties continue to be neglected even by the educated classes. In addressing the avoidance of such forms as *ohch, lohffen, lehd, hehß,* Moritz states: "Dies gilt nicht allein vom Pöbel, sondern selbst von dem gebildeten Teil der Nation (Moritz 1781: 4ff.)." Moritz' prescriptivism is also apparent in such arbitrary commentary such as his aversion to the /ʃ/ in German "Überdem sollte man noch erwägen, wie viele zischende Töne unsre Sprache schon hat, so daß gewiß keine Ursach vorhanden ist, dieselben noch zu vermehren (Moritz 1782: 6)." Among other grammarians we also find appeals for the "better parts" of society not to be tempted by the language of the "masses": "Wem soll man nun hier in der Rechtschreibung folgen? Ohne Zweifel dem besten Theile. Denn an keinem von diesen Orten sprechen alle vornehme oder gelehrte Leute so; sondern nur wenige, die sich durch die Unbeständigkeit des Pöbels haben dahin reißen lassen." (Gottsched 1748: 47).

have no definitive proof prior to Moritz of a particular mix of LG and CG/UG features being present in the speakers of Berlin.

In his detailed account of typical mistakes made by the *Märker*, we see a near-perfect parallel with the grammar accounts of Berlinisch from the 19th and 20th century (such as Meyer 1882) as well as Lasch's description of Berlinisch in 1927. In summarizing some of the items that Moritz identifies, we unmistakably see how the interaction of LG and CG/UG dialects were in the process of, or already had at this point been incorporated into a new, or compromise variety. In the following list of features without the distinction of *pöbelhaft* attached to them, we clearly see influence from both LG and CG/UG dialects.[62]

Fig. 31 – Dialect Features of "Märkisch"

Upper Saxon	Low German/Märkisch	Shared Forms
ich wehß; arbeht; klehn	*all (schon)*	*Dochter; Dahler; Dausend*
erscht	*bisken*	*ehns*
uf	*gewest*	*geloffen*
ohch; Rohch	*is (ist)*	*Bohm (Baum)*
ville	*ich will ihn lahßen kommen*	initial */g/ > /j/*
	Lengde	
	of (ob)	
	ich sahge (ich sahe)	
	gehat	

(adapted from: Moritz 1781)

[62] It is also important to keep in mind that many of the features considered to be features of Upper Saxon were in fact also already prevalent in many areas of the *Mittelmark*, as Teuchert claims (1929: 305).

The items in red in the first column represent examples where the form matches the expected form in Upper Saxon, but there exists a partial parallel between Upper Saxon and LG (such as the /u/ in '*uf*' but not the shifted /p/). Looking at this list, we see that the items presumably representing Upper Saxon influence very often at least partially parallel the expected form in LG. Thus, only the shifted /s/ in *wehß* differs from LG, and only the shifted /f/ in *uf* differs from the LG *up*. Also notable in this list are the numerous examples of forms that the two main contact varieties had in common (the rightmost column). As we would expect, these reliably are adopted in the eventual ModBer dialect, as input for new speakers would have been correspondingly consistent for these items.

Moritz also includes another distinction within his data that invites some interesting conclusions either as to Moritz' language ideology, but perhaps also on the state of the dialect during his time. These are the so-called tokens that are deemed *pöbelhaft*, and seem to exclusively include salient LG features:

Fig. 32 – Low German Features of "Märkisch"

gesiehen
gesegt
hadde
he
ick
kihken (sehen)

(adapted from: Moritz 1781)

One immediately poses the question after reading this list: How are we to interpret this distinction of *pöbelhaft* by Moritz? Does this mean that the *Pöbel*, or the masses, are simply speaking canonical LG? Does it mean that the educated classes never use these forms? Does it simply mean that Moritz, as a highly educated and literate native of LG-

speaking Lower Saxony, now wishes to stigmatize all Low German-sounding features?...and if so, why were the other LG-sounding features not included in this list? There is perhaps no way to determine the answer to these questions, but we can draw a few tentative conclusions from his general list of mistakes along with his inclusion of the *pöbelhaft* distinction: first, we now have a finite set of crystallizing features in the city that are identified by a non-Berliner as typical or common. Second, we can posit that different social groups at this time are still using differing combinations of these features. It is worth emphasizing here, however, that we *cannot* surmise from Moritz' lists that all "lower class" Berliners were using all of the *pöbelhaft* features, while the "upper class" Berliners either spoke something resembling the written standard or only contained a few of the above-mentioned features. Much more likely is a situation where different situations and domains commanded different *registers*, in many cases regardless of the standing of the speaker. This idea will be discussed further in chapter 5.

4.5. Dramatic Texts After 1800

In the decades following Moritz' *Über den Märkischen Dialekt*, we see a veritable flood of new literature and dramatic pieces depicting vernacular language use in Berlin, beginning with the works of Julius von Voss in the first decades of the 19th century and reaching a high point with Glaßbrenner's farces and the publishing of scores of vernacular flyers and pamphlets during the 1848 revolution(s). Meyer (1882), and later Lasch (1927) seek to explain this development by asserting a strong link with the rise of

standard written and spoken German spearheaded by the work of the grammarians discussed above. As Lasch asserts:

> "Mit dem wachsenden Bewußtsein für die Hochsprache beginnt man im 18. Jhd. aber auch überall, sich theoretisch für die Mundart zu interessieren. Das ist jetzt möglich, weil die Hochsprache gefestigt genug ist, um die Spanne zwischen ihr und der Mundart deutlich erscheinen zu lassen...bedeutsamer ist es für uns, daß sich damals auch in Berlin selbst für das Berlinische der Begriff des Mundartlichen einstellt (Lasch 1927: 116)."

Though the growing distinction between the proto-standard language and dialect certainly opened the door for the texts that follow, it is also possible that this was only part of the story. The discussion of the textual evidence of spoken language in Berlin (and the corresponding social situation) up to this point suggests that the quickly expanding population of Berlin brought with it a wide variety of dialects, and that this variation was still quite unsettled even by the middle of the 18th century. It is therefore probable that the simple absence of a coherent set of Berlin-like features among enough of the population was also a key reason for the sudden appearance of dramatic texts and literature around the turn of the century.

4.5.1. Julius von Voss (1768-1832)

The earliest plays and farces by Julius von Voss were written during the second decade of the 19th century and are particularly important in that they are written by a native Berliner and are some of the first depictions of everyday characters speaking in a vernacular that begins to resemble ModBer. As with the dramatic texts discussed earlier, the characters in von Voss' plays must of course be seen as caricatures or exaggerations

of reality, but do give valuable insight into features in use in Berlin. As editor for the edition of *Die Damenschuhe im Theater* (1822), Meyer puts it: "...[es] ist ein ehrwürdiges Denkmal des sich am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts formenden Berliner Dialekts, eine erste dramatische Dichtung in Berliner Mundart, ein Angriff auf die Literatursprache von realistischem Standpunkt aus" (von Voss 1971: 5). There are two important points embedded in this quotation: first, that Curt Meyer identifies the period at the end of the 18th century as a crucial time period in the formation of the Berlin vernacular (thus following the timeframe supported in this study), and second, that his plays can be viewed as a direct response to the support of the *Literatursprache* as a spoken medium. In other words, in the view of Curt Meyer, von Voss' plays seek to depict the linguistic reality 'on the ground'.

We will examine two examples of von Voss' work, looking at the depiction of language within the play and specific language features that do/do not appear in the speech of the characters. In *Die Damenschuhe im Theater*, we have a variety of characters including an innkeeper and his daughters, a confectioner, and a cattle dealer. Perhaps the most notable conclusion one can draw about the style of language that von Voss employs for the respective characters is that they all display a slightly different array of features, reflecting varying levels of influence from LG, CG and the written variety. We can conclude from this that von Voss was trying to capture some of the still-significant variation in the speech of Berliners, and therefore it offers some support to the assertions of other Berlin scholars (such as Schmidt (1986), Schlobinski (1987) and others) that the Berlin vernacular – though it had certain core elements defining it at this point in time –

still contained plenty of variation. Indeed, if we think back to the socio-historical situation at this time, immigration continued to be a significant factor of growth in Berlin throughout the course of the 19th century. However, we must not oversimplify this by attributing it to generalized class differences. Rather, as mentioned above, it should be viewed more as a reflection of different *registers* along the dialect continuum, and as an indication of the strongest dialectal influences among various speaker groups in the city. In other words, we must consider that speakers commanded either a wider or narrower range of linguistic repertoires depending on a variety of factors such as exposure to various dialects, breadth of social networks, extent of education, etc.

In the following excerpt from the play, the dialogue between the confectioner and the cattle dealer clearly show von Voss' depiction of linguistic variation among the characters. It is particularly interesting to note that despite the differences, many of the features occurring in ModBer are used by both characters:

> **Conditor:**
> Lieber Gott, der Mann hadde immer doch nich so die façons, wie 't denn ooch nich anders seind kann, wenn der Mensch keene Erziehung genossen hat. De vornehme Welt het 'n zum Narren gehabt, det hat ihn verdrossen, und 'n Koofmann aus Stettin soll 'n ooch klug gemacht haben.
>
> **Viehmäster:**
> Det glob ick nich, Walter is so wol gerieben wie Mohn.
>
> **Conditor:**
> Un 't is ihm ooch mit de Döchter fatal gegangen -
>
> **Viehmäster:**
> Hebben se denn - man het doch nischt gehört -
>
> **Conditor:**
> Ne, nischt ehrenrühriges just nich. Aber 's sind 'n Paar junge Herrkens gekommen von Adel, haben die Döchter gewollt. Pur umt Geld, natürlich; sie haben nischt gehatt als Schulden. Aber Juleken und Maleken haben

> doch gemeent, et wäre nichts nich als pure Liebe, pure Liebe, und Walter ooch. So gehts, wenn man keinen Verstand nicht haben thut.
>
> **Viehmäster:**
> So balle ick Döchter hädde un se kämen mie so, peitscht ich se mit Nesseln.
>
> **Conditor:**
> Aber ihm sind die Oogen denn noch ufgegangen, ganz kurioser Weise durch 'n Brief. Der eine von den jungen Herrkens schreibt an die Mahle und muß wol an seinen guten Freund - den Andern meene ich - haben schreiben wollen, und verwechselt den Brief...
>
> (Meyer 1971: 96)

Referring back to Moritz' description of *"Märkisch"* in 1782, we see that these two characters from von Voss' display the features to differing degrees. For example, the *Conditor* (confectioner) uses *ich* while the *Viehmäster* (cattle dealer) uses *ick* (with one exception); both characters have intervocalic /d/ as well as initial /d/ where /t/ is expected. In both characters we also see the long monophthongs "oo" and "ee", as in *Oogen, glob,* etc. If we consider the dialect features of a wider range of characters using some of the features from Moritz (1782), the variation between (and also within) different figures is clear:

Fig. 33 – Character dialect features in *Die Damenschuhe im Theater*

	ick[1]	det[2]	-ken	VdV (hadde)	Str. verb -ung	koofen	akkudativ[3]
Cattle dealer	+/-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Innkeeper	+	+	+	+	ø	+	+
Confectioner	-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-
Innkeeper's Daughter	-	-	+/-	-	+	+	+/-

[1]The cattle dealer uses *ick* in most situations
[2]Characters without *det* have *des*
[3]Includes unexpected CG/UG pronoun as well as LG/reduced forms such as *de* or *'n*

It is also worth noting that the innkeeper character's reflection of many LG features can be explained by his being born in the surrounding countryside and having only been in Berlin for 23 years. In the narrative, he was born in Strausberg, a town approximately twenty kilometers east of central Berlin, and could therefore be seen as exemplifying typical dialect for the surrounding villages. However, even the non-native Berliner shows some limited ability to adjust his speech to different circumstances. In the first excerpt he speaks informally with the cattle dealer, and in the second he is addressing guests in public:

> (1) Seid alle Beede Narren. Woll'n die Comedge zukieken, 'n Porfessor het sie neit gemacht. So wird et wol nich sind, wie int Opernhaus. Davor is man aber ooch hier munter, un munter is un bleibt die Hauptsache. Hadd ick mir nich 'mal int Opernhaus 'ne Loge eene Treppe hoch uf meine egne Hand gemieth, pur weil ick dachte, hier kann ick doch duhn wat ick will.
>
> (2) Schön guten Abend, meine allerseits werthen Freunde und Gäste, viva la compagnia! Freut mir, Ihnen wol un lustig zu sehn, denn munter is un bleibt die Hauptsache. Ufzunder is noch noch Alles, wies seind soll, aberst wird schon kommen. Ach, guden Abend, Madamkens! Ooch bei mich, des freut mir.
>
> (Meyer 1971)

The original intent or accuracy of the author's depiction of different dialect features for different characters cannot be definitively determined and must be seen as imperfect and/or inconsistent to some extent; however, it is likely that the dialogue above is – specific prevalence of features aside – an accurate representation of how speakers having different social networks and levels of education would have communicated with each other. In other words, we are probably witnessing in the characters' speech a certain

level of ACCOMMODATION[63] on the part of both parties with the goal of avoiding misunderstandings and attempting to correctly adjust a linguistic style to a given situation or interlocutor. The implications and outcomes of this behavior will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

4.5.2. DAS TIERGESPRÄCH (1822)

Another early 19th century piece depicting the Berlin vernacular is a small anonymously written production performed at the 50th doctoral anniversary for the medical doctor and privy counselor E.L. Heim. In this heretofore unpublished piece (see appendix for full text), we again have different characters reflecting vastly differing dialect features. The four main characters: a Berliner hairdresser, a hypochondriac, a farmer, and a Jew represent caricatures of different elements of Berlin's population. Like von Voss' plays, this piece emphasizes the continued variety of language one could encounter at the time in Berlin. Particularly interesting, however, is to compare the LG features of the farmer to the depiction of the Berlin vernacular of the hairdresser. Here we can see very clearly that although many of the features in the hairdresser's language line up with that of the farmer, there is a clear indication that the speech of the hairdresser is a *new dialect* in that it matches neither the LG of the surrounding regions nor the CG that was also a well-represented variant.

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[63] The reader is reminded that the term "accommodation" stems from the communication accommodation theory developed by Giles, and refers to a speaker's tendency to attempt to either reduce or accentuate the differences between his/her own dialect features and those of their interlocutor(s) (Turner/West 2010).

Berliner:
...De ene sagt'er um 10. Uhr, de ander um 11 Uhr, det
kam mich gleich so unterpöthig vor, aberst mir sagt er um 12 Uhr; un doch
justement och uff'n Punkt 12 Uhr war se dot. Ja sehn sie mir kennt
er schonst, wat braucht er't denn och jeden uf de Nase zu binden / von
meinen Schwagen her, des war der luckre Zeisig von Konigenin Regorgus
in Orangenburg, Gott hab'n seelig! der drunk un spielte, un lebte un
schimpfte de Leute und kriegte och manchmal Priegel daß er kenen ge-
funden Fleck wien Silbergroschen groß auf seinen gangen Leibe hadde --
det mag'n aberst Gott lohnen daß er unsern guten Herrn Geheimen
Rath so gesagt un gepflegt hat in Spando als er de rode Stuhr hatte un
schonst wien doder dalag....

Bauer:
Na, he wart et ock schon mokt hebben. Mein seelge Fru hät se ock so
sauft unner de Ehr bracht war ick me wiß nich vergäten /: weint :/
Wat versticht se ock nich alles; he lehnt no immer to ___ Johr to Johr un
de ennern Dokters de lehrn all immer up de Unverstet ut un denn't Punkten.
aberst, wo se man immer kann scheite he de dodgen Menschen up un de
Perd un de Ossen un de kikt nun int Herz un in'n Buk. Ick hebb mol'n
Berlinschen dokter ut de Stadt no Fehrbellin föhrt, de redt von em mit
sienen Lehrbürschen un säd, wo was't do no glieb, ja: Heim hat die Jdee des
Organismus in sich, "ick glöw det soll so völ heten, as he wer en Organist
un wüßte wo alles inwendig utsegen dähd...
(Landesarchiv Berlin: F Rep. 241 'Heim')

We are further reminded by the depicted styles and the presence of the LG-speaking farmer alongside the Berliner hairdresser that as the city continued to expand its physical borders and incorporate previously rural areas, LG continued to have a strong presence among newer arrivals in the city.[64] At the same time, the native population in Berlin had grown large and stable enough over the handful of generations since the early 18th century to establish a clear distinction between these two social groups. The following is a brief look at some of the shared and differing features between the two characters:

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[64] We must also note, as we did earlier, that this play was written for a learned audience (Doctor E.L. Heim and his colleagues and friends). We can therefore also assume that LG and the features associated with it were at the very least largely comprehensible to them. This further supports the idea that spoken language use among different social groups was probably less clear cut than we might think.

Fig. 34 – Shared Dialect Features of the Hairdresser and Farmer

Shared	Different
ick	*och/ock*
det	*mich/me*
dot/dodgen	*er/he*
aberst	*uf/up*
en/ene	*gesagt/(ut)segen*

It is of note here as was true with earlier texts that even the differing features listed here almost always partially line up.

4.5.3. ADOLF GLASSBRENNER

In the decades following the previous texts, Adolf Glassbrenner (1810-1876) composes what becomes the most famous set of dramatic texts depicting Berlin language and culture. A few of his most important works were the three-volume *Berliner Volksleben* published between 1847-1851, along with *Buntes Berlin* (1838-1853), but included many other works as well. Glassbrenner followed a relatively new tradition of dialect literature in Berlin, but perhaps takes it a step further by making "working class" Berliners the clear focus of his works. Often, the *Hochdeutsch*-speaker becomes the marked character, with the Berlin dialect being the focal point. Though exaggeration and caricature are still inevitably present in these works, Glassbrenner, perhaps even more than his predecessors, was concerned with accuracy. Thus, he spent much of his time actually listening to and observing language behavior on the street, and later deliberating over how to represent Berlinisch orthographically. Scholars such as Gephardt (1933) and Kruse (1988), who wrote extensively on Glassbrenner's language, emphasize the fact that

although Glassbrenner was concerned with characterizing his figures in a certain way, he was particularly keen on realism with respect to the langauge (Kruse 1988: 10 ff.).

A complete summary of Glassbrenner's depiction of Berlinisch feature by feature is left out here in the interest of brevity, but two thorough, albeit different, analyses can be found in Kruse and Gephardt. Despite this disagreement, many of the general insights present in both of these studies about the language behavior of some of Glassbrenner's characters can further inform the conclusions above, so a brief look is warranted.

In Kruse's study, the language use of the two characters Buffey and Guckkästner are analyzed quantitatively. In choosing to compare a bourgeois and working-class character, Kruse sought to identify whether Glassbrenner observed, and therefore depicted differing sets of dialect features to distinguish them. Kruse's findings are quite interesting in that there is in fact no quantitative evidence of a class differential. What he finds, rather, is that *both* speakers vary their styles or "saturation" of typical dialectal forms based on situation and/or interlocutor (Kruse 1988: 53). Thus, Guckkästner uses fewer shibboleths of Berlinisch when engaging in "recitation-style" speech than when engaged in informal dialogue with another character. This could be an effect of the text type, in that Glassbrenner has simply chosen a set and range of feature representations and applied them to all of the characters. More likely, however, is that Glassbrenner is more or less reflecting the reality of language use in Berlin; in other words, this signifies the fact that speakers' repertoires contain a range of styles in order to accommodate

different domains of speech.[65] The implications of this conclusion are discussed further in chapter 4.

Kruse also attempts to identify overarching trends in the presence and prevalence of certain dialect features in Berlinisch both by looking back toward the 18th century and using data from Schlobinski (1985) as comparisons. In choosing a few examples, we can make two general conclusions that bear on this study: first, that the continuing evolution of the prevalence of dialect features both before and after Glassbrenner's texts support the thesis that continued immigration and dialect diversity result in a dynamic and constant reanalysis by subsequent generations of language learners of what the salient dialect features within certain social groups and situations are. Second, it suggests further that some form of coherent and discrete Berlin variety had been established by the late 18th/early 19th century as a result of the demographic and social patterns during that period. In expounding on the latter, two specific examples follow.

Phonologically, we find in Glassbrenner the first consistent orthographic representation of the well-known lenited /g/ feature in Berlinisch. Though we found hints of this feature in previous texts such as the Heyde chronicle and the Hohenzollern letters (along with Moritz' meta-linguistic piece), it is richly attested in Glassbrenner's works both before vowels (as in the past participle prefix *ge-*) as well as before consonants /l/ and /n/ (as in *jlas* or *jross*). In Kruse's study, Buffey and Guckkästner use /j/ 89% and 92% of the time, respectively. Crucially, this feature was present in virtually all of the dialects that contributed significantly to the population of Berlin – but to

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[65] This also further supports the discussion about von Voss' characters in his earlier pieces.

differing extents and with differing qualities (ranging from a glide to a velar fricative). So it comes as no surprise that we find it in the resulting urban dialect. However, as is typical in dialect contact situations, generations of language learners in this case simplified the variability by generalizing the /j/ to all possible environments.

Ich and *Ick* are also LG and CG/UG forms that were present in Berlin since the Thirty Years War, and the use and prevalence of these pronouns has been the subject of much discussion among scholars. Lasch famously claims that *ick* was out of use among any but the lowest classes of speakers during the 18th century (probably due to the lack of its presence in the written record), and only reappeared in the early 19th century. As perhaps the most frequent marker of 'Low Germanness' in Berlinisch, its distribution in 19th century Berlin literature is a topic of several studies. While Gebhardt (1933) finds 77% of cases reflecting *ick* in some Glassbrenner texts, Kruse finds that just 24.2% of the attestations among his characters reflect the LG variant. As Kruse claims, Gebhardt's higher numbers may be due to his analysis of a large number of "lower class" female characters. As is often the case, the reality probably lies somewhere in between, and for our purposes it is simply important to note that variation was present, and that here, we may have an example of a distinction in usage of a particular salient feature between different social groups in the city. This may also be borne out in Kruse's data, where "middle class" Buffey uses *ick* only 22% of the time, while the perhaps less educated Guckkästner does so 34% of the time (Kruse 1988: 25). As is outlined in detail in chapter

4, the later REALLOCATION[66] of various features among social groups is another expected effect of new-dialect formation situations and their corresponding social contexts.

In conclusion, it is useful to consider all of the 19th century texts discussed above in concert with Moritz' discussion of language use in Berlin during the late 18th century. The striking similarity between the set of features described by Moritz in 1783 and the language of von Voss' and Glassbrenner's 'typical' Berliners is further evidence that the social transformations underway in the 18th century were also catalyzing dialect contact processes that eventually resulted in a distinct urban vernacular. A brief excerpt from a dialogue composed by Moritz next to Glaßbrenner underscores this fact:

> Moritz (1781: 27):
> **Er:** Sehen Sie, wie das Lohb uf die Böhme schon widder ausschlägt! o wie schön is doch der Frühling!
> **Sie:** Ja, des freuet mir immer am mehsten, wenn ich sehe, wie die Böhme erscht anfangen grün zu werden, des seht jar zu schön aus.
> **Er:** Aberst lahßen Sie uns doch noch en Bisken uf die Wiese jehn, Sie glohben jar nich, wie ville Veilchen, dies Jahr, wachsen: ich habe schonst für ein Paar Tage welche gepflückt, un wenn Sie mich erlohben wollen, so will ich Sie heute en klehn Pucket pflücken.
> **Sie:** O des wird mich sehre angenehm sind, Sie seynd aber jar zu jütig.
>
> Glaßbrenner (1838: 5):
> **Eine Stimme:** Jottlieb, jib mal de Pulle raus; entschpse Dir mal!
> **Ein Knabe:** Na wat is denn Det? Wie können Se mir denn meinen Platz wech nehmen?
> **Ein Geselle:** Halt's Maul, diesjähriger Junge! Die kleene Kreete will ooch schon 'en Platz haben! Wo du sitzt, da kann 'en Mensch sitzen!
> **Ein Anderer:** Ja aber Det jeschieht nich!
> **Der Geselle:** Ohoch! Sind Sie ooch da! Sehn Se mal, also ooch da!...

Additionally, data from this period supports a timeline for the emergence of ModBer resulting specifically from dialect contact among the generations following the Thirty Years War. There is no question that contact between LG and CG/UG dialects was well

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[66] Reallocation occurs when two or more competing dialect forms in a contact situation are eventually adopted according to discrete social and/or occupational distinctions among the speech community (Trudgill 2004: 124).

underway during Berlin's earlier history (15th-early 17th century), but the evidence suggests that the conditions for the formation for the Berlin urban vernacular were in fact not present until the rapid expansion beginning in the late 17th century. Although none of these texts (and the apparent absence of a definitive set of informal written primary sources) can definitively confirm the frequency or precise distribution of specific features (such as the lenited /g/ or *ick* just discussed), they do support the thesis that the settling out of features that would later become ModBer was well underway already by about the middle of the 18th century.

Fig. 35 – Summary of textual sources relating to Berlinisch[67]

	Formal/Official Texts	Metalinguistic Texts	Personal Letters / 'Ego' documents	Dramatic Texts
Pre-1650	- Berliner Stadtbuch (15th century) - Citizenship Oath (1650)	- Rollenhagen (1602) and Scioppius (1626) (writing on 'Saxon')		- Christmas Plays (1589) - Marriage poem (1637)
1650-1780	- Guild documentation - Gov't. correspondence	- Bödiker (1690) - Gottsched (1748) - Frisch (1746)	- Hohenzollern letters - Heyde's chronicle	
1780-1850	- Guild documentation - Gov't. correspondence	- Moritz (1781)		- von Voss - 'Das Tiergespräch' - Glaßbrenner

In summary, the written record of Berlin considered as a whole supports the main revisions to the narrative of the development of the Berlin vernacular proposed in this study: first, that Berlinisch was primarily the effect of *spoken* dialect contact among speakers in the city; and second, that the development of the urban vernacular was in fact

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67 This is admittedly not an exhaustive list, but is meant to give an overview of some of the more significant surviving text types available from each respective time period.

not a constant and gradual process beginning as early as the 15th century and stretching into the 19th century, but rather that its development corresponded with the major demographic and social events that defined its history.

Although the pre-Thirty Years War period clearly shows that CG/UG dialects played an increasing role even in some more formal spoken domains, depictions of informal interactions continue to largely reflect LG, and the Berlinisch that Lasch claims was spoken only by the educated classes is essentially based on conjecture and equating a shift in the written with a shift in the spoken language.[68] In the examples where we do see hints of potentially accommodated speech or a mixed dialect, such as in the example of the third shepherd from the *Hirtgespräch* in section 3.1., we see a set of features that can hardly be viewed as something resembling the dialect in the latter half of the 18th century.

The separation of the written and spoken domains is even more pronounced in the 18th century. The remarkable lack of variability in official documents and the letters of the elite are a testament to this fact. However, this apparent regularity of language in Berlin masks the situation among the much larger population. Aside from the apparent lack of dramatic texts depicting dialect use, this reality lay hidden as a result of widespread illiteracy among the masses. Despite this fact, we can trace the clear increased influence of the spoken CG dialects (along with the continuing LG influence) in a handful of texts that hint at actual spoken language behavior, such as the Hohenzollern letters and Heyde's chronicle. Along with features from both dialect families being

[68] See chapter 2 treating the issue of defining 'Berlinisch'.

present in the 18th and early 19th century texts – including many of the features that later become part of the ModBer vernacular – we also observe some hallmark effects of dialect contact situations such as variation in case, analogy in verb inflections and variable plural markings.

The later appearance of metalinguistic texts talking about a peculiar Berlin variety have been explained as the result of the crystallizing idea of a spoken standard language among grammarians. However, they also happen to appear approximately three generations after Berlin's repopulation, and are quickly followed by dramatic texts depicting a clearly defined set of features belonging to speakers in the city. In the data that bears on spoken language in Berlin, therefore, we can see a trajectory that corresponds clearly with the demographic evolution – and disruptions thereof – in the city.

5. Toward an Explanation of Berlinisch as a Koiné

5.1. Dialect Contact, Koinéization, and New-dialect Formation

The above chapters have outlined the social history of Berlin and the corresponding written record relevant to spoken language in the city. In doing so, the importance of social and demographic factors and the vital role played by spoken language interaction in the development of language use in Berlin have been underscored. This admittedly does not mark a fundamental break from previous studies that have addressed these factors to some degree. However, this study does place a

reduced emphasis on the role of the emerging written variety and so-called prestige spoken variety on the language behavior of most Berliners. Furthermore, it stresses the role of face-to-face interaction and generational language transmission. More importantly, perhaps, it seeks to explain the process of the formation of Berlinisch within a newer framework of language contact phenomena, with the hope of improving our larger understanding of the dialect.

Thus, in the interpretation of this line of thought in the larger context of dialect contact literature, we follow a precept presented in Goss & Howell's study on contact in the Hague in the Early Modern period: that language change often does *not* emanate from the highest socio-economic class and trickle down to the lower classes, but that it is subject to the dynamics of social networks and everyday spoken language of the general population in a given speech community (Goss & Howell 2006: 59). During this process, scholars have identified a set of principles and typical outcomes that can further clarify the processes taking place among Berlin speakers. The discussion below will address the history of Berlinisch in the context of recent dialect contact literature including but not limited to Trudgill 1986/2004; Kerswill & Williams 2000/2005; Goss & Howell 2006 and Howell 2006.

5.1.1. "New-dialect" formation and koinéization

We begin here with the concept of a NEW-DIALECT or KOINÉ treated in the above-mentioned works. These concepts refer to the outcome of contact between dialects with

varying levels of mutual intelligibility, and arising as a result of "the convergence, by a population of speakers, on a set of linguistic norms which are collectively different from previous norms (Kerswill 2010: 230)." If we take a moment to consider this concept compared to that of the *Mischsprache* or *Mischdialekt* put forth by Teuchert (1929) and Schirmunski (1962) for Berlinisch, we can identify two primary differences: first, Teuchert's *Mischsprache* implies a distinctly unidirectional process of speakers eliminating LG features in favor of CG/UG features; and second, this is the result of a steady and gradual process occurring over centuries of contact between LG and CG/UG dialects in Berlin. By contrast, a koiné is the result of intense dialect contact and variation among settlement populations, and occurs as a result of the negotiation of variants within the city over the course of several generations.

From this definition of koinéization, then, we can identify a key prerequisite in a contact situation that typically results in a koiné; namely, the rapid establishment of a settlement population among a comparatively limited indigenous population. In Trudgill's work on colonial varieties, he proposes the idea of a *tabula rasa* situation, where an established native population (and corresponding dialect) is essentially non-existent. Kerswill & Williams (2000) presents the situation of a "new town" in the example of Milton Keynes, England, where a small native population is quickly overwhelmed by newcomers. Finally, Goss & Howell (2006) and Howell (2006) present immigration situations in the Hague and Amsterdam, respectively.[69] These last two

[69] In these studies, the 15th and 16th century Dutch cities whose death rates far outstrip birth rates are fuelled by immigration largely from the Holland Provinces and northern Germany. The resulting urban

studies provide another crucial example of koinéization, whereby rapid urban migration and subsequent settlement results in the formation of a koiné. In Berlin, we have an interesting blend of the latter two situations: though there was still a resident population left in the wake of the Thirty Years War, the rapid re-population of the city in the decades following resembles the planned settlement of Milton Keynes in the Kerswill & Williams study. In this type of situation, the native dialect, rather than providing a linguistic target for the incoming migrants (as is the case of the founder's effect discussed in Mufwene 2001), merely serves as one contributing variety in the emerging contact situation. As historian Schultz puts it with respect to Berlin: "Die Höhe der Wanderungsraten zwischen 1680 und 1770 läßt die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Einheimischen und Zugewanderten sinnlos erscheinen, da nach diesen drei Generationen keine "Urberliner" mehr zu finden gewesen sein dürften (Schultz 1987: 339)."

We now turn to the question of how a koiné actually forms; more specifically, we address the specific processes that are typical of these types of dialect contact situations. One of the most important aspects of koinéization is that it is the result of an intergenerational process. Much of the work on Berlinisch up to this point has largely focused on the role of adults in instigating major changes[70] – specifically, how intentional decisions about language use or imperfect acquisition affect dialect use in a language

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varieties arise as a result of contact among the indigenous population and the rapidly growing number of immigrants. By extension, Goss & Howell's work implies that concepts contained within koinéization theory can be applied generally to migration situations during the dramatic urbanization migrations of the Early Modern Period.

[70] The role of the child has essentially only been discussed in the context of formal language education and the influence of the written variety, rather than the role of natural spoken language transmission via parents or peers.

community. An adult's limited language-learning capabilities and attempts to adapt their language to the interlocutor are indeed a key step in the koinéization process; however, it is in fact only half of the story. The effect of subsequent generations of young speakers undergoing the L1 learning process (characterized in large part by their greater linguistic plasticity) are the ones who must form a grammar around the variable input presented to them by the adults (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 68). Concisely put, the distinct processes contained within koinéization occur as a result of the adult's imperfect language-learning ability, along with the child's corresponding capacity to adapt and form new grammars. We therefore consider in the following paragraphs the respective roles of adults and children, and the effects they have on koinéization.

Let us first consider the role of the adult. There are two main factors at work in this context: IMPOSITION and ACCOMMODATION. The former process, which is found in situations where there are notable differences in complexity between the contact dialects, more complex structures appear opaque to native speakers of the "simpler" dialect (Goss & Howell 2006: 61). Frans van Coetsem (1988: 11 ff.) uses the term imposition to refer to what he calls Source Language Agentivity (SLA), which describes how structures in the speakers' native dialect are imposed upon the grammatical structures of other contact dialects. A crucial aspect of this process is that it is systematic. In other words, the character or set of features imposed by a particular speaker group tend to be similar.[71] When imposition occurs in a dialect contact situation, it tends to occur where there is

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[71] The systematic nature of imposition can also be seen in L2 learning situations; when we identify features of a German or French accent in English, we in fact are identifying *imposed* features in their English.

uneven bi-dialectalism. In the context of Berlin, we could imagine a native LG speaker with passive or limited ability in CG/UG, or vice versa depending on the given domain or conversational situation. Finally, imposition tends to occur in areas of the grammar where typological differences between the contact dialects are largest.

A brief example involving Berlinisch exemplifies the process explained above: in the case of LG and CG/UG dialect contact in Berlin, case distinction and its reflection in morphological paradigms were subject to imposition in adult speakers who were dominant in LG; thus, as native LG speakers with a two-case system came into contact with CG/UG speakers (or the written variety) with a largely intact three- or four-case system, it resulted in uncertainty and variation in the pronominal system and case marking. As Van Coetsem points out, transfer in general is an action "applied by the individual speaker and may refer to a one-time usage or a more regular one." Schmidt & Herrgen (2011) in *Sprachdynamik* also introduce a parallel distinction in the idea of immediate versus regular transfer ("micro- versus meso-synchronization"), the former being a spontaneous incidence of transfer/imposition in a face-to-face interaction, and the latter characterizing more regular transfer during an adult's lifetime (bearing in mind of course the limitations of consistency in adult language learning) (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 30).

The important implication of imposition on the scale of the community is that imposed features can and do represent part of the input for subsequent language learners in a community. In an urban situation, dialect contact among speakers with uneven bidialectalism breeds substantial variability as different speakers employ different

strategies in encountering and attempting to use their non-native dialect. In other words, the prevalence and propagation of different realizations of imposition can vary from situation to situation, from speaker (group) to speaker (group).[72] The result is a highly diverse set of dialect and inter-dialect structures in use at a given time within the speaker community at large. Van Coetsem states further that this phenomenon also applies to phonemic and morphological distinctions, examples of which will be discussed in chapter 5.3. (Van Coetsem 1988: 12). Furthermore, as explained below, an urban situation often yields a situation where contact dialects eventually come to occupy distinct domains, meaning that imposition can work in both directions (imposition by CG/UG speakers on LG versus imposition by LG speakers on CG/UG).[73]

As stated above, the concept of imposition is defined by Van Coetsem as a systematic process occurring as a result of an adult's inability to perfectly acquire a second language or dialect; while the latter adult factor in language contact and koinéization, accommodation, can also be the result of unconscious language modification, it is largely concerned with the intentional adaptation of one's dialect or accent. As defined by Peter Trudgill, accommodation occurs when a speaker alters his speech either to in response to a specific domain/register or in order to facilitate communication or comprehension with an interlocutor (Trudgill 1986: 23). If we consider the situation in Berlin during the late 17th century and beyond, an adult was

[72] cf. Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 30)

[73] Some examples relevant to Berlinisch include the phonological distinction between initial /t/ and /d/, and plural marking. These phenomena, along with case marking, will be discussed further in section IV.iii.

confronted with the task of communicating with speakers representing a wide variety of dialects and features, all with varying levels of mutual intelligibility.[74] In order to successfully navigate the increasingly urban landscape, therefore, adults inevitably adjusted their language in order to facilitate communication, but also in response to a wide set of social circumstances. Schmidt & Herrgen express this dynamism of accommodation in adult language in their book *Sprachdynamik*:

> Die konstitutive Zeitlichkeit des dynamischen Sprachsystems beruht im Wesentlichen auf der immanenten Zeitlichkeit der einzelnen sprachlichen Interaktion und ihrer kognitiven Reflexe sowie auf den Zeitabschnitten, in denen Subjekte in unterschiedlicher Dichte sprachlich interagieren und dabei ihr sprachliches Wissen und ihre situationsabhängigen sprachlichen Konventionen abstimmen (Schmidt/Herrgen 2011: 25).

These adjustments typically occur at the level of the lexicon in the form of incorporating distinct words from another dialect, and at the level of phonetics/phonology, where certain pronunciations from another dialect can be adopted (Trudgill 1986: 2).[75]

The extent to which adults actually accommodate (just as in the process of imposition) is subject to the limitations that adults possess with regards to the acquisition of complex linguistic structures. In other words, as Labov (1972) finds, children under the age of eight are more likely to accommodate completely when faced with a new dialectal environment, whereas adolescents and adults display only limited

[74] Though we have established through the historical discussion and Teuchert (1929) and Schirmunski (1964) that rural dialects in *Mittelmark* were in fact not canonical LG dialects, there still existed significant phonological and grammatical differences between those dialects and the ones brought in by large numbers of CG migrants.

[75] Some examples of both will be discussed in detail in section IV.iii

accommodation, even in the face of long term contact.[76] Trudgill goes a step further to say that "after the age of 14, one can be fairly sure that they will not [accommodate fully] (Trudgill 1986: 34)."[77] This fact calls into serious question Lasch's idea that an educated mobile adult population could have totally accommodated to an Upper Saxon prestige variety and transported it back to Berlin (not to mention the subsequent step of successfully imparting this dialect upon the native population upon returning). If we consider Berlin instead during its dramatic growth phases, the vast majority of new arrivals in Berlin consisted of single childless individuals in their twenties (see chapter 2); in such a demographic situation, the incomplete (and inevitably variable) adult accommodation/imposition discussed above had the effect of further catalyzing the structural variation that would become the input for the following generation of speakers.

Another important consideration with respect to accommodation is the direction in which speakers accommodate – in other words, who adjusts to whom in a given face-to-face interaction. Most of the work on Berlinisch has identified accommodation in Berlin as being largely unidirectional; thus, members of lower socio-economic classes (which are also often generalized as being LG speakers) consciously strive toward the more prestigious speech of the upper classes. Trudgill, however, has pointed out that directionality of accommodation is in fact not so straightforward: "In situations where speakers with accents of different social status come into contact, the direction in which

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[76] Labov (2001) gives a more nuanced view showing that even a child's accommodation to local norms is subject to it's social network characteristics (170).

[77] See also Schmidt & Herrgen (2011: 27).

accommodation will take place is often problematical...(Trudgill 1986: 3)." In fact, in his discussion of short-term accommodation, Trudgill uses results from Coupland (1984) along with his own study to show that accommodation often occurs in the direction of the "less standard" variant; in other words, that the higher status speaker accommodates to the speech of the lower status individual (Trudgill 1986: 5 ff.).[78]

In this context, it is useful here to take a brief excursus to directly address the utility of the term PRESTIGE in talking about language behavior (in this case as it applies to the directionality of accommodation). The inherent problem with prestige as a concept is that its definition must often be modified to fit a given situation. Labov (1980), for example, introduces two distinct types of prestige depending on a wider or narrower social context. Milroy's assessment of Labov contains a particularly lucid description of the problem. He essentially argues that MACRO-PRESTIGE, which is connected with a wider social context and can be accompanied by institutional support, is often in direct conflict with what he calls MICRO-PRESTIGE, which is entirely subjective and dependent upon the given situation or domain: "...[micro-level prestige] is predicated on personal attitudes developed in the situations in which speakers interact as individuals...these two types of prestige are often in conflict...(Milroy 1992: 173)." In other words, the speaker or variety determined to hold more prestige is entirely dependent upon the context of the situation at hand and the speakers involved, thus weakening the overall explanatory power of the term. In the words of Labov: "[The concept of prestige] is considerably weakened if the

[78] Kerswill (2003) also addresses this phenomenon as "non-accommodatory" behavior (Kerswill 2003: 223).

term "prestige" is allowed to apply to any property of a linguistic trait that would lead people to imitate it. Thus, the fact that a linguistic form has prestige would be shown by the fact that it was adopted by others (Labov 2001: 24)."

Returning to the idea of directionality of accommodation in Berlin, then, we can perhaps point to evidence of macro-prestige applying to the emerging written variety and CG dialects in that they enjoyed institutional support (in the form of printed texts and policies of the developing school reforms), and a corresponding relegation of LG dialects (and emerging Berlinisch) almost exclusively to the spoken domains.[79] However, the aforementioned limits on the effects of these institutions mean that we cannot positively identify a categorically unidirectional, non-domain-specific accommodation in Berlin during this period.[80] In this context, it suffices to say that the diverse set of social networks and circumstances meant that accommodation undoubtedly occurred both in the direction of the LG dialects as well as the CG dialects. This has also been found in other contact situations: Trudgill/Coupland's data on British English shows that it is often the case that speakers of higher socioeconomic status do indeed adjust their speech "downward".

In assessing the overall role of the adult speaker on the process of koinéization, we can point to two primary effects on the speech community: first, the processes of dialect contact among adults described above lead to SIMPLIFICATION. According to Kerswill &

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[79] This fact is also supported by the paucity of written data outside the domain of dramatic texts that reflect the Berlin dialect.

[80] Indeed, the simple fact that ModBer retains significant structural material from the "non-prestigious" variety in the long-term supports the fact that accommodation was not one-way.

Williams, "This includes a loss of irregularity in morphology, a reduction in the number of grammatical categories, and an increase in invariable word forms...as well as the acquisition of "easy" features, such as small changes in vowel quality and lexical and morpholexical borrowing" (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 67). Second, limitations in the plasticity of adult language correspond with limitations in the extent of accommodation among adult speakers. As Trudgill asserts, it takes several generations before speakers begin to really "talk like others talk, even in situations where all the "others" talk the same" (Trudgill 2004: 28).[81] The direct result is the persistence of substantial variation in linguistic structures and features, a fact that will be crucial when discussing the role of subsequent generations of L1 learners on this process.

As mentioned above, the role of subsequent generations of young speakers in the koinéization process stems from their increased plasticity as L1 learners, but also from social-psychological factors involving adolescents. This idea is summarized in two points from Kerswill & Williams' set of koinéization principles:

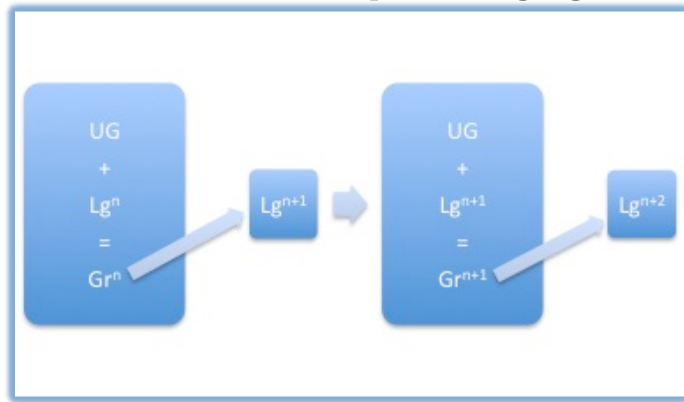
- Adults, adolescents, and children influence the outcome of dialect contact differently
- The adoption of features by speakers depends on his or her social networks (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 84)

[81] This fact marks a significant departure from previous Berlin scholarship, which often refers to the primary importance of the adult's conscious *"Bemühen"*, or striving toward the language of the higher socioeconomic groups.

As was just outlined, the first generation of intense dialect contact – in the case of Berlin this involved a disproportionate number of adult speakers not born in Berlin – is characterized by significant variability in linguistic structures and dialect forms. Exposed to this chaotic input, it falls upon the children to make sense of (or form a grammar from) this variable input. Because a child's – and to some extent, an adolescent's – ability to adapt and accommodate is much more advanced than that of the adult's, they are capable of forming a complete grammar even given diverse input.

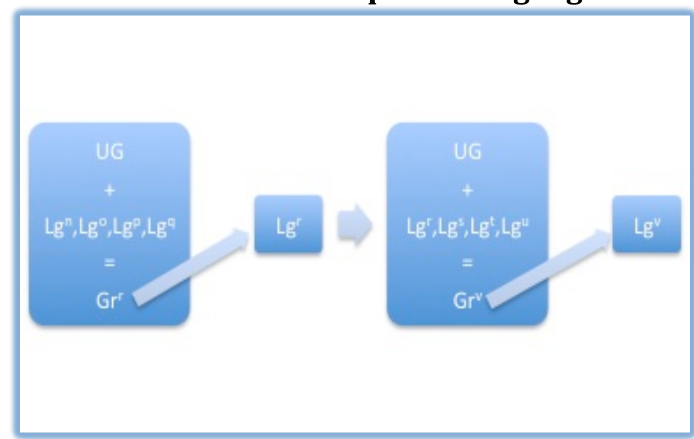
The following set of graphics depicts the child's grammar formation in a situation where: 1) the child learner is exposed to relatively homogeneous input, and 2) the child is embedded within a population consisting of diverse dialects and grammars (see figs. below). In the first depiction, the child is exposed – in a perhaps idealistic situation – to only one input dialect (L^n), and this interacts with the child's innate language faculty (UG), resulting a new grammar (Gr^{n+1}), which presumably will closely resemble the input dialect. By contrast, the second figure proposed by Howell (2009) depicts intergenerational transmission amidst diverse input. Thus, many dialects (L^n, L^o, L^p, L^q) provide input for the child during the period of grammar formation. The result is a grammar that incorporates the features of, but does not exactly reflect any of the input dialects (Gr^r); this particular speaker's newly-formed grammar then contributes to input for the subsequent generation.

Fig. 36 – Generational Transmission of spoken language - homogeneous input



(Anderson 1973: 767 – modified by Van Gelderen 2006: 283)

Fig. 37 – Generational Transmission of spoken language - heterogeneous input



(Howell 2009)

Howell's interpretation is particularly useful for visualizing situations of rapid and sustained urban growth, because the following generation is still characterized by significant dialectal variation. In essence, the sustained arrival of new migrants has the effect of renewing and sustaining the variability of input for later generations, thus prolonging the process of the consolidation of variable structures in the input until there is a relative ebb or cessation of in-migration. So, in expanding this individual schema to the level of the speech community, the effect of the child's language faculty is to further

reduce the number of variable forms in the collective input of following generations. In the koinéization literature, this process is referred to as LEVELING, and the key aspect of this process is that it bridges the gap between individual language use and the establishment of a linguistic community norm; children and adolescents that form interconnecting social networks eventually settle on a set of forms contingent on the most salient input. Kerswill describes this process as "the result of countless acts of speech accommodation." This occurs among both adults and children, but the latter's effect on the formation of an eventual dialect is emphasized in this model (Kerswill 2003: 223).

As subsequent generations are exposed to increasingly regularized input, *focusing* occurs, which can be described as a further "reduction in the number of variant forms and the increase in sociolinguistically predictable variation (Kerswill 2010: 230). Applied to the case of Berlinisch, the result of focusing can be seen in the emergence of a coherent set of dialect features over the course of the 18th century that begin to comprise the urban dialect.

It is crucial to note that leveling and focusing do not assume the elimination or lack of variation within this newly established norm; here, Kerswill's words "sociolinguistically predictable variation" are pivotal. A fundamental aspect of focusing is that it occurs according to particular social networks and identities, and the particular set and proportion of dialects to which a given speaker (group) is exposed. In an urban situation compared to that of a true new town, this fact is particularly important; the number and diversity of different social groups in a burgeoning city is considerably

higher than that in a town. As a result, young people are equipped with a wide range of what Ervin-Tripp (1973) calls SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCES depending on their sociolinguistic environment. The historical data reflecting marriage patterns and social mobility are particularly useful in supporting this fact. Competence in this context, therefore, essentially refers to a particular child's linguistic repertoire, which in turn stems from their individual social identity and exposure to a particular set of dialects as they proceed through puberty. This also includes external factors such as education and literacy (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 68).

There is a final process associated with the subsequent generations of speakers within a dialect contact situation that is not directly connected to a child's innate language-learning faculty, but which is a key aspect of late-stage koinéization and is a further reflection of sociolinguistic differentiation in the speech community: namely, REALLOCATION. Reallocation can occur where two variants from different dialects remain robust within the speech community despite the processes of leveling and focusing. These variants can be retained in the new variety as sociolinguistic or stylistic distinctions in the koiné (phonological reallocation can also result in allophonic situations). In Australian English, for example, Trudgill identifies the retention of two vowel qualities in the word "dance", where the /a:/ represents the more formal or "upper class" pronunciation, which the /æ/ is associated with the lower socioeconomic groups (Trudgill 2004: 124). The process of reallocation is a key factor in discussing the development of Berlinisch between 1650-1800; if we reconsider Moritz' 1783 description of Berlin spoken language behavior discussed in chapter 3, we can see the

effects of reallocation in places like the pronominal system (*ick* vs. *ich*, *et* vs. *es*, etc.) and lexicon. These will be discussed in detail below.

To conclude, the fundamental difference between the role of adults versus children in koinéization lies in their ability to form new grammars based on diverse input, and that they are not subject to the same constraints on language acquisition that adults are. In essence, the accommodation and imposition (and simplification) occurring in adult language are limited in scope, and in effect simply comprise the heterogeneous input for the next generation(s). Through leveling and focusing among the subsequent generations, this heterogeneity subsides in favor of new norms in the speech community. These norms, in turn, can vary in character depending on the presence of distinct social groups or boundaries. As Trudgill aptly puts it in reference to the new towns of western Norway:

> The second generation of the new-town inhabitants were influenced, it appears, in the development of their native dialects, not only by their parents' speech but also by the mixture of dialects they heard around them. Which aspects of the mixture made their way into their dialects would depend on their social networks; on the proportions of different dialects present in the mixture; on the degree to which these different dialects did and did not share the same features; and undoubtedly also on the salience and naturalness of particular linguistic features present in the mixture (Trudgill 1986: 96).

For Berlin, the persistence of occupational endogamy (especially among the guildsmen, tradesmen, and later the manufacture workers) is a great example of how sub-varieties of Berlinisch came into existence over the course of the 18th century. The increasing proportion of Saxon tradesmen during this period undoubtedly contributed to the later preservation of many of those dialects' features in ModBer. As historian Helga Shultz

puts it: "Die obersächsische Prägung dieser Stadtsprache war zwar bereits seit dem 16. Jahrhundert angelegt, konnte aber zweifellos erst unter dem Einfluß der starken sächsischen Zuwanderung [im 18. Jahrhundert] Dominanz erlangen (Schultz 11)." As Berlin continued to grow, these sociolinguistic distinctions established during Berlin's first major growth phase were maintained, but they shifted and evolved with the changing occupational and social structure of the city, culminating in the Industrial Age in the 19th century, which saw the consolidation of a much larger and cohesive industrial wage laborer group in opposition to the more moneyed sectors of the population.

5.1.2. Outcomes and Stages of Koinéization

With the different roles of adults and children in koinéization and the corresponding processes in mind, it remains to discuss typical effects of these processes. The growing number of studies treating koiné formation have led to the establishment of a set of predicted linguistic outcomes that have been found to bear on a widening set of dialect contact situations. As alluded to above, Peter Trudgill's (1986/2004) work on colonial varieties and *tabula rasa* situations was followed by Kerswill & Williams' (2000/2005) work on new towns, and Goss & Howell (2006) and Howell (2006) identify these outcomes in Early Modern urban varieties of Dutch. In the latter two studies, three of Kerswill & Williams' principles of koinéization are aptly condensed into the two primary outcomes we expect to find in a koiné:

- Forms found in one dialect, i.e., marked regional forms, are disfavored. Forms found in two or more dialects, i.e., forms

which are sociolinguistically unmarked, are favored by speakers for whom social integration is paramount.
- Phonological, *morphological, syntactic* and lexically simple features are more often adopted than complex ones. (original author's italics)

(Howell 2006: 216 adapted from Kerswill & Williams 2000)

Beginning with the first outcome, it is important to emphasize that MARKEDNESS is the important factor in whether a feature is favored or disfavored. Although this often corresponds with the forms occurring most often within the input, this is not always the case. For example, if a dialect represented by the most speakers contains a structure that is unique to that dialect, it is possible that this structure will be disfavored because of its regional markedness with respect to the other dialects. This outcome is reminiscent of the conclusions drawn by Teuchert (1929) and later Schirmunski (1962) with regards to features preserved in ModBer. Thus, when Schirmunski referred to the primary features of LG (such as the lack of 2nd sound shift and long monophthongs in *hûs, gôd, dêp*), he is in fact describing a typical outcome of koinéization. Thus, Schirmunski's use of "*auffällig*" to describe primary features can be understood as "marked", and his secondary features can then be interpreted as those features present in two or more of the major contributing dialects or dialect families, or majority forms (Schirmunski 1962: 617).

The second outcome above refers to the simplification and leveling that results first from adult accommodation and imposition, and later from the subsequent generations' processing of this input. As Howell points out, "adults typically have difficulty acquiring complex phonological conditioning, as well as more complex morphological and syntactic structures not present in their native dialect. Children born into the dialectally diverse urban community also have to make sense of the welter of

variants they receive as input (Howell 2006: 216)." For Berlinisch, the (incomplete) acquisition of complex morphology and syntax by adults was particularly relevant for LG speakers having increased contact with the CG/UG immigrants in the city, the latter having brought with them dialects possessing more complex case systems and morphology. There are two further implications of this outcome that are important for koinéization: first, that the preference for simpler features can actually lead to some marked forms being adopted despite the tendency identified in the first outcome; and second, simplification and leveling often leads to the adoption of syntactic and morphological forms that are not present in any of the contributing varieties. Section 6.3 shows that these cases can also be found in the outcomes in Berlinisch.

Finally, we address stages and timelines associated with the processes and outcomes discussed above. As asserted at the beginning of this section, koiné formation is the result of intense dialect contact and the transmission of variable input to subsequent generations of speakers. As such, we can identify a set of discrete stages beginning at the onset of settlement or intense immigration (characterized by the disproportionate effect of adult speakers), and continuing as population growth settles out and linguistic norms are (re-)established.

Trudgill (2004) introduces a simplified, but very useful illustration of the sequence of processes in a new-dialect situation, in this case reflecting a *tabula rasa* situation in a colony (see fig. below). Stage I is characterized by rudimentary leveling among adult speakers (resulting from the processes of accommodation and imposition discussed above). During stage II, "extreme variability" persists among the first

generation of native-born individuals, while leveling continues to occur. Finally, stage III, which can stretch across several more generations depending on the social factors just mentioned, involves continued leveling and the reduction of variable forms, along with focusing and reallocation.

Fig. 38 – Stages of New-dialect Formation

Stage	Speakers involved	Linguistic Characteristics
I	Adult migrants (first generation)	Rudimentary leveling
II	First native-born speakers (second generation)	Extreme variability and further leveling
III	Subsequent generations	Focusing, leveling, reallocation

(Kerswill 2010: 234; adapted from Trudgill 2004)

Though the contact situation on which Trudgill is basing his model contrasts with late 17th century Berlin in that it reflects a (perhaps idealized) situation where the indigenous population is essentially non-existent, and where there is minimal presence of pre-existing societal divisions and norms, it is useful in that it identifies a timeline along with the relevant linguistic processes at work during intergenerational transmission.[82] In applying it to the situation in Berlin, which in fact more closely resembles the new town or Early Modern urban situations, we must therefore also consider the host of sociolinguistic variables that can effect the character and duration of the stages just described. These include but are not limited to the duration of intense migration, endogamous versus exogamous marriage behavior among distinct social groups, the

[82] Though they inherently are subject to more sociolinguistic variables than *tabula rasa* situations, new town situations have been found to follow similar time trajectories. In Kerswill & Williams' principles of koinéization, the third stage of focusing is said to take place approximately two generations after initial diffusion (Kerswill 2010: 243).

presence or absence of renewed population growth, and the nature of social and personal identity within the speech community.

The question remains then: approximately how long does it take for a speech community to complete the koinéization process? In the context of New Zealand English, Trudgill posits that it takes at least 50 years (or two full generational cycles) to progress through these three stages (Trudgill 2004: 23). Kerswill & Williams' analysis of Milton Keynes finds that focusing takes place over the course of "one or two generations" (Kerswill 2010: 243). In both of these estimates, it is assumed that the new town or colony's population growth levels out following initial settlement or migration. Thus, variability in the dialect begin to wane as speakers begin to focus and reallocate features. Despite the peculiar sociolinguistic developments in Berlin (such as the renewal of significant growth/migration in the 19th century) that distinguish it from the new towns and colonies examined by Trudgill and Kerswill & Williams during the course of the 18th and 19th centuries outlined in chapter 2, we shall see that these approximate durations line up with the emergence of a distinct urban vernacular in Berlin.

5.2. A Refined Picture of the Development of Berlinisch

Using the framework described above in concert with the written record and demographic development of Berlin, I now propose a revised account of spoken language use in Berlin between 1500-1850, and more specifically of the emergence and formation of the Berlin vernacular in the period following the Thirty Years War. This account rests

on a set of perhaps controversial, but historically well-supported assumptions that have been addressed in the preceding chapters: first, that Berlin's population growth and urban development was fundamentally interrupted by the events of the Thirty Years War. Second, that there was a limited impact of efforts toward standardization and education on the spoken vernacular of the vast majority of Berliners, even at the start of the 19th century – in other words, that the work of grammarians went largely unnoticed or unheeded by the vast majority of the population.[83] Finally, this account is based on the idea that Berlin's urban dialect during the late 17th, 18th and 19th centuries resulted from intense dialect contact and can be explained within the framework of koinéization. This stands in contrast to the hitherto more mainstream view that Berlinisch was the incomplete result of the "gradual elimination" of Low German features in favor of a more prestigious emerging standard (cf. Teuchert 1929; Schirmunski 1962 and others).

We begin, then, with the proposal that spoken language in Berlin was subject to two different processes during the course of its Early Modern history: the first occurring prior to the Thirty Years War, and the second being the result of rapid and sustained growth in the subsequent century. As Kerswill points out, new varieties "only emerge when a speech community has experienced trauma", most often as a result of the "rapid influx of newcomers" (Kerswill 2010: 230). The advent of the Reformation in Berlin, the establishment of the Hohenzollern court, and modest growth seen during the 16th century certainly brought with it linguistic change (especially in the formal spoken and

[83] Trudgill and others have observed the same phenomena for populations with relatively high rates of illiteracy (2004: 154).

written language domains). However, the demographic record does not reveal the type of trauma described by Kerswill. Furthermore, the suggestion by Schmidt that knowledge of *Hochdeutsch* was only passive in nature for the vast majority of the population is additional evidence that spoken vernacular in Berlin – though undoubtedly subject to contact between LG and CG/UG varieties – remained relatively stable during this period. In Schmidt's view, the vast majority of the population went on speaking Low German (Schmidt 1986: 143). Given what we now know about early migration patterns, Berlin's limited size (fewer than 25,000 inhabitants) and population growth between 1500 and 1650 most likely did not result in the formation of a distinct urban koiné. We can perhaps talk of a "proto-Berlinisch" vernacular during this period arising from limited bi-dialectalism among certain sectors of the population (i.e. the geographically mobile educated elite, and certain groups such as bureaucrats that had high numbers of migrants from the East Elbian and Saxon regions), but it was more likely the result of what Kerswill calls "slowly changing speech-community norms" (Kerswill 2010: 230). Generally speaking, there is little historical or linguistic evidence that a distinct new *urban* vernacular formed during this period.

Moving forward to the later 17th century, we indeed find the type of trauma that Kerswill and Trudgill identify as a prerequisite to new-dialect formation and koinéization. Although Berlinisch scholars up to this point have largely ignored these events as having had any notable effect on Berlin's spoken vernacular,[84] we have seen in previous chapters

[84] The traditional literature instead identifies the onsets of the Reformation and Industrialization as the decisive turning points in the history of Berlinisch (cf. Lasch 1927; Schmidt 1986; Butz 1988).

that one does not have to look far in the historical literature and the demographic record to grasp its import in reshaping the city.

In following the framework of koinéization outlined above, we can point to a timeline for the first stages of koiné formation in Berlin beginning with the rapid increase in immigration during the last two decades of the 17th century and into the first two decades of the 18th century. This period, corresponding with Trudgill's Stage I, saw mass migration of a largely adult, childless population to Berlin. Though some 10,000 native Berliners survived the effects the war and waves of epidemics, they were quickly outnumbered by new arrivals. Statistics from the Berlin/Cölln citizenship rolls underscore this fact, showing that the percentage of new citizens in the eighty years between 1660 and 1740 hovered around 70% (Schultz 1987: 340). Crucially, the devastating effect of the war on rural populations in the Mark Brandenburg meant that ever-larger numbers of craftsmen, laborers, and military personnel were sourced from the more distant CG-speaking regions;[85] this was in addition to the Huguenot French population arriving en masse in the closing decades of the 17th century. Among the first generation of adult immigrants and their children, accommodation and imposition occurred, resulting in the leveling and simplification of dialect features that were opaque to adult speakers. Examples of these processes present in ModBer include the opacity of the three/four case system to native LG-speakers,[86] plural markers, and the

[85] Among these were: Saxony, Thuringia, Anhalt, and Hessen, and after the Silesian Wars the newly acquired provinces of Silesia, Lusatia, and parts of what was formerly Poland.
[86] It is also worth noting that many of the rural CG dialects showed variation in case usage as well, though usually differently from the dialects of Brandenburg (cf. Albrecht 1881).

representation of initial [t] and [d] in LG and CG/UG dialects. These examples will be discussed in detail below.

The occupational and social structures of Berlin during the 18th century – with institutions such as guilds and the substantial Prussian bureaucracy[87] – served both as catalysts and hindrances to the process of koinéization during the first half of the 18th century. On the one hand, the primacy of strict occupational endogamy meant that geographic origins in the selection of a spouse were only a secondary factor. On the other hand, contact and intermarriage *between* socioeconomic classes remained limited. This led to a persistence of dense, multiplex social networks that typically promote more conservative language behavior and the possible emergence of sociolects (Goss & Howell 2006: 61).[88] Additionally, the assimilation of the newly-arrived French Refugiés proceeded at a gradual pace; as is outlined in chapter 2, we cannot talk about wholesale language shift among the French until the second half of the 18th century, and for parts of the population not until the early 19th century. All of this served to compartmentalize dialect contact among the various socioeconomic groups in the city.

In the near-absence of definitive direct linguistic evidence for the period spanning the middle decades of the 18th century, it is therefore most probable that the "extreme variability and leveling" attributed to Trudgill's Stage II proceeded differently among the various social groups present in Berlin during that time. This is *not* to say, however, that the 'upper class' spoke High German and the 'lower classes' spoke Low German. We now

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[87] This establishment of distinct societal group divisions is a part of what German historians refer to as the "*ständische Gesellschaft*".

[88] See chapter III and the family history of the master baker Johann Friedrich Heyde.

know based on the demographic record that geographic mobility and long-distance migration was prevalent across the social spectrum, meaning that dialect variability was more prevalent than previously supposed. Though the relative influence of the various contact dialects differed according to social and occupational class,[89] dialectal variability was crucially present in all of them.

The latter half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century saw a series of concurrent societal transformations and events suggesting that the processes reflected in Stage III in Trudgill's model took place during this period. The slow but steady transition from guild-based production toward larger factories softened many of the earlier rigid social divisions that served to compartmentalize social contacts among the working population. Downward social mobility was the norm during this period for the large group of guildsmen and artisans, leading to increased intermixing between previously discrete social groups. This was compounded by a rise in poverty in the city caused due in no small part to the costs of Friedrich II's campaigns in Silesia and beyond. Both of these factors resulted in a homogenization of the vast non-elite, under-educated population in Berlin. Additionally, we see a notable slowing of growth and immigration between 1750-1800 also attributable to the effects of war and poverty. Rural surpluses that previously fed the appetite of urban growth were consumed by substantial casualties of war and famine in Prussian lands. Concurrently, the proportion of native-born

[89] Schultz' demographic study confirms that migrants from the Mark Brandenburg were more likely to be poor, unskilled offspring of farmers, while craftsmen and journeymen very often came from Saxony, Anhalt or Thuringia (Schultz 1987).

Berliners to newcomers rose markedly, which further contributed to the reduction of dialectal variability. Finally, the integration of the Huguenot French proceeded at an increased pace, so that by the time Napoleon's armies arrived at the gates of Berlin in 1806, the vast majority of Refugiés were becoming German-dominant or monolingual German speakers.

In Moritz' 1781 description of the Berlin dialect use, we also have the first definitive evidence of a set of core features distinguishing a defined set of common features typical of Berlin speech. As mentioned earlier, the emergence of this text – as is claimed by Lasch, Schmidt, and others – can indeed be attributed to the heightened perception of the "otherness" of the dialects in contrast to an emerging supra-regional standard variety. Interestingly, though, its appearance also coincides with our general timeline for the emergence of a koiné. In the generation directly following the period of intense in-migration, we of course would expect the "extreme variation" in Trudgill's model. Though the increased awareness of an emerging supra-regional spoken norm may have spurred Moritz to write his article, the fact remains that in order to present a list of features typical of Berlin, a coherent set of core features had to be present among the city's speakers.

In his description of widespread "mistakes" among Berliners, along with mistakes only attributed to the *Pöbel*, we have evidence of both of the major processes associated with the latter stages of koiné formation; namely, focusing and reallocation. The former can be seen in the large set of features attributed by Moritz to the general population in

Berlin, which includes features from both major contact dialect families.[90] With respect to the latter, we find within Moritz' list of features described as *pöbelhaft* evidence that variant forms in the mix were reallocated according to socioeconomic class (which in the context of koinéization implies differing social networks). This coincides with the third stage in Trudgill's model.

Here, a brief example helps to support this account of reallocation in Berlinisch and improve on previous explanations as to why certain features are present in ModBer. In Lasch's account of the development of Berlinisch, she claims that forms like *ick* disappeared from use among speakers in Berlin during the 17th and 18th centuries with the exception of those speaking canonical LG or *Märkisch*. The feature then reappeared when the lower classes collectively chose to adopt the speech of the more prestigious upper classes (and the upper classes correspondingly began to speak as they write). If we look back to Moritz, he notes the use of both *ick* and *ich* among speakers in Berlin, attributing the former to the *Pöbel* and the latter to the more educated classes. Given the fact that different social groups experienced leveling differently during the earlier stages of koinéization, it is probable that multiple variants survived in the mix. In the case of the typically LG first person pronoun *ick*, its presence was also reinforced by renewed close proximity in-migration from Brandenburg and the other northern provinces. The association of the LG pronoun with the less educated groups was also almost certainly already primed during the early 18th century and perhaps even earlier. However, with

[90] Examples include the leveling of [t] and [d], final [g] as [ç] (both typical of *Mittelmärkisch*), long monophthongs [o:] and [e:], partial second sound shift (typical of CG), the realization of initial [g] as [j], and unrounding of front rounded vowels (typical of many of the input dialects).

the above-mentioned transition to a manufacture and industrial economy and the emergence of a consolidated wage labor class in the late 18th/early 19th century, the *ick* form was reallocated as a clear sociolinguistic marker.

Sticking with the same example of the first person pronoun, there is an analogue that occurred in a Norwegian non-urban koiné: the development of the first person pronouns *eg* and *jeg* in the western Norwegian new town settlement of Høyanger mirrors that of Berlin. In Høyanger, the West Norwegian (or nynorsk) variant *eg* corresponds to Berlinisch *ick*; it is the variant that is endemic in the region and diverges markedly from the written variety. Large groups of speakers of East Norwegian then settled in the town (though they still remained in the minority), who have *jeg*. This corresponds with *ich* in Berlin as the variant spoken by many of the long-distance migrants, and this form also corresponds with the written or standard variety. The story gets interesting when we have a look at the development of pronoun use over the course of three generations in Høyanger (see fig. 36).

Fig. 39 – Evolution of Two Høyanger Pronouns

East Norwegian and bokmål	West Norwegian and nynorsk	Generation I (rural dialect)	Generation II	Generation III
jeg	*eg*	*eg*	*jeg and eg*	*eg*

(modified from Kerswill 2010: 241)

During the first generation of children born after settlement - which corresponds with the Generation II in the chart - both of the pronoun forms are attested despite the fact that the East Norwegians are in the minority. The following generation then reverts back to the western form of *eg* in the same way that *ick* "re-emerges" in Berlinisch in the latter half of the 18th century. What is particularly interesting about this parallel case in

Norwegian is that it occurs in precisely the same high-frequency areas of the grammar as Berlinisch.[91] In essence, what Teuchert and Schirmunski call LG "relics" are in fact variants that survived among certain groups speaking the emerging contact dialect, only to later be reallocated according to sociolinguistic factors. The retention of the CG/UG *ich* among the more educated classes can also be attributed to the increasing influence of the supra-regional standard (Butz 1988: 21). Thus, although Lasch oversteps in assuming that *ick* disappeared during the 17th and 18th centuries except among canonical LG-speakers, she was correct that it re-emerged in the late 18th century as a marker of a certain socioeconomic class.

Berlin at the turn of the 19th century had a well-established native born population approaching 200,000, though the city was just beginning its rise to metropolis status. The flow of in-migration (now increasingly from the newly annexed eastern Prussian provinces including Silesia and Upper Lusatia) and the city's corresponding geographic growth resulted in renewed dialect contact, especially among the vastly growing number of wage laborers. Thus, the typical koinéization processes of simplification, leveling, reallocation and focusing that had occurred during the 18th century were rejuvenated during the mid-19th century. Though he does not suggest the idea that koinéization occurred during the earlier growth periods in 17th and 18th century Berlin, Joachim Gessinger interestingly points out that Berlinisch in the 19th century is a good example of koinéization:

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[91] The other example discussed for the Høyanger dialect is the negator *ikkje* vs. *ikke*. In Berlinisch, *det* and *wat* are other typical "relics" that follow a similar pattern to *ick*.

> Ein gutes Beispiel für Koineisierung ist das Berlinische selbst, das als Ergebnis nieder- und obersächsischer Überformungs- oder Mischprozesse im 19. Jahrhundert durch massive Zuwanderung von Arbeitsmigranten aus den anderen preußischen Provinzen, vorwiegend aber aus Brandenburg, zunächst einen Zuwachs an Varianz aufwies, die aber dann bis zum Ende des 2. Weltkriegs zunehmend wieder abgebaut wurde. (Gessinger 2000: 72)

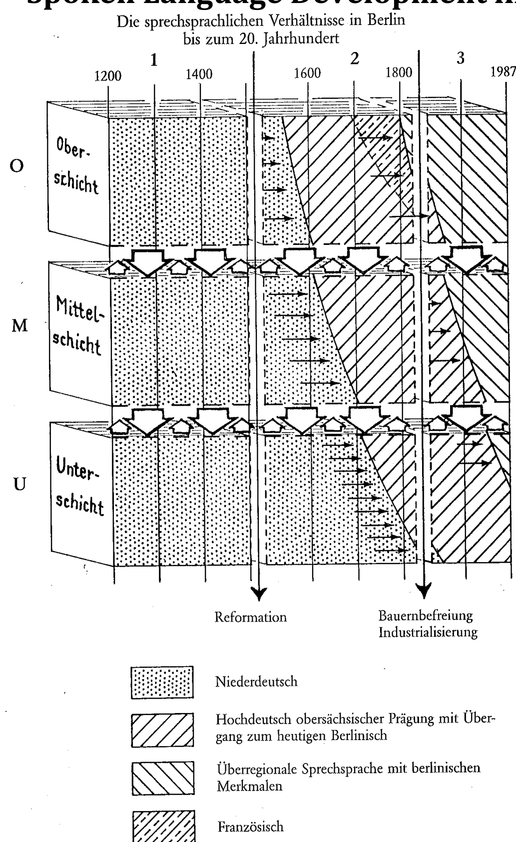
As we have seen, a closer look at the timeline of linguistic evidence along with demographic statistics reveals that the same effects of dialect contact were at work much earlier, and provided the basis for this continued dialect contact during the Industrial Period. A comparison of the features present in Moritz' 1781 article with the language of Glassbrenner's characters in the mid-1800's further supports this assertion: despite Berlin's renewed dramatic growth in the 19th century, the core features describing dialect use in Berlin seem to have remained remarkably consistent over this period spanning several generations. Even some of the sociolinguistically reallocated salient social markers mentioned by Moritz – such as *ick*, *det*, and *wat* – are likewise reflected in the social differentiation of Glassbrenner's characters (cf. Gebhardt 1933).

As stated in section 6.1., the account presented above in fact does not mark a clean break from previous accounts on the history of Berlinisch, but it does propose a set of adjustments to the story: in emphasizing the importance of the post-Thirty Years War period, a different timeline for the specific establishment of the Berlin vernacular (or what German-speaking scholars call the *Berliner Mundart*) is proposed. Additionally, this account tempers the role of the written language in favor of face-to-face interactions in shaping the urban koiné; within the framework of koinéization, this means that dialectal

variation and mixing was present at all levels of society and was subject to larger changes in social structure and networks.

In order to illustrate how this picture of Berlinisch affects the previous view of Berlin's spoken language history, it is useful to consider perhaps the most thorough schematic representation of Berlin's spoken language history in Butz (1988).

Fig. 40 – Spoken Language Development in Berlin



(Butz 1988: 32)

There are several aspects of Butz' model that are useful, and are retained in a model encompassing koinéization in Berlin. First, it recognizes the presence of distinct social groups in Berlin whose speakers in turn possess differing social networks. This has a

direct effect on speakers' relative exposure to dialect forms. However, it also depicts the substantial contact (using vertically downward and upward pointing arrows) present between social groups in an urban environment. Finally, although the Thirty Years War is notably *not* included, this model places major importance on social upheavals (identified here are the Reformation and Industrialization) in impacting spoken language.

Absent within Butz' model is a clear picture of dialect diversity or variation within the respective socioeconomic groups. Instead, we have an idealized picture where each social class speaks one variety at a given time (though he does tacitly imply transition periods with curved lines marking transitions), so that until about 1800 the lower classes are simply speaking *Niederdeutsch*, a fact that the demographic history of Berlin does not support.[92] Also missing from Butz' graphic is population development, the specific social and linguistic importance of which is discussed in the preceding chapters. With all three socioeconomic groups shown as the same size, one is led to assume that all three groups were of similar numerical – and therefore linguistic – significance. Given the extent and rapidity of Berlin's transformation from a small city to a burgeoning metropolis, a clearer model of Berlin's spoken language use over time must also depict population growth and relative size of different social groups.

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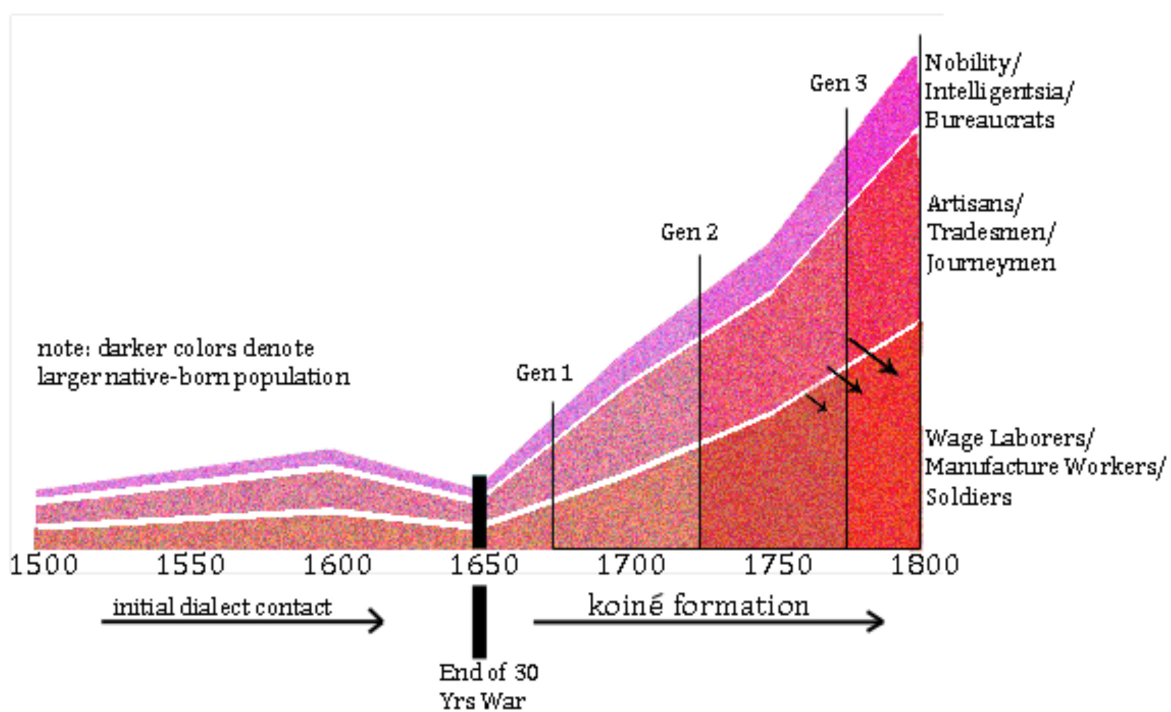
[92] It is also worth noting that Butz acknowledges the significance of spoken French among the privileged classes, but not among the middle and lower classes, who certainly experienced ever-increasing exposure to spoken French first through the Huguenots, and later during the French occupation in 1806-1807.

We therefore turn to the following modified graphic, where demographic growth along with the relative numerical significance of the different occupational groups in Berlin are clearly represented.[93]

Fig. 41 – Demographic Growth, Dialect Contact, and Koinéization in Berlin



Also present in this modified depiction of language use in Berlin over time is the presence of dialect contact. Textured or speckled colors have been chosen to represent the presence of dialect diversity and contact at all levels of society (in contrast to Butz' depiction of each social group speaking a monolithic dialect at a given point in time); the brightening and solidifying of the colors toward 1800 indicate that as Berlin's homegrown population increased, the processes of leveling and focusing led to the

[93] Population data from De Vries 1984: 273, relative size of occupational classes from Schultz 1987: 345.

emergence of an urban koiné. We also see the increase of downward social mobility toward the end of this period (black arrows), especially among small tradesmen and guildsmen.

When considered together along with the chart below, which summarizes some of the most salient developments in social and demographic structure along with their implications in the koinéization framework, this modified picture of the formation of the Berlin dialect begins to crystallize.

Fig. 42 – Social factors and spoken dialect use in Berlin over time

	1500-1650	1650-1720	1720-1780	1780-1850
Demographic and social factors	- modest population growth, then dramatic population loss due to 30 Years War - Reformation leads to written language shift, increased presence of CG dialects in formal domains	- rapid population growth with small native population - increase in long-distance migration (esp. CG dialect areas) lead to intense dialect contact	- population growth slows due to wars - proportion of non-native Berliners sinks below 50% - downward mobility increases among middle classes as wage labor class grows	- renewal of strong population growth, but this time with a much larger native-born population - shift toward industrialism and establishment of a generalized wage labor group
Implications for dialect/language use within the koinéization framework	- some dialect contact as Franconian/Saxon bureaucrats and craftsmen emigrate to Berlin - Brandenburgisch remains prevalent among lower socioeconomic groups and in informal domains - possibility of proto-Berlinisch, though interrupted by 30 Years War	- Strong French presence among educated classes and increasingly among general population (upon arrival of the Huguenots) - First stages of koinéization process take place (Gen. 1/2); strong role of adult factors on koiné - Sustained strong presence of non-native population delays stabilization of koiné	- 2nd/3rd generations of speakers begin leveling, simplifying as koiné emerges - role of first generations of native-born children increases	- Urban koiné shows variability down the socioeconomic continuum as 3rd/4th generations (some focusing, reallocation of salient features according to social groups/domain) - language shift of Huguenots (~1800), French occupation reinforce French elements of Berlinisch

One of the most important aspects of the account presented above is that it attributes the development of the urban vernacular to the peculiar set of demographic and social

circumstances in the city. With this in mind, it should follow that cities having similar demographic and social characteristics would have vernaculars with many similarities. Such a situation does in fact exist, and will be discussed in the following section.

5.3. Magdeburgisch and Berlinisch

Before taking a detailed look at some of the development of some of the specific salient features in Berlinisch, I provide one more piece of support for the koinéization model outlined above. It is based upon the strikingly analogous dialect contact situation in the city of Magdeburg. Trudgill suggests that dialect contact situations are like baking cakes: "If you bake cakes, I suggest, from roughly the same ingredients in roughly the same proportions in roughly similar conditions for roughly the same length of time, you will get roughly similar cakes." In the context of dialect contact, then: with a similar set of contact dialects and social circumstances, we expect to find similar outcomes in the resulting urban variety (Trudgill 2004: 20). Though Trudgill's cake analogy provides a useful way for thinking about how demographic and social similarities can lead to similar linguistic outcomes, this investigation falls short of supporting a deterministic view of language contact, in which similar settlement populations always yield congruent koinés. It must be borne in mind as we examine similar contact situations that the peculiar social dynamics of a given town or city can significantly change the trajectory of the outcome. However, given that linguistic composition of the population has a direct effect on the prevalence of dialect forms in the speech community, it is still relevant to examine

analogous examples. In the case of Berlin, therefore, the best place to find similar "ingredients" is in another major Prussian city that was similarly decimated during the Thirty Years War.

The recognition of the Magdeburgisch dialect being a near-perfect feature-for-feature match with Berlinisch is not a new one. Richard Loewe's 1889 study on dialect mixing in the Magdeburg area repeatedly draws connections between the development of Berlinisch and Magdeburgisch, even including Berlinisch equivalents in his list of features in typical Magdeburgisch. In addressing the formation of the dialect, Loewe largely anticipates the pattern of thinking that Lasch would later adopt for Berlinisch, but he also comes tantalizingly close to describing the process of koinéization and its results:

> Allein die einmal entstandenen starken Abweichungen in den Sprachen beider Verkehrsgruppen konnten...nur noch auf künstlichem Wege dadurch überbrückt werden, dass die Angehörigen des einen Stammes die Sprache des anderen neben ihrer eigenen zu erlernen suchten. Ich habe für solche im Verkehre mit anderen Stämmen oder Ständen gebrauchte Sprachen, die ja fast niemals der eigenen Sprache dieser Stämme oder Stände wirklich vollkommen gleichen, den Ausdruck "Kontaktsprache" gebraucht.
> (Loewe 1889: 4)

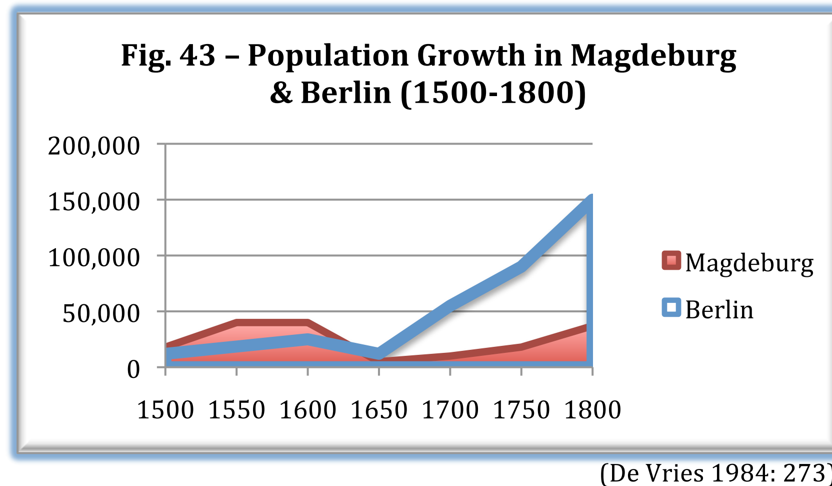
Despite this clear recognition that face-to-face interaction and spoken language plays a key role in spoken language use and dialect formation, Loewe's primary answer for the emergence of Magdeburgisch sticks to the teleological approach involving the primacy of the emerging written variety and prestigious spoken variety. In short, Loewe points to Magdeburgisch as the being the result of the overwhelming influence of the language of the Reformation on the general populace.

It is beyond the scope of this investigation to tackle a complete parallel history of Magdeburg, but a brief summary of the similarities between Berlin and Magdeburg's dialect contact situations are particularly informative for this discussion.

5.3.1. Geography, Trade, and Politics

Magdeburg is located on the banks of the Elbe River about eighty miles west-southwest of Berlin. Like Berlin, Magdeburg had significant trade relations with Saxon and Thuringian territories to the east during the Early Modern Period. Like Berlin, Magdeburg lies on the periphery of what is often referred to as the *Ostelbischer Raum*, near the major isoglosses delineating the boundary between LG and CG dialects. After joining the Reformation and undergoing a similar shift in the written language in the late 16th century, Magdeburg was also center stage in the internecine conflicts of the 17th century. The dire effects of the Thirty Years War on Berlin are described in detail in chapter 2, but they in fact pale in comparison to the toll exacted upon the city of Magdeburg. Burned to the ground and its population massacred by Tilly and his army in 1631, Magdeburg was a virtual ghost town in the ensuing decades, its population almost completely massacred by the plundering soldiers (Clark 2006: 24). The population numbers for Magdeburg show a similar pinch to Berlin's. Though the subsequent

population growth in Magdeburg is much more gradual than Berlins, the existence of a near-new town situation can be observed.[94]



(De Vries 1984: 273)

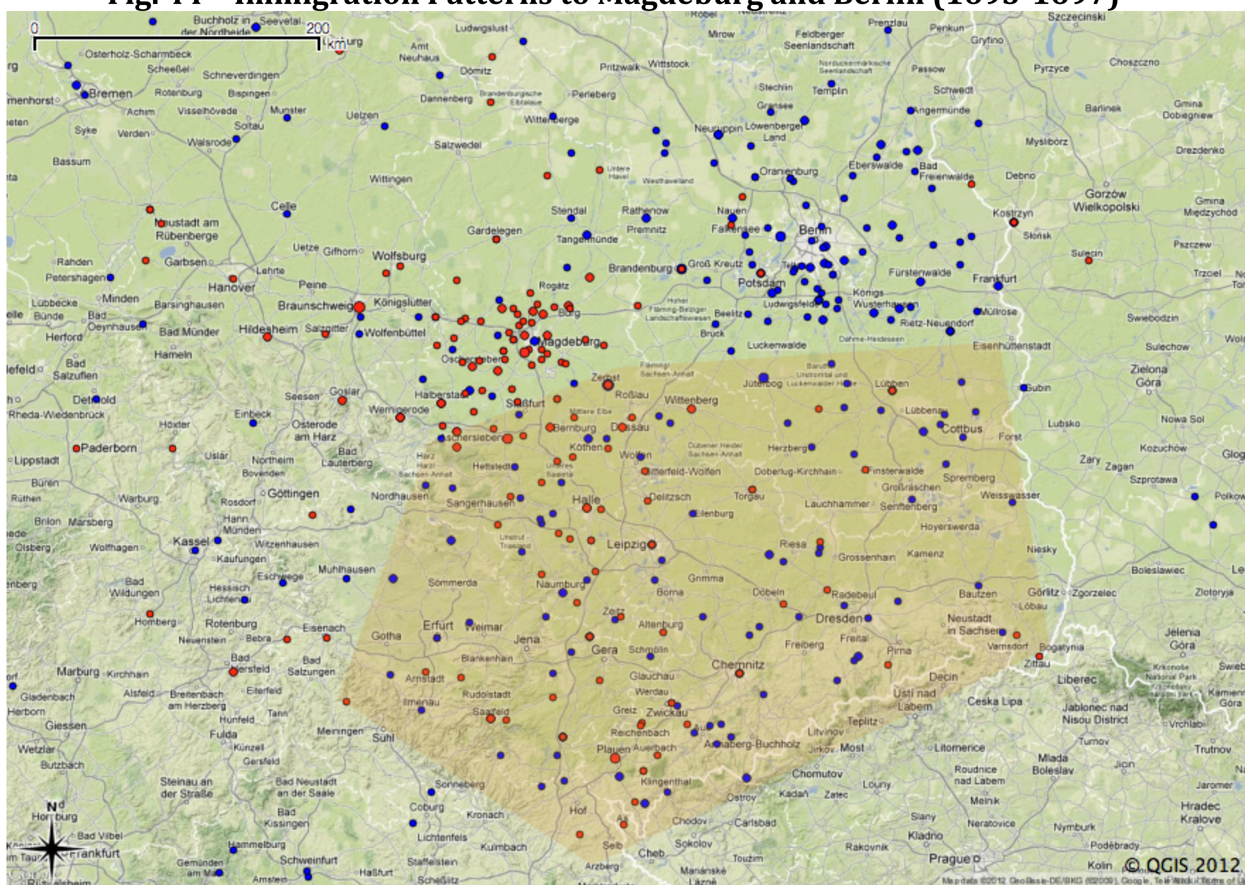
5.3.2. MIGRATION AND RE-POPULATION

In 1681, Magdeburg joined Berlin as part of the Prussian Kingdom, at which point the former, strategically located on a river on the western periphery of the realm, was quickly developed into one of the strongest fortress towns in Central Europe. The integration of Magdeburg into Prussian territory crucially contributed to the similarities between these two cities' demographic histories. Both cities drew on similar surplus populations within and near the borders of the growing empire. This new population inevitably included some of the moneyed citizens who were lucky enough to flea the city before its destruction, though they would have of course found utter destruction upon their return. Much more significant in the recovery of the city, as in the case of Berlin,

[94] It is also worth noting that the significant permanent military population - which was particularly important for Magdeburg as a major Prussian fortress city - were in many cases not included in such population figures.

was the re-population almost exclusively through in-migration and the establishment of a substantial resident military population. Surrounding rural surpluses (inasmuch as they still existed) provided some of the new population, but longer distance migration from Saxon and Thuringian territories was also a significant factor.[95] The following map depicting migrants listed in the citizenship rolls of Magdeburg and Berlin between 1693 and 1697, the overlap in migratory patterns is clearly visible in the Upper Saxon region lying south of both cities.

Fig. 44 – Immigration Patterns to Magdeburg and Berlin (1693-1697)



(Berlin/Magdeburg Bürgerbücher)

[95] Being under the jurisdiction of Friedrich I's government, Magdeburg also receives a significant contingent of French Refugiés, who follow a similar process and timeline of integration to those in Berlin.

Here, we can see the expected clusters of new citizens surrounding the respective cities (Magdeburg in red and Berlin in blue), along with a significant contingent for both cities which is highlighted on the map. These populations are centered around the southern part of Anhalt, western Thuringia and Saxony. The two cities, thus, gathered similar "ingredients" within their walls in the century, filling the population vacuum left by the Thirty Years War.

If we then turn to the resulting urban dialect in Magdeburg, we find that the features present in Magdeburgisch parallel Berlinisch precisely where we would expect, and like Berlinisch, exhibit the types of outcomes typical of koiné formation discussed above. The chart below gives a list of examples listed by Loewe where Magdeburgisch parallels Berlinisch.

Fig. 45 – Magdeburgisch/Berlinisch Parallels
intitial [g] > [j]
wat, dat (but Berlinisch *det*)
initial [t] > [d] (dochtr, dauznt, dolr)
Old [mp], [p] unshifted (kopp, strump, damp)
mnd. [aɪ]>[eː], [iː]>[eɪ]; [aʊ]>[oː], [uː]>[aʊ]: steen, keene, kleen, mein, bleiben och, loofen, boom, haus, brauchen, Raum
Unrounding of front rounded vowels
"*Einzelentlehnungen*" from CG (*uf, nidr, ville*)
Variation in acc./dat. personal pronouns (generalization of *mik/dik* and *mir/dir* attested)
"Germanified" French loan lexicon
Gender variation: *der Gans, der Tuch, der Tor, der Tafel, der Wachs, der Dach, der Seil*
Generalization of s-plural

(Loewe 1889)

One of the notable differences between the two dialects is the presence of the definite article *det* in Berlinisch versus *dat* in Magdeburgisch. Here we have clear indication of

the direct effect of immigration and the composition of the "ingredients" on the variants present in the contact dialect. *Det* is a known feature of the *Mittelmärkisch* dialects directly adjacent to Berlin, but not in the *Magdeburger Börde* region that was the source of the majority of Magdeburg's close-proximity migration. Though *dat* and *det* (and the corresponding CG/UG variants) were certainly present in both cities, it was the majority form that won out in each respective dialect.

Returning, then to the idea of similarity occurring in dialect contact situations, we have found in Magdeburgisch and Berlinisch precisely the types of phonological and morphological parallels observed by Trudgill and others in the colonial English dialect varieties. Just as similar dialect mixing circumstances in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the Falkland Isles led to strikingly similar new varieties, similar immigration histories and social circumstances resulted in the strikingly similar urban koinés in Berlin and Magdeburg.

5.4. The Characteristics and Development of Some Salient Features of Berlinisch

5.4.1. Lenition of G

One of the most salient features in ModBer is the lenition of [g] to [j] before both vowels and consonants. Thus, in place of NHG *Gott, gute, groß, gegangen*, the Berliner says *jott, jut, jroß, jejangen*. However, Moritz reports forms like *Anjel* or *lanje*, where the [j] has also been extended to environments following [n]. Though Agathe Lasch views these cases as “mistaken reports” on Moritz’ part, their appearance in Glaßbrenner’s mid-

19th century dramatic pieces suggest that language learners were extending [j] to virtually all environments (Lasch 1928: 257).

In her support of Berlinisch being the result of the wholesale adoption of the Upper Saxon dialect, Lasch points to early depictions of the Saxon dialect by grammarians such as Rollenhagen (1603) and Morhof (1682) that include the feature [j] for [g] as a feature for that region. Lasch also crucially asserts that the Berliner of the 16th century would not have had to learn a new form because it was already present in the local dialect in Berlin and Mark Brandenburg.

Indeed, as Lasch claims, the core area of this dialect feature overlaps with the majority of the Mittelmärkisch dialect region and extends down toward Thuringia and Upper Saxony. However, the [j] feature also reflects significant variation within the Saxon region, calling to question the thesis that [j] was simply "adopted" by traveling and studying Berliners in influential cities like Leipzig. According to Albrecht, the [j] feature was attested to the northwest of the city of Leipzig, while the dialect in the city itself reflects mostly [g]: "Das **g** ist der wandelbarste von allen Lauten [im Leipziger/sächsischen Dialekt]...er wird aber doch im Anlaut fast immer **g** (Gaumenlaut) gesprochen, nicht wie **j.** In Leipzig sagt man: Gaben, geben, Gift, Gott, gut, gross, gleich, Gnade; bereits in der nächsten Nähe beginnt aber das Schwanken (Albrecht 1881: 12)."[96] In fact, the rural areas surrounding Leipzig reflect everything from [j] before consonants

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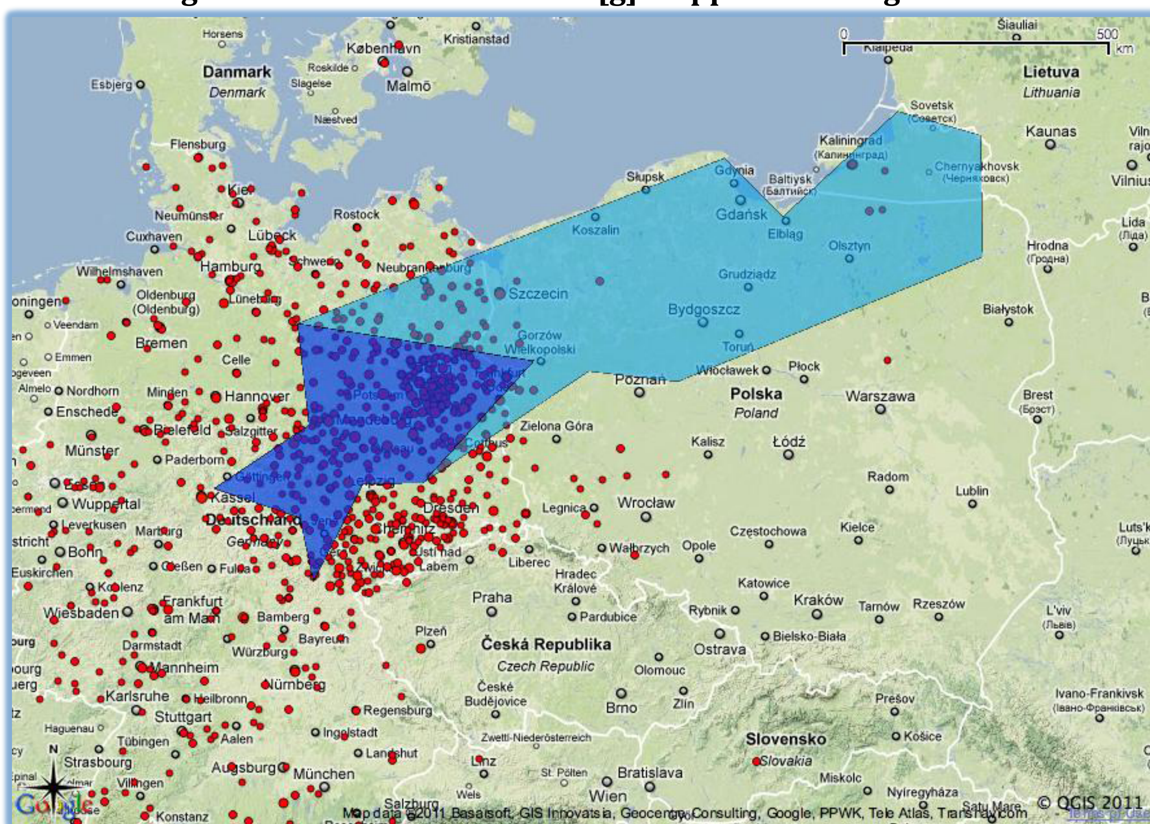
[96] It should be noted that Albrecht's study stems from a later time period and that presence of the [j] feature previously extended further south and east past Leipzig. However, the key point is that significant variation within the Upper Saxon dialect region as a whole was prevalent, and that this variation was undoubtedly reflected in the speech of Leipzigers of the 16th-18th centuries.

and vowels, [j] before consonants, the velar fricative [χ], and a bit further to the south in the Vogtland just north of Gera, the situation is completely reversed, so that [j] is produced as [g] as in *Gahr* instead of *Jahr.* [97]

The core area for the [j] feature as it appears in ModBer does indeed border on Leipzig, but crucially extends to the northwest toward Magdeburg, and runs up into the

Fig. 46 – Prevalence of lenited [g] mapped with migration data



(Berlin/Cölln Bürgerbuch [1679-1708]; Deutscher Sprachatlas (DSA))

[97] Interestingly, such forms as *gahr* also pop up in certain early Berlin documents, which has been suggested as an example of the hypercorrection of [j] and therefore support for the establishment of the Berlin urban vernacular during the 16th century. However, the fact that the [j] to [g] phenomenon was present in the Frankish and Vogtland dialects suggests that this conclusion may be too hasty. What it may suggest, rather, is that the scribes for those particular documents were most likely from those southern regions of Saxony (which at the time was quite prevalent), and that therefore the realization of [j] and [g] among the city's speakers was actually in flux.

Havelland and Mittelmark regions (see Fig. 46). We also find the feature in parts of Mecklenburg, Pomerania and East Prussia, but in fewer phonological environments (e.g. not before [l] and [r]). As discussed earlier, these regions become increasingly important source regions for the Berlin population beginning in the second half of the 18th century and continuing through the mid-19th century. Mapped together with the migration distribution during the most dramatic growth period in Berlin following the 30 Years War (1670-1709), we see that the core area of the [j] feature (in purple) before liquids *and* vowels lies directly over the most dense areas of origin recorded from Berlin/Cölln citizenship rolls. Thus, it is true that some speakers in and around the area of Leipzig indeed reflected a lenited [g] in their dialect, meaning that highly mobile students and journeymen from Berlin may well have been exposed to this feature and had an influence on the speech of native inhabitants of Berlin. However, this theory assumes several steps toward that end: first, that adult speakers successfully acquired this feature; second, that they then maintained these features upon returning to Berlin, and third, that they had sufficient contact with other speakers in the city - either via intermarriage or intimate occupational contact – in order to influence their spoken language.

Instead, as is outlined in the previous section, there is a much simpler explanation: [j] was already a salient feature in the dialects in and around Berlin, along with the prominent source migration areas to the south. It was heavily represented in the input of children learning spoken German during both major surges of population growth, and therefore is a perfect example of the leveling process (the favoring of majority forms in the mix) that is a hallmark of koinéization. Particularly interesting in this case is the fact

that speakers were exposed to dialects with varying levels of [g]-lenition (though nearly all major contributors had at least some), such that deriving a general rule would have been difficult or impossible. In another typical result of koinéization, speakers simplify the chaotic input by applying [j] in all possible circumstances.

5.4.2. Velarization of [nd]

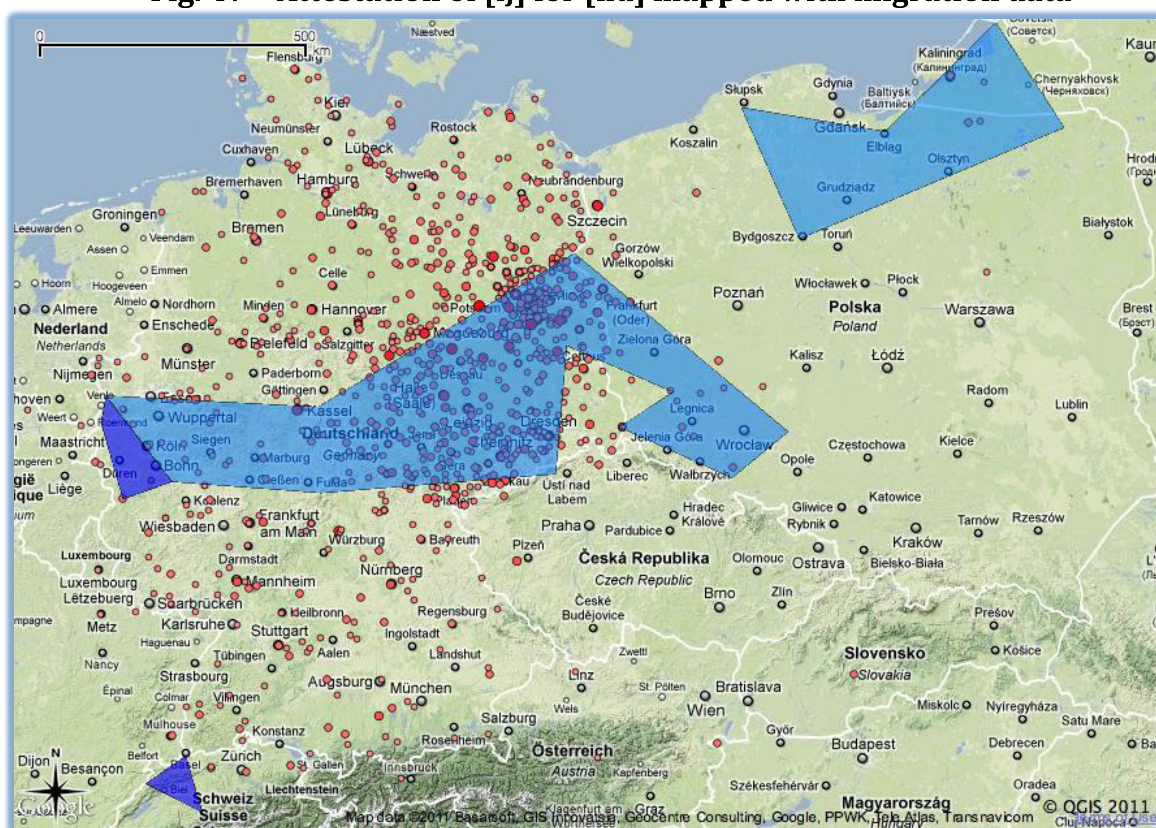
Another interesting phonological pattern present in Berlinisch is the velarization of [nd] as [ŋ] or [n], such as in ModBer *kinger* for *Kinder*, or *verwungern* for *verwundern*, or *anders* as *anners* (Bolte 1926). This feature is attested in some of the earliest dialect sources of spoken language in Berlin, beginning as early as the *Hirtgespräch* from 1589. In the Hohenzollern letters largely stemming from the 18th century, and especially in the letters of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688-1740), there is interesting variation between the [nd] and [ŋ] forms, further suggesting that there is a negotiation of forms taking place among speakers in the city during this period.[98] By the 19th century, [nd] is attested most often as the fully lenited [n] as reflected in the writings of Glaßbrenner (Gephardt 1933: 43) and in Lasch's assessment of Berlinisch phonology (Lasch 1927).

As with the [g] feature discussed above, [ŋ] in Berlinisch was not simply a feature present among speakers in the immediate vicinity of Berlin, nor was it only present in the Upper Saxon or Leipzig dialects. Rather, [nd] > [ŋ] or [n] was a widespread phenomenon

[98] One could potentially suggest that this alternation is due to influence of the standard or "prestige" language variety. However, as Krauske points out in his study of Friedrich Wilhelm I., the ruler was still unable to read or write at the age of nine, and had little or no German language instruction (Krauske 1905). It is therefore more plausible to posit that the variation within his writing reflects actual variation in the input he had received as a speaker.

stretching across most of central and northeastern Germany, along with East Prussia. As is clear in the map below, the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* shows that the most salient areas (shown in purple) actually lie far afield from the catch zones of Berlin migration; however, attestation of the feature is still solidly represented in the most dense places of origin for the new citizens of Berlin.

Fig. 47 – Attestation of [ŋ] for [nd] mapped with migration data



(Berlin/Cölln Bürgerbuch [1679-1708]; DSA)

Much like the [g] situation described above, Albrecht's study on the Leipzig dialect identifies [nd] > [ŋ] as a phenomenon consistent with the village dialects (*"Bauernsprache"*) to the north and east of the city. Franke's 1882 study on Upper Saxon similarly identifies the feature as *Dorfdialekt*, thus also placing the feature in the regions

outside the city. Both of these assessments (along with those discussed in the previous section) speak to the fact that informal spoken Upper Saxon dialect features exerted as much if not more influence on the Berlin variety than a "prestigious" Upper Saxon or reflection of the emerging super-regional written variety, which did not include this feature. This situation further complicates an argument based on the adoption of a Upper Saxon 'prestige variety' since the relevant features stem primarily from the dialect outside the immediate urban area of Leipzig. Here again, the presence of the feature in both of the major dialect groups contributing to Berlinisch (LG and CG) suggests further that majority or shared forms tend to be maintained in an urban dialect setting as a result of the leveling process.

5.4.3. Realization of NHG diphthongs EI and AU

The vowel system of ModBer is another salient feature distinguishing it from surrounding varieties. In particular, the realization of MHG /û/ and /ou/ as ModBer /au/ and /oo/, and MHG /î/ and /ei/ as ModBer /ei/ and /ee/ respectively, have been discussed extensively in the literature. For Agathe Lasch, this pattern serves as the primary piece of evidence that the "prestigious" Upper Saxon variety was adopted wholesale by well-educated and well-traveled Berliners.

Fig. 48 – Realization of MHG Diphthongs

MHG	mîn	stein	hûs	boum
US	mein	stên	haus	bôm
ModBer	mein	stên	haus	bôm
LG	mîn	stên	hûs	bôm

(Lasch 1928: 77)

Indeed, it is notable that ModBer reflects the same distribution of these vowel pairs as Upper Saxon with only a handful of exceptions (e.g. Berl. *Schnute* > NHG *Schnauze*). However, as V.M. Schirmunski (1962) points out, we should also not be particularly surprised at this outcome. First, the presence in ModBer of the MHG vowels existing in both LG and CG varieties (ModBer /oo/ and /ee/) would have led to consistent input in these cases.[99] Second, we must consider that boundaries between Low and Central dialect varieties were in fact far from solid, especially on the frontier between Brandenburg and Saxony: "Das Gebiet zwischen Elbe und Oder, Spree und Havel war, besonders nach der Regelung der Schifffahrt im 17. Jh., den unmittelbaren sprachlichen Einflüssen Obersachsens, vor allem aus Leipzig und Halle, weit geöffnet."

For example, Lower Lusatia, a formerly Wendish-speaking territory southeast of Berlin, was politically linked in the 16th and 17th centuries much more closely to Saxony than Brandenburg or Prussia. Thus, as Wendish language use began to fade, the dialect that defined this area was much more oriented toward the Central German dialects to the south. Additionally, as discussed in chapter 2, the effects of the Thirty Years War caused a population pinch not only in cities like Berlin and Magdeburg, but also in rural areas east of the Elbe (indeed, in many cases the rural population suffered more than the urban population). The settlers that moved into the vacant land very often brought their CG/UG dialects with them, thus influencing the character of the local dialects.

With these two factors in mind, the crucial point is that new language learners in Berlin were *not* exposed to monolithic LG and CG, as is depicted in Lasch's chart above,

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[99] Both of which crucially depart from the emerging preferred written variety.

but rather highly variable input certainly containing the features of LG and CG/UG, but often with lexical peculiarities that departed from what one expects from the canonical varieties. As Schirmunski puts it, "...seit der zweiten Hälfte des 17. [Jahrhunderts]...ist die Grenze zwischen dem Niederdeutschen und dem Hochdeutschen östlich der Elbe (angefangen von Magdeburg) außergewöhnlich fließend." There are also many lexical borrowings in *Brandenburgisch* that reflect precisely the diphthongized long vowels (in addition to undergoing the second sound shift) that we find in ModBer (Schirmunski 1962: 613). Hermann Teuchert also underlines the importance of CG influence on Märkisch that moved "step-wise across the flat land" (Teuchert 1928: 301).[100] Thus, what we observe in the modern dialect again reflects leveling among language learners in Berlin in that new learners reduced variability in the input over the course of the 18th century.

The presence of the above-mentioned vowel features in the written record of Berlin can be found, albeit somewhat ambiguously, beginning in the 16th century. In the *Hirtgespräch* (1589), we observe variation among the four characters as is discussed above in chapter 3.1. Thus, within the speech of the second (*ander*) and third shepherds, we are able to find forms consistent with LG, CG/UG *and* the written variety (Bolte 1926):[101]

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[100] Teuchert's wording here suggests some mysterious movement of the feature itself across geographical space. In our context we must imagine speakers moving, migrating, and trading across this territory, bringing their respective dialect features with them.

[101] As always with theatrical text types, we must keep in mind that language of characters has been stylized to some extent by the author.

Fig. 49 – Vowel forms attested in the *Hirtgespräch* (*zweiter und dritter Hirt*)

LG	LG/CG	CG/written	Written
min (mein)	*ene (eine)*	*drey*	*kein*
truwen	*ok/och*	*trauen*	*auch*

As mentioned above, some scholars have pointed to this variation as proof that 'low' speakers were aspiring toward a prestigious high variant. However, as discussed in chapter 3, a simpler conclusion is that these various forms were all possible and present in Berlin, and that the various characters (which as far as the reader can tell all have the same social standing) simply represent dialectal variety among speakers in and around the city. In other words, this piece also provides evidence that dialect contact consistent with the demographic development described in chapter 2 was also robust during this period. Following from that, the first and fourth shepherds' consistent adherence to the LG vowel system would then represent speakers with equally consistent input (or minimal contact with CG/UG speakers), while the other two likely reflect the type of dialect contact that inevitably resulted from the influx of Upper Saxons during this period and to an even greater extent in the early 18th century.[102]

A letter written by a *Bürgerstochter* (1608) only contains one form that strays from the written variety in the word *beede*, which in principle could be a reflex of either LG or CG dialects. In the letters of Friedrich Wilhelm I in the first half of the 18th century, we observe a similar phenomenon to the shepherds described above; namely, a diverse set of forms representing LG vowels, LG/CG vowels, and the written variety. Thus, we

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[102] The writings of Morhof (1682), Scioppius (~1600), and others mention pronunciations such as *kleed, been,* and *globen* as typical of "Saxony" (which at that time would have also included the modern provinces of Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt, and parts of southern Brandenburg).

observe many vowels reflecting the written variety such as *aufhilten*, *auch, glaube, ein, keine,* and another set where CG and the written variety converge as in *schreiben, dauret (*also *durette, reitten*, etc.). Also attested are such forms as *kener* and *wachtmester*, which agree with ModBer and are consistent with both LG and CG. We also find LG *duget* (*taugt*), *herrus*, and *gebruchen* (*gebrauchen*).

The first decisive identification of the /oo/ and /ee/ vowels as a stable feature in Berlinisch is Moritz's description of the speech of the *Märker* in 1781:

> *"Wörter, wo niemand das* ***ei*** *wie* ***eh*** *ausspricht, sind folgende:* ***dein, mein, fein, Pein, sein, Wein, weil*** *u.s.w.,* ***dehn, mehn*** *u.s.w. sagt keiner. Wörter, wo das* ***au*** *beständig richtig ausgesprochen wird, sind folgende:* ***auf, Bauch, tausend, faul, zaubern, laufen, raub, Thau, Frau, Mauer, Bauer,*** *u.s.w., niemals wird man anstatt dessen hören:* ***ohf, Bohch, tohsend, fohl,*** *u.s.w."*
> (Moritz 1781: 5)

Thus, we see in this meta-linguistic source what later becomes the canonical long vowel distributions of ModBer. Particularly interesting is that in the context of the paucity of textual evidence reflecting spoken language in Berlin, we have very little indication that these canonical Upper Saxon vowels that are also present in ModBer were actually in use as part of a Berlin urban vernacular prior to the Thirty Years War. Rather, in the wake of the significant influx of Saxon migrants that helped to re-populate the decimated city, we find an increase in the written record of these dialect features (such as the Hohenzollern letters, Karl Phillip Moritz' observations, and further texts from the early 19th century.

In summary, the long vowels in ModBer do indeed correspond to descriptions of Saxon dialects with surprisingly few leaks in the lexicon. However, we must keep in mind that settlement and trade patterns leading into Berlin's primary growth period resulted in the diffusion of the above-mentioned vowel distribution well into Brandenburg and the

Mittelmark, which were the most important source region for urban migration to Berlin (along with Saxony itself). The type of vowel distribution that we find in Lasch's chart and ModBer was in fact quite well-represented among the input for generations of language learners in Berlin. The ModBer long vowel system therefore remains consistent with the fact that young new language learners in Berlin were confronted with input from LG, CG/UG, and written German that was later distilled into the system described above.

5.4.4. "Uf/uff"

A look at the specific but very salient lexical item *uf* or *uff* in the history of Berlinisch provides further support that non-marked forms were favored in the formation of the dialect. This form maintains the unstressed MHG [ʊ] monophthong while reflecting the [f] affected by the second sound shift, and was widespread throughout the central German dialect regions where contact between LG and CG dialects was substantial.[103] Because East Central German dialects (and stretching as far east as Upper Silesia and parts of East Prussia) had generalized the short unstressed [ʊ] prior to diphthongization, *uf* was an exception within the vowel system of those dialects.[104] In any case, as Lasch contends, the influence of Upper Saxon and Central German dialects on Berlinisch is clear in this feature (Lasch 1928: 238). The attestation of *uf/uff* in extant

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[103] Notably, the Berlinisch form, like Upper Saxon, contains a short vowel, which is often written as *uff* to emphasize this fact (Meyer 1882: 175).

[104] Historically, the *auf*/*uf* forms go back to older stressed and unstressed variants, which corresponded with long and short vowel qualities, respectively. While the stressed variant with a long vowel was diphthongized, the unstressed variant was retained as a monophthong. The same process can also be seen in the presence of NHG *in* and *ein*, the former of which was the unstressed variant, and the latter the stressed variant.

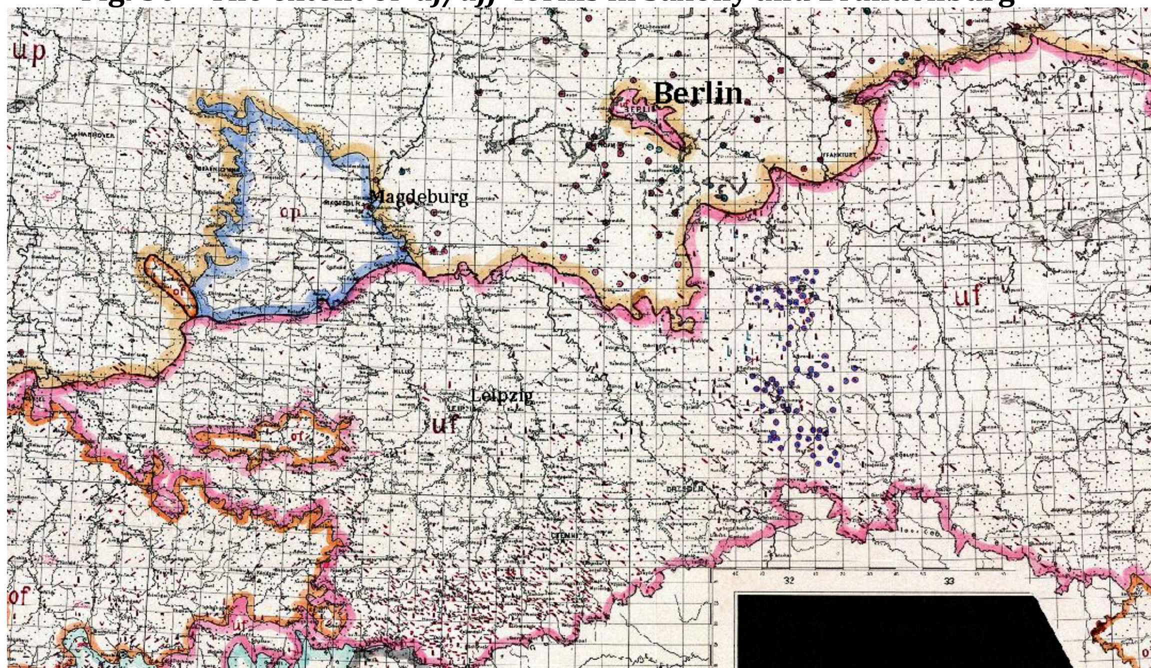
written sources in Berlin is quite inconsistent, however, and suggests that - as argued in chapter 4 - the Saxon and Thuringian migrations (and later, migrations from the newly annexed eastern territories) played an important role in increasing the salience of this feature among speakers in Berlin, thus making it more likely to be adopted by subsequent generations of speakers.

As Lasch notes, *uf* was already present in the 16th century as a written variant in Upper Saxony, and is later noted by Albrecht (1881) and Franke (1884) as a spoken feature of the Leipzig dialect and the Upper Saxon dialect region as a whole (Lasch 1928: 238). In the written sources of Berlinisch, the *Hirtgespräch* (1589) discussed earlier displays significant variation between the different characters, and the realization of *auf* is no exception. Two of the shepherds consistently use the LG *up*, while the others, who display more CG/UG tendencies, use *auf*. Interestingly, the later canonical *uf* or *uff* of Berlinisch is absent from this text. The letters of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688-1740), which otherwise contain substantial reflexes of the spoken language (and specifically LG), consistently show the use of the proto-standard written variant *auf*. The same is true later for Friedrich II (1712-1786), and Ferdinand von Preussen (1772-1806). In fact, the *uf* form does not appear again until Moritz' meta-linguistic account of Märkisch in 1781, and thereafter is documented consistently in the early 19th century dramatic sources, including the *Tiergespräch,* the plays of Julius von Voss, etc. The lack of attestation in the earlier source material in all likelihood reflects the strong influence of the written variety in those texts rather than the absence of the feature altogether. However, it is still notable that sources written explicitly to display spoken language such as the

Hirtgespräch (or in the case of the Hohenzollern family sources containing many traces of the spoken language) suggest that the canonical *uff* was not firmly attested in the dialect until the later period.

The eventual adoption of *uf/uff* in Berlinisch fits firmly into the framework of unmarked features being favored by new learners of the language. In the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, the monophthongal 'u' in *uf/up* is by far the most common vowel in the primary migration regions affecting Berlin, and indeed for the German-speaking area as a whole (comprising over 51% of the queried areas, 'o' having 25% and 'au' with only 12%). Furthermore, the shifted [f] stretches west across German territory and also northward into much of Brandenburg, as well as east into the increasingly influential eastern provinces of Silesia and East Prussia. In the figure below, with Berlin located near the center-top of the map, we see the pink region representing attestation of *uf*, while the bordering yellow area is the canonical LG *up*. The East Prussian territory surrounding Königsberg (not pictured in this graphic) shows a split between the Osterländisch *of* and the East Low German *up/op*. It is also interesting to note here that Berlin lies isolated within a surrounding region with *up*, but this is unsurprising in a koiné: as noted in chapter 4, koinés very often reflect features not present in the surrounding dialects. This is a direct result of the fact that migration from longer distances plays a key role in populating Early Modern cities and new towns.

Fig. 50 – The extent of '*uf/uff*' forms in Saxony and Brandenburg



(Digitaler Wenker Atlas (DiWA))

This, along with some influence from the emerging written standard *auf*, reinforced the shifted [f] for L1 learners in the city. Therefore, when we examine more closely another feature that may on the surface appear to be a wholesale adoption of an Upper Saxon form, we find that it fits within the framework of majority/non-marked forms entering the new contact dialect formed in Berlin.

5.4.5. The Dative/Accusative Case and Pronoun Paradigms

Another hallmark of ModBer is the marking of the dative/accusative cases (or the collapse thereof) and its effects on the pronoun paradigm in ModBer. The oft-invoked phrase when referring to the Berliner's use of case – *"Der Berliner sagt immer mir, auch wenn es richtig ist (Kiaulehn 1996: 25)"* – makes clear that by the time ModBer is solidly

established and attested in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the use of what became the oblique case is in fact crucially *not* "confusion" by Low German speakers, but rather a systematic collapse of the accusative and dative cases into one well-marked oblique case (cf. Schlobinski 1988). Along with the Hohenzollern letters spanning the 17th and 18th centuries, Glaßbrenner's *Bunte Berlin* (1838-1853) and his other writings are key sources for identifying features of ModBer during the 19th century, and both crucially trace the development of this feature. As described in 4.1., such systematic simplifications of the grammar tend to come about as a result of inconsistent or highly variable input for new generations coming from different dialect backgrounds, which are later focused by subsequent generations of language learners. In this case, new speakers were provided with the two-value nominative/oblique system already present in LG, a largely intact nominative/accusative/dative distinction in CG/UG dialects,[105] and a robust three-case distinction in the written variety. We must also consider that many adult LG speakers were often tasked with learning or accommodating to CG speakers or circumstances demanding formal language with little or no (or deficient) formal instruction, thus further muddying the waters for subsequent generations.

In the end, a case and pronoun system emerges in ModBer that reflects the simpler of the distinctions, namely that with just a nominative/oblique distinction. Most importantly, however, speakers did not simply adopt one of the varieties' pronoun systems wholesale; rather, a paradigm emerges that is not present in either contributing

[105] The earliest sources on the Saxony dialect do not attest the collapse or confusion of the dative and accusative cases. However, newer 19th century sources (Albrecht 1882, Franke 1882) report isolated instances where case use strayed from the expected forms (see the following paragraphs).

dialect, but which makes use of aspects of LG and CG/UG case systems and pronoun paradigms.

Before considering the attestation of case distinction in Berlin in the written record, it is important to establish the state and geographic distribution of case distinction in the various dialects that were well-represented among the incoming population of the city. Though much of the previous Berlinisch literature asserts that case loss resulted from the imperfect acquisition of the written/prestige variety, a closer look reveals that case and pronoun use among the Berlin's diverse immigrant population was far from reflecting a clean distinction between those dialects that did or did not distinguish between the dative and accusative cases. Along with the LG dialects, many other dialects and colloquial varieties – especially those found on or near the Benrath Line – had lost the dative/accusative distinction in some or all contexts. For example, in Franke's 1882 grammar of the Upper Saxon dialect, he asserts that the accusative has a tendency to replace the dative following prepositions, especially for neuter nouns. Thus: "*ich bin ins Bede...*" instead of "*im Bede*" (Franke 1882: 11). Albrecht in his account of the Leipzig dialect states that the dative/accusative distinction is largely maintained, but that unstressed articles and pronouns often lead to ambiguities, and that *dem* and *den* are often confused by speakers (Albrecht 1881: 63).[106] In the following map from König's atlas *Deutsche Sprache*, here depicting dialect isoglosses of ModGer accusative *dich* and

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[106] Interestingly, Albrecht also alludes to precisely the process described in this section; namely, the effect of immigrant populations on the subsequent generations of speakers: "...bei diesen Formen kommen Irrthümer nur bei Eingewanderten vor, bes. bei Norddeutschen und deren Kindern (Albrecht 1881: 63)."

dative *dir*, it is clear that the situation is anything but a clear dichotomy between the one-value case system of LG and the two-value system of CG and UG.

Fig. 51 – Realization of *dich/dir*

(König 2004: 160)

As one would expect, there is substantial variation especially along the LG/CG borderlands, and specifically in Brandenburg. Interestingly, we also see a small pocket in Lower Lusatia that reflects the eventual outcome in ModBer for accusative and dative 2nd person pronouns. Proponents of Lasch's view would posit that this pocket must have at one point extended further south to encompass the city dialect of the major Saxon centers, and that this realization (despite its clear departure from the emerging written standard) was considered "prestigious" by Berliners. Within the framework of koinéization or urban dialect contact, however, none of these leaps are necessary.

Instead, we consider that from a wide variety of input including the accusative forms (including *di, dich, deich,* and *dir*) and dative forms (including *di* and *dir*), speakers have negotiated an outcome reflecting the simpler of the two systems (the one-value system consistent with most LG dialects), while selecting the pronoun form that is typical of the CG and UG dialects. In short, the outcome in ModBer is precisely what one would expect given the mechanisms of koinéization discussed in the previous section.

The written attestation of inconsistent use of the accusative and dative cases in Berlin dates at least back to the 16th and 17th centuries, corresponding with initial significant interactions between Low and Central/Upper German speakers in Berlin and the shift to the Upper Saxon chancery language. As outlined in chapter 2, East Central German speakers played an important role in populating the proto-cities of Berlin-Cölln as early as the mid-1500s and - with the major population pinch around 1650 in the wake of war, epidemics and famine - resumes in the late 17th and most of the 18th centuries. In a 1608 letter from a Berliner *Bürgerstochter*, we observe a preference for the accusative pronoun where a dative is expected, as in:

1) "Ich kann **dich** nicht schreiben mehr, mein herz ist mir zu schwer."
2) "Ich bevehle **dich** dem getreuen, lieben gott, kann **dich** nicht wuntschen mehr."
3) "...sonst hett ich keinen friede gehabt vor **ihn**."

...but we observe the expected CG/UG usage in the following cases:

3) "...hat sie **mihr** den raht gegeben"
4) "Weiter bitt ich **dich**..." (Stölzel (ed.): 430 ff.)

First, it is interesting to note in the context of this letter that the writer is relatively consistent in her use of pronouns; namely, the consistent ‘mistake’ of using the accusative *mich/dich* in connection with verbs that require the dative *mir/dir.* Moreover, the writer

shows what seems to be the opposite reflex to that which we observe in ModBer, namely the generalization of the accusative *mich* rather than the dative *mir* that we find in the 19th century. This fact underscores that the "Berlinisch" of the 15th-17th centuries, though certainly characterized by dialect contact and variability, probably did not undergo focusing - the last stage of koinéization when community dialect norms are (re)-established. Thus, we can point to renewed and significant change during the population surges of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The letters of various members of the Hohenzollern family provide a good example of how dative/accusative usage was unstable during the period of significant migration between the 17th and 19th centuries. As outlined in chapter 3, we must be very cautious in the conclusions we make about this set of source materials, but they do provide suggestive evidence that the rapid influx of migrants with differing case usage resulted in a corresponding instability of case within the Berlin dialect.

In the letters of Friedrich Wilhelm I. (1688-1740), whose lifetime notably corresponds with the first period of major population growth following the Thirty Years War, the use of accusative and dative pronouns is highly variable. Dative *and* accusative pronouns are used in the "incorrect" situations in combination with both prepositions and verbs requiring a dative/accusative object. For the use of *mir/mich* with verbs for example, we find the following:

> <u>*mich* with expected *mir:*</u>
> *"...**mich** tuet auch leidt..."*
> *"ich reservire **mich** zwey..."*
> *"ich würde gezwungen sein **mich** selber zu helfen"*
>
> <u>*mir* with expected *mich:*</u>

"...sonder ***mir*** *zu befragen"*
"er hat ***mir*** *bitten lassen..."*

We find the same type of variation between dative and accusative use after prepositions, and the same patterns can be found with *ihn/ihm* in Friedrich Wilhelm's letters (Hummrich 1910: 42 ff.).[107]

In the letters of Friedrich II (1712-1786), we observe the global use of the dative personal pronoun in place of the accusative, which is also identified as a salient feature of ModBer. This feature is attested in the famous typical closing of his letters *"Gott bewahre Dir!*," as well as in the following examples, most of which were written between 1745-1750:

> ...lasse **Dihr** nur nicht die geduld bei dehme allen vergehen...
>
> ...so Schreibe doch zwei oder drei Mahl die Woche, wie Du **Dihr** befindest.
>
> ...und wann ich einen Menschen finden könte, der Wirklich im Stande **Dihr** zu helffen wehre, so Wolte ich im vom Japan Komen lassen.[108]
>
> ich verlange keine andere erkenntlichkeit von **Dihr**, als **Dihr** gesundt wieder-zu-Sehen, was mir Sehr freuen wirdt. gottbewahre**dir**! (Richter 1926: 31/32)

Thus, as early as the mid-18th century, we observe tendencies in the Hohenzollern letters toward a more systematic reflection of the nominative/oblique distinction (and its reflection in the pronoun system). Though this is far from being definitive proof of the *focusing* process that corresponds to the latter stages of koinézation, these letters

[107] In section IV.iii., the nature of Friedrich Wilhelm's education is summarized. Particularly important is the fact that formal language instruction in German was deficient at best, resulting in what is likely a closer representation of the condition of the spoken dialect(s) of the time.
[108] It is also interesting to note that here, Friedrich uses *im* (*ihm*) instead of *ihn*, which is the typical oblique form in ModBer. This suggests further that the negotiation of the pronoun paradigm may still be in process at this point in time.

nonetheless provide an indication that the stabilization of this feature had at least begun around the mid-18th century.

Looking even further forward to Glaßbrenner's texts in the mid-19th century, we find that the process outlined above culminates in a very much systematic use of the dative/accusative, but a usage that markedly departs from the expected forms in the emerging German written standard or a perceived 'prestige' spoken dialect. Thus, as analyzed in Gephardt's analysis of Glaßbrenner's dialect depictions, ModBer is characterized by use of the accusative for non-personal articles and nouns following prepositions, while the dative is used for personal pronouns.

Fig. 52 – Case use in Glaßbrenner texts

Impersonal Nouns	Personal pronouns
"uf den Mond"	*"auf mir"*
"an't Landsberger Dhor"	*"an mir wagt sich fast Keener"*
"beit Kochen"	*"ick falle bei ihm rin"*
"mit det blaue Papier"	*"mit Dir theil ick'n jern"*

(Gephardt 1933: 60/61)

We must of course keep in mind that Glaßbrenner is stylizing the Berlinisch dialect in these pieces; however, as discussed in chapter 4, Glaßbrenner was a native-born Berliner that spent the majority of his life in the city, and was making observations that stemmed directly from the speech he heard around him, and the consistency with which he represents this feature suggests it has reached a stable point among the majority of the population.

In taking a closer look at the morphology and its reflection of the case system as represented in the pronoun paradigm of ModBer, there are two crucial conclusions to be drawn: 1. that the resulting pronoun paradigm in chart (3) below reflects a mixture of material from both LF and CG/UG dialects, and 2. that the simpler nominative/oblique case system was adopted in ModBer in favor of the nominative/accusative/dative present in most CG/UG dialects and the emerging written variety (see fig. 53).

Fig. 53 – Personal Pronoun Paradigms

(1) Personal Pronoun paradigm in CG/UG

Nom.	ich	du	er	sie	es	wir	ihr	Sie
Acc.	mich	dich	ihn	sie	es	uns	euch	Sie
Dat.	mir	dir	ihm	ihr	ihm	uns	euch	Ihnen

(2) Personal Pronoun paradigm in LG

Nom.	ik	du	he	si	et/dat (det)	wi	gi	Se
Acc.	mi	di	em	ehr	et/dat (det)	uns	juw	Se

(Lasch 1928: 271; Lindow et al. 1998: 155)

(3) Personal Pronoun paradigm in ModBer

Nom.	ick	du	er	sie	et	wir	ihr	sie
Acc./Dat.	mir	dir	ihn (em[109])	ihr	et	uns	euch	ihn'

(Kiaulehn 1996: 49)[110]

■ = LG ■ = CG/UG ■ = Both

In addition to the above observations, we also see that the dative variant has been favored in each case with the exception of *ihn* (but: also attested as *hem/em* in the first half of the 19th century). This is yet another inconsistency that points to variability of input leading to reanalysis in following generations. Indeed, if young speakers learning

[109] Kiaulehn asserts that the dative *ihm* is only present in idiomatic phrases such as *"Haut ihm"* and *"Hat ihm schon!"* (Kiaulehn 1996: 50). For the *em* form, Agathe Lasch notes its use in "coarse" speech during the first half of the 19th century (Lasch 1928: 284).

[110] The *mir* and *dir* pronoun forms are listed as reflecting both the LG and CG systems because the form of the pronoun matches CG, while the collapsed case of these pronouns is a reflex of the LG grammar.

German were in fact intent on speaking the 'prestige' variety of the time, they certainly would have been capable of eliminating this miniscule inconsistency in the paradigm.[111] The yellow items in the chart (signifying that the given form belongs to both of the primary input dialects) also provide examples of typical outcomes of koinéization: for example, in the case of *mir* and *dir*, the raw pronoun forms derive from the CG/UG dialect varieties (in LG we would expect *mi* and *di*), but they are adapted to the case system present in the LG dialects. The oblique 1st and 2nd person pronouns in ModBer therefore represent a system that is not present in either of the major contact varieties in Berlin.

In summary, the collapse of the dative/accusative cases and the nature of the personal pronoun paradigm in ModBer provide more evidence of the koinéization process in action in Berlin. With the case system in particular, the role of the adult plays a key role in that LG speakers were confronted with a more complex grammar as CG/UG dialects became more prevalent in the city. Intermarriage and interaction between these groups and the resident population was thus a key factor in the development of the hybrid system described above.

We must keep in mind that inconsistency in the representation of case among speakers in Berlin, especially in the pronoun paradigm, is a centuries-long phenomenon that begins with the earliest interactions of LG and CG dialects; it is also present in the scant written record of Berlinisch going back to the 16th century. The fact is, both the requisite pronoun forms of ModBer and the impetus for the resulting case collapse can be

[111] It is also unsurprising that speakers tended to opt to generalize the dative in this situation given that the dative pronouns maintain a transparent gender distinction across the paradigm, while accusative feminine, neuter and polite forms are opaque to learners.

found among the dialects of the most significant migrant groups from the 16th-19th centuries.

Although the emerging written standard undoubtedly had an increasing effect on speakers in Berlin, especially as literacy began to reach a growing segment of the population, it is much more likely that young language learners in the city drew from the oral input they encountered on a daily basis, whether that came from parents, peers, or others.[112] Indeed, if one has little or no access to the written language, it is difficult to explain why speakers would have adopted the forms contained therein. The other explanation that is often introduced as a cause of the above phenomena is the imperfect acquisition of "*Hochdeutsch*"[113] by adult Low German speakers. Indeed, this would certainly have been a factor in diversifying input for the following generation of language learners; however, the fact that the Berliner's pronoun paradigm and case usage settled into the very stable system described above - but crucially containing material taken from both primary contact dialect groups - is a clear indication of koiné formation in Berlin during the 18th/19th centuries. Indeed, Berliners' (and Magdeburgers') use of case contrast notably with other northern cities that eventually shifted to Upper and Standard German varieties and preserve at least a three-way case system.

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[112] This is of course underscored by the simple fact that oral language acquisition naturally precedes written language acquisition.

[113] Here, the reader is also reminded of the problematic ambiguity in Berlinisch literature in general, whereby the written variety is often used interchangeably with the East Central German and Upper German spoken dialects.

5.4.6. DISTINCTION OF [T] AND [D]

The realization of [t] and [d] in Berlinisch provides another strong example of leveling and simplification at work during the koinéization process. Let us consider first the situation in the two most influential contact dialect groups, LG and CG. As part of the larger chain of sound changes associated with the second Germanic sound shift, WGmc [d] shifted to CG and UG [t] (e.g. *Disch* > *Tisch*; *Daler* > *Taler*; *Dausend* > *Tausend*, etc.), and WGmc /th/ shifted to CG and UG /d/ (e.g. *Thing* > *Ding*; *thrie* > *drei,* etc.). Because LG dialects did not undergo the former shift, but *did* undergo the latter, Gmc. /d/ and /th/ merged into one LG /d/ phoneme. However, a robust contrast between [t] and [d] still remained in the LG dialects, again due to its non-participation in the second sound shift, thus preserving initial [t] where CG and UG dialects had shifted to [ts] (e.g. ModGer *Zeit* = LG *tid*, ModGer *zehn* = LG *tien*, etc.). According to Lasch, this distinction in LG is between an “unvoiced, aspirated” [t] and a “voiced” [d] (Lasch 1927: 250).

Turning to the situation in CG and Upper Saxon, we find that, following the aforementioned shift from Gmc. [d] to [t], CG speakers in the Early Modern Period were in the process of diminishing the distinction the between [d] and [t] in favor of the former.[114] Though the exact nature and extent of this merger during the relevant time period cannot be precisely determined from the surviving written record, we do have evidence in the dialect literature that the merger may have been taking place precisely

[114] Though it is beyond the scope of this study, the development of this phenomenon is interesting by itself in that it could in fact be the result of CG dialect speakers residing in the region dividing the LG and UG dialect groups. Thus, though CG dialects shifted initial /t/ to /ts/, they were likely confronted with LG speakers who had preserved the Germanic /d/, thus blurring the lines for subsequent generations of speakers to form a coherent system of distinction.

during the relevant time period of this study. Thus, on one hand, Albrecht (1910) describes the Leipzig dialect as having a "hard" and "soft" [d] in careful speech (such as in the spelling of a word), but a complete merger of [t] and [d] in everyday speech (where [d] is pronounced in all cases). Heynatz's (1770) grammar describes for the "Saxon" dialect a frequent *Verwechslung* – or "confusion" – in both directions, such as in *Trache* for *Drache*, but *Drommel* for *Trommel.* Lasch also contends that the situation in 16th century Upper Saxon can be described as a "near-merger" (Lasch 1927: 249).[115]

In Berlinisch, we again find an outcome that is typical of situations of dialect contact and koinéization: namely, simplification, or the favoring of a one-value system over a two-value system. Perhaps even more importantly, this case clearly shows the predominance of spoken dialect over the written or 'prestige' spoken variety.

Fig. 54 – Initial /t/ and /d/

WGmc.	[t]	/th/	/d/
Written German	/ts/	/d/	/t/
CG/Upper Saxon	/ts/	/d/	/t ~ d/
Low German	/t/	/d/	/d/
Berlinisch	/ts/	/d/	/d/

Lasch actually explicitly agrees with this conclusion, but assumes that the 'prestige' of the Saxon spoken variety led Berliners to adopt the forms agreeing with LG and CG spoken

[115] Literature on Voice Onset Time (VOT) has shown that initial stop distinction can be described by the positive or negative "distance" from a zero point (this point being the release, or burst, of the consonant), so that negative values represent "pre-voicing" and positive values indicate "aspiration". Research has shown that the vast majority of dialects with a two-way stop distinction – as is the case in the Germanic dialects – utilize one *active* gesture (i.e. either aspiration or pre-voicing) in order to maintain a distinction between "voiced" and "unvoiced" consonants. For example, in ModGer, [t] is characterized by positive VOT values (aspirated), while [d] is characterized by near-zero values (cf. Lisker & Abramson 1964; Iverson & Salmons 1995). In the case of the CG (near)-merger during the Early Modern Period, it is likely that the positive VOT values in "unvoiced" consonants were reduced over a series of generations, such that subsequent generations were less able to perceive the distinction.

dialects despite their dissimilarity to written conventions. Though certainly some of the contact dialects – and indeed the written variety – maintained a distinction between the WGmc initial /th/ versus /t/, Berlin speakers generalized initial [d] in environments that were already present in LG input dialects, and at the very least partially present in CG dialects such as Upper Saxon. Teuchert also imagined a hypothetical scenario for speakers encountering this situation: "Aus der Gesamtmasse der mit d- und t- im Obersächsischen anlautenden Wörter fiel dem Berliner…die übereinstimmung der obersächsischen d-Gruppe mit seinen nd. Wörtern auf. Dieser Gehörseindruck erzeugte die Vorstellung der Gleichheit in dem Maße, daß das Einheitsprinzip zum Siege gelangte." (Teuchert 1928: 299). Here, Teuchert's *"Einheitsprinzip"* could easily be substituted with the leveling concept within the koinéization framework. If we then imagine the initial situation among 1st generation adult immigrants in Berlin, the situation is simple enough for LG and CG speakers: simply keep using the forms in your native dialect because in this case there is no need for accommodation. From the perspective of the child language learner, even if the merger of [t] and [d] was not yet complete in CG during the 17th and 18th centuries, they were in most cases presented with either a weak and/or ambiguous distinction at best, the predictable result being the ModBer situation with [d] in essentially all initial environments.

In the realization of medial [t] and [d] we find a less clear-cut situation. Meyer asserts that Berlinisch medial <tt> is very often realized as <dd>, and that, "especially among the older generation" (for Meyer this would have been people born in the first half of the 19th century), one still hears *hadde* and *hädde*, along with *lodderig, Zoddel,*

schliddern, etc. (Meyer 1882: 41). Later scholars, notably Schirmunski (1962), have pointed to ModBer's use of medial [t] in words such as *rote* or *weiter,* and surmised that the only possible "regulating" influence in this case could have been the *Literatursprache*, given that LG of course had [d] in initial and medial position, and CG speakers, as mentioned earlier, had some form and extent of near-merger [t] and [d] (Schirmunski refers to the Saxon [d] as a "weak, voiceless" variant). As argued elsewhere in this study, however, attributing any given phenomenon in Berlinisch solely or primarily to the influence of the *Literatursprache* is – at least for the period preceding the mid-19th century – difficult or untenable due to the limited reach of education and the limited reach of prescriptivist norms. Moreover, if the written language proved so influential as to determine the character of this phoneme in this particular position (or provide the "regulating effect" for it), then it would be most peculiar that its example had not been followed in virtually every other area of the grammar. All of this aside, the question remains, how or why would Berliners have adopted a medial [t] if the written language wasn't imposing its will and neither of the main contact dialects seem to have had the feature?

Looking back once again to Lasch, we find an argument centered around the Upper Saxon dialect; however, her explanations may also be useful in answering this question from the perspective of koinéization. She asserts that the merger of [t] and [d] in Upper Saxon did not take place evenly in initial and medial positions, such that medial [t] was still discernible and learnable for Berliners encountering Upper Saxon (Lasch 1928: 251). Lasch interestingly refers here to Franke's study of the Upper Saxon dialect published in

1884, which asserts that especially the Lusatian and Silesian dialects (the former directly abuts Berlin to the South-southeast, and the latter became a significant factor for Berlin's demography when it was annexed by Prussia in 1742) maintained a distinction between word-internal [t] and [d]. Lasch's argumentation, then, would require her to posit that Lusatian/Silesian features somehow found their way into or were perceived as part of the Saxon "prestige" spoken variety, only to later be (successfully) acquired by adult speakers from Berlin.

From the perspective of koinéization, however, these details are much less problematic. The demographic history outlined in chapter 2 showed that Berlin's surrounding region – which included Lower Lusatia – was unsurprisingly the most significant source of migration throughout Berlin's history. However, Silesia played an ever-increasing role in feeding Berlin's population growth upon its annexation in 1742. So, in addition to any UG dialect speakers that maintained a t/d distinction in medial position, we can also point to speakers from significant migration source regions that also contributed to the presence of this distinction in Berlin's dialect contact situation.

Finally, if we follow the trajectory of this feature temporally, we find that, much like virtually every other feature discussed thus far in this chapter, variation between and within speaker repertoires was substantial, especially prior to 1850. In addition to Meyer's assertion that medial <t> or <tt> pronounced as <d> or <dd> by the older generation, we also find that speaker repertoires in pieces such as von Voss' plays contain considerable variation among characters. If focus for a moment on the cattle dealer from

Die Damenschuhe im Theater, we find "*sullde"* and "*'n guden Kopp"* and "*hinder*", but we also find *"zweete"*, *"meente"*, and *"wollte"*.

In the end, Schirmunski's assertion seems reasonable: that the written language may have provided some reinforcement for speakers in maintaining the medial t/d distinction in ModBer, but the failure of the written variety to "impose its will" upon speakers in other areas of the grammar suggests that, as with the other features discussed here, face-to-face communication and contact between speakers of different dialects played the primary role in determining the character of the Berlin vernacular.

5.5. More Novelties, Simplification and Analogy in ModBer

In addition to the features discussed above representing majority or compromise forms from the two main contributing dialect families, there is a handful of additional features of Berlinisch that show analogy, simplification, or are new forms not belonging to any of the contributing dialects, and mirror developments in other investigated urban situations involving substantial dialect and language contact (see Winford 2003; Goss & Howell 2006). As such, they are the smoking gun of the urban dialect formation process that took place in Berlin. Below is a brief list of some of those features, many taken from Meyer's 1882 book *Der richtige Berliner in Worten und Redensarten*.

5.5.1. PLURAL MORPHEMES

Plural formation in Berlinisch differs starkly from the written variety and ModGer, and has a tendency to generalize the -s plural (although "mistakenly" applied -er and -(e)n, and umlaut endings also occur). This preference for the *-s* probably reflects influence from LG, as this is also the most common plural formation in those dialects. However, viewing ModBer plural formation simply as LG influence is perhaps an oversimplification because speakers did not directly adopt the LG form or apply the *-s* in all situations. Rather, variation in plurals in Berlinisch is much better characterized as the result of new language learners trying to make sense of variable (and quite often contradictory) plural systems present in the contributing dialects; indeed, LG is characterized as having many more *-s* plurals than the CG and UG dialects. In general, the strongest general tendency in Berlinisch is to mark plural forms more clearly. Thus, as has been documented in contact and early L1 learning situations, Ø-plural forms in Berlinisch are nearly categorically replaced with a more overt plural marker, so that ambiguous ModGer plurals *Fenster, Finger, Kinderchen* are represented in ModBer as *Fenster**n**, Finger**n**, Kinderken**s***. Below are other examples of plural formations that differ from ModGer (Meyer 1882: 48):

-er*: Dinger, Steener, Viecher*
-s*: Damens, Jroschens (Groschen), Kerls*
-n*: Banken, Knieen, Messern*
umlaut*: Ärme, Däume, Pünkte*

Here we have yet another example of a phenomenon that does not fit particularly well into an approach seeking to attribute all phenomena to a certain dialect's influence.

Rather, it is best explained by the effects of adult dialect/language learning and the presence of chaotic input for L1 learners in Berlin.

5.5.2. <u>EINHEITSPLURAL</u>

The so-called *Einheitsplural* ("unified plural") refers to the one-valued marking system for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural forms (-*en*). It is a typical characteristic of LG dialects and a handful of southern dialects, but CG and UG dialects (and written German) maintain the distinction between the 1st/3rd person forms (-*en*) and the 2nd person forms (-*et*). In the map shown below, Berlin lies solidly north of the isogloss dividing the dialects that do or do not have the *Einheitsplural*.

Fig. 55 – Isoglosses of German plural declension

(König 2004: 158)

Thus, in Berlinisch – as the typical outcomes of koinéization predict – the simpler one-value system has been preserved in the urban vernacular despite its incongruence to the

written variety and some of the other contributing dialects, including the CG/Upper Saxon dialects that are influential in other areas of the grammar. So here again, we can point to a systematic feature in the Berlin grammar suggesting that prestige was not the driving factor of language use in the vernacular.

5.5.3. Possessive Constructions

According to Meyer (1882), Berlinisch reflects a highly variable system of possessive formation typical of contact varieties. None of these strategies match the written variety by using the genitive case. In most situations in ModBer, *von* is used, but in concert with the accusative, as in *der Vater von den Jungen* (note: This translates to the singular "the boy's father", not the dative plural "the boys' father"). Thus, for this form we see the adoption of a CG/UG possessive-marking strategy but using an unexpected case. We also find the typically LG use of possessive pronoun support as in *mein Vata sein....* However, in very high-frequency kinship words we find a novel declined form *Vata**n** sein* or *Mutta**n** ihr* (Meyer 1882: 47).

Fig. 56 – Possessive formations in Berlinisch

LG	*mein Vata sein...*
CG	*von meinem Vater*
Neither	*Vatan sein...*

(Meyer 1882: 49)

In summary, we see three resultant forms in ModBer, with reflexes of the LG as well as the CG contributing dialect groups, but also an innovated third variant with an inflected noun that is apparently not present in the dialect literature.

5.5.4. Variable Gender Assignment

Variation in gender assignment is another salient feature present in Berlinisch that is a typical outcome of contact and koinéization situations. Here, one can imagine a speaker confronted with input from LG speakers possessing only two genders, along with the CG and written three gender system (also with some inevitable variation within the spoken CG dialects). Thus, variable input for child language learners, along with the variable competence of adult speakers attempting to acquire this system, again resulted in chaotic enough input for following generations of children to generalize forms often at odds with the written variant. Below is a short (but far from complete) list of nouns represented in Berlinisch with a different gender from NHG.

Masc.	*Band, Blei, Jas, Jehalt, Seidel, Streichholz, Sieb*
Fem.	*Hacke, Karre, Knie, Rabe,* all letters of the alphabet
Neut.	*Lohn, Monat, Müll, Strick, Schnur*

(Meyer 1882: 49)

It is notable that this list does *not* consist of low frequency items whose variability could be chalked up to poor acquisition, but rather of often core vocabulary items used on a day to day basis.

5.5.5. "Icke"

The use of *icke* in contrast to *ick* is often mentioned as a key salient feature of Berlinisch. According to Harndt, Meyer and others, the use of this feature corresponds with the usage of *moi* in French; namely, in situations of emphasis, affirmation, or contradiction (Harndt 1977: 42). Though it appears there is a consensus in the Berlin

literature as to the origins of this feature, it is also possible that this form actually results from speakers affixing the 1st person conjugation onto the pronoun in situations where a verb is not present. In the case the former is correct, this feature represents an interesting hybrid form combining the French usage with a German lexical item. If the latter is true, we have a notable case of analogical extension, which is another typical result in contact and koinéization situations. In either case it underscores the intimate contact and significant influence of spoken French first in the face of Huguenot immigration and later during the French occupation. Though the undeniable presence of French among the nobility and educated classes is undeniable, the spoken interface among speakers of German and French among the general population was a major factor.

5.5.6. "ER LOOFT", "ER KOOFT"

The frequent third person verb forms *looft* and *kooft* represent interesting analogical extensions of the long /o/ in Berlinisch, or perhaps more aptly put, they represent a simplification of frequent verb paradigms. LG and CG both had third person umlauted forms for these verbs, though these forms were different: *löppt* in LG and *läuft* or *leift* in CG. In a contact situation when children undoubtedly heard both of these forms (probably alongside the forms that eventually became part of the dialect) the umlauted forms can be viewed as unstable. In an attempt to explain the process by which speakers adopted these forms, Teuchert (1928) refers to them as "mechanical" adoptions of forms (or "*Paradigmenzwang*") that do not agree with either LG or CG, but intuitively make

sense in what was the emerging vowel system of Berlinisch. In the parlance of modern language contact research we interpret these developments as an expected simplification, which moves the grammar toward transparency in paradigms. This is typical during the focusing process. In the table below, we see that a paradigm with two possible vowel qualities is eschewed in favor of one that includes "oo" across the board:

Fig. 57 – Verbal paradigms of *laufen*

Written	*laufe*	*laufst*	*läuft*	*lauft*	*laufen*
CG/UG	*loof(e)*	*loofst*	*leift*	*looft*	*loofen*
LG	*loop*	*löppst*	*löppt*	*loopt*	*lopen*
ModBer	*loof*	*loofst*	*looft*	*looft*	*loofen*

(Schirmunski 1962, Lindow et al. 1998)

It is also noteworthy that this is not an isolated example in Berlinisch. Hans Meyer also points to 2nd and 3rd person verb forms such as "*du eßt, er eßt; du freßt, er freßt*", and so on, that favor a one-value vocalic verb conjugation paradigm (Meyer 1882: 51).

5.5.7. Neuter "-et" adjective ending

The strong -*et* adjective ending in ModBer, as in "*een scheen**et** kleed*", also appears to be an innovation in the later period of developing Berlinisch[116]. As far as I am aware, it is unattested in Berlin written sources prior to the beginning of the 19th century. As Lasch points out, the Hohenzollern letters occasionally show the typical LG null ending such as in *"ein arm Dorf"* or "*en ehrlich Kind*" (Lasch 1928: 274), and the null endings appear side

[116] This phenomenon has also been observed in other modern LG dialects (Lasch 1928: 274).

by side with the novel –*et* in Julius von Voss' works in the early 19th century. It appears, therefore, to be a newer development in the Berlin dialect (although we cannot definitively rule out its absence during the 17th/18th centuries due to the lack of written material). The appearance of this inflected form is again not surprising in the context of koinéization given that the CG dialects already had an -*es* strong neuter inflection, and the null ending associated with modern LG dialects and earlier Germanic have proven unstable. Taking Gothic as a historic example, the neuter nominative/accusative *ata*-ending associated with nominal adjectives in Proto-Germanic spread to the pronominal adjectives as speakers associated it with the definite article, thus affixing this thematic ending to the pronominal adjective.

Fig. 58 – Strong Adjective Inflections

	Article	Adjective
Gothic	θata	blind*ata*
Upper Saxon*	das / es	blind*es*
Mittelmärkisch	det / et	blind
Berlinisch	det / et	blind*et*

*and some areas of Brandenburgisch

With a growing predominance of the use the *det* neuter definite article, it was not a huge leap for LG-dominant speakers to begin affixing the –*et*, or CG-dominant speakers or their children moving from –*es* to –*et* endings (there is also variation within the dialect here, with some speakers/speaker groups using *des* and –*es* instead of the –*et*). The strong adjective inflection in ModBer, then, does not directly reflect either of the primary contributing dialect families, but results from typical processes seen in koiné formation.

We can still observe some variation in the depiction of this feature Julian von Voss' plays. Thus, in *Die Damenschuhe im Theater* (circa 1820), the confectioner displays the old Ø-ending typical of LG dialects, while Walter (an innkeeper) uses the *-et* ending:

> Konditor: "...Sündags un Mondags will man sich denn ooch'n kleen Plaisirken machen..."
>
> "Nu hernach hat er uf seine Ausspannung renonzirt, 'n groß Haus uf de Friedrichstadt gekooft.
>
> Walter: "...die Berlinders sind naschig uf wat Süßet"
> (von Voss 1971)

The example uttered by Walter's character showing the *–et* ending (*"…uf wat Süßet"*) is particularly interesting because the adjective here is originally a partitive genitive going back to MLG *and* MHG *–es*, the result being that the -t ending is clearly an innovation in Berlinisch that was not present in any of the contributing dialects.
The *-et* ending can also be found in speech of characters in the mid-19th century works of Glaßbrenner.

Perhaps most significantly, the timing for the first attestations of the feature coincide with several interesting socio-historical developments that accelerated intermarriage and social contacts (and as a result, dialect contact): namely, the increased industrialization of production, the acculturation of the Huguenot French population, and the shift of migration influence from Saxony to the largely LG-speaking Eastern Provinces in the closing decades of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.

All of the above-mentioned features of ModBer suggest that contact between *spoken* varieties among the diverse population was the primary factor in the development of the urban vernacular. They reflect retentions of features that were strongly represented in the contributing dialects of speakers (as in the lenition of /g/, the realization of *uf*, or the long vowel system), compromise forms or paradigms making use of multiple input dialects (as in the pronoun and case systems), but also include novel material not present in either dialect that is solidified during the cross-generational language transmission process (as in the strong *-et* adjective ending or possessive noun endings). All of these types of processes and resulting forms have also been reported in similar urban dialect and language contact situations (cf. Goss & Howell 2006 on Dutch in the Hague), so-called new towns (cf. Kerswill & Williams 2000/2005 on Milton Keynes), as well as in colonial varieties (cf. Trudgill 2004 on colonial Englishes).

What is notably absent in the above discussion and the Berlin dialect as a whole (excepting the most recent development of the dialect beginning around the middle of the 19th century) is the unambiguous effect of the written variety on the Berlin vernacular. There is no question that the expansion of the emerging CG/UG written variety northward to Berlin and the rest of Brandenburg (both in the wake of the expanding Reformation and the widening dissemination of secular publications) certainly had a fundamental effect on official and bureaucratic language use in the region and a nominal effect on the spoken language of the well-educated elite; however, the presence and persistence of the vast majority of features in Berlinisch that were unequivocally *not* part of the written variety (along with the in-depth discussion of the limitations of the

education system) strongly suggests that its influence on the development of the Berlin dialect prior to 1850 was limited. Although some ModBer features do indeed line up with what eventually would be codified in the spoken "standard" of the late 19th-20th centuries, these features in essentially every case can also be found in one or more of the contributing varieties discussed above.[117] This is also supported by the socio-historical situation discussed in chapter 2, where only a small fraction of the population had access to this variety, not to speak of actually incorporating these forms directly in their everyday speech. The above, then, though far from being an exhaustive list, provides substantial evidence that speakers involved in the formation of Berlinisch were subject to similar circumstances and processes to those seen in other koinéization situations.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1. GENERAL GOALS OF THE STUDY

Finally, we return to the original debate on the development of the Berlin dialect presented in chapter 1: whether the formation of Berlinisch was the result of the wholesale adoption – albeit sometimes imperfect – of a prestigious Upper Saxon variety by the numerically small educated elite, as Lasch claimed; or, whether the vernacular

[117] In his analysis of the realization of /t/ and /d/ in ModBer (and specifically of medial /t/ as in *rote* or *weiter*) Schirmunski identifies one apparent exception to this statement; namely, in the realization of medial /t/ in forms such as *rote* and *weiter*, which did not exist in either LG or Upper Saxon (Schirmunski 1962: 618). However, Meyer's identification of such 'older' forms containing medial /d/ as *hadde* and *hädde* suggest that these medial /t/ forms may in fact have been later developments in the dialect, as literacy drastically increased in the second half of the 19th century. Medial /d/ is also well-attested in the early 19th century dramatic sources (cf. *das Tiergespräch*).

arose as a result of the long-term mixing of LG and CG/UG dialects, which corresponded with the gradual decline of canonical LG features, as Teuchert (and to some extent Schirmunski) claimed. As has been argued in the previous chapters, there are aspects of both of these theories that are important for understanding the Berlin vernacular as a koiné. Lasch was justified in identifying CG dialects as having a primary influence on the Berlin dialect, and the importance of migration is at least implicit in her argument, even if it does not acknowledge the importance of the largest, less educated sectors of society.

Teuchert's thesis is crucial in that it reasserts the distinct presence of LG in Berlinisch and places emphasis on the 'mixing'[118] of dialect. Teuchert's view differs from that presented here in that he viewed Berlinisch as the result of the gradual elimination of LG features toward *Hochdeutsch* – in other words, teleological view with the standard language as the endpoint. This view in the literature is also not unique to Berlinisch or German: the emergence of urban Dutch varieties has also been explained in the context of the rise of standardized Dutch. Emily Goss aptly points out in the context of Early Modern Dutch that both standardization of language and koinéization reflect processes of dialect convergence. The reason that Dutch and Berlin urban vernaculars must be viewed primarily as the latter is that they correspond to "the development of non-standard consensus on supra-local norms of language…the locus of change is not 'from above' (or

[118] Chapter 5 also outlines why "mixing" does not amply describe the process of koinéization as it occurs in individual speakers in that it implies a certain randomness or unpredictability to the process. This aside, he did emphasize the role of speakers' interactions and migration in the process of dialect change, which, as we have seen, is central to koiné formation.

'below' for that matter), and the changes are not planned – they result from contact *between* speakers (Goss 2002: 275)."

In defense of these important Berlinisch scholars, neither of them, nor indeed some of the more modern studies,[119] had access to the recent detailed work of social historians such as Helga Schultz, who have traced in detail the demographic and social development of the city; nor could they have utilized the recent sociolinguistic investigations that have revealed the mechanisms behind language change in contexts of significant migration and dialect contact, thus providing points of comparison for examining the Berlin vernacular. Incorporating these new tools into the discussion, this approach has eschewed a focus "on the work of grammarians and the development of a written [or spoken] standard", proposing instead a "methodological reorientation, which emphasizes the demographic facts and immigrant experiences of individual speakers of all social classes (Howell 2006: 223)." Indeed, the most plausible story of Berlinisch comes from combining a detailed history of (all of) its speakers with the admittedly scant written record that accompanies it, all the while considering how the development of Berlinisch lines up with other European urban dialects and contact varieties.

[119] In fact, Schmidt & Schildt's 1986 work on the history of Berlinisch was published just a year before Helga Schultz's major work on the demographic and social history of Berlin from 1650-1800.

6.2. A Big Picture of the Berlin Vernacular

When considering the big picture of how Berlin's demographic and language history has been discussed in this study, it is apparent that the most definitive influences on the formation of the Berlin dialect were migration patterns (especially in the wake of the Thirty Years War), the face-to-face interaction between these migrants and the native-born population, and the subsequent transmission of this oral material to subsequent generations of speakers.

As argued in chapter 4, the mechanism associated with these factors is koinéization, or new-dialect formation. This new vernacular can and does resemble the major contributing dialects in many ways as speakers adopt features that are heavily represented in their input; however, Berlinisch speakers (like speakers of other koinés) also displayed features that did not correspond to features in any of the contributing dialects. As such, the dialect cannot readily be attributed to a particular dialect family. As Hans Meyer puts it: "[Die Berliner Mundart] ist mit verschiedenartigen fremden Bestandteilen durchsetzt, so daß von einer Regelmäßigkeit in dem Verhältnis zu den deutschen Mundartgruppen kaum die Rede sein kann (Meyer 1882: 37)."[120] The special status of Berlinisch within the landscape of German dialects can also be seen in geographic isogloss maps. Berlin alternately lies solidly within LG territory in some cases, represents an island of CG within LG territory, and also appears as a thin peninsula

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[120] Here, *fremd* (foreign, extrinsic), can be taken to mean both non-Germanic (referring largely to borrowed French vocabulary and phrases) and not belonging to the input dialects.

(German *Trichter*, or "funnel"), whereby an East Central German feature has extended northward – usually along the Spree River – toward Berlin (cf. König 2004).[121]

As argued in chapter 4, this study departs from previous accounts of the development of Berlinisch in identifying the most important period in the development of the urban vernacular as the period of rapid growth and re-population that began at the close of the 17th century. However, identifying a definitive timeline for the emergence of the features of Berlinisch is not so straightforward. Contact between LG and CG speakers in Berlin and Brandenburg of course began much earlier than the beginning of the 18th century, especially when we consider the pre-Reformation and 16th century settlements in the East Elbian region that led to the diffusion of many CG features into previously LG-speaking areas. In the context of Berlin, Lasch was entirely correct in pointing to increased Saxon influence in Berlin during the Reformation period both because of the dissemination of the written word and the growing influence of Saxon educational centers; however, as pointed out in chapter 2, the most important factor (as it was in the villages) was migration toward Berlin from the Central German regions.

All of this invites the question: what is the significance of this earlier (i.e. pre-Thirty Years War) influence of CG dialects with respect to the urban koiné formation argued for in this paper, and what does it mean for our understanding of the formation of Berlinisch? In essence, it suggests that there were probably two primary processes of

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[121] The *Trichter* can actually develop in two directions: on the one hand, the urban feature can begin as an island as the city attracts speakers possessing features characteristic of distant dialects, later spreading outward. On the other hand, trade routes such as major roads or waterways, along with step-wise migration patterns, can contribute to the development of this isogloss "peninsula" (Becker 1942: 66).

contact acting upon Berlin and the Mark Brandenburg, both of which contributed to the eventual character of the emergent Berlin vernacular at the end of the 18th century and beyond. The first is the regional *diffusion* - or geographic spread - of CG dialect features associated with the previously mentioned rural and urban settlement of unoccupied lands in the East Elbian region (in general, the area east of the Elbe and south of the Spree Rivers), along with the effect of the preeminence of Saxon centers of education and trade. This was also likely accompanied by a process similar to that undergone during koinéization, namely, REGIONAL DIALECT LEVELING. According to Kerswill (2002: 671), this refers to a reduction of dialectal variants at the regional level. When Teuchert and Schirmunski refer to *Brandenburgisch* as not being congruent with canonical LG, these two processes are at work.[122] Settlement and migration patterns were directly bound to effects on Berlin in that newly arrived bureaucrats and artisans from Saxony were prevalent in early Hohenzollern Berlin, and rural settlers arriving in Brandenburg would eventually become a significant source of population growth for the city. For these reasons, we are able to point to some attestations of LG/CG contact phenomena prior to the Thirty Years War, some of which also find their way into the koiné.[123]

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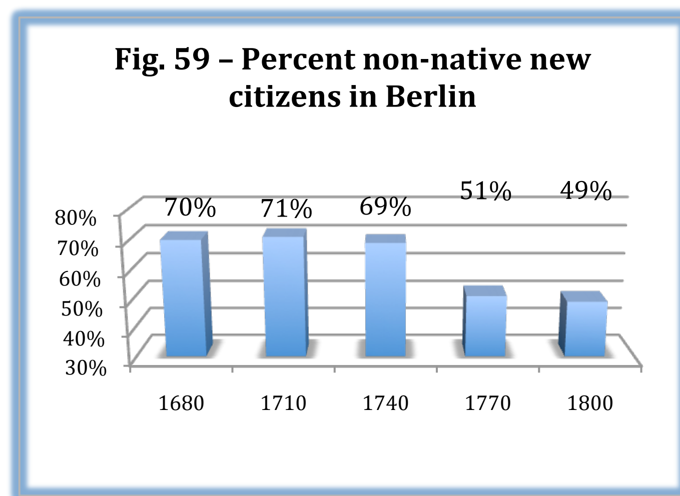
[122] It is likely that regional dialect leveling was also the process at work in the later 19th century as use of the Berlin vernacular expanded outward from the city. As Kerswill points out, this process is widespread in Europe and often centers around a large city. So as Berlin continued to grow and exercise greater influence over the surrounding countryside (in the form of commerce, culture, and in-/out-migration), speakers of the rural dialects were increasingly exposed to and influenced by features of Berlinisch. Joachim Gessinger's (2000) detailed work on 19th century Berlinisch describes this process in detail, correctly referencing the koinéization process, as regional dialect leveling are the result of similar mechanisms and often "lead to varieties that resemble any koinés…spoken in the same region" (Kerswill 2002: 671 ff.)

[123] The early attestation of the *Akkudativ* provides an interesting example. Though Lasch points to case uncertainties in early Berlin sources, even during the so-called "Low German Period" in Berlin (at or before the turn of the 16th century), the peculiar set of rules guiding case use in ModBer did not emerge until the

The second process of contact, occurring after the Thirty Years War, has also been the focus of the current study; namely, the initiation of a koinéization process in a population-depleted Berlin. This process began as a result of the dramatic influx of migrant populations as the Prussian Elector sought to revive his city of residence. Though the major source dialects of *Brandenburgisch* (or *Mittelmärkisch*) and Upper Saxon remained the same as in the period just discussed, the scale of growth in Berlin was greatly increased. By 1720, the indigenous population (and whatever "urban" dialect(s) had developed during the 16th century) was only one of many contributing dialects in the suddenly-diverse city. The diversity of linguistic input was only augmented further as Prussian lands were expanded steadily over the course of the 18th century. As Prussia annexed new territories in Silesia, Pomerania, Poland, and others, the geographic range of Berlin's "catch zone" grew correspondingly. It was only during the Silesian Wars and the hardship that accompanied them that Berlin's growth temporarily slowed, such that the percentage of non-native Berliners dipped below 50% for the first time since Friedrich's immigration policies were put into place (see figure).

koiné formation process had run its course during the 18th and early 19th centuries (Lasch 1928: 267 ff.). This also lines up with Peter Schlobinski's detailed analysis of the *Akkudativ* in Berlinisch (Schlobinski 1988).



Schultz 1987: 340

Thus, after approximately two generations following the initial population boom, the proportion of native-born Berliners rose. As a result, the welter of dialect forms that were present in the city began to decrease. As in Kerswill & Williams' new towns and Trudgill's colonial varieties, it is during these lulls in migration and population growth that the focusing process yields a coherent urban variety (as discussed below, this does *not* result in an elimination of variation within the vernacular!).

It is therefore during this period that we can point to the formation of a distinct urban Berliner "*Mundart*" , a hypothesis that is often implicit in much of the previous Berlinisch literature: Though Lasch points to the standardization efforts of grammarians rather than dialect contact phenomena as the decisive factor in dialect awareness, she also points to the second half of the 18th century as decisive in the history of the dialect: "*Erst Ende des 18. Jhd…begann man das Berlinische als Mundart zu fühlen* (Lasch 1928: 100)." Likewise, Schmidt refers to a substantially "enriched" dialect compromise situation during this period due to migration that develops differently according to

socioeconomic and occupational status. This second factor in particular is crucial for the point discussed below (Schmidt 1986: 9).

Though the emergence of a koiné assumes the establishment of a set of distinct features settled upon by later generations of native-born L1 learners, it does not preclude the existence of substantial variation. Due to their limited size and complexity of social structures, koinés in situations like new towns and colonial settlements can develop remarkably consistent features. The relative homogeneity of earlier colonial Englishes is a testament to this. However, as Hendriks (1998) and Goss (2003) note, the urban koiné inherently involves much more variability, even after focusing has occurred, due to the complex networks and solidarity relationships of various speaker groups in the urban environment.

Variation within the Berlin vernacular has long been recognized and addressed by scholars, especially from the perspectives of socioeconomic class, geography, and 'prestige' of certain varieties or social groups. Hartmut Schmidt, for example, proposes a tripartite distinction between *Berliner Hochdeutsch*, *Berliner Umgangsprache*, and *Berliner Stadtmundart* (Schmidt 1986: 143). The dramatic texts discussed in chapter 3 also displayed dialect variation, even within an individual character's speech. Most explanations for this type of socially and geographically stratified variation has centered around the idea of an inherent superiority of the upper classes and their dialect use, and a corresponding *"Streben"* ("striving" or "pursuit") of the poorer, less educated classes toward this dialect. The latter's inability to do so completely thus accounts for the LG (or *Plattdeutsch)* relics present in ModBer.

Rather than choose the often problematic idea of prestige as a jumping-off point for explaining variation in Berlinisch, however, we have focused on the more "mechanistic" view that variation arises due to the simple idea that social structures and divisions are merely an imperfect reflection of the differing character and frequency of face-to-face interactions with certain individuals and their social networks; perhaps even more importantly, they impact the linguistic repertoires – or command of a variety of registers – of speakers. Klaus Peter Rosenberg has perceptively pointed out that this approach in fact *must* accompany a detailed account of variation in the Berlin vernacular, and that it applies not only to the booming industrial years in Berlin during the 19th century, but also the centuries previous.

Through this lens, one recognizes that education, occupation and economic status have a direct effect on social networks (and thus, linguistic input), which in turn leads to variation and the potential emergence of sub-varieties that may emphasize one or the other input dialect. In this sense, socioeconomic class is not a cause or indicator of certain language behavior, but it does correlate with the social connections that do. We saw, for example, in chapter 2 that artisans were sorely needed in the wake of the Thirty Years War and were lured to Berlin to a large extent from Saxon-speaking territory. Geographic factors have also been pointed to in the literature: the tendency of individuals and groups to remain "loyal" to or settle in particular districts of Berlin is also a reflection of the presence of distinct social networks. This was particularly pronounced in 19th century industrial Berlin where districts such as the *Vogtland* (named thus due to its strong contingent of immigrants from said region lying between Saxony, Thuringia, and

Bavaria) in the northeast and the *Kietz* in the east could be distinguished by their dialects. Indeed, modern Berlin's strong neighborhood affiliations are in fact deeply rooted in its history; Meyer addresses this point with respect to 19th century Berlin: "*Man zog früher nicht gern von einem Viertel ins andere* (Meyer 1882: 37)."

Finally, variation can also exist within a given speaker. This is closely related to the concept of accommodation discussed in chapter 4; in essence, a speaker is equipped with a certain spectrum of registers that allow him to adapt to a given interlocutor or situation. Dahl's (1974) study on dialects in the northern GDR provide a likely comparison for what existed among speakers in a multi-dialectal Berlin; namely, that speakers were capable of adjusting their language to varying degrees either toward or away from the formal register (Dahl 1974: 378). The key idea here is that variation can be explained on the basis of *appropriateness* rather than "prestige", and that the above-mentioned social factors simply determine which registers are commanded by a given speaker (group). As Rosenberg points out, factors in this type of variation can be attributed to "situative Kontexts, Sprechereinstellungen und Sprachwertmuster sowie der Eingebundenheit in soziale Netzwerke (Rosenberg 1986: 78)." We would, for example, expect less linguistic plasticity from an industrial worker who has little use for the most formal registers and has little day-to-day contact with highly literate speakers. Likewise, a socially isolated nobleman would be a fish out of water in the social milieu of the *Berliner Kneipe*. Hans Meyer perhaps puts it most succinctly when he states that the important thing for a Berliner is "daß er nicht Berlinern muß, sondern, daß er es auch kann (Meyer 1882: 18)."

6.3. LIMITATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Though this study has sought to bring new social and demographic evidence – along with a newer sociolinguistic approach – into the discussion of Berlin's vernacular, it is also forced to repeat the laments of previous scholars on the written historical evidence of Berlinisch; namely, that written traces of the Berlin dialect are sparse at best, and our picture of the dialect features of the larger population even more fuzzy. As mentioned in chapter 3, there are many reasons for this lack of evidence beyond the fact that Berlinisch emerged as a spoken vernacular after a supra-regional written variety had already had time to establish itself. Though there is a chance that time will reveal long-lost sources written by the historical linguist's ideal example – speakers who have just enough ability to write, but little schooling in writing conventions – it is perhaps more likely that a thorough and data-rich study of the historical Berlin vernacular will never be possible. Indeed, as Berlinisch scholar Peter Schlobinski asserts: "Nun ist es für Sprachwissenschaftler äußerst schwierig…die komplizierten Sprachwandelprozesse dieser Zeit zu rekonstruieren. Man ist ausschließlich auf schriftsprachliche Dokumente angewiesen, so daß niemand mit Sicherheit sagen kann, wie im 16. Jahrhundert in Berlin tatsächlich gesprochen wurde (Schlobinski 1987: 82)." However, we must not then equate this lack of written evidence with a lack of dialect variation over time.[124] Indeed,

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[124] The example of Afrikaans in South Africa is an example of a new dialect emerging from intense dialect contact with little historical documentation of its development. Like the Berlin vernacular, this variety developed during the 17th and 18th centuries, after writing conventions in Dutch had also begun to take

the paucity of early documentation on the Berlin dialect only emphasizes further the need to understand how individuals and groups integrated (or did not integrate) and interacted during Berlin's periods of significant growth. As the previous chapters have shown, these approaches can go a long way in extending our picture of how dialect contact unfolded in Berlin backward from the earlier accounts of the dialect in the 19th century.

The primary goal of this study was to introduce and (re-)emphasize the most thorough and detailed socio-historical evidence relevant to the development of Berlin's vernacular. Additionally, I have identified and clarified previous ideas as to the mechanism by which certain dialect features appear and persist in the dialect. However, in the larger picture, this study is adding to a growing body of work tracing dialect contact and the effect of heavy immigration in urban settings. In identifying and explaining the similarities between the circumstances and outcomes in these cities, we gain a clearer picture of how language acquisition, identity, social networks, and domain all interact in such a diverse and chaotic environment. The most promising further research for shedding light on Berlinisch – in the absence of the appearance of new data reflecting historical dialect use in Berlin itself – is to examine other cities that experienced upheaval and/or significant immigration during the pre-industrial period. Perhaps at the top of this list is Magdeburg, which also lies near the historical Benrath

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hold. Despite the written record largely reflecting written Dutch, modern linguists are focusing on social networks and sociolinguistic processes – and *not* the written or any emerging spoken standard - to explain the emergence of Afrikaans (cf. Roberge 1994, 2002).

line dividing LG and UG, also endured a population crisis, was subsumed within a growing Prussian Empire, and later became an important industrial city.

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