

Shifting Publics and Shifting Alignments in a *Sprachinsel* of Southern Brazil

by

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To Marcia Seyler and Paul Insel,
who raise(d) me up

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 21st century, new generations of Hunsrückish German speakers in South Brazil still learn their local variety of German and use it in settings both private and public. The 700,000 or so speakers descend from 19th-century immigrants from Hunsrück and other parts of German-speaking Europe. There is a public lament that Hunsrückish is disappearing as a language; a paradoxical discourse of pride and shame stems in part from historical and contemporary lack of support and outright antagonism from the government and popular media, as well as from situations common to language shift: a transition from isolated farming communities to more diverse, urbanizing ones. Although most studies of minority speech enclaves have focused on language change among indigenous groups encompassed by major world languages, the Hunsrückish Germans in Brazil speak one major world language encompassed by another. What effect does this have on language maintenance and shift?

My analysis attempts to illuminate how minority language speakers position themselves in everyday interaction, in relation to each other as well as to larger networks such as “publics.” I identify four publics—some of which are more “German,” some more “Brazilian”—with which Hunsrückish speakers align themselves personally, temporally, and spatially. These are social spheres determined both in the moment of conversation as well as in larger circulating discourse. The duality—of both micro and macro expression—means that alignments are observed through codeswitching and deictics, as well as “contextual cues” (Auer 1995). Deictics are especially useful resources for creating indeterminacy, which helps in moving beyond communicative misfires and, on a larger scale, keeping vague the positioning of the entire group of descendants of German-speaking immigrants. Cultivation of indeterminate language necessarily involves language and semiotic ideologies that emerge in the alignment process. By analyzing these ideological alignments, the dissertation endeavors to

illuminate resources of Hunsrückish that apply to its speakers, and more generally, to all multilingual speakers.

.

Chapter 1 Introduction

*Who speaks their languages without shame?
What about a people who have no name for themselves or their language?
What is the usefulness of indeterminacy?*

The play was going to start in half an hour. I stood outside the *Sociedade de Atiradores* (Hunters' Society) of Dois Irmãos, on the steps, handing out surveys. Dois Irmãos is a small "German" town in Rio Grande do Sul, the most southern state of Brazil. The *Sociedade* (or in German, *Schutzverein*¹) still after 150 years offers a place for its (mostly German-speaking) residents to gather around matters of hunting. But it now provides other services as well, such as an auditorium to show the comedies of the town's main theater group, CurtoArte. I wanted to find out how many audience members, in this rare event in which Hunsrückish German was spoken in public, would report themselves as bilingual, what their parents spoke, and whether they liked attending plays, such as this one, in German.

"I don't need one. My wife will fill it out," a middle-aged man told me in Portuguese. "But everyone's survey is important," I said. My host mother and eight-year-old host brother took two and entered the building.

I recognized the mother of the sound technician, Katja.² Katja was in charge of the music during scene changes and scenes without dialogue. The *Volkstümlicher Schlager*, or folksy popular music, was in Standard German, and the dialogue of the play mostly in Portuguese, but also with some Hunsrückish. The more Hunsrückish the writer/director/star Beto Klein deemed the audience to speak, the more Hunsrückish he improvised.

¹ Throughout the dissertation, I distinguish German from Portuguese by making German boldface; I distinguish the two languages from English by making them italic.

² All names, unless authors, directors, and other public figures, have been changed.

Katja, age 17, her younger sister, 7, and her two parents all regularly spoke Hunsrückish. The sister spoke mostly only Hunsrückish at home. With Klein, age 40, and the few other actors of the CurtoArte company, all in their late teens and early 20s, Katja generally spoke Portuguese, as is the norm for semi-public places around town and with younger people, especially those with limited German comprehension.

Katja's mother said to me in Portuguese, "I've filled this out but what do you mean here?" She pointed to the one question that was in Hunsrückish. *Was fo deitsch spricht dea? (welches deitsch)? (What kind of German do you speak? which German?)* I read the question aloud to her.

"I don't know," she answered in Hunsrückish.

"You speak German, right? What is the name of it? Does it have a name?" I tried my best Hunsrückish. Her seven-year old wrote something on her paper. Then she did as well. "Thank you," we smiled.

When she left, I looked at the papers. The girl had written *Pferd* ('horse'). Had she not understood the question? Or was she perhaps giving me an example of a word in Standard German³? The Hunsrückish word for horse is *Gaul*. She most likely learned *Pferd* in school, where, if any German were taught, it would be a standard variety. Hunsrückish is an oral variety, a koine in contact with Portuguese.

The mother wrote "*Hut. Rick.*"

My host mother and brother returned their surveys to me. Anita, 38 years old, regularly spoke Hunsrückish every day with her husband, daughter, extended family, neighbors, colleagues, and choir mates. Her daughter was hired at the corner store due in part to her bilingual skills. Although Anita often switched to Portuguese around her son, and he claimed he could not speak German, Carlos was inevitably surrounded by Hunsrückish. Anita and Carlos participated in a local movie that called for a scene showing a "German immigrant mother and son." They were dressed in "typical German dress"—dirndl for her, vest for him—with wreathes in their blond hair, which was backlit in the sunlight.

³ I use "Standard German" primarily in discussions of contacts' metalanguage on the subject and "Std. German" to mean what is taught in schools and appears in grammar books. I use "German" for any variety of German that is set in a comparative contrast to other languages such as Portuguese, and "High German" just in the historical sense.

More than most members of the choir, Anita and her husband freely told jokes and made conversation in Hunsrückish, not always concerned about excluding Portuguese-only speakers in the room. Another choir member said, you know how it is with Anita, one sentence in Portuguese and the next in German. A “German accent” touched her Portuguese with trilled [r], lenis voiceless stops, fortis voiced stops, and monophthongized nasal vowels. She also regularly visited her parents and in-laws on their farms, where almost the only language spoken was Hunsrückish. I never heard her address her mother-in-law in Portuguese.

My surprise, then, to see that on the survey she checked off “Little“ for how much German she spoke. “I speak more around you,” she said, “because I know that you want to learn it.” How is it that this woman, identified by outsiders and insiders as an iconic representative of the German-speaking population, would not identify herself as such? What would bring a speaker of German—with 120 million native speakers in the world, the most common language spoken in Europe, and the third most popular foreign language worldwide—to play down her abilities? Why would she not want to fully identify herself as a German speaker or be proud of the language that her ancestors have spoken since the first ones arrived in Brazil in the 19th century?

While denying her membership to the German-speaking world in some ways, Anita also embraced it. In addition to her codemixing in all settings, she also frequented the rural German farming communities and participated in folkloric representations of Germanness. Anita’s blondness allowed her easy reception to the German-speaking world. Although her husband and daughter had dark brown hair, as did Katja’s family and many other German speakers, a heavily entrenched ideology about the characteristics of “Germans” versus “Brazilians” added another level to the attitudes toward German speakers’ multiple communities. Katja told me she was thinking of bleaching her hair because she was tired of hearing surprise that she was of German descent. Her concern about appearing German did not extend to her boyfriend, who was “Brazilian” and looked noticeably darker-skinned than most German speakers of the Dois Irmãos Region. This discourse shows that qualifying to be a German speaker depends on more than just one’s language abilities.

In another makeshift theater, in a smaller village near Dois Irmãos, I handed out more surveys. This village was further *interior*, or in the countryside, where almost everyone had chickens in the backyard and everyone spoke German. A boy of about 11 stood next to me, interested in what I was doing. I asked him: Should I speak to people in German or Portuguese, when I ask them if they want to fill out a questionnaire? I will tell you, he said, when they come through the door. A young couple holding hands entered. “*Pode falar alemão,*” he said. “*Kannscht Deitsch spreche.*” (‘*You can speak German.*’)

This community, small enough that a boy knows who everyone is, as well as which language they prefer, could be called an audience of insiders. There were some who whispered to their seatmates, requesting translation when Klein spoke Hunsrückish. But even they were used to hearing Hunsrückish and laughed along with the majority at the jokes. Why, then, did this type of audience respond similarly to the survey question, *What kind of German do you speak?* They had no consensus, calling it a variation of Hunsrückish, dialect, Low German, and other names. Then a few, as in all audiences I surveyed, called it “the wrong dialect” and the “ungrammatical German.” They came together, to a public event, and they laughed when they heard their “dialect.” Were they laughing in concessionary recognition, out of shame, or did they really begin to reconsider the positive value of Hunsrückish, as Klein told me he hoped they would? He said that it had taken a few years for his plays to gain popularity, and that he hopes that his audiences realize the social capital of German, that it is a language of laughter but also connected to a whole world that is rapidly transforming, from insular self-sustaining farm life to materialistic, globally connected Portuguese-speaking city life.

* * * * *

Despite their rhetoric of language death, new generations of Hunsrückish speakers in South Brazil are still learning this variety of German and using it in private and public settings. These 700,000 or so⁴ speakers descend from 19th-century emigrants from Hunsrück and other parts of German-speaking Europe. Rich in sociolinguistic resources, they nevertheless conceal them through a paradoxical discourse of pride and shame. They use codeswitching in combination with vague personal, spatial and temporal deictics to

⁴ In Rio Grande do Sul alone estimates approximate 500,000 speakers (Altenhofen et al. 2007).

establish insiders and outsiders, to avoid undesirable associations, and to accommodate tense interlocutors in contexts ranging from public theater to semi-public shops and senior group meetings to private family settings. Undesirable associations include those pertaining to a Kolonist (German farmer) public—a perceived agrammatical dialect, an uneducated backcountry population, and World War II refugees—and associations pertaining to a Brazilian public—primarily, a darker phenotype. Whereas Brazilian minorities in the past attempted to use their “whiteness” to assimilate to an idealized, homogenous, Euro-Brazil, Hunsrückish speakers today use it to distinguish themselves. In addition to a claim on racial status, other sources of pride include nostalgia for a peaceful, hardworking farm life; a historical, self-reliant conquering of the wilderness; and a high standard of living among fellow Brazilians. Most literature on speech enclaves focuses on language change, and most literature on minority languages focuses on indigenous groups; but this interactional analysis attempts to illuminate how nonelite and nonactivist speakers of a nonindigenous (prestigious world) minority language use sociolinguistic resources, specifically code- and deictic switching, to express their membership to multiple publics on popular, private and semi-public levels.

Sociolinguistic Resources

The sociolinguistic resources of the Hunsrückish⁵ speakers include those that are unique to this group and those that follow patterns of other minority language and speech island speakers. Like most such speakers, Hunsrücker⁶ enjoy a multilingualism that allows them to choose from two or more languages in different situations. Depending on context, a switch to Hunsrückish or Standard German or Portuguese⁷ may have different intended and received meanings, whether in illocutionary or perlocutionary effect. Social tension may be diffused by switching to an entirely different language or just to a different part of a language, such as an address pronoun. Another benefit of minority language speakers is the experience of multiple minority and national understandings of self. In the case of immigrant minority languages, the diasporic narrative of one’s ancestors adds another

⁵ Any use of “Hunsrückish,” unless noted, refers to the German variety spoken in Brazil rather than in Germany.

⁶ With the term Hunsrücker, I take a liberty with the German affix *-er*, which means “from that place,” and use it to mean a speaker of Hunsrückish.

⁷ By “Portuguese,” I refer to Brazilian Portuguese, unless otherwise noted. Specifically, Brazilian Portuguese spoken in RS and usually by multilingual German speakers.

dimension, a connection to a linguistic homeland outside the nation of citizenship. These manifold strains of identity result in a diversity, not only one that changes the ethnoscape of the nation, but also of their own sociolinguistic community.

The sociolinguistic resources that I find unique to the German-Portuguese multilinguals in southern Brazil include a pluralism, as manifested in ways specific to these speakers through the mixing of languages (German and Portuguese), deictic pronouns (e.g., multiple address pronouns and R-pronouns⁸), and an embracing of indeterminacy. Indeterminacy may take the form of a vague R-pronoun, a Hunsrückish deictic *do* ('here' or 'there' or 'then'); or a null subject plus "third-person" verb (an indeterminate 'you'); or an unclarified meaning of German (e.g., could be Hunsrückish or Standard German). These forms allow for flexibility in conversation and a forefronting of relationships over referential material.

These intricate workings of language are explored in three major speech events that I participated in, recorded, transcribed, and analyzed. A set of three interactions in a lotto store reveals the ways that address pronoun or null subject can combine with choice of language to express challenges, diffusions of tension, and accommodations among strangers. The chance for the participants to realign ideologies about German speakers presents itself; whether the option is taken up remains unclear.

In another recorded conversation, *we* becomes *here* in a realigning of the meaning of German immigrant so as to avoid association with Nazi war refugees. Prompted by my interest in German-Brazilian history, two sisters ask themselves: Why does Germany send money today to restore German-Brazilian houses and other cultural projects?

A: *Wal die honn frihersch uns mo fortgeschickt*

B: *Wal mea se'uffgenomm honn*

A: **Because in the past they sent us away**

B: **Because we took them in**

The referent of the first-person plural is realigned from an identification with German-speaking immigrants in the 19th century to an identification with people born and established in communities in Brazil during World War II. The sisters co-construct an

⁸ R-pronouns are a set of German and Dutch lexical items, named so because they used to or still do end in r: The three German ones are *da* or *do* ('here/ there/ then/ now'), *wo*, and *hier* (Old High German differentiated between accusative—*dara*, *wara*, *hera*—and dative: *dâr*, *wâr*, *hier*.)

alignment whereby up until a certain historical time they were German, and after that time they became Brazilian.

Thirdly, in a social gathering among elderly women, Hunsrückish speakers switch alignments with region—local, national, and international—depending on the topic and interlocutor. Their use of spatial deictics also works to position each other in the moment. For example, rather than establishing exactly where two people are from, the deictics here and there may determine one of them as an insider and one an outsider.

*Né, ich wohne hie
unn das is von dort*
**No, I live here
and she is from there**

These spatial deictics, perhaps due to their vagueness, perform multiple functions. They smooth over a rough conversation, in which the participants were struggling to understand where the two people mentioned were from; they also index both macro- and microrelations. By combining with other indexical features that speech event participants observe about these people, such as speech patterns, topics addressed, and ways of looking and acting, the deictics help to create a generic definition of an insider and outsider.

I use the term publics to describe the larger constellations of sociolinguistic features that take shape in these interactions and with which speakers align themselves. These social spheres function as temporary alignments or domains in which speakers create and reinforce language ideologies to make sense of their diasporic experiences and transitioning way of life. I identify four emerging publics: Kolonist, i.e., German farmer; Brazilian; Gaúcho; and one that acts in ways as an umbrella public: German-Brazilian. Speakers identify with more than one—usually all four—in different moments, moving among them as they redefine the publics while expressing different parts of themselves. What determines when it is appropriate to align oneself with which public?

I elaborate on these resources and concepts after mentioning an additional quality of Hunsrückish to be investigated further, although not focused on in the dissertation. This is the flexibility and adaptability of Hunsrückish in its contact with Portuguese. I would argue that flexibility and adaptability enable a continued use of the language, as it finds a niche within the larger ecology. This view of language ecology diverges from

some literature on ecology and language endangerment, in that it is not embracing diversity out of a vision of keeping languages separate but advocates an appreciation of a language with a rich set of features to draw from, along with features of other languages. The native discourse is that these qualities are not valuable: in fact language mixing and change are to blame for the perceived demise of Hunsrückish.

The value of multilingualism and of Hunsrückish itself often go unrecognized by speakers. The idea that just one language should be spoken comes through from native multilingual speakers and monolingual Portuguese speakers; literacy, educational, governmental and religious policies; and various popular, government, and even academic media. Rather than embracing an ecology in which Hunsrückish can work fluidly with other types of German and with Portuguese, speakers often confine its usage to specific settings, interlocutors, and topics. An overt metadiscourse about the agrammaticality and deterioration of Hunsrückish accompanies language mixing, especially with nonnative interlocutors. Comments about the fear of being humiliated, and occurrences of potentially humiliating, directed remarks from fellow speakers as well as semi-speakers and outsiders also inhibit Hunsrückish usage and transmission. These fears and humiliations extend to the speakers' accented Portuguese as well.

Speakers often blame the nationalization campaign during World War II for their language loss. Policies during that time banned German language (and all other non-Portuguese languages) from public and private places, whether in school, home, or the pages of library books. These enforced policies have had enormous effects, but they are not the only reason for a language shift. They are accompanied by other macro historical events as well, such as population migrations and urbanization that changed the makeup of the speech communities. The far-reaching, daily practices of speakers also reinforce the shift through their own "capillary power" (Foucault 1980).

Elaborating on these resources

The interactions between types of German and Portuguese are unique in that most minority language groups do not involve a language perceived to be dying out that is also a prestigious, world language. Although Hunsrückish is often referred to disparagingly, as agrammatical and "tainted" with Portuguese, it nevertheless maintains a relationship with the prestige of the world language German. The connection that Hunsrückish

maintains with Standard German is made through an indexical linking to an idealized past. Standard German is seen to have been the idealized ancestor of the now deteriorated Hunsrückish.

The prestige of Std. German is visible in that it is the variety of German preached in church services, taught in schools, and written on touristic signs and in brochures. German speakers may mix in features of Std. German with their Hunsrückish in situations in which they regard their interlocutor to speak Standard German or they want to adopt an authoritative style, such as a doctor might do with her patient. Even with this manifestation, however, Std. German “is hardly present in the community today” (Auer 2005). The two varieties of German—the one spoken in everyday life, and the imagined Standard German—maintain a shared status through a common name: *alemão* or *Deutsch*.

The indeterminacy of *alemão* or *Deutsch* necessitated clarification on occasion. In response to my explaining that I wanted to learn German, Hunsrückish speakers usually assumed that I wanted to learn Standard German. After discussing a German book for a bit, two contacts wondered on my behalf: was it Hunsrückish or Std. German? For their purposes, it had not been necessary to clarify from the start. The large sign hanging on the building of a German teacher read “Lessons in German: Dialect or Grammatical” (*Aulas de alemão: dialeto ou gramatical*). In these examples, clarification becomes necessary in interactions with outsiders, who may not share the same ideologies about each variety, and who may group them together under one German ethnicity. Due to the potential disparity in prestige attached to each variety, Hunsrückish speakers may encourage such indeterminacy.

The state of multilingualism, in addition to offering a wider repertory in code choices, and therefore social strategies, also provides multiple perspectives on history, on assessing one’s neighbors, and on ways of doing things. Whatever the formal situation, speakers may do pragmatic work to create a sense of boundary. In Cape Breton Gaelic, speakers use what lexical and grammatical resources they have to create, in greetings and other formulaic ways, their sense of belonging together (See Mertz 1989⁹ in Urciuoli 1995). Multilingual speakers may view the policies of the regime governing them in

⁹ Mertz E. 1989. “Sociolinguistic creativity: Cape Breton Gaelic's linguistic ‘tip’.” In *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, ed. NC Dorian. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 103-16

terms of the sociocultural scars they have left but may also appreciate their efforts at revitalization (Meek 2010). Although marginalized groups in many ways may internalize dominant ideologies, they also resist them (Ortner 1995). Jaffe (1999) shows how Corsican speakers can use codeswitching and other forms of mixing to express resistance to the idea of language as a monolithic, unitary form, against the dominant hegemony of French.

With memories and stories passed down about their own, their parents' and their grandparents' movement from isolated, German-speaking farming communities to "city" life, where they speak much more Portuguese, Hunsrückish speakers discussed and displayed alternative ways of doing things and integrating multiple systems into syncretic practices. Whereas a majority of Brazilians I talked to, especially those from smaller towns, did not imagine having the resources to travel, some German speakers, particularly younger ones, looked toward Europe as an option for work or study. They were motivated to learn Standard German or had already studied it in school. Another syncretic area involved religion: A number of people said they were Catholic in name but in practice visited Spiritist services or Pentecostal churches like Assembly of God. A third area involved ideologies toward the body—its exposure and personal space. *Telenovelas* ('soap operas'), broadcast from the beaches of Rio de Janeiro, were frequently watched by German-Brazilians, sometimes with disparaging commentary about the loose morals of the scantily dressed characters (Anibal dos Santos 1995), sometimes with strong identification with their fellow, "sensuous" Brazilians. Multiple sources commented on their occasional discomfort with the kisses they were expected, as Brazilians, to give upon greeting one another. They had not grown up with hugs and kisses, and preferred a handshake. Others joined the Center for Gaúcho Traditions and fully embraced a kissing greeting. All of these hybridities or changeable perspectives presented multiple pathways for multilingual German and Portuguese speakers to adapt to their changing environment.

This diversity among Hunsrückish speakers, in addition to the diversity that they and other immigrant groups provide Brazilian society as a whole, is illustrated well in some articles published in the Santa Cruz do Sul's gazette in 2004.¹⁰ The director of the

¹⁰ Linhares da Silva, Mozart. "Desgermanização de Santa Cruz do Sul (Parte 1)." *Gazeta do Sul*, Santa

University of Santa Cruz do Sul's foreign language program called for her "fellow German speakers" to come together and be proud of their common language and past. Her article was followed by a direct attack from a colleague (and fellow descendant of German-speaking immigrants, if his name—Mozart Linhares da Silva—can be proof of his ancestry) for encouraging a false idea of identity and an artificial common past. He equated the embrace of German identity with racist hatred of other groups. The language ideologies, alignments, and public affiliations of Hunsrückish speakers, as well as moves to remain indeterminate, whether as a "German" group or as an individual facing an interlocutor of different status background—all involve unique interplay from the languages in contact in southern Brazil. Below I discuss their distinct characters while also writing of sociolinguistic processes more generally.

Language choice, in any interaction, invokes language ideologies—practices, including metalinguistic talk, that connect ideas about language and its speakers to political alignments (Irvine and Gal 2000). Thus, every interaction represents a constant opportunity to strategically make a statement about the relationship(s) between interlocutors as well as one's own alignments or "face." Language ideologies result in strategic alignments, and the alignments reinforce or change the ideologies. For example, a statement that German speakers are blond may align the speaker with an image of German speakers that she considers high-status. The fact that she makes this statement to a dark-haired German speaker, a seemingly direct challenge to the logic, may serve to further impose this racial hierarchy if the interlocutor colludes in this idea, i.e., by nodding in agreement (or if the speaker firmly persists in overlooking the cognitive dissonance before her). If the interlocutor challenges this logic (beyond simply performing the act of speaking German while also being dark-haired, perhaps with a metastatement about it), then the original alignment of German speaking with a high-racialized status may have to be redrawn, depending on how open the speaker is to such a realignment.

Alignment

For Goffman (1967), "alignment" essentially means "face," or a positive self-representation projected to one's interlocutors during a gathering. He imbues alignment

with a sense of accommodation, an endeavoring to let one's interlocutors believe that one is allied with an image that has been promoted since the start of the interaction (5). This presupposition, that everyone's goal is to get along in a Gricean cooperation—efforts that we do not necessarily make but that are reasonable for us to follow (Grice 1975:48)—overlooks the frequent need to align against an ideology, a statement, a public, or a practice, and thus disrupt a just established alliance. This is not to say that one's personal and ideological alignments must both be positive or negative: You may dismiss an interlocutor's ideology while reminding him that you are still his friend. But the easy risk of offense indicates the interconnectedness of intersubjective relationship and ideological alignments. Du Bois (2007) uses aligning to refer specifically to the intersubjective part of the process of stance-taking: aligning with another speaker. [The other two vectors of the stance triangle are evaluating an object (objectivity), and positioning a subject (subjectivity) (144).]

The opportunity to make a positive alignment also presents an opportunity for unintended interpretation or consequence in these interactions (Goffman 1967:24). Goffman insists that if one's face or stance is questioned, one must endeavor to fix the situation through "face-work" (27), and "any contact with others is a commitment partly due to our attachment to our face and maintaining it" (6). In other words, he argues that the need to avoid conflicts is a need to remain positively aligned and not to go against the representation one has generated of oneself or one's interlocutor has generated of herself since the start of the interaction.

But individuals may wish to identify themselves with a particular time period, place, and group until a select point, at which time it becomes desirable in the conversation to unidentify, or withdraw such an alignment. More than simply agreeing or disagreeing with their interlocutors, stance takers agree or disagree about something specific, which takes the act from agreement to alignment. Like Du Bois, I use alignment on a scale that includes relatively more and less positive, more and less negative. Someone may therefore show a convergent or divergent alignment, or an indeterminate commitment between the two (2007:162).

Because positioning oneself and one's stance in relation to others and their stances is impossible without taking into consideration the objects, the subjects, and the

relation between the subjects, the act of aligning necessarily involves all these things. The difference between stance and alignment, more than stance subsuming alignment, is alignment's focus on the relationship between the actors and also the fact that it often goes undetected. Whereas stance is more overt, or at least overtly imposed on speakers even if they have not actually taken one, alignments commonly remain implicit, so that the listener must sometimes infer an alignment through comparing the relevant stances (144).

All this discussion of strategy presupposes some awareness. Du Bois writes that participants have “an implicit awareness of the structure of the activity system that frames and enables the achievement of stance.” They have a knowledge of the elements, actions, and vectors. How did they get this knowledge? If stance, or alignment as I discuss it, is something specific to the moment in which it is taken, how can we know about it in advance? The degree to which the knowledge is culture-specific Du Bois leaves unaddressed, but the fact that speakers must have a common knowledge base in order to interpret each other's stance-taking makes it important to track the conversational responses of the participants, not just those of the analysts.

If there is no or little uptake, if an alignment goes undetected, the question arises: Must an alignment be made? Can a person remain unmarked, unstylized, without stance or status, as she goes about her business? The answer appears to be no: even as one is refusing alignment with or against a group of ideologies, people, publics, one is inevitably, by interface with other humans, pushed into certain commitments. Du Bois writes: “To realize stance dialogically means to invoke a shared framework for co-action with others” (171).

Realignment

A realignment—with a relationship, an ideology, a public—happens when an alignment becomes disagreeable, or another alignment becomes more attractive. The process can be observed in the moment of conversation in a combination of shifts—for example, a shift in the pragmatics of a personal deictic pronoun, of a code choice, and paralinguistic behaviors such as prosody and gestures. First, an alignment is expressed; second, alternative alignments develop; and third, participants who are open to considering

alternatives begin to imagine themselves in these other ways. The imagining happens first at a semiotic level, then potentially on the ground.

I thus extend Attinasi and Friedrich's (1995) framework of the dialogic breakthrough by showing how realignments happen on a quotidian, everyday conversation level. Their concept is restricted to a rare moment between two individuals, in which one of them is forever changed by a new perspective. This makes the study of realignment difficult to study because 1) changing perspective usually happens over time, as a consequence of multiple conversations and events; 2) people often do not show outward signs that they are suddenly changing perspective; and 3) people themselves often do not know they are changing their perspective as it is happening. Nevertheless, there are certain steps occurring to realign the direction of the conversation. The type of alignment and realignment I consider do not require the transformation of an individual but the deployment of possibilities for the individual to imagine. As a group, the conversation participants reshape their alignments and the alignments reshape them.

Realignments can happen both in the first turn of an interaction or at a later, climactic moment; we see both occurrences in the examples of later chapters. In either case, the realignment is a move in a series that began before the current speech event. In a larger sense, it began with a person's first expressions of self.

In more contingent settings and relationships, where speakers do not know each other well, we might expect a greater number of realignments for those who want to accommodate their interlocutor. Once a speaker has been established in a position of power, he may hold on to his established "face" or alignments. However, it is never entirely clear at the beginning of any interaction which, if any, participant will take hierarchical advantage.

The risk of tension, dispute, or powerlessness can make more necessary an immediate positioning to prepare for the interaction to follow. Goffman (1967) writes that we establish our face and make our commitment early in the interaction so that everyone in the event knows in what manner to proceed. The realignments in the lotto store examples can be analyzed as occurring against a presupposed relationship between clerks and customers, men and women, older and younger, and members of different publics. But as the relationships of individuals get realigned due to tensions within the

moment of conversation, possibilities for new understandings of these relationships in general also arise.

Codeswitching

Multilingual speakers alternate among two or more codes for a variety of reasons. They might use codeswitching¹¹ as an unmarked, default way of talking. Urciuoli distinguishes the case of New York Puerto Rican bilinguals, who practice “smooth” switching, frequently automatic and within the sentence (1995:528), from cases of switching in more politicized settings, where a switch is markedly expressive of one’s alignments (e.g., Heller 1985¹²). In minimally marked switching, there may be no “flagging” (Poplack 1988) hesitation or other framing by prosody to indicate an upcoming switch. The two codes may also be linked intonationally or rhythmically (Urciuoli 1995). Other processes of integrating two codes smoothly include what Queen (2001) calls fusion—a new form altogether that appears in both languages (but is common to neither)—and what Muysken (2000) calls “congruent lexicalization:” The two languages share a grammatical structure, so that lexical items from either could fill the same slot. If both languages allow for the same structure, be it an intonational pattern or lexical item, we could say that switching involves less linguistic constraint.

Social constraints on switching are common in a highly politicized atmosphere, in which it is important to stylistically distinguish insiders from outsiders (Chen 2008). Like Goffman's (1981) notion of changing "footing," switching has been shown to accomplish the social work of discourse (Urciuoli 1995). Possible motivations of accommodation and distancing inform my investigation of alignments, including those with and against linguistic, ethnic, and racial ideologies, as Giles (1984) and others have shown with accommodation theory. I also forefront the accommodations and distancings, the power plays in other words, among interlocutors in terms of basic demonstrations of deference and convergence, not always with explicit reference to larger ideologies. Assuming that a

¹¹ Muysken (2000) distinguishes codemixing from switching as follows: Mixing is where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence; switching is the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event (1). I informally use the term codeswitching to include both switching and mixing.

¹² Heller M. 1985. “Ethnic relations and language use in Montreal.” In *Language of Inequality*, ed. N Wolfson, J Manes, pp.75-90. Berlin: Mouton

default motivation for switching would be the uptake of another's code, a repeated divergence would then represent a strategic message about hierarchical positioning.

Urciuoli (1995) recounts a history of codeswitching approaches¹³: They developed in the 1960s and 1970s in work by Labov (1972) and Hymes (1974). Their work was influenced by the conflicting views of language in the 1950s: on one hand, monolithic structures with firm boundaries; on the other hand, evolving features in ongoing social interaction, developing in confluence with social institutions. Although in determining language contact situations, Weinreich (1953), and then Labov (1966), combined analysis of social variables (e.g., nationality, gender, and class) with analysis of formal structures of language, the idea of emergence did not appear until later, with Bakhtin (1981), Silverstein (2003), and Mannheim and Tedlock (1995), e.g. In 1982 Gumperz argued that the essence of codeswitching is a self-conscious use of foreign materials to oppose language systems; speakers add meaning to their speech by evoking different emotional tones, values, and contexts.

Auer (1998) writes that traditionally, approaches to codeswitching have been (1) sociolinguistic, i.e., focusing on the alternation between two or more languages by members of a bilingual speech community, and how their language choices are related to power and inequality; and (2) grammatical, i.e., analyzing the (often syntactic) constraints on intrasentential codeswitching. He adds a third analytic component: the macrosociolinguistic factors that interact with local processes. These are patterns that go beyond the sentence, that fall between conversational moves and intonational units.

Codeswitching literature must contend with the question of language boundaries and whether two distinct codes can be said to exist. Scholars have long recognized the difficulty if not impossibility of determining where one language ends and another begins, or when a dialect differs enough to be called a separate language (Hymes 1967). In a contact situation, issues of borrowing linguistic features versus codemixing become

¹³ Cited in Urciuoli (1995):

Hymes D. 1974. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press

Labov W. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC:

Cent. Appl. Linguist.

Labov W. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press

Weinreich U. 1963[1953]. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The

Hague: Mouton

particularly muddy (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). In recognition of this, I do not concentrate on determining a Portuguese or German label for each linguistic component of an utterance; rather, I focus on salient, marked switchings that may be recognizable to the conversation participants.

Not all switchings are above the level of participants' awareness (Silverstein 1981). Hill and Hill (1986) found that Mexican-Spanish speakers were not necessarily aware of the etymologies of their words and so did not always perceive syncretisms that the analysts recognized. Speakers draw on, create, and reinforce language ideologies when they codeswitch and position themselves in relation to one another. This means that the ideologies are both presupposed and entailing (Silverstein 2003). There are circulating ways of talking about groups of people, languages, cultures and histories, etc.; but these ways of talking are subject to change in any interaction. Thus, a chance for realignment is always at hand.

Irvine and Gal's (2000) analysis describes three types of semiotic processes in which language ideologies operate: fractal recursivity, erasure, and iconization. With fractal recursivity, a relationship of opposing elements is reproduced at another level. For example, a speaker's willingness to accommodate the code of her interlocutor is fractally reproduced by her willingness to accommodate her interlocutor in other ways, such as conceding to the ideologies put forth and giving pronominal deference. Erasure refers to omitting a part of the story in order to keep the ideology intact. For example, a dark-haired German speaker is discounted from the idea that all German speakers are blond. These dissonances do not remain neutral judgments or practices but take on laminated, political valuations.

Speakers may iconize, or take as natural, a sign that is merely indexically pointing to its object. They may identify physical properties common to both sign and object. For example, Hunsrückish is seen as agrammatical. What makes its speakers call it such? They comment on the fact that not all words are etymologically German but are borrowed or mixed in from Portuguese. This feature of mixing could be a "smooth" or automatic and easy switching (Urciuoli 1995), something viewed as natural to its speakers. But sometimes it takes on another indexical order (Silverstein 2003) and is viewed as a switching made without grammatical constraint, without the speaker's competence to

control the switching or as a reflection of the speaker's lack of knowledge. Semiotically, the object of mixing is taken as a sign of lack of control and competence, which is then seen as natural to its speakers. Not only does this ideology reflect on the speech at hand but the speaker as well. Hunsrückish-speaking people, like their language, take on a trait of ignorance.

Auer includes codeswitching in what he calls "contextualization cues"—those activities that speakers perform that "make relevant/maintain/revise/cancel some aspects of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence" (Auer 1995:123). Along with changes in stress, intonation, pauses, and hesitations, codeswitching can alert the listener to a move that may contradict what had been perceived as accommodating behavior. Contextualization cues often bundle together, e.g., there is a certain redundancy of coding that has specific interactional advantages (123-24). Thus, the analyst may find other types of evidence besides the switching to corroborate her idea of how it is working.

Pronouns

One basic measure of intersubjective alignment in languages with socially differentiated second-person pronouns is based on pronominal behavior, especially in combination with other behaviors, such as codeswitching. Both German and Portuguese offer multiple options in address pronouns. A command of the repertory is important for appropriately inhabiting conversation participant roles and also for changing them.

What is called formality in pronouns may be more precisely called distancing or respect (Irvine 1979). In the instances of usage that I observed, the "formal" or "deferential" pronouns both carried properties of the code—i.e., properties bound to a few particular pronominal forms, verb conjugations, and code convergence—and properties of the situation, in that they often occurred with age or other social variables. They also could effect a new situational tone, such as seriousness, politeness, or respect (774).

The fact that both languages exhibit a trend in expanding the usage of *tu* and *du* (the more intimate options) over deferential ones suggests two possibilities: 1) the semantics behind *tu/du* are changing to include more formality; or 2) the social relations are changing so that interlocutors who would previously have been addressed in more

“respectful” or “polite” ways are now spoken to with more familiar pronouns. I argue for the latter, that there is a narrowing generational gap as well as more contact with urban areas, where the usage of the familiar form has been more widespread. Because this pronominal evolution is occurring in both languages, we might say it represents an adaptation to environment.

In addition to a greater usage of the familiar, speakers commonly drop the *-s* in Portuguese on the verb that accompanies the second person address. This creates some indeterminacy when used with a null subject. *Tu fala* (‘you[singular, informal] speak’) becomes \emptyset *fala*, which could be used with any form of the second-person address. The other options, *você* (‘semi-formal’ or ‘neutral’), or *a senhora/o senhor* (most deferential) were historically the third person, and retain a third-person verb conjugation. Therefore, a null subject allows some elision of status marking.

Hunsrückish null subjects also may cause ambiguity. Agreement marking on finite verbs is not rich enough in Hunsrückish for thematic null subjects. The deferential form *Dea* also has a “third-person” conjugation, so that the sentence could become ambiguous if not contextually clear. Some verbs, e.g., *sinn* (‘be/are/am’), are used for three different persons (first-person singular and plural, and third-person plural). The null subject expands the number of options on the formality scale. Such an elision occurs in an independent clause in which no explicit subject is realized on the surface structure, although present in the underlying structure. Like other varieties of German, Hunsrückish cannot be called a null subject language in the sense that Brazilian Portuguese has been (and European Portuguese continues to be), but Hunsrückish does allow expletive null subjects.

Pronominal clitics are another avenue for investigation of formality. Their frequency of usage, as well as flexibility in being placed in more positions than other languages permit, make clitics a salient feature in Hunsrückish. Although space restricts extensive analysis here, an investigation of clitic grammatical complexity and indexical qualities could inform a discussion of how Hunsrückish is changing, of potential influence from Portuguese, and of native speakers’ contentions that Hunsrückish is grammatically uninteresting or simple.

Another category of pronouns called R-pronouns is used by speakers positioning themselves in relation to each other. Particularly the deictic *do* ('here' or 'there' or 'then') fills multiple syntactic/semantic roles. A variation of *da*, it began as a locative adverb and has, over time, developed additional functions (Miller 2004), some of which are shared by Portuguese, some by Standard German, and one possibly unique to Hunsrückish. Within its spatial function, *do* can espouse an indeterminacy so that its speakers may avoid focus on referentiality in favor of other, indexical operations.

Indeterminacy

The code may be indeterminate, and the participant roles may be indeterminate. By "indeterminate," I use Zwicky and Sadock's (1975) distinction between ambiguity and indeterminacy as follows: ambiguity represents a case in which there is more than one discrete interpretation; transformational rules must be posited that can then neutralize the distinctions. For example, "They saw her duck" is an ambiguous statement that must be assigned two different semantic structures (3). Indeterminacy, on the other hand, is a single representation that accounts for multiple options, with a gradient scale. Zwicky and Sadock give the example sentence, "My sister is the Ruritania secretary of state." With this sentence there is much information unspecified, e.g., Is the sister older or younger, recently made secretary, left-handed? These options for interpretation range in a continuum.

Indeterminacy has also been called generality, vagueness, nondetermination, and indefiniteness of reference; Zwicky and Sadock add neutrality, unmarkedness, and lack of specification (2). Anthropologists have not necessarily distinguished ambiguity in this linguistic fashion. Povinelli's (2001) *Annual Review of Anthropology* article, e.g., defines indeterminacy as two incompatible interpretations possible for the same text or bit of speech. In this dissertation, the concept of a gradient vagueness or indeterminacy generally describes best the forms being analyzed.

What may seem a clear indexical in the speech event, the speaker pointing to herself with an I, is easily indeterminate, as Goffman shows by breaking down this voice into three participant roles (animator, principal, and author); others have taken the deconstruction further (Irvine 1996, Benveniste 1971[1966]). The fact that interactions contain both the code itself and the social contexts around it (both a presupposed and

entailing aspect) (Silverstein 2003) means that communication in all its intended and unintended meanings is generally very difficult, but that it is also emergent, as scholars have argued only recently (Meek 2010:50, Mannheim and Tedlock 1995).

Making sense of one another therefore must involve a combination of puzzle solving and an acceptance of inherent indeterminacy. Povinelli (2001) writes of Donald Davidson, philosopher and student of WVO Quine, who argued that we constantly adjust our interpretation of the Other's linguistic meanings, rather than just assuming that "the Other has used words as we do but has more or less weird beliefs" (Davidson 1984).¹⁴ We take on some responsibility to make sense of their words according to their context.

Still, a perfect understanding cannot be nor is necessarily the goal of conversational participants. Derrida and Bataille argued that indeterminacy is the normal condition of communication and is exploited in certain situations, such as domestic and international negotiations (Povinelli 2001:322). Samuels (2001) agrees that "at least in certain contexts, knowledge is based precisely on the maintenance of paradox and ambivalence—that Freud's error was not his oversight of dialectics but his supposition that the fundamental desire of the human organism is achieving the calm that follows the release of tension or anxiety." Likewise, Friedrich (1986) attacks linguistics for its "rage for order," which masks the fact that "language is unordered or poorly ordered to a greater extent than would be surmised from linguistic theories" (139).

Hunsrückish speakers exhibited this struggle to remain indeterminate. Although a few activists called for establishing a standard orthography or embracing a common past, many speakers went about their daily lives with no explicit discourse about what it meant to be "German," "Brazilian," or a combination of the two. These larger struggles played out in microconversations. Speakers used polysemous terms and deictics to position themselves in relation to each other and larger networks. They avoided definition, and they also at times lamented its loss, as if it had once existed.

Diaspora / Minority Language

The linguistic homeland that once existed strongly in the collective imagination of the Hunsrückish immigrants has faded in many ways; they are part of a classic diaspora. The

¹⁴ Davidson D, ed. 1984. "On saying that." In *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation*, pp. 93–108. Oxford, UK: Clarendon

meaning of diaspora, although historically and etymologically a scattering of seeds from one central place, should be considered rather a sphere of overlaps and networks (Boyarin and Boyarin 1993). The networking is an awareness of other groups who left the same homeland and who now reside in different places around the world. The Hunsrücker have no such network except with some contacts in Germany—either Brazilians who have traveled there or Germans who visit Brazil, usually as part of a folkloric group.

The homeland, or “essential elsewhere,” the place to which a diasporic group constantly refers back when constructing itself (Shryock 2005), does not have to be a nation-state, although much literature on diaspora uses the nation-state as a backdrop, and its influence should not be discounted (Tölölyan 1996: 5). The decision to have left this elsewhere may or may not have been theirs (Weingrod and Levy 2004). It is a place with which diasporic people engage on some level, if not a place to which they ultimately want to physically return. For the average Hunsrückish speaker, Germany was a faraway place too expensive to travel to but somewhere they would like to see someday. Most did not know exactly where and when their ancestors had emigrated. Nevertheless, Germany held a special place within folklore, i.e., dances and music, as well as Hunsrückish speakers’ narrative of their origins. The narrative originated both from and contributed to large productions such as the festivals celebrating 180 years of German immigration and the “culture” brought with it. Also, smaller, annual productions such as *Kerb*, a chance for family to congregate and feast, were ratified by the tradition of commemorating the arrival of immigrants in 1824 in the Sinos River Valley.

Both as minority language speakers, unsupported by government and other ratified institutions, and as members of a speech island, cut off from their linguistic homeland, Hunsrücker variously expressed self-understandings as both outsiders and insiders. Any speech island by definition (Keel and Mattheier 2003) (1) is a language in contact with another speech variety; (2) is separate from its linguistic homeland; (3) normally borrows vocabulary and structure; and (4) normally takes the influence of a more prestigious, powerful or majority language, but not always (8). These definitions fit the situation of Hunsrückish speakers, although, as discussed earlier, their language is in many ways the same as a prestigious, powerful language.

In making sense of their diasporic experiences and transitioning way of life, Hunsrückish speakers use social spheres that function as temporary alignments or domains in which speakers create and reinforce language ideologies. I use the term publics to describe these larger constellations of sociolinguistic features with which speakers align themselves.

Publics

The most common definition of public in academic and lay media over the past two centuries has perhaps been the opposite of private, as in Goffman's examples in *Behavior in Public Places* (1963). Examples of public places include streets, parks, restaurants, theaters, and shops. Semipublic places are for example dance floors and meeting halls; private gatherings occur in places like the office, factory floors, living rooms, and kitchens (4). Although I loosely use public in this adjectival way throughout the dissertation, the main, nominal usage is to investigate the intersection between behavior, ideology, institution, setting, and interlocutor.

Publics may be physical places, which are often tied with language, ethnicity, iconic dress, music, and vernacular. They are not necessarily any of these things, because the bundle of features depends on the construction that interlocutors create in the moment. Goffman (1967) examines such a bundle of features, "the natural units of interaction built up from them, beginning with the littlest—for example, the fleeting facial move an individual can make in the game of expressing his alignment to what is happening—and ending with affairs such as week-long conferences, these being the interactional mastodons that push to the limit what can be called a social occasion" (1). The scope of alignment activity described in this dissertation and with the publics framework goes beyond the moment of conversation. Although Goffman writes that the sort of analysis involved in interactional ritual requires ethnography, i.e., a series of observed instances that can be strung together in a pattern, he also emphasizes the "gathering," defined as "a shifting entity, necessarily evanescent, created by arrivals and killed by departures" (2). Not only is he primarily interested in this evanescent moment (and not so much a larger ethnographic context), but he keeps it strictly theoretical, offering his thoughts as theories to be applied by others.

In conversations with colleagues and other scholars, a number of alternatives to the concept of publics has been suggested. But many terms that could replace publics have been overused and eventually sound too fixed. This is true of “identity” (Brubaker and Cooper 2000) and “community” (Joseph 2002). “Context” is used too differently in different disciplines. In linguistics, it often means the sounds or grammatical units surrounding the sound or grapheme in question. In interactional analysis, context often means the intersubjective pragmatics of just the speech event; in anthropology, something larger, such as the macrosocial historical events leading up to the interaction.

“Ethnicity” invokes something too permanent: one does not change ethnicity from moment to moment. Although descendants of German-speaking immigrants can be called ethnic, minority speakers of a speech island, they do not generally use their ethnic status as other minority groups who enter fights with the government for political rights. They are sometimes called speakers of an immigrant language, but this is confusing since they no longer have incoming migration. Of minority groups that migrated from elsewhere, some have not lost connections with their homeland and are distinct in their continuing in-migration (e.g., the Mexican Americans of Redwood City, California as opposed to those in San Antonio, Texas; see Schecter and Bayley 2002). The Californians could then more easily be called an immigrant group. How one goes from “immigrant” to “ethnic” is a transition from “an insular, Old World culture to a way of life [considered] modern, flexible, and recognizably American” (Abraham and Shryock 2000:22). Most Hunsrückish speakers date the arrival of their immigrant ancestors to the 19th century. The more recent immigrants settled in more urban areas and often did not come from Hunsrück.

“Styles,” like publics, is a useful analytic construct that crosscuts language varieties and helps determine how people speak and act in order to distinguish themselves from one another. Still, styles often carry associations developed by popular national media, such as a style of dress or music, that emphasize a homogeneity by those who don the style, regardless of place in the nation. Literature on linguistic styles has focused on socioeconomic variables of speaker (Labov 1966), situation (Finegan and Biber 1994), addressee (Bell 1984),¹⁵ speaker accommodation (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991),

¹⁵ Quoted in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John Rickford. 2001. Cambridge,

and a combination of all those things. Recent analysis has shifted from how styles reflect existing social categories to how styles create social categories in a dialogic emergence of culture (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995). This view of culture as something created in the moment rather than previously fixed also draws on Bakhtin's (1984) ideas of polyphony, or the multi-voiced nature of dialogic discourse.

The concept publics works well precisely due to its ephemeral quality, whether it describes an audience of a single event that ends after an hour, or a people who inhabit a space, a way of being for a time during an interaction. At the same time, the constellation of features that creates a public still stays recognizable as part of a pattern that circulates on a scale larger than the moment of interaction. Thus, a public is a form difficult to grasp—it has the potential to change in any interaction.

In addition to ephemerality, two other aspects of the public framework make it particularly useful: a multifacetedness and a center around debate. That the publics system is one of multiple parts might tempt one to call most of the parts “counterpublics.” Warner (2002) writes that counterpublics owe their existence to the background set of conditions provided by the bourgeois public sphere (57), so it would seem that the “Brazilian public” is the backdrop against which the German-Brazilian, Kolonist, or Gaúcho counterpublics are defined. However, no single bourgeois Brazilian public exists. The Brazilian public of these pages is one designated as common to the experiences of the Hunsrückish speakers and those people who live among them. The idea that these are counterpublics is a perspective taken by an outsider, the one who controls, for example, national media or national and international policy, who could judge these German speakers to be inhabitants of the margins. If, however, we consider some publics to be counter in certain situations, depending on the speaker, then they always inhabit at least one public, a background against which the marked public is engaged, and at least one counterpublic. The Brazilian public is identifiable merely by patterns and trends, rather than by a reality shared like Saussure's dictionary copied into each individual's head. What distinguishes the Brazilian public of the Hunsrückish speakers from that of other

UK: Cambridge University Press:
Bell, Allan. 1984. “Language style as audience design.” *Language in Society*. 13:145-204, Cambridge University Press
Finegan, Edward, Biber, Douglas. 1994. *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

speakers, such as communities farther north in the country, is the relationship that the (Hunsrückish) Brazilian public has to the other publics it is opposed to.

If one public represents a default, less marked space to inhabit, that is the “German-Brazilian” public. Thus, while moving among more and less marked spaces, the speaker makes it known that he has some competence to exhibit to greater extents the different sides of himself, by drawing on different semiotic means appropriate to the situation. By exhibiting competence in both Hunsrückish and Portuguese, one has exhibited at least one point of membership to the German-Brazilian public.

The creation or reinforcement of what makes a public is based on the communicative process as valorized by the notions of public developed by Habermas (1989[1962]), Gal and Woolard (2001), and Warner (2002). For Habermas 1989[1962], speakers come together through institutions of newspapers, increased use of print, coffeehouses, salons, and voluntary associations, and their statuses do not matter as much as their reasoning skills. The public opinion gains authority through having been ruled by reason, openness, and political equality. Although Warner does not write, as Habermas does, of a public as an explicit product of an emerging bourgeoisie, Warner writes of the centrality of a public’s debates, or “reflexive circulation of discourse.” If one does not participate in the discourse—although participation may be as minor as “merely paying attention”—one cannot claim membership to that public. My concept of public builds on Warner’s definition in many ways: A public is 1) self-organized (67), i.e., not organized by institutions such as the state or church; 2) a relation among strangers (74); 3) both personal and impersonal (76); 4) constituted through mere attention (87); 5) the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse (90); 6) something that acts historically according to the temporality of its circulation (96); and 7) poetic world making (114)—through the pragmatics of its speech genres, idioms, stylistic markers, address, temporality, *mise-en-scene*, citational field, interlocutory protocols, lexicon.

The emphasis that Warner places on text and performance may be unnecessarily limiting. Gal and Woolard (2001) write that the notion of public need not rely on idea of a concrete readership or spectatorship, just imagination of groups or subjectivities in print or other mass media. I extend this concept further, by considering sociolinguistic features such as deictics and codeswitching as cues indexical of ideologies; in other words they

are part of an alignment with one or more publics, or the elements that make up a public. For example, the appropriate distribution of Portuguese, such as in greetings, would invoke a German-Brazilian, Brazilian or Gaúcho public more than a Kolonist public.

My Arrival and Methodology

My fieldwork consisted of ethnographic, linguistic, and archival research. In total, I collected 60 hours of recordings, including naturally occurring talk of almost 18 hours of families, almost 7 hours of the ESCRITHU group, 6 hours of theater performances and audience reactions, 11 hours at the lotto store, and 9 hours at the elder group meetings. The other 9 hours consist of interviews. These groups were chosen through a combination of serendipitous opportunity and a pursuit of settings that ranged from private to semi-public to public; and conversation participants that ranged in age, gender, education background, and motivation for engaging in the interaction. The ESCRITHU group consisted of scholars of Hunsrückish and was very helpful in metalinguistic commentary on my transcripts and the German-speaking community in general.

Primarily one bilingual speaker helped me transcribe the recordings¹⁶, with additional help from two others. Because no standard orthography exists and very few speakers have read Hunsrückish, it was difficult to find a bilingual speaker who had time to work with me, was local enough, and willing to do a task that she had never before engaged in, including inventing an orthography. My primary transcriber wrote down what she heard with rules based mostly on Portuguese. The two of us went over her handwritten pages, relistening to the recordings along the way.

To wade through 60 hours of recorded talk, in search of patterns and narratives to tell in my dissertation, I looked for evidence corroborating my impressions based on general ethnography, and I also remained open to discovering insights that took the story in different directions. The settings of lotto store, elder group, and family living room already promised certain kinds of relationships: In the lotto store, I expected to observe interactions between strangers, of different ages, gender, and purposes in entering the store. I expected these relationships to be less stable and involve more code- and pronoun-switching. Interactions in the elder group might also involve stranger dynamics,

¹⁶ My recordings, pre-approved by the IRB, were made on a Marantz PMD660 digital recorder with an Audio Technica 813a condenser microphone.

because I did not know the group members. However, I hoped to capture exchanges between acquaintances in a more social, less formal context than the lotto store. By concentrating on an elder population, I hoped also to compare speakers who generally commanded more Hunsrückish than did those of younger generations, and who could also relate history about the Dois Irmãos region, when it was still considered fully *interior* or *Kolonie*. Thirdly, a conversation with family increased the likelihood of a conversation among intimates, who might express fewer realignments in who or what they identified with. What caught my attention in the three sets of exchanges that eventually were selected to represent both usual and unusual behaviors, were deictic pairs that succinctly reveal a shift in alignment or expression of self-positioning. These moments revealed interpersonal realignments (in Chapter 5, from *tu* to *O Senhor*); redefinitions of group expression (in Chapter 6, *we* undergoes a referential shift); and alignments that set up contrasts (in Chapter 7, an insider and outsider relationship).

In addition to recordings, transcriptions, pictures, bountiful notes, and small essays written over the year, I drew on four sets of questionnaires from theater audiences in different cities. I asked them about their language abilities in German and Portuguese. Because there were no grammars or dictionaries of Brazilian Hunsrückish, I also worked to develop such materials, if only to help me better interpret the transcriptions.

One of the greatest sources of material came from living with 12 different host families, some for a few days, others a few months. They ranged in number of family members who understood Hunsrückish, who spoke mainly Hunsrückish in the home, and who were children. I met some of them by talking to people on the street, through the groups I hung around, such as the choir and theater group, and a couple through my preliminary trips to São Paulo and Porto Alegre.

Three preliminary trips—one seven-month stay in São Paulo and two FLAS-supported stays in Rio Grande do Sul, each two months—enabled me to make contacts, learn Portuguese and apprehend what I wanted to do and where to pursue the work during my year of dissertation fieldwork. One of the most important contacts I made was Cléo Altenhofen, Professor of Letters and Linguistics at the Federal University of RS (UFRGS).

Over the course of the year I participated in seminars, workshops and congresses at UFRGS and UNISINOS (Universidade do Rio do Vale dos Sinos), universities in Porto Alegre and São Leopoldo. These include two sponsored by UFRGS: the First International Forum of Linguistic Diversity: For a Policy for Linguistic Diversity in Teaching Languages, July 17-20, 2007 and the Theoretical-Methodological Bases of Research in Pluridimensional Dialectology on Hunsrückish Speakers in the Silver Basin, February 25-27, 2008. UNISINOS sponsored the Tenth National Seminar of Researchers of Teuto-Brazilian Communities, June 19-21, 2008. These exchanges, in combination with meetings with linguists at UFRGS, helped me organize my project. At the libraries of these universities, I also did archival research on historical, linguistic, literary, and cultural studies engaging issues of German-Brazilian immigrant communities.

Other materials I collected are tourist brochures, city maps and popular histories. To gather a general background on life in the town I visited a variety of places—different church services, dance and choral groups, businesses, schools, NGOs, farms, city halls, a shoe factory (which is the primary industry here), night clubs, museums, city festivals, and many private homes. I accompanied a filmmaker on her interviews in the rural countryside, a German teacher in his classes in five different schools, a family at their triannual pig slaughter, and historians on a bus excursion around the northeast of the state.

Outline of Chapters

This dissertation finds that Hunsrückish speakers are an indeterminate group who nevertheless can be said to be enormous and to share a language endangerment or “death” rhetoric with other minority language speakers. Although Hunsrückish speakers do participate in practices that contribute to a language shift, such as ideologies of shame and language compartmentalization (separating Hunsrückish from their other language, Portuguese), the speakers of Hunsrückish continue to use it in many resourceful ways. They are different from other minority speakers in that their stigmatized language is also a world prestige language—the native speakers use the same word to label both opposing varieties of Hunsrückish and Standard German—and from the analyst’s view, both share enough properties to argue that they are the same language. The theoretical significance of this connection to a world language is that no experts are recognized for Hunsrückish.

Agha (1998) writes about two kinds of experts who legitimize language—political institutions and lay experts, such as educated people, religious leaders, or native grammarians. In the case of Hunsrückish, there is neither support from the government nor lay experts. Educated people or religious leaders learn Standard German, and native Hunsrückish speakers who could be called experts are not legitimated as such because the focus is on their inadequacy compared to Standard German.

First I present a background on German immigration to Brazil (Chapter 2), on contemporary Dois Irmãos (Chapter 3), and on a social history and ecology of Hunsrückish (Chapters 4). In Chapter 5, I analyze the strategic switching of codes and deictics to negotiate second-person address. Conversations between a storeowner and her customer provide moments of comparison among speakers who are strangers, acquaintances, different and same gender, old and young, state-representative and private individuals. Some of these unstable relationships create a greater risk of tension, dispute, or powerlessness, which may compel an immediate positioning at the start of the interaction. In redirecting their alignments to each other, the conversation participants also negotiate what “Brazilian,” “German,” and “Kolonist” mean: depending on the moment, an alignment may be with or against any of these publics.

Chapter 6 unfolds the realignment process through a family conversation, in which *we* becomes *here* in a realignment of the meaning of German immigrant. I argue this realignment avoids association with Nazi war refugees. They also realign the first person plural from objective to subjective and German immigrants to Brazilians. As part of an intimate setting, there is less focus on positioning themselves in relation to each other; rather they comment on the larger publics to which they belong. Chapter 7 looks at the spatial aspects of alignments as they relate to time and intersubjectivity. I find that when a Hunsrückish speaker explained her and my relationship to members of a senior social group, her vague deictics—I live here; she lives there—served multiple functions while not actually answering the question: where are you from? For one, they created insider-outsider relations, an opposition that pervaded many discourses as Hunsrückish speakers dealt with neighbors and contacts becoming increasingly diverse since the first days of industrialization and when their families left the homogenous, isolated farms of the Kolonie.

Chapter 8 concludes with a summary of this discussion and its contributions toward minority language studies. I suggest that governmental support might be useful in counteracting a language shift, if only to offer a support that is rejected and then redefined by members of the Hunsrückish-speaking public. As I carve out a story of who these people are, I struggle to remember that they are indeterminate, multi-faceted, and that many choose to be so. They express themselves in new ways in different interactions.

Chapter 2

A Brief History of German-Speaking Immigration to Brazil

This brief history of German immigration to Brazil summarizes the motivations for the immigration—from both the immigrant and the Brazilian government perspectives—and what was involved in the passage over and the establishment of German-speaking *Kolonien* (‘colonies’). What challenges did the German speakers face, what cultural and environmental adaptations did they make? Which events do German speakers foreground as they explain how things came to be in the present? They often blame the “deterioration” of their Hunsrückish language on the events of the nationalization campaign during the Second World War. These events did change much of the way that the language was taught, spoken and felt about, but other factors, such as a move from farming to factories, also contributed to a language shift.

A central question of German-Brazilian identity politics has been: How Brazilian are they? Do the isolated, rural *colonos* contribute to Brazilian society? This is a question asked by immigration policy makers, nativists, nationalists, and others who wanted to influence the presence and rights of the German-speaking population, but also by descendants of German-speaking immigrants themselves. Experiences of those immigrant populations settled in urban areas differ from those in rural areas. It was easier for urban German-speaking enclaves to learn Portuguese, integrate themselves with other Brazilians, and build up successful industries; nevertheless they remained somewhat insular. The more rural Kolonists emphasize a reciprocal isolation, the need to build self-sustaining communities in the event of no help from either homeland or host land government, and with minimal contact with other groups. How the situations of the German-speaking immigrants compare with those of other immigrants and minority groups is also considered. The macro events and living patterns described here and in the next chapter contextualize the small ways in which people of the Dois Irmãos region talk

about their linguistic shame and pride, their place in Brazil, and their understanding of their diasporic past.

19th Century

Immigration

The first German-speaking immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul (RS) (see Figure 1) arrived on July 25, 1824. They settled in this most southern state, then a province, which sits to the east of Argentina and the north of Uruguay.

Figure 1. Map of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil¹



The two states north of RS, Santa Catarina and Paraná, also received a substantial number of European immigrants. Further north, earlier expeditions had taken German speakers to São Paulo, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, the seat of the colonial government, but the settlements did not endure (Müller 2003).² The northernmost was São Jorge dos Ilhéus,

¹ Adapted from www.ask.com/wiki/Rio_Grande_do_Sul on 1/5/2011

² The earliest German speakers arrived in the 16th century; the most famous according to Schröder (2003) was Hans Staden of Homburg, Hesse, who came in 1547-48 and 1549-55 with companion merchants to investigate opportunities for financial gain.

Bahia, settled in 1818 (Schröder 2003). In these colonies, the German speakers usually mixed in with other immigrants groups and lost any designation as an ethnic community.

Europeans in general were desirable recruits. Colonial elites and coffee plantation owners in São Paulo especially hoped for Europeans with farming acumen and disciplined labor. As the slave trade and then slavery were abolished (1850 and 1888, respectively), plantation owners could no longer count on either African or Indian³ slaves to provide labor (Dean 1976). If indigenous people were unsuccessfully dominated in missions and plantations, the government wanted them driven off the land, a task assigned to newly arriving immigrants, mainly by displacing them. Other people they were to fight were their Argentine, Uruguayan, and Paraguayan neighbors, who continued to contest national borders. Lastly, German-speaking immigrants were targeted for their help in *branqueamento* ('whitening') (Vogt 2001, Lesser 1999, Holloway 1980). It was hoped that they would populate the new Brazilian empire through mating with other whites or even with indigenous and African-descended Brazilians, producing a new generation of whiter-skinned people. White elites and those of lower status embraced Lamarckian eugenics and hopes for a homogenous, Euro(white)-Brazil. Black elites, who did not want to be charged with the ills of the nation, also adopted the "whitening" plan in hopes of assimilating with the white elite version of Brazilianness (Butler 1998). Too great an acknowledgment of the mistreatment of blacks put them at risk for incriminations about the natural laziness and indolence of black people. As different groups fought for a recognized place in Brazilian society, meanings of whiteness changed and became entangled with concepts of nationality and ethnicity (Lesser 1999). Immigrants could become more or less white depending on their demonstration of behaviors considered desirable, such as hard work, literacy, assimilation to Brazilian society and support of the Brazilian government.

Since the Napoleonic Wars had ended in 1814/15 and a period of relative stability began, immigration in greater numbers had become possible. When Brazil gained its independence from Portugal in 1822, the newly made emperor Dom Pedro I sent Major

³ The term "Indian" is preferred by some indigenous groups. See Stern, Steve J. "The Changing Face of Gender Complementarity: New Research on Indian Women in Colonial Mexico." *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 3 (1999): 607-621.

Jorge Antônio Schäffer to recruit colonists in Viennese and German courts (Decker and Decker 2004). The decision to focus on German-speaking recruits is credited especially by popular history (Altmann 2002), although also by scholarly accounts (Luebke 1987, Schröder 2003), to the fact that Dom Pedro I had married an Austrian, Archduchess Leopoldina of Austria, who had brought with her German-speaking people from Switzerland and the Rhineland. “German” people were also supposed to be considered trustworthy, honorable, and hardworking (Altmann 2002:19). Dom Pedro I wanted farmers who could diversify the agriculture to balance the huge cattle-raising operations in the South and the sugar and coffee plantations in the North. He also sent Schäffer after soldiers because he was worried about the lingering Portuguese army who might resist the independence movement (Luebke 1987:8).

The German-speaking immigrants in the first expeditions of 1824, then 1825, and 1827, were a mix of families and individuals from different Germanic provinces. Farmers from Pomerania, West Falia, Hunsrück, and Swabia left behind family, friends and a way of life in hope of a promised tropical paradise. They were escaping economic hardship, political turmoil, and the feeling that life would not get better even for the next generation. In Pomerania and many European states, for example, the only chance to own a piece of land if one were the eldest son in the common practice of primogeniture (Altmann 2002). Even then, it was a small piece that could not be divided or sold, just passed on. In general they worked for lords and earned little, often living in the lords’ houses and sharing most things, especially food.

The first accounts of immigrant profiles appear in church records, documented by Pastor Ehlers in June 1824 (Altenhofen 1996:57). From then until 1937 most immigrants came over from rural areas. The number of farmers fluctuated from fifty to eighty percent of incoming immigrants. In addition to 16 land workers reported in 1824, there were 16 smiths, 2 doctors, 1 apothecary, 1 Protestant preacher, 2 salespeople, 2 drivers, and 3 of untrained occupation (Faller 1974). No matter their profession, there were promised incentives for emigration: free passage over to the New World; free land once they got there; seeds, animals, and other implements; toleration of non-Catholics (although only to a limited degree); some exemptions from certain taxes or military service; transportation from port of entry to the colonies; loans and grants to colonization

companies; and salaries paid of clergymen and teachers (Luebke 1987:9). Although some of these things were granted and the first immigrants were met in Rio de Janeiro by the Emperor and his wife (who died very soon after independence, in 1826), and then in Porto Alegre by the president of RS, it was not long before reception parties and immigration subsidies dwindled.

Immigrant difficulties on the passage over presaged the struggles to come in the new land. Many got sick and some died on the three-month trip over. A well-known story is that of the sailboat *Cecília*, which left Hamburg in 1827 and was surprised by a storm in the English Channel. Partially destroyed, the boat and its passengers were abandoned by the captain and crew, remaining without course until they were discovered by an English ship that took them to Plymouth, England. There they stayed for about two years, not arriving in Rio de Janeiro until September 29, 1829. Aspects of this story were referenced by different contacts, as well as the website of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

The Diaspora Narrative

Few people I met knew from where in Germany and when their ancestors had emigrated.⁴ Most could not give names of their family members further back than their grandparents. Many said that the ancestor who emigrated was four or five generations back. On the questionnaire, responses to the origin and time of emigration included “from Hunsrück” (three respondents), “Germany about 1922,” “Germany 1866?,” “about 1920,” “18...,” and “1824.” These knowledge gaps in knowledge may be common in immigrant groups, but it is interesting that contacts would pay attention to certain details of their German-Brazilian past and not others. When contacts gave vague details that matched the details of the general diasporic narrative, they may have been generalizing their family history.

The general narrative recited that emigrants came from Germany, sometimes Hunsrück, arriving in the Sinos River Valley in 1824. Sometimes it was mentioned that the travelers passed through an English-speaking land. As to the reason for their departure, the group was occasionally described as derelicts cast out of their land; all

⁴ In addition to my notes from conversations in and around Dois Irmãos, I asked some (maybe 45) people to fill out a form that would provide some demographic information. Questions included first and second language, age at which the second language was learned, religious affiliation, frequency of attending church or other religious practices, age, profession, schooling, and German descent. I got 36 forms back.

narrators emphasized the hard life that they left behind in hopes of a paradise in the new one.

Some people had more precise information on their genealogy. One host family showed me their documents. They xeroxed their copy of an officially stamped 1855 Prussian record certifying that their relative may emigrate with his family to South America. It lists his name and occupation, farmer (*Bauer*), and dates of birth for him and his wife and four children. The document is written in Fraktur,⁵ which the family cannot read but had someone translate to Portuguese.

The First Colonies

Upon arrival, immigrants had to face many difficulties without help from either their new or old government, or any other organization. Unfamiliar flora and fauna, poisonous snakes, wild animals, and a brusque change of climate forced immediate adaptation to their new life. Popular historian Altmann (2002) compares life in Pomerania, Europe, to the settlement Pomerode in Santa Catarina, Brazil. In Pomerania, they were used to flat land without abundant vegetation; in Brazil the very lush woods needed constant maintenance. Crops raised in Europe had to be abandoned for what grew better here: oranges, tangerines, bananas, cassava, corn, sweet potato, sugar cane, heart of palm and a small tuber called *taiá*.

Wild pigs and other animals would destroy their crops. Attacks from wild cats such as tigers, jaguars, and jaguatirica and from poisonous snakes resulted in serious illness and sometimes death. Without medical assistance or midwives, the colonists had to rely on each other. This reliance was sometimes stretched thin and cases of insanity, due to too much time alone with only a few people, were reported. In some cases, family squabbles would result in a member leaving home. August Ehlert escaped an unhappy home at age 19 to go work in road construction (Altmann 2002).

Frontier wars also took lives. In the Paraguayan War of 1867 more than 40 soldiers were recruited in Dois Irmãos and only three survived (Luebke 1987:16). Land disputes between indigenous groups and the Kolonists were frequent. The three main

⁵ Fraktur is a German script that developed in the 16th century and was used until World War II. Today it is used mostly in stylistic typesetting, such as in the title of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. One of its salient features is the long s: **ſ**.

indigenous groups in the region more than 8000 years ago were Guarani (Tapes, Arachanes, and Carijós) (Kühn 2004:10). By the end of the 16th century, Portuguese colonial scouts from São Paulo made expeditions (*bandeiras*) to enslave the Guarani, initially the Carijós who inhabited the coast of SC and RS. They would give their captives clothing, food, and religious instruction. They would also force them to work the land. This continued into the 18th century, by which time a colonial nucleus in RS had become profoundly marked by the indigenous presence and by *mestiçagem*. This racial and cultural ‘mixing’ created ties between colonizers and colonized, and also ties with a base in some form of reciprocity and cooperation, which helped indigenous people and *mestiços* establish relations with Portuguese *colonos* (12).

Nevertheless, by the time the German immigrants arrived, many indigenous people had been killed off or pushed to marginal areas. Altmann’s memorialists describe the retaliations between themselves and the *bugres*. The term *bugre* is telling: a pejorative that describes “any kind of wild and enemy Indian,” even though they report that occasionally a Kolonist or an Indian was killed and property was destroyed, but “the indigenous were not hostile.” By 1924 there were no longer any more Indians around (2002:29). In this part of the Kolonist history, the “Kolonist” label is closest to its potential meaning of European colonizer. These colonists do not exactly fit the pattern of a group with status coming to overtake subaltern; they met many challenges and faced ethnic disadvantage.

The first colonies, called “the old colonies,” mostly lay in the region of São Leopoldo, which was then an immense area, stretching until today’s Caxias do Sul, and including Montenegro and Taquara. Dois Irmãos was part of the old colony of São Leopoldo, founded in 1824. The first *colonos* arrived in 1825. Immigrants arriving in later years could benefit from some established organization in the Kolonie, but they encountered other problems that earlier groups did not. Often the good land lots were already taken and they had to take less desirable ones, for example, lots close to Indian encampments. The Italian-speaking immigrants got less favorable colonies and smaller lots than the German speakers. The Italians arrived after the 1850 Land Law (*Lei de Terras*), which stipulated that the state could no longer give away free land and then in

1854, that no lot could be more than 48 hectares (~115 acres). In practice, their lots ranged from 25 to 30 hectares (~60-75 acres) (Kühn 2004).

The southern, rural colonies comprised relatively rectangular lots, initially 77 hectares (~190 acres) (Kühn 2004:97), lined up side by side, connected by a line, which served as a main road. Dois Irmãos began as *Linha Grande* (Big Line), also known as *Baumschneiss* or *Boomschnitz* (Tree Clearing), Picada dos Dois Irmãos (Clearing of the Two Brothers) or São Miguel dos Dois Irmãos (Saint Michael of the Two Brothers) along the north-south line of the clearing (IBGE 2010). Today this line is the main street Avenida São Miguel, along which developed commercial businesses, artisanal activities (ironworks, joinery, carpentry, shoemaking, saddlemaking), residences and churches.

The Dois Irmãos City website (2010)⁶ states that the early immigrants brought with them some knowledge and materials for the production of leather goods. They made mostly saddles and generally worked at home. The market grew with the Paraguayan War (1864-1870), not just for saddles but also for shoes. The establishment of tanneries and development of machinery industrialized the process. In 1888 the first shoe factory in Brazil was started in the Sinos Valley by Pedro Adams Filho, a son of immigrants, who also owned a tannery and a saddle factory. Over the next century and to the present, the shoe industry became one of the most important sources of employment, revenue, and development for the Dois Irmãos area.

Kühn (2004:90) assigns three phases to Germanic colonization in RS:

1) Phase One 1824-45: The subsistence phase.

Immigrants faced many hardships: paying a colonial tax; conflicts with Indians; military conflicts—the Guerra da Cisplatina and Revolta dos Farrapos—and then an immigration suspension that began in 1830 and did not end for 15 years.

(2) Phase Two 1845-1870: The expansion of commerce.

German immigration began again when the Empire gained enough funds. The colonies spread out across the *serra* mountain range to Santa Maria, then to Cruz Alta on a plateau, then descended into the valley of the Rio Ijuí near the Argentine border. Colonies there and across the Uruguay River in the Missions Region in northwest RS developed in

⁶ <http://www.doisirmaos.rs.gov.br/>

the 17th and 18th centuries when Jesuits built missions to baptize and enslave indigenous people. These were called “the new colonies.”

(3) Phase Three: from 1870 on—Industrialization.

German unification in 1870 caused intense economic transformation, elimination of communal lands and the disarticulation of artisan work (89). There was much social tension. In Germany, more and more landless and jobless people felt that emigration was the only option. A majority went to the United States. Within Latin America, most immigrants landed in Argentina, Chile, and, within Brazil, RS and Santa Catarina. Merchants had accumulated capital, which they invested in the industrial sector, especially in breweries, shoe factories, tanneries, and shipbuilding. Dynastic families of German descent surged up, many still dominating the industrial sector today.

Later Colonies

A region of small farmers developed. Larger industry, such as the tobacco planting in Santa Cruz do Sul, was made possible through accumulated capital that was invested by larger businesses. Tobacco planting had quickly become the primary industry, beginning with small commercial exchanges, in which traveling middlemen bought colonial products cheaply and transported them on mules and ships to Porto Alegre, where the merchants would sell the products at high prices.

A few *colonos* set themselves apart from the majority by arriving with capital, perhaps not enough to establish themselves in São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro, but enough to start a textile business in Rio Grande (the Rheingantz family in 1874) and a candy and sweets business in Porto Alegre (the Neugebauers in 1891). Whereas industries in São Paulo were connected to an international market, primarily through exporting coffee, the industries in RS relied on the internal market for revenue and were therefore at a disadvantage (93).

The arrival of German immigrants and their economic progress did not lead to great access to national politics; at best, they could operate locally. But at the end of the 19th century, a group of farmers established alliances with the merchants and urban industries owned by descendants of German speakers to get more votes. With the Law of Saraiva in 1881, the traditional elite of Luso-Brazilian origin gave suffrage to some non-Catholics (Catholics, excluding homeless, women, priests, the military and illiterates,

already had suffrage) and foreigners born abroad. Now the German-speaking Protestants had political access, whereas the newly arrived Italians were still excluded from this citizenship.

Until the government's nationalization campaign in the late 1930s and then the shoe industry boom in the 1950s, Kolonists remained insular in the farming communities. The government had allotted this frontier land without a long term plan for distribution as the area received more newcomers, and resources eventually diminished. Other South American governments instituted agrarian reform and redistribution of lands (Tinsman 2002), but the small farmers of South Brazil were left mostly to themselves or other authorities, as was the case with Japanese colonies.⁷

German farmers lacked capital and credit for anything but indigenous crops such as manioc and maize. The bad roads increased the price of freight and products sold to them by traveling merchants, and furthered their isolation from others. Vogt writes about Santa Cruz do Sul: only in 1905 did the village get connected to the railroad and only in the 1960s did it pave its roads (2001:59). The subsistence agriculture was for a long time a more or less permanent way of life—a radical break from German peasant traditions, according to Willems⁸—which sometimes continued long after improvements in transportation and access to credit and world markets.

The Kolonists apparently did get help from local Brazilians. When it became clear that felling trees as they had in Europe (Vogt 2001) was too time-consuming and difficult, they adopted some primitive slash-and-burn techniques learned from the *caboclos*, “who were poor, despised, natives of mixed Indian and Portuguese blood” (Luebke 1987:17). Altenhofen (1996) argues that some Hunsrückish contains words from indigenous languages, particularly those of the Tupi-Guarani family, which indicates contact between indigenous populations and the Kolonists.

Despite these tenuous relations, the idea comes from multiple sources (Kühn 2004, Müller 2003, Altmann 2002, Vogt 2001, Luebke 1987) that the Kolonists were isolated from other people, left to suffer through hard work alone, that they nevertheless banded together and conquered the wilderness. This idea is often described in Portuguese

⁷ The Japanese colonies were turned over to Japanese firms when relationships between Japanese immigrants and Brazilian plantation owners dissolved (Lesser 1999).

⁸ See Willems' “Social Change on the Latin American Frontier” in Luebke 1987:17.

by the “virgin forest” that surrounded the Kolonists. In *O Protestantismo em Terras Gaúchas* (2003), Müller writes: “It was truly touching how the communities, spread out by the virgin forest, received their pastor.” Altenhofen and Thun’s (2007)⁹ speech atlas questionnaire, which targets German speakers in different parts of the Brazilian South, asks for terms to describe aspects of the Kolonie. One question in both Portuguese and Std. German is: What does one call [in Hunsrückish] the fields in the very back of the property, bordering on virgin forest?¹⁰ The German *Urwald* carries a distinction (from just *Wald*) of unworked versus worked wilderness, but more in the sense of pristineness rather than presexual. The idea of clearing the wild land also comes through in the very names given these colonies: *Schneiss* or *Pikade* (from the Portuguese *picada*), which means clearing.

Altenhofen (1996) points to the development and diffusion of Kolonists’ German varieties as a cornerstone in the establishment of relatively homogenous and isolated settlements, where Portuguese went mostly unspoken. Contact with Portuguese began to escalate in the 1940s, at which time Willems proposed to determine general cultural adaptation through the degree of linguistic acculturation, i.e., the number and frequency of Portuguese lexical items. The more frequent the borrowing from Portuguese, the more that category of activity or behavior was to have been shaped by outside influence. Of the Portuguese loanwords accounted for, only .82% were religious, compared to 17.54% of words naming pets and cattle, or 12.13% of political, legal, or governmental words. The categories were, in order of most to least common loan words: (1) pets and farm animals; (2) politics, law, and government; (3) household; (4) nutrition; (5) vegetation; and (6) wild animals. Religion was the eighteenth of the twenty categories created. Religious practices may have been more removed linguistically because they were tied to rote scripts and special vernacular. Additionally, the openness to new lexica may have been

⁹ Altenhofen, Cléo V., Thun, Harald. 2007. *Sprachkontaktatlas der Deutschen Minderheiten im Rio de la Plata-Becken. Fragebogen für das Hunsrückische: Pluridimensionaler Teil*. Questionário para o Hunsrückisch: Parte Pluridimensional, unpublished ms.

¹⁰ 85. “*Waldplantage*” = *Ackerbau im hintersten Teil des Grundbesitzes, wo noch Urwald steht / roça no fundo da propriedade, onde ainda há um resto de mata virgem*
a) *Waldplantoosch*, b) *Funde*, c) *Gehaune*

more restricted in a domain so entrenched in ritual, in which ideologies of authenticity and tradition affect one's willingness to switch languages.¹¹

The isolation was cyclical in that the Kolonists received little help from the outside, but their family economy in turn created less need to interact with outsiders. Although the isolation of the colonists was seen as an inability to assimilate, it was actually determined by social and ecological factors (Willems 1948/9).

Social Organizations

In the face of their isolation, the immigrant communities built social organizations, three of which Vogt (2001) credits with the long-term self-sustenance of the colonists (158). The family, the church and "societies" enabled the pioneers to adapt to life in southern Brazil. The societies met around activities of economy, sport, recreation, culture, benefaction, and mutual aid. Their popularity greatly increased in the last two decades of the 19th century, until the breakout of World War I, when it became difficult to express German-related alignments (61). Nevertheless, this culture of societies, or associations, is still present today in areas populated by German and Italian immigrants and, according to some studies, represents a social capital that predisposed its citizens to be more civic minded (62). Vogt writes about the town of Santa Cruz do Sul, in the Pardo River Valley, 130 kilometers west of Porto Alegre. In 1924 at least 97 societies in Santa Cruz do Sul centered around recreational activities, such as hunting, ladies' affairs, music, and cavalry. Calvary constituted one third of the associations. In these hunting societies, men gathered to socialize and strategize about how to protect themselves against wild animals and Native Americans, mostly Tupi Guarani. There were also associations around financial and business initiatives: cooperatives of rural producers, colonial unions, and popular savings and credit banks.

The various churches, individually and collectively, performed social roles that no other agencies did. For example, the school derived its resources directly from the church. After a local parish was formed and a clergyman found, the Kolonists would start a school in which usually the pastor was the only teacher. This school, that of the church,

¹¹ A third explanation for the relatively little Portuguese language in religious domains, although unlikely, is that religion was not talked about much at all.

was the only one around. In Dois Irmãos, from 1868 to 1938, all the teachers were Evangelical clergymen and all instruction and materials were in German. According to Luebke, the schools were “miserable affairs, but they were better than nothing” (1987:38).

Just how central religion was to the cohesion of the colonies is a bit contested. Luebke writes: “By all accounts, [the church] played a central role in the history of the Germans in Brazil and in their assimilation” (35), and Vogt writes that the zealous devotion and religion of the *teutos* and their descendants helped to preserve Germanness (2001:59). The Lutherans read the Bible, sang the hymns, and performed the rituals all in German. Even the Catholics studied catechism in German. Despite its importance, however, religious practices were not necessarily the primary bonding point for the Kolonists, as was the case with other German-speaking diasporic groups such as Amish or Mennonite groups. Altenhofen includes this quote from Schaden (1954):¹²

The immigrants were well aware of their role and task: They wanted and were supposed to do nothing else than proclaim the Religion of Work. To Brazilians it was unimportant whether or not the immigrants could read and write, if their children were schooled, whether on Sundays they diligently went to church or played ball—they were supposed to clear a lot, plant a lot, and harvest a lot. (61)

It appears that religious institutions were not privileged above the other local institutions established by the Kolonists. Altenhofen describes the marketplace as their most important meeting place (1996:65). Willems discusses the family economy as seminal to colonial success.

A majority of immigrants, close to 60%, were Evangelical, but a significant number were also Catholic. According to Hunsche (1975), out of 124 people emigrating in 1824, 108 were Evangelical, 15 were Catholic, and one was Jewish. Catholics, especially those who settled in urban areas, were much more likely to learn Portuguese and assimilate. They integrated easier into the well-established networks of Catholics, officially ratified by the pope and the state. Still, the conditions surrounding Catholic worship were often as difficult as those of the Protestants. For one thing, Protestants were more tolerant of informal lay people to perform some ceremonies, whereas Catholics had to wait for a priest, one who rode around, serving many different communities. Often

¹² My translation from German.

such a man turned out to a rogue, exploiting desperate, poor communities (Luebke 1987:37).

Müller writes that the evangelical immigrants were almost entirely abandoned by both the Brazilian empire and the German church (2003:14). The Protestants, unlike the Catholics, had no organized place to hold services. As early as 1832, the Catholic German speakers inaugurated a chapel in honor of Saint Michael in the region of Dois Irmãos. The place where the temple was raised is probably the same where another one in 1869 was constructed with Gothic features. It was finished in 1880, and is today preserved by the Historic Patrimony of the State (IBGE 2010). The Protestants were not allowed to construct buildings with an exterior resembling a temple. They also did not have pastors and the Evangelical Church of Germany was not interested in sending any. From 1845 to 1864 communities themselves contracted clergy, usually teachers, but without complete theological training.

Until Pastor Borchard arrived in 1864 and the situation was reassessed, settlers made due with men who were called “false pastors,” “pseudo pastors,” or “emergency pastors,” often not trained in theology and often poorly regarded. They drank too much, owed money, were wanted by the police, or caused much discord among their congregants. Some were also beloved: Emil Gans, who was born in Germany and emigrated in 1889 after years spent with German immigrants in Russia, founded groups in multiple colonies in RS to help the poor, women, and others. When he was accused of agitating against the authorities, he moved to the border of Uruguay. Another favorably described pastor whom Müller writes about was celebrated not just by German speakers but in the records of “Brazilian” history. Karl Max Gruel helped build a German hospital and also fought against slavery and for the Brazilian Republic. This expression of fitting in with Brazilian society became important as Brazilian authorities grew disenchanted over the course of the 19th century with Central European immigrants who did not assimilate as quickly as they had hoped.

Other Immigrant and Minority Groups

Over the past two centuries, German-speaking Brazilians stand out among the country’s minorities for their early arrival in the new Brazilian empire, their simultaneous

desirability for recruitment but then also neglect and discrimination by the Brazilian government and elites. It was a cyclical isolation, in which the immigrants and their descendants were left alone and they in turn isolated themselves, speaking German for more generations than other groups,¹³ especially after new immigrants had mostly or entirely stopped arriving and connections with the linguistic homeland had been essentially severed.

German-speaking immigrants began arriving some 50 years before Italian-speaking immigrants and 70 years before Japanese-speaking immigrants. Immigration and its central role in Brazilian foreign policy escalated beginning in the 1850s, when it became clear that slavery was coming to an end. Plantation owners together with politicians entered into debates. The politicians needed to respond to the nationalists and nativists, who expressed concerns about maintaining a unified Europeanish Brazil and protecting jobs.

State incentives for European immigration essentially began in 1871, but until there was a serious indication that slavery would end, the annual number of European immigrants did not exceed 10,000 (Andrews 1988:493). Immigrants feared that they would be treated like slaves if they worked the same jobs that African slaves were working. Immediately after abolition in 1888, 92,000 Europeans immigrated to Brazil. Between 1890 and 1914, 1.5 million came over.

In addition to descendants of German, Italian, Spanish, and Japanese speakers, descendants of Dutch, Chinese, Yiddish, Polish, Russian, Turkish, Arabic, Ukrainian, and Romani speakers are still to be found in Brazil. It is estimated that a total of almost 5 million people immigrated between 1887 and 1957. Among those, 32% were Italian, 31% Portuguese, 14% Spanish, and 4% Japanese (IBGE 2010). The peak of this immigration influx happened in the last decade of the 19th century.

Jeffrey Lesser argues that the (non- “white”) non-European immigrants, such as Middle Easterners and Asians, have often been overlooked in scholarship and yet played significant roles in the discourses of what it meant to be Brazilian (1999). They did not fit neatly on the black-white continuum, and they also belonged to cultures that

¹³ If a comparison with the US is made, the number of generations is significantly higher. US minorities generally have assimilated language by the third generation.

demonstrated desirable qualities to Brazilian elites, such as the modernization that occurred in Japan under the Meiji government. Although Brazilians hoped to adopt some of their cultural influences, much resistance and xenophobic debate were also evident in the Portuguese-language press (Alberto 2005).

Groups desiring entry had varying degrees of success. One factor in determining a group's success was the importance placed by the Brazilian government on its relations with the country of the immigrants' origin (Lesser 1999). In spite of public discrimination and complaints toward Japanese immigrants and their descendants, Brazil maintained commercial ties with Japan, if not also subsidizing immigration, right up until the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Assyrians, on the other hand, who desired entry after Iraq's 1932 independence and purging of its Assyrian population, were denied entry. Initially, the Vargas regime liked idea of settling a frontier region at no cost (an area in Paraná about 60 km from a colony of Austrian, Czechoslovakian, German, Italian, Japanese, and Polish speakers). Also, the Assyrians should have assimilated well in a Catholics country, because they were Chaldean members of the Nestorian Church. With pressure from the nationalists, however, in addition to realizing that he would not offend any particular nation by refusing the Assyrians, Vargas withdrew his acceptance of their entry (65).

Groups who could persuasively contest their low status, especially through the slippery categories of race, ethnicity, and nationality, could also find a place in Brazil. Whereas in the US, ethnic and racial categories have been more rigid; Brazilian categories could be more easily contested. Lesser writes: "Race was an elusive category, and the language of race shows a visceral concern with defining the 'other'" (1999:7). The term *raça* could refer to people (the human race); animals (breeds); species; or a person's cultural identity. People I met in the German-speaking community would talk about what *raça* a person was and respond with nationalistic labels: Italian, German, Portuguese, etc.¹⁴ Until the mid-1950s, whiteness was an important component for inclusion in Brazilian race. Non-European (less white) groups needed to convince elites that they were white and good contributions to the national mix. Others, such as some

¹⁴ This meaning of *raça* was unknown to several Brazilian journalists and scholars who work in Rio de Janeiro. Conversation at the Michigan LACS *bate papo* series in December 2010.

Japanese and Arab immigrants, took a class status approach: whiteness was not a necessary component of Brazilianness, just the quality of being hardworking.

German immigrants did not need to convince elites that they were fit for entry. Indeed their immigration had been solicited. Nevertheless, they were never and still are not granted the favor that Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese immigrant populations have received. In entertainment media, representations of German speakers and their descendants are not chosen as features; until the last generation or two, the majority of German immigrants and their descendants have “remained largely unassimilated in language, culture, and politics,” living in relatively exclusive, ethnic enclaves both urban and rural (Luebke 1987). They also did not necessarily maintain the cultural and political loyalty to their country of origin that other immigrant groups did. German immigrants tended not to travel back and forth between homeland and host land as much as other groups of immigrants, such as the Italians (Baily and Míguez 2003).

Still, German speakers were often presumed to maintain close ties with their German homeland, a region and then nation whose relations with Brazil were often strained. Early on, in the 1850s, the Prussian government made demands on the Brazilian government to fix certain issues, such as the *parceria* system (sharecropping arrangement that perpetuated land monopoly) and intolerance toward Protestants (Luebke 1987:11). At the time, Protestant marriages were illegal. In the 1880s and 1890s, much bad press continued to surround Brazil as a destination for immigration. During World War I, Brazil was the only South American country to declare war on Germany (Luebke 1987). Again, in World War II, Brazil declared war on Germany in response to its policy of unrestricted submarine warfare (Lesser 1999). Leading up to the world wars, plenty of anti-immigrant rhetoric circulated among nativists and nationalists and both urban neighborhoods and the less assimilated Kolonists were hit by official policies and attacks by fellow citizens.

The relationship between European immigrants and former slaves at the turn of the century was shaky. Because plantation owners favored white workers, many blacks moved to the cities to look for work. When they met the same second-class treatment there as well, tensions rose and black writers and activists began to confront white and black intellectuals and workers. These interactions took place in São Paulo and further

south, where the majority of European immigrants had settled. According to Luebke, the governing elite acquired a distorted image of the Germans, and the Portuguese-language press became a vehicle for anti-German atrocity propaganda (4). Although German-language press countered with its own propaganda, German speakers were not as vocal as other immigrant groups within the Portuguese-language publications.

Other minority groups became much more public in their negotiation of their place in Brazil. Arabs in Brazil, called “Syrian-Lebanese” by the early 20th century, a name which hid their national hierarchies, managed to succeed economically but did not fully integrate in Euro-Brazilian culture (Lesser 1999:42). Whereas Arabs actively wrote publications and attained certain positions of power—rural German speakers kept out of the public eye. This lack of assimilation contributed to a nationalist paranoia that they and Japanese (though not so much the Italian) colonists were organizing anti-Brazilian operations as World War II broke out.

20th Century

Relationship to Brazil

Less rural German speakers, who lived in large towns where they constituted a majority, were also self-sustaining and had little need for contact (Luebke 1987:28). These towns included São Leopoldo in RS and Blumenau, Joinville, Brusque, and São Bento in Santa Catarina. In the major coastal cities, such as Porto Alegre, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul, German speakers inevitably entered into more contact with “Luso-Brazilians” (12). There were enough living together to develop networks of support organizations that they could be considered ethnic enclaves but that had some connections with other Brazilians. In 1920 about 20,000 descendants of German speakers lived in both Porto Alegre and São Paulo, and about 4000 descendants in Rio de Janeiro. Through a network of churches, schools, commercial associations, social clubs, German-language newspapers, and commercial enterprises, German-Brazilians established ways for themselves to find a niche in a larger society, like the Italian and Spanish immigrants in Buenos Aires and Italians in New York described by Samuel Baily (1999) and Jose Moya (1998). They show that mutual-aid societies, banks, and housing cooperatives represented ways for immigrants to adapt to their host communities.

The upwardly mobile German speakers who had learned some Portuguese and gained some wealth were those mostly likely to become leaders of the community. German and Italian business leaders, prominent clergymen, journalists, and other professionals were considered important both by members of their own enclaves and Brazilian elites, who could use their skills and attitudes for ventures of their own. By 1915 German firms in RS dominated production of shoes, nails, glass, leather goods, hats, candles, and chocolate (Luebke 1987:29). Business leaders likely felt the most pressure to represent themselves as part of the mainstream. Because they geared their interests generally more toward amassing wealth than say, a journalist who wanted to preserve the circulation of his German-language newspaper, or a preacher who wanted to cultivate the spirit of the ethnic enclave, businesspeople more frequently inhabited the mainstream as opposed to the margin. These “overlapping imaginative zones” are how Abraham and Shryock (2000) describe the places that minorities (Arab American, in their case) enter. They “enter the [Brazilian] mainstream whenever they represent or think of themselves in relation to a larger, non-[German] society” and the Brazilian margins whenever they represent or think of themselves in relation to German worlds, private or public, that are not generally accessible (or even intelligible) to a larger, non-Brazilian society (16).

Despite some regular inhabitants of the mainstream and effective liaisons representing the marginal zones, German-speaking immigrants and their descendants have often been left to themselves. Why has this ethnic minority, more than others—certainly fellow Europeans—been overlooked in national affairs? Why did they not integrate themselves more? Lesser’s book opens with a 1981 advertisement for a soap opera about immigrants. The ad reads “Portuguese, Japanese, Spanish, Italians, Arabs—Don’t Miss the Most Brazilian Soap Opera on Television” (1). Noticeably missing are the Germans. Entire *telenovelas* have been devoted to turn-of-the-century Italian speakers producing wine in the southern Brazilian colonies, but not one has been made about German speakers.

In a documentary as recent as 2005, popular folklorist Darcy Ribeiro claims that immigrant languages have had little impact on Brazil. “O Povo Brasileiro” (The Brazilian People) brings together many icons and intellectuals of Brazilian popular culture—Chico

Buarque, Gilberto Gil, Luiz Melodia, Darcy Ribeiro, Antônio Cândido, and Tom Zé—and journeys around the geographical and demographic diversity of Brazil in an effort to answer the question: Who are Brazilians? The documentary shows “the Indian,” “the mulatto,” and “the European immigrant,” each in traditional costume, appropriately folklorized to show their flavorful origin while still comprising a single, unified Brazil. This attention to dress, music and food as a signifier of a minority distinguishes “immigrant” from “ethnic” (Abraham and Shryock 2000). In their study of Arabs in Detroit, Abraham and Shryock write that third-generation ethnics who no longer speak the language or practice the religion or have married one of the “own,” can pick and choose which parts of their heritage to embrace—the food, music and dance, immigrant struggle, sense of community¹⁵ (22). Whereas in the US, the transition to “ethnic” has historically occurred with the third generation of immigrants, in Brazil the rural German speakers had in some cases been monolingual for five or more generations.

Such long-standing isolation or sociolinguistic practices that have set German speakers apart from other minorities in Brazil goes against the idea put out by Brazilian media and popular discourse: that Brazil subsumes its ethnicities. As we see below, there are practices that resonate with self-constructions going beyond stylistic markers such as food, music and dress.

There has been a reciprocal isolation: In a Latin and Catholic country—particularly attractive to immigrants from Spain, Italy and Portugal—many German speakers felt both a greater linguistic and religious removal from other immigrants. In rural areas of RS, they built up organizations to sustain themselves in geographically separated river valleys. As tensions grew between Brazil and their linguistic homeland, these isolated groups were then portrayed as people disconnected from Brazilian society and in cahoots with the enemy government.

Over the beginning of the 20th century, *o perigo alemão* (‘the German threat’) intensified. *O perigo alemão* was the succession of Brazilian territories supposedly acting directly for Germany as an area of economic and political domination (Vogt 2001:69). When Germany torpedoed a third Brazilian ship in 1917 and Brazil declared war, a stop

¹⁵ They quote this idea of picking and choosing from Mary Waters’ *Ethnic Options* (Waters, Mary C. 1990. *Ethnic Options*. Berkeley: University of California Press).

was ordered on all German-language newspapers and closing of schools that did not teach in Portuguese. After the War, these orders were revoked.

The Vargas Era

The Vargas Era (1930-1945) and the years leading up to it (the 1920s) were crucial to the development of Brazilian nationalism (Caulfield 2003). The idea of one people, one land had begun earlier; however, it took on different dimensions with the end of the “whitening” project:” discourse shifted from biological to social attributions for Brazilian behavior and status. Individuals were now given greater responsibility and more rights, as Brazil and other Latin American governments became more liberal and less corporatist (Caulfield et al. 2005). Now that one’s status could rise depending on one’s behavior rather than phenotype, nativists were especially eager to move out of poverty and low-standing. Within these time periods, some black-run newspapers such as *O Getulino* in Campinas and *O Clarim d’Alvorada* in São Paulo published strong anti-immigrant sentiment and support for Vargas’ nationalization campaign.

Immigrants continued to arrive from different parts of Germany for two decades beyond World War I, but the numbers would never be as high as in the 1920s before the War.

Table 1. German Immigration to Brazil 1824-1969

Source: Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE)

Years	1824–47	1848–72	1872–79	1880–89	1890–99	1900–09
No. of Ger. immigrants	8,176	19,523	14,325	18,901	17,084	13,848
Years	1910–19	1920–29	1930–39	1940–49	1950–59	1960–69
No. of Ger. immigrants	25,902	75,801	27,497	6,807	16,643	5,659

In 1937 the Getúlio Vargas administration called for a nationalization campaign. In 1939 it was decreed that all foreign-language publications be accompanied by Portuguese translations. Speaking foreign languages in public and private, including in houses of worship was banned. Brazilian children of foreign residents could not travel abroad. The Council of Immigration and Colonization sent two members to Japanese and German (but

not Italian) colonies in São Paulo, Santa Catarina, and Paraná to see if they were complying. One of the delegates was an advocate of allowing unpopular immigrants, such as Jews, to enter Brazil, and he wrote up a report that put the colony activities in favorable lights. Still there was enough in it for Vargas to justify further restrictions (Lesser 1999). By 1942, when German U-Boats sank Brazilian ships and Brazil declared war on Germany, the repression against German-speaking immigrants and their descendants really escalated (Gertz 1991).

Altmann (2002) recounts a story in Pomerode, Santa Catarina, of a well-known journalist, Raquel de Queiroz, who spent time there in late 30s. She had to be attended by the one clerk who could speak Portuguese. After she left, she published a description of her time there in the magazine *Cruzeiro*, calling attention to Vargas about the little Germany that was thriving there. This helped him to order everyone to *abrasileirar* (get Brazilian), at any cost. A climate of terror ensued. Most colonos did not know even *bom dia* (good day) in Portuguese (39).

Vargas came to visit the town. Everyone poured into the streets to greet him. They were dismayed to discover one little girl's welcome bouquet tossed aside by his security people. They understood that Vargas did not trust the Germans. Suddenly one could be arrested for getting tipsy at one's sister's wedding and saying a few words in German, for saying *Guten Tag* in the street or *Wurst* at the meat counter in the local store. Women baking cakes in the kitchen were interrupted and told they were under arrest by Sargent Osni. They were to appear at the prison the next day. The next day, however, was a holiday and they were also able to bribe the Sargent (42).

There was always someone from the military police nearby, watching. Even in private homes, voices were kept low in case someone was listening at the door. This is why Heitor Zweig told me he does not know German today. His parents could not teach it to him. People I spoke with had their books burned or apprehended, except for the ones they hid in wells or in the ground. One man's father was an American pastor who had married a German woman and come to Brazil. His insistence that he was a American, not German, did not keep the authorities from burning his entire library.¹⁶ All commercial signs were to be taken down (Vogt 2001:84). In the cemeteries, graves were usually

¹⁶ Interview with Curt Vogel

inscribed with German. These were to be substituted with simply: “*aqui jaz*” (‘here lies’). If not substituted, enscriptions on graves and in temples had to be covered with cloths.

In larger towns and in cities, German speakers suffered the same attacks as they had during World War I. German districts in cities were rioted, homes ransacked, commercial buildings burned, and German-language printing presses destroyed (Luebke 1987:4). In São Leopoldo, members of the National Defense League destroyed a statue honoring immigrant forefathers. First they wrote on it *Viva o Brasil* (Long Live Brazil) and “Down with Hitler and Nazism” before decapitating and removing it entirely (Weber 2006:59). All things German became indexes for Nazism, whether they had anything to do with it or not. In this case, the German written on the vandalized plaque was very personal and stemming from long before the Nazi era: *Den Vätern zum Gedächtnis* (To Our Fathers in Memory). Members of the German community still today speak of individuals with German surnames who were among the rioting crowd, who had joined with the enemy in an effort to prove themselves assimilated (61).

Many outward shows of Brazilianness, if not always so extreme, were made. In speeches inaugurating the 1941 opening of a restored building in São Leopoldo, for example, no references to its German style or history were made, even though it had been restored in the *enxaimel* half-timbered style and the inauguration was taking place on July 25, the anniversary of German immigration. Rather, the progress of the city was highlighted and tributes to the local heroes featured their loyalty to Brazil (57).

There was of course some sympathy with the National Socialist Party. In 1933, the National Socialist German Workers Party had 120 affiliates in Porto Alegre; a later count of the whole state was 500 affiliates. The party was happy to assist in motivating colonial regions of RS to join. Members in Brazil included businesses, banks, industries, and radical Germanists, such as the pastors of Sínodo Riograndense and intellectuals (professors and journalists) (Vogt 2001:74). In Santa Cruz do Sul, the local population definitely had a sympathy and even euphoria over Hitler and Nazism. He was considered greatly responsible for surpassing the Great Depression. The vice-consulate showed Nazi propaganda films (75). Vogt writes that the fervor should be characterized as more sentimental than political. Altmann (2002) writes of one man who had joined the Juventude Hitlerista (Hitler Youth) in Blumenau. He was a schoolteacher who received

many books from Germany for free, including Nazi propaganda. “Just good things. They didn’t speak of the massacre of Jews, none of this. Hitler should be credited for rehabilitating the country, but the *way* he did it does not work,” he said in a recent interview (45). His letter to his contact in Germany about the Führer was intercepted and he was arrested. They made him eat the letter with raw oil. All his books were apprehended except the ones his family managed to hide. They hid some in the shack, covering them with hay. Although in this case, evidence directly connecting a German Brazilian to Nazism was indeed found, most of the time, people were not connected with Nazis and were guilty merely of speaking their native language.

In 1935 there were 1041 Rio Grande do Sul schools in which students learned all their subjects in their native tongue, German.¹⁷ These were shut down. Deep into the rural hills of German colonies, new, monolingual Portuguese teachers displaced some teachers who primarily spoke German. Often, the mostly monolingual German teachers would retain their positions and struggle through lessons designed only in Portuguese. For this reason, several Hunsricker told me that German speakers over age 60 have accents in Portuguese: because they learned by imitating their German-speaking school teachers.

At school, children suffered many humiliations. Teachers would say, “These Germans sound like they’ve got a hot potato in the mouth when they speak.” Multiple participants told me that when they got to school at age 7, sometimes 10, they could not even ask for a glass of water in Portuguese. One small boy peed his pants because he did not know how to excuse himself in Portuguese. The short film *O Livro de Walachai* (2006) by Rejane Zilles focuses on the effects of the campaign. A classroom scene shows “the miracle that the professor had to achieve,” as Benno Wendling says. Wendling was a teacher and has now written a history of his village, Walachai (the title of the film). “Nobody could speak Portuguese. **Brazilian, right? The letters were all written in German, the language already solidified,**” (*Ninguém podia falar português. **Brasilionisch, gell? Die Buchstabe alle in Deutsch geschrieb, die Sprooch schon fest gewachs.***) says Arthur Stefen, another teacher. How could a mostly monolingual German speaker teach monolingual German-speaking children in Portuguese? Lídio Klaus was six

¹⁷Compared with 143 schools in 1998, in which German was taught as a foreign language (Born and Gärtner 1998). In Dois Irmãos, (standard) German as a foreign language entered the curriculum in 2000.

or seven when he went to school and had Wendling as a teacher. Wendling prohibited speaking German there. “What we were reading, what we were writing, we didn’t understand because it was all in Portuguese. When we went home, it was all in German.” In school, they just did not talk.

Vogt offers another perspective on the forced language immersion of this time: The increased municipal investments in schools could be considered a positive development (2001:91). Free, public schools that could help German-speaking children assimilate were attractive to Kolonists. Also, the installation of the military barracks brought resources to the city and mean that young men did not need to relocate for their obligatory military service. The lasting effects of the nationalization campaign, in combination with other historical events, are discussed in the next chapter.

Shifts in the Second Half of the 20th Century

In the Dois Irmãos region, at least four, interrelated macrosocial shifts have been occurring since the second half of the 20th century: (1) German to Portuguese language, and (2) farming to factory jobs, which could be phrased as a shift from (3) rural to urban lifestyles, and (4) homogenous to diverse contacts.

Many parents who were school children in the 1940s and 1950s made a conscious effort to not bring the humiliations they suffered into their children’s lives. Many people in Dois Irmãos who are aged 35 and younger therefore frequently do not understand a simple conversation in Hunsrückish. A discourse of shame took root. Discourses circulated around the tragedy that “we didn’t teach our children” or “they aren’t learning German, and the language will die”. Other discourses centered on the shame that people’s German is not grammatical, good or valid, especially compared to what their parents and grandparents spoke.

But the nationalization campaign alone is not to blame for a language shift. Over the past 40 years, more people work in factories, retail, and other jobs that require interactions with non-German speakers and more intermarriage has meant less concentrated transmission of Hunsrückish to children. Over-exploitation of the soil, an unskilled labor force lacking experience with the Brazilian climate, and poor market conditions brought about a migration from the hills and to the cities, where it was

necessary to speak Portuguese to get a job (Auer 2007). Once established in the cities, German speakers came into greater social contact with Portuguese speakers and intermarriage rates increased. Childrearing in mixed marriage is often done in the shared language so as not to exclude their monolingual spouse.

When the opening of shoe factories began in the 1950s and then accelerated in the 1970s, young people left the farms to earn money there. Some factories opened nearby, in the Kolonie rather than in a city; in other cases young people migrated to the nearest city or across the state. With the factory bubble, Dois Irmãos was transformed. What used to be called the *interior* was now within the area called the Greater Porto Alegre, an 80-km radius of growing metropolis. Some people still consider Dois Irmãos *interior*, but it is much changed over the last 40 years. There has also been much intrastate migration. Many people came from German-speaking farm regions in the west, e.g., the Missions region, toward Porto Alegre, the capital city on the east coast. An appreciation of the greater conveniences of urban living is accompanied by a paranoia about crime as well as a nostalgia for the slower, more peaceful farm life.

Conclusion

The colonies of isolated, mostly German-speaking farmers that developed in the rural areas of 19th century RS remained self-sustaining until the mid-20th century. At this time, the effects of Vargas' nationalization campaign, a shift from farming to factory work and the industrialization of Dois Irmãos necessitated more contact between German speakers and other Brazilians. Although largely insulated in the Kolonies, the German-speaking farmers were not entirely separated from other peoples, for example, they integrated farming techniques and knowledge of the environment from Indians, other Brazilians, and other immigrants into their vocabulary. Urban German-speaking immigrants were more likely to have learned Portuguese or forge relations with Brazilians. Still, the question of assimilation has continued to plague the Kolonists, as is further shown in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Contemporary Dois Irmãos

This chapter gives an overview of the physical landscapes, demographics, and lifestyles of the Hunsrückish speakers and other descendants of German-speaking immigrants whom I call my contacts. As a people in transition, from rural to urban lifestyles, German to Portuguese language, farming to factory jobs, and insularity to regional or even global connections, the Hunsrückish speakers of the Dois Irmãos area retain elements of all these things and embody different publics to express themselves and their concerns about the way things are changing. Talk about outsiders and crime accompany talk about language shift. Through descriptions of more and less explicit ways to index what it means to be Brazilian, German-Brazilian, Kolonist, and Gaúcho, this chapter focuses on native speaker categories as a way to set up the examples that emerge in the conversations analyzed in the remaining chapters. The picture presented is one of patterns, rife with exceptions and alternative ways of talking and being—a diversity of behaviors that defines the Hunsrückish speakers.

The Dois Irmãos Region

Data were collected often in Dois Irmãos, but also in places and with people who came from towns in the surrounding area. When I consider data about German speakers in Dois Irmãos, I necessarily consider their larger linguistic and social networks, which include German and non-German speakers from their own and surrounding areas. Rather than write in terms of a single locale, I look at networks of relations. The surrounding area (see Figure 2) includes the mesoregion of Porto Alegre and the microregion Gramado-Canela (IBGE 2010). Some people I worked with had migrated from other regions of Rio Grande do Sul (RS), such as the Região das Missões, a region of RS about 420 km to the west, almost on the border with Argentina, or from other states further north in Brazil. The majority of my data, however, come from conversations recorded and unrecorded in Dois Irmãos.

Figure 2: Map of Dois Irmãos, Rio Grande do Sul¹



Dois Irmãos is rural and urban, *interior* and metropolitan, where German-speaking families have lived for generations and newly arriving families continue to expand the city borders. Many residents believe they live in the part of the country with the highest standard of living. Indeed, television and books often report RS as having the highest literacy, education rates.

Dois Irmãos has a population of around 26,000² residents and an area of about 65 km², located in northeast Rio Grande do Sul (RS), 55 km northeast of the capital city Porto Alegre. It is a hilly, heavily forested region called the *serra*. The town was part of São Leopoldo city until it seceded as an independent city in 1959. Dois Irmãos is considered just within the borders of the Greater Porto Alegre metropole.

The northern part of the Greater Porto Alegre is the *Vale dos Sinos* (Sinos River Valley), known for the leather, shoe, and related industries, and paper and cardboard. Bordering regions have built themselves up on other industries: Further west, the Santa Cruz do Sul region is known for its tobacco production; to the north, wine is produced in Bento Gonçalves, an Italian-speaking area. Many people migrate seeking work in these industries, and the BR-116 highway that cuts across RS goes right through Dois Irmãos, enabling much traffic through a place still otherwise heavily agricultural.

¹ Adapted from http://d-maps.com/pays.php?num_pay=497&lang=en on 1/5/2011

² 2009 population estimate by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). According to the Dois Irmãos government website, 24,815 people reside there, in an area of 66,8 km².

A few people I met in Dois Irmãos traveled regularly to the capital city of Porto Alegre (pop. 1,436,123) or other large cities. Most were not drawn for the same reasons I was: While living in Dois Irmãos, I often took the bus an hour and a half to Porto Alegre to meet with contacts at the Federal University of RS (UFRGS) or those made from previous years of fieldwork. Porto Alegre held various resources for my research: libraries, bookstores, and other archives; film events, academic conferences, and people to interview. Most residents of Dois Irmãos used the bustling capital for its hospital, airport, shopping areas, and art and folkloric events. Those who did more traveling, especially out of state or country, more likely considered Dois Irmãos *interior*, or countryside.

With the term *interior*, Portuguese speakers refer to a place that is not the city. It is rural, far away from masses of people, institutions, and, in some connotations, “culture” and “civilization,” in the 19th-century Enlightenment meaning of the words. One host father, who had lived in Europe, told me that despite discourses to the contrary, he still considered Dois Irmãos *interior*. He did not think the town held any appropriate job opportunities for him. Contacts who lived in Porto Alegre proper also gave the impression that Dois Irmãos was a backcountry, slower way of life.

Most people I met traveled to Porto Alegre on only rare occasions and considered Dois Irmãos a city that was increasingly attractive to tourists and migrants. Most did not go further than the medium-sized towns about a half-hour bus ride away (Novo Hamburgo, pop. 257,746 and São Leopoldo, pop. 211, 663). Their view of Porto Alegre and the bigger cities as dirty and crime-ridden contributed to a discourse common to small-town people who have not traveled much. For people migrating to Dois Irmãos to find work in the factories, whether from the bigger cities to the south or from the Região das Missões, Dois Irmãos represents an industrial opportunity. The town can be said to be transitioning from rural to urban.

The City Hall estimates Dois Irmãos to be 20% rural. The IBGE (2010) in its “Histórico” section, reports that Dois Irmãos “still today preserves the original characteristics of an agricultural region, with many small estates that do mixed farming.” (See Figure 3.) A 2007 law was passed stipulating that no more new cattle could be

acquired and raised in the downtown residences of Dois Irmãos.³ Those who already had a cow could keep it until it died. One task of the Dois Irmãos secretary of agriculture was to interview all households and ensure that their animals had been vaccinated. Although the chickens and one cow were to be noticed only occasionally in the downtown area,⁴ many small plots of crops dotted the city.

Figure 3: Photographs of Downtown, Dois Irmãos



Cassava crop near Downtown



Flower and vegetable garden near Downtown

The primary products listed on the Dois Irmãos government website (<http://www.doisirmaos.rs.gov.br/>) are flowers, black acacia (used in tanning), fruits and vegetables in the primary sector; shoes, furniture and upholstery and *esquadrias*⁵ in the secondary sector; and service, tourism, and businesses in the tertiary sector.

The professions of the people I met through host families, the choir, the theater group, and around town included public servants working in the City Hall, secretaries, teachers, nurse technicians, massage therapists, psychologists, pharmacists, bank teller, retail clerk, magician, musician, actors, artists, and theater director. Some owned or

³ Interview 5/2008 with employee of the Secretary's office.

⁴ The only cow I knew of in the downtown belonged to a household close to that of my hostfamily: as I walked by, the house emitted a distinct farm smell and one could glimpse the barn in the back.

⁵ Windows and doors

managed a business; others worked in factories as a director, receptionist, cook, and assembly line workers.

Many contacts aged 40 and older began working in the shoe factories around age 12. They often had not finished high school, and some older people had not continued past the third grade. Coming from large farming families, some children went to work in the factory while others stayed on the farm. Those aged 40 and older told me they had 7 or more siblings, often 9 or 10. On my questionnaires, the average number of siblings was 4. The average number of siblings that their parents had was 5, and a significant number listed 10 to 13 siblings. Family was important. Often birthday celebrations—whether for someone turning 4 or 65—were attended by many extended family members. Most contacts had godparents who were active in their lives.

To work in town, it was helpful to speak German. Roseli was told that she got her job at the bank due to her bilingual skills. August's mother and others told me that retail clerks first engage their customer in Portuguese, and if they see that s/he does not understand, the clerk switches to German.

Most people I met descended from German-speaking immigrants, and approximately half spoke at least some German themselves. If Dois Irmãos residents had not been born in what is now Dois Irmãos (and formerly called São Leopoldo), they had usually been born within a 120-km radius of Porto Alegre. Some had migrated from Cerro Largo, Campina das Missões, and other cities within the *Região das Missões* in the northwest of RS. Occasionally, I met people from Santa Catarina or other Brazilian states, and a few who had been born abroad—in Panama, France, the USA, or Norway. Regardless of where they had originated, most traced their ancestors back to German-speaking Europe.

Other Shift Discourses: Economic and Global

In addition to historical oppression and the effects of activism spurred by both pride and shame, global and economic forces play another significant part of the language ecology. Scholles' paintings portray the farming to factories trajectory that many German speakers experienced since the 1970s, when shoe factory work exploded. Scholles describes his paintings as fitting into three epochs: 1) life on the farm, 2) the exodus, and 3) factories,

plus a fourth series on roots. He opens his self-designed castle-home in Morro Reuter to the public a couple times a week, where he gives a tour of his thousands of paintings and ideas about Brazil, German-speakers, Germany, art, and his own family history. Selective paintings can also be found on his website: <http://www.fscholles.net/>. His paintings about life on the farm depict fieldworkers harvesting, distributing grain, and sipping *chimarrão*. The next series shows the exodus—abstract (Cubist) figures in motion and pulled in multiple directions: the Kolonists have had to adapt in the last 30 years to electricity, television, radio, Portuguese and loss of life as they knew it. Lastly, the city phase illustrates among other things families making shoes in an assembly line in their home and housing developments. The housing developments are depicted by many small squares, each with a simple house icon, representing millions of property divisions that are constricting and homogenizing on one hand, and also idealistic if all Brazilians are to have a roof over their heads.

Since the shifts in type of occupation (farming to factory jobs), in surroundings (more urban and industrial), and in types of contact (more diverse, Portuguese-speaking, and international), multiple discourses embrace and lament accompanying changes in lifestyle. The pace of life has changed. “We miss the slower pace of farm life,” one host father told me. On the farm, you did not keep an eye on the clock. You took a break when you felt like it, rather than at an assigned time. There was no quota for how many products you should finish by the end of the day. Whereas in the factory, if you did not meet your quota, your boss took immediate notice and your job was in danger. The risk of getting fired was not a concern on the farm.

In spite of a feeling of independence from any floor manager, however, farm work equaled or exceeded that of factories. Farmers complained of the long work hours with no vacations or weekends off (see Chapter 7). Both occupations required an early start to the day. Whether in field or factory, lunch was the most important meal of the day. Factory buses dropped off and picked up their employees at designated neighborhood stops. Employees had an hour and a half to eat a warm meal with their families before everyone returned to work and school. This was not unlike the farm schedule.

A significant difference between the two occupations is access to money. Most farming had been subsistence, whereas the shoe business dealt mostly in exports and therefore brought in more revenue. Having more money due to factory work has changed the way that people think about objects in the world. People told me that what they were once happy to do without—many clothes, toys, gadgets, music, etc.—have now become items of necessity. The generation gap thus widens in the sense of history and upbringing and narrows in the knowledge and possession of material goods. The generations who grew up in the Kolonie have a history of resisting change. Anibal dos Santos (1995) reports on the discussions that the Santa Maria do Herval residents in the 1980s had concerning the paving of roads. They did not want *pessoas de fora* (‘outsiders’) coming in. When José Inácio Flach (2004) tried to convince his neighbors in the late 1970s to each contribute to getting electricity for their neighborhood, he faced much hostility toward the idea. He held multiple meetings and eventually realized that convincing each family in their own home was the only way to succeed. His motivations stemmed from having been “on the outside” in schools in the larger cities and wanting to provide his own students the same opportunities.

Although the relatively recent culture of consumption means that Dois Irmãosenses have more access to money than their elders did one or two generations ago, they are still restricted in how they spend it. Many families had similar, mass-produced items in their houses; for example, an orange or yellow couch; a plastic, painted, or tapestry version of Michelangelo’s *The Last Supper* (in both Catholic and Protestant households), and other wall hangings, often floral paintings that could be found in the home decorating stores. When asked if they had ever traveled outside the state or country, the answer was often no, we don’t have the money. Yet most cars in Dois Irmãos had been bought within the past five years. Factory and city jobs have meant money to buy *particular* things.

The shoe industry is clearly the economic mainstay of the area. Under “Economy,” the Dois Irmãos government website has a single entry: the history of the Dois Irmãos shoe production. The IBGE (2010) reports: “As the fourth producer in the state and the fifth in exportation in Brazil, Dois Irmãos has an economically rich and important shoe industry, collaborating with the development of Rio Grande do Sul.” The

chance to compete in the world market has meant new interest in world events and Brazil's relation to them.

Since the end of the 19th century, the US was the most important market for Brazilian products, especially coffee. This continued in the 20th century, although Germany was in 1939 the second greatest seller to Brazil, and also buyer with around 20% of Brazilian imports. Today, *The Economist Newspaper Ltd* (2009) rated Brazil Number 30 on the list of world exporters: .91% of total world exports (goods, services, and income); China was at 3 and India at 23. Brazil was listed in the top 10 producers of these products: coffee (1),⁶ raw sugar (1), major oil seeds (2), coarse grains (4), tin (5), cotton (5), cocoa (6), aluminum (6), rice (9). In terms of the world's biggest economies, Brazil rated 10 (\$1313 billion in GDP in 2007); China 4, India 12, and the US 1. These numbers indicate the general assessment by European and North American media that Brazil, along with Russia, China and India, is a growing economic power although it must still contend with the US and other Northern powers.

One very real effect of joining a world market is the exportation of people. At the time of my fieldwork, some factory workers at the managerial level had gone or were going off to India, China, and the US. Several contacts had a brother or a son and daughter abroad and linked this to the low American dollar and recession. The gaúcho⁷ newspaper *O Diário*⁸ reported:

With sales and profit margins compromised by unfavorable exchange rates and iron competition with the Chinese, the shoe industry let go 25,000 workers in the past year and already counts losses of US\$500,000. This happens because these firms do not have brands to produce for China. . . . In the last months more than 40 factories were closed in RS.

The enrollment in English as foreign language classes increased as young people prepared to go to the U.S., India, and China, to work in shoe factory management positions that required English.

⁶ (1) indicates a listing as the producer of the most coffee in '000 tons in 2007-2008

⁷ Lowercase gaúcho is used for descriptions of something or someone from RS, or a specifically folkloric connotation; uppercase Gaúcho is used with the more comprehensive public.

⁸ *O Diário*. "Venância: O Triste Fim" 14 March 2008

Dois Irmãosenses⁹ talked about their nation as one of great potential, if only the government were not corrupt, or Brazil were not treated as a third-world nation, or there were not so much crime in the urban areas, or the uneducated poor did not get taken in by Lula's Fome Zero program¹⁰ and continue to vote for him. The people I talked to were removed from the very poor who lived in Brazil's northeast and who may have appreciated Fome Zero. To the residents of Dois Irmãos, the program represented government spending that they did not derive benefit from. Brazil did not make any of *The Economist's* standard of living indices (neither the highest, within the top 70, nor the lowest, within the bottom 20). My host mother, looking at similar listings in 2007, said along with others, at least we're not as bad off as Africa. This was a sentiment I heard from others as well.

Relationship to Germany

The relationship between Hunsrückish speakers and their linguistic homeland, Germany, is another axis in their constellation of self-understanding. Due to their immigrant history, descendants of German speakers focused on Germany as a point of interest in world affairs. The last significant wave of German immigrants arrived here just after World War II. Without new immigrants arriving and without any return migration or even much travel, it would seem that the gap between German Brazilians and Germany is ever increasing.

Trading relations with Germany that were cut during the War were not quickly reestablished. However, in the 1970s, Germany initiated a commercial reconciliation, which led to other reconciliations, such as cultural heritage projects (Weber 2006:94). On July 25, 1974 at the celebration of 150 years of German immigration, the German ambassador, a federal deputy representing the German parliament, the German Consul, and 14 journalists representing the major media of the Federal Republic of Germany put

⁹ The suffix *-ense* is Portuguese for 'someone from that place.'

¹⁰ Lula instated this program to give R\$50 to each household with children in school. Some sources believe this program to be helping greatly. Fome Zero is an example of a conditional cash-transfer program, according to *The Economist*, Sept. 11, 2010: "an invention of Latin American democracies," where mothers receive a small monthly stipend for keeping their children in school and taking them for regular health checks. These inexpensive programs help reduce income inequality. Combined with the spread of modern communications and electrification programs, rural areas are transformed. Farmers are thus more mobile and able to produce more lucrative items, as well as take jobs in towns.

in appearances in São Leopoldo. Since then, various restoration projects and cultural patrimonies have been launched sometimes with German support.

There was some travel contact between German artists or tourists visiting the Dois Irmãos area or with Brazilians traveling there. A professor emeritus of folklore at the University of São Leopoldo regularly takes groups of descendants of Germans and others interested in folklore to Germany. She has collected costumes and dance choreographies on her trips, brought them back, and led performing groups in the Sinos Valley. Others who had spent time there include the linguistic students I met at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, several language teachers in the area, and the artist Flávio Scholles. He visited there 18 times to sell his art and speak at conferences. Of the people I met in Dois Irmãos whose career did not relate to Germany, only one had been to Germany. One host family had received German guests and hoped to return the visit in the future.

There were visitors from Germany, mostly orchestral or dance troupes, but occasionally a consortium of cultural ministers arrived to oversee installation of a building that a cultural commission in Germany had given money to. In the university setting, German academics visited to give talks or stay longer for fellowships. When orchestras came to town, about once every five years, the Dois Irmãos City House of Culture would ask for families to volunteer as hosts for the visitors. Some families did then interact over a day or two with German visitors and commented to me on the difficulty of mutual comprehension with them. There were also stray tourists taken in by the Romantic Route and other publicity of so-called German towns in RS.

In general, however, my impression was that the Hunsrückish speakers represented something like an exdiaspora, mostly cut off from their linguistic homeland, with no plan to return. A general lack of knowledge about Germany was evident in conversation. My host mother did not know that the large banner outside my Hunsrückish teacher's office had the German flag on it. People do not know its geography or history. Many were unfamiliar with the word Hunsrück, let alone its origin. Most people had not traveled outside Brazil. If they had, the destination was usually Argentina, Uruguay, or Paraguay.

Diverse Contacts

Tourism in the Dois Irmãos Region was one avenue to diversifying the population with which Hunsrückish speakers came into contact. All sorts of people visit Dois Irmãos during the *Natal dos Anjos* (Christmas of the Angels), when the downtown is completely transformed with lights, decorations, and pageantry. Other festivals, such as the book fair and the reenactment of the crucifixion at Easter, bring as many as 20,000 tourists. The specifically German-related tourism has somewhat died down. Dois Irmãos is one of 13 cities that make up the Romantic Route, which was launched in 1996 to emulate Germany's *Romantische Strasse*. The IBGE (2010) website reports that “the road of enchantments along the Romantic Route brings one in to Dois Irmãos. It is a place with a good quality of life and a peaceful and hard-working people; where one feels history, the tourism and development smoothly running together.” Still, the stations set up in Dois Irmãos no longer really function. I visited a mill, a *cachaça* (rum) farm, and an early model farm, among several other points of interest, but when someone was there to attend to me, he would say that no one usually comes and their touristic business had all but died down.

Specifically German tourism aside, a greater contact with diverse types can be seen in many ways. There is an increase in contact with strangers, both in person and through media such as television, the internet, and print materials. The busy BR-116 highway facilitates the bussing in of people from more remote places for work. There is a Portuguese-language accommodation: few church services are held in German (and if they are, they are usually in Standard German); the senior social group Reviver, comprised mostly of German speakers, nevertheless translates its announcements and general speech during meetings to Portuguese to accommodate the few people who do not speak German.

New ways of looking and behaving provoke discourse about crime, morality, alternative lifestyles, and more choices in marriage partners and social activities. In addition to intermarriage between German and non-German speakers, Evangelicals have married Catholics (“We go to each other’s churches,” one couple said). Until the 1970s or so there was not much intermarriage between people of different religions and languages. Luciana, born in 1940, married a descendant of Italian-speaking immigrants. She said her

parents mostly did not care if she married a non-German speaker, although her mother did a little bit. She called her husband “Gringo” (as Italian-Brazilians are called in the area) and he called her “Alemoa,” which indexes a rural form of *alemã*. She recounted their story: He came from about 100km north, from Vila Flores. He participated in the army. All the Italians learned *mecânica roça* and they worked during the day and studied at night, starting at age 12 or 13. At 10 or 11 she started to sew shoes with her aunt. By age 12, she worked at the factory of her godfather, until age 16 or 17. At 23 she married, speaking “Brazilian” with her friends.

A majority of the people I met were Catholic, although Lutherans and Evangelical Lutherans were also a significant presence. Dois Irmãos is in fact unusual for having churches for each of these three denominations within close proximity along the city’s main street, Avenida São Miguel. That the Hunsrückish name for *Avenida São Miguel* is *Judengasse* (‘Jew Alley’) reinforces the idea that there has also been a Jewish population in the area (see Chapter 6), although most people I talked to had never met any Jews. One man, who was 62 and lived in Novo Hamburgo, told me that his people had converted from Judaism to Lutheranism. Some of his ancestors had emigrated in 1824, some in 1850, and some in 1911. He felt no need to cultivate the Jewish past of his ancestors. He calls himself Lutheran. The only other descendant of Jews that I met was a family from Poland who lived in Porto Alegre.

Even when calling themselves Catholic, people affiliated themselves with other movements and religions as well, such as Spiritism. My friend August said that he was Catholic through his family and Spiritist in practice. Other possible groups to join were Jehovah’s Witnesses and Assembly of God. Some people remained Catholic in name while complaining about it. Mayara discussed the pressure to contribute dues to the Catholic church: if one did not do so, then one had no place in the cemetery and would be buried far outside town in a stigmatized cemetery. She was conflicted about whether to continue paying dues.

Three discourses result as byproducts of a shift to more diverse contacts: shame, crime, and outsiders. As already discussed, statements of shame could be triggered by an encounter with an outsider. Whether people from Germany, or people from Brazil who

are non-German-speaking or non-German descendants, outsiders were thought to require an explanation of Hunsrückish speakers' "strange" way of speaking or behaving.

In the newspapers, on television, and in everyday conversation, reports of crimes and accidents were a constant. In this small town that appeared to be the safest place I had ever lived, all my host families warned about walking alone after dark, walking in secluded areas at any time of day, and about the great suspicion one should place on another as one allows them to enter one's home. They spoke as other Brazilians had warned of Rio de Janeiro, which is considered the most dangerous city in South America, principally due to the layout of favelas, and the drug lords that rule the city.

Everyone had experienced a crime first-hand or second-hand. Johanna was assaulted by someone trying to take her purse. Mayara had her car stolen; her downtown restaurant was broken into several times at night. Ana Maria reported that her car and many other things were stolen from her house at gunpoint. "Aren't you afraid to stay here, at Johanna's, by yourself? It is very important that someone sleep in our house every night," Roldolfo told me. When I commented to Mayara, "we don't have such high bars on our fences back home," she responded: Oh, you don't have *Spitzbuve* ('thugs')?" *Spitzbuve* were also said to likely run up to the car when it stopped at certain traffic lights and stop signs in bigger cities. Therefore, my hosts preferred to merely slow down rather than fully brake at these points. Sandra was assaulted in this way, commanded by gunpoint to drive for several hours by someone fleeing an accident scene.

A visiting linguist from Germany who had spent much time in Mexico City agreed with my surprise at the constant discourse. "There may be a high level of crime here, but they make it sound as if there are crimes committed every hour on every street corner," he said.

The crime rate was often blamed on outsiders. When I asked for clarification on these *pessoas de fora* or *Leit von jaus* ('people from outside'), I got little satisfaction. Do you mean German speakers? I asked. Oh no, other people. From the cities. A few people said that outsiders were easy to spot. According to August, people with multiple piercings, dyed hair, and darker skin probably did not speak German and probably came from bigger cities.

The claim that German speaking was a sign of localness or insiderness was confounded by statements targeting outsiders who clearly did speak German. For one, complaints targeted migrants seeking factory positions, many of whom came from the area of the “new colonies,” an area also still abounding with speakers of German. The idea was that outsiders should not be invading what was once a peaceful town and taking jobs away from locals. General insults were also directed toward *colonos*—German speaking farmers who came into town to sell homemade goods. My host father told me he did not buy cheese from a certain colono due to his unhygienic process.

As telling as complaints about outsiders were complaints about the unfriendly insiders. I was told by three different families who had migrated from the *Região das Missões* (Missions Region), which is considered *interior*, that people in the *interior* are more hospitable and friendly. It is very hard to have real friends here, Rodolfo said. The first offers to host me came from people who had not been born in Dois Irmãos but had more recently moved there. Over the course of the year, the ratio of hosts who were native to those who had migrated was about even, but in my experience and from hearing experiences of others who at one time were new in town, it was apparent that the already established families were slower to open their doors than other “outsiders.”

The women at the *pousada* (‘inn’) and museum told me that I would have trouble finding host families because people are not very friendly. One reason given was that women are jealous of their husbands and would not want a young, single woman in the house. The choir director, who came from the neighboring (medium-sized) city and who was a descendant of German speakers, although not German-speaking himself, said he also took a long time to break into the group. At first they did not share in his joking, conversational style of choir rehearsal. These statements reinforce the findings of Anibal dos Santos, whose master’s thesis characterizes the Santa Maria do Herval population as 1) Catholic, 2) hard-working, and 3) suspicious. But the stereotypes did not reinforce my experience. People did open their doors to me.

Discussions about the deterioration of a way of life that people of age 40 and older grew up with brought up questions of ethnicity: What does it mean to be German? Does it mean something different now that children are no longer learning the language and that rural farming lifestyle is no longer so integral to their daily lives? Inoue (2004)

and others (e.g., Lesser 1999) reveal the anomaly in nation building—a contradictory discussion of both nostalgia and a need for change and progress. The authors show that these conflicting pulls are naturalized onto a gender divide in modern Japan: women of the past were thought to be soft, neat, and pristine; men were of the future, modern and progressive. Descendants of German-speaking immigrants in Brazil also engage in this duality, mapping nostalgia onto the Kolonist life prior to World War II, and the need for progress onto current colonos. Thus, when we look at a publics framework in the final section below, we see historical alignments, both positive and negative, that get attached to the Kolonie public sometimes and to the Brazilian public at other times.

Language shift studies frequently focus on occupation, large-scale in-migration of dominant group members, and incorporation into a political entity in which that language is widely used, etc. (Kulick 1992:248). Rather than address this situation in terms of dominant culture and dominant language, I adopt a framework of multiple publics, moments of expressing cultural and linguistic alignments. This means that I do not argue that a shift is happening from one language to another as much as a trend in which some alignments become more associated with others. A 13-year old speaks Hunsrückish while visiting her grandparents on a farm in the rural, historically German area of settlement, and then returns to her home in Dois Irmãos and answering her parents mostly only in Portuguese. 17-year-old Katja speaks Portuguese with her bilingual boss and co-worker at work and then Hunsrückish at home. This behavior represents a pattern of children relegating Hunsrückish to a specific setting with certain people of an older age.

I introduce the notion of different publics as used by native speakers and by outsiders in a constellation, so that each of the four publics described exists in relation to each other. This means that a Brazilian public for the Hunsrückish speakers is not the same as a Brazilian public for speakers who do not also share membership to a German-Brazilian public.

Publics

The four publics that present themselves in the examples of the remaining chapters and which became increasingly clear to me during my time in RS were a Kolonist, Brazilian, Gaúcho, and a sort of umbrella public that subsumed all these: a German-Brazilian public.

Kolonist Public

As mentioned above, the Kolonist public cultivates mixed associations, some nostalgic, some long-suffering, some shamefully backward, ignorant or unhygienic, some proudly neat, civilized, hardworking. Those associated with this public are often seen to hold some sort of authority to or essence of the German immigrant experience. Because the Kolonie has been so long isolated and is the home of any remaining monolingual German speakers, outsiders may portray the Kolonie as a pocket of culture with traditions maintained exactly as they were when the first immigrants arrived and even as they were in Germany. For insiders, the Kolonie may mostly invoke farm life, German language, and the history of German immigration to Brazil.

The Portuguese terms *colono/a*, or *colônia* are often used by outsiders or for an outsider audience who has not been a colonist or lived in the colony. Therefore, I've chosen the German term *Kolonist/in* or *Kolonie*, which loses some of its potentially mocking or exoticizing aspect of the concept. "Kolonie" may be considered similar to *interior* but with a German twist.

Altenhofen and Thun's (2007) speech atlas questionnaire asked German speakers from rural areas to give the terms they use for the colony, the people who live there, the practices they engage in, and the objects of farm life. First Std. German then Portuguese was listed before several options, which were in Std. German. For "Kolonie" or *colônia*, the following options were given in Std. German:

a) in the countryside / Interior (e.g., when one says "*uff de Kolonie*", b) settlement, where the immigrants established themselves, c) a piece of land that each farming family got, d) size for land measurement (how many hectares?), e) another word for site / place (e.g., when one says, "the Kolonie has already been here long")¹¹

In these options, several aspects come to light: the ruralness, the farming lifestyle, and also the history of German immigration. For the terms for people who lived and worked there, the entry read:

"*Kolonisten*" = *Bauern* / *colonos, agricultores*

¹¹ a) *auf dem Land / Interior* (zB wenn man sagt "*uff de Kolonie*", b) *Siedlung, da wo sich die Einwanderer niedergelassen haben*, c) *Stück Land, das jede Bauernfamilie bekommen hat*, d) *Maß für Landmessung (wie viel Hektar?)*, e) *anderes Wort für "Ort / Platz"* (zB wenn man sagt "*hier die Kolonie existeert schonn lang*")

a) **Baure**, b) **Bauerschleit**, c) **Koloniste** (?), d) **Agricultore**, → Deriv.: e)

Baurewettschaft

P: a) *colonos*, b) *agricultores*, c) *camponeses*, d) *lavradores*

The options cover the associations with farmers, people who live in the Kolonie, and peasants. (*Camponeses* are people of the *campo*, the field, the country, like *paisano* (Spanish) or *paysan* (French) or peasant. **Bauer** is also associated with peasant.) As in other languages, peasant can invoke a low-status socioeconomic position.

For the fields in which they worked:

Acker / *roça*, *plantação*

a) **Stick** (e.g., **Miljestick**), b) **Plantoorsch**, c) **Plantaasch**, d) **Ross**, e) **Lavohre**

P: a) *roça*, b) *lavoura*

These terms have nuanced differences that I did not fully comprehend. When I pointed to a small plot on a hillside of cabbage rows, which could have fit into a relatively big backyard, and called it a *jardim* ('garden'), my friend corrected me: That is a *roça*. In my understanding, then, a *roça* or **Ross** (Hunsrückish borrowing) is smaller than a **Plantoorsch/Plantaasch**. Flach (2004) discusses the **Plantoorsch**, the fields where the crops are raised:

The **Plantoorsch** is the altar where the farmers¹² sacrificed their lives . . . from early morning to late evening the farmers work. . . . In the factories people work their hours, in winter like in summer. It is not so in the **Plantoorsch**. Most farmers work in the **Plantoorsch** in the day, as long as they can see. How often they came home with a large burden of fodder on their back, in the evenings, when it was already dark. Then there was still work to be done. The cattle still had to be fed, the cows had to be milked, and there was still always other work no vacations, no free Saturday. . . . “ (121)¹³

More than just the physical site where the crops are raised, Flach writes about the **Plantoorsch** as a place of difficulty and hard work. He also emphasizes the care with which families planted their crops, the hope they always maintained for a good harvest,

¹² **Bauerschleit**, as with **Frooleit** and **Mannsleit**, translated literally would be something like farming folk and womenfolk and menfolk. There may be an aspect of colloquial affection or recognition of a people unsophisticated in their ways. But if **Bauerschleit** is the primary word used to describe what are meant to be affirming descriptions, then I think 'farmers' (and 'women' and 'men') are the best translations here.

¹³ “**Die Plantasch iss de Altar wo die Bauerschleit sein Lebe ufopfere. . . . von moints frih bis omends speet hamm die Bauerschleit Arwed. . . . In de Fabrike schaffe die Leit imma sein Stone, im Winta wie im Somma. In de Plantasch iss's net so. Die measchte Bauare schaffe in de Plantasch im Tag, so lang wie'se noch siehn. Wie oft sen'se hemkomm, mit'n grosse Last Futta uf'm Buckel, omends, wenn's schon dunkel wa. Dann ware noch Arwede wo musste gemacht gebe. Das Vie musst gefinat gebe, die Kih musste gemolk gebe, on imma ware aach noch, anere Arwede. . . . Kee Ferie, kee Samstag frei..**“ (121)

and essentially Weber's Protestant ethic. So much time was spent there, so much work done there, and physical suffering, that the *Plantoorsch* is one of the essences of the Kolonie. Other essences that come through in his writing are the intimacy and comfort of home life; the German language, and the sense of distinction or isolation from non-speaking Brazilians:

But our dialect that is from Hunsrück, a region in the southwest of Germany, is the language that one heard in the wilderness from the beginning as the first immigrants came, later in the Kolonie, and today one hears the same language still in many houses and on the streets and also in many cities. . . That is the language that our mothers taught us when we were still kids. The language with which the boys and girls love one another and promise to be true for their life together before God and before the people; the language with which the mother told the father that the kid was on the way; the language with which the mother's heart asked the dear God and the Mother of God for the child's health when it was sick . . . finally, the language with which people on their deathbed, in tears, took their leave and still today take their leave from their belongings to eternity. The language was and is still, from our German descent, our life (7).¹⁴

This nostalgic compartmentalization of Hunsrückish to "inner sphere" family activity indicates an interweaving of place, time, people, and language, a bundling of features that indicates a semiotic processing of language ideologies around what is seen as a world or public. Flach addresses this public, indicating a commonality with his readings through first-person plural pronouns. It is telling that his publication is one of the few in Hunsrückish—it is an "insider" piece. Even so, when I first showed the book to different Hunsrückish speakers, they did not think they would be able to read it because they had never before read a book in Hunsrückish.

The Colono Stereotype

The negative stereotype of *colono* encompassed a lack of hygiene, Portuguese, and education, and also a backwardness and an ignorance about the world and certainly city

¹⁴ „*Awa unsa Dialekt wo von'm Hunsrück, en Gegend im Südwesten von Deitschland, hea iss, iss die Sprooch wo'ma von am Anfang, wie die easchte Einwandera komm sen, in'm Uawald geheat hatt, speeta, uf de Kolonie, on heitsetag heat'ma die selwig Sprooch noch in viel Heisa on uf de Strosse, on aach in viele Stedt. . . Das iss jo die Sprooch wo unsa Mamai uns gelennt hatt wie mia noch Kina ware. Die Sprooch, womit de Jung on das Medche sich nana Liebe on Treue vaspreche, fa sein Lebe zusamme se schliesse voa Gott on via de Mensche; die Sprooch womit die Mamai'm Babai gesaad hatt das'n Kind uf Weg wea; die Sprooch . . . womit das Muttaherz dem lieve Gott on de Muttagottes gebitt hatt um Gesondheid fa das Kind. . . endlich, die Sprooch, womit die Leit am Sterbebett, in Treene, Abschied genomh hann on aach heit noch Abschied nehme von ihre Angeherige bis in die Ewigkeit. Die Sprooch wa, on iss aach, fa uns deitsche Hunsricka Abstemma, unsa Lebe.*“

life. Auer, Arnhold, and Bueno-Aniola (2007) describe the style of the *colono*: a somewhat unsophisticated man who doesn't know a lot about the agricultural business and who speaks mostly or all in the German dialect. The appearance of this man evokes the stereotype of the *colono*: prosody, posture, and gesture. The authors show how the employees in the *sindicato* (union store) poorly receive a *colono* in this way: they refuse to switch footing from business to small talk and they never get personally involved with him; they also retain a superior stature by showing more knowledge than the man about different types of maize.

Seyferth attributes the *colono* stereotype to class rather than ethnicity (1981, quoted in Weber 2006):¹⁵

The very simple distinction makes it much more a problem of class where the element taken in consideration has nothing to do with ethnicity. The Teuto-Brazilian in general is identified with a bilingual individual (German and Portuguese) who speaks a purer German and is integrated in his situation as a Brazilian citizen. The “colono” is that Teuto-Brazilian who just speaks the dialect, works on the farm with his family, rarely comes to the city and does not have much awareness of his being a Brazilian.

The labels *teuto-brasileiro* and *colono* are polysemous and take on shape depending on the speaker and context. Nevertheless, a negative association often lingers with *colono*. For example, *colono* can be used affectionately, as in Decker and Decker (2004). The author describes his aunt, “a happy, amiable, whimsical and hardworking *colona*, who like many aunts that became and still are becoming sweeter in these 180 years of German presence not just on gaúcho soil, but throughout our country” (12).¹⁶ Along with this affection, however, is a relegation to the domain of humor, a force to be taken less seriously, in a limited way. The humor highlights the linguistic mistakes and the ignorance about city life, hiding the fact of their historically disadvantaged position in Brazilian society. Weber (2006) writes that laughter silences, or punishes, practices,

¹⁵ Seyferth, Girelda. 1981. *Nacionalismo e identidade étnica*. Florianópolis: FCC. The English is my translation of the following:

A distinção muito simples o constitui muito mais um problema de classe onde o elemento levado em conta não tem nada a ver com a etnia. O teuto-brasileiro em geral é identificado como um indivíduo bilíngüe (alemão e português) que fala um alemão mais puro e está integrado a sua condição de cidadão brasileiro. O “colono” é aquele teuto-brasileiro que fala apenas o dialeto, trabalha na roça com sua família, raramente vem à cidade e não tem muita consciência de sua condição de brasileiro.

¹⁶ “Uma colona alegre, bondosa, extravagante e trabalhadeira, tal e qual as tantas tias iguais a ela que tornaram e ainda tornam mais doces estes 180 anos de presença de alemães não somente em solo gaúcho, mas por todo o nosso país.”

especially because the jokes are not made by Kolonists themselves. The last statement is not entirely true—I witnessed such jokes made by people who had grown up in the Kolonie and regularly returned to it. Nevertheless, the humor may serve to distance themselves from the Kolonie. Those who balance city, Portuguese-speaking life with visits to their German-speaking childhood homes in the *interior* may pick and choose (Abraham and Shryock 2000) which aspects of the Kolonie they align with: fresh eggs, peaceful, green hills, and speaking German with people who speak like they do.

The idea that the Kolonie is quaint and exotic comes across in excerpts like the following. A national film review website describes the film *O Livro de Walachai*, which depicts a village of Hunsrückish speakers not far from Dois Irmãos: “*O Livro de Walachai* reveals a Brazil very different and unknown to the majority of Brazilians.”¹⁷ A blog post on the website of the large media conglomerate Globo calls Walachai “a community of Germans that continues to lead a life isolated in time and space.”¹⁸ It also claims that the name of the town means in old German “distant place, where time stopped.” In other words, according to these websites, the film captures a place unlike the existence of the normal Brazilian audience, which lives in the real world where time is always passing.

Brazilian Public

Whereas the Kolonist public may be portrayed as slow, isolated and old-fashioned, the Brazilian public may take on associations of modernity and progress. The nation and its government, within the larger region of Latin America, have been celebrated recently for great economic strides. According to *The Economist* (2010), 2003-2008 were Latin America’s best years of economic growth since the 1960s. The region has performed well during the recent economic recession due to good fortune but also to sound policies that were instituted after the 1982 debt crisis and again in the period of 1998-2002. These policies favored a Washington approach to market reforms, allowing more trade, foreign investment, privatization and deregulation rather than the protectionism and reckless spending of previous years. *The Economist* neoliberal view overlooks successes in places

¹⁷ e-Pipoca® - Cinemania On Line® Ltda. “Sinopse”. 1997-2009.
www.epipoca.uol.com.br/filmes_detalhes.php?idf=17817

¹⁸ Mattos, Carlos Alberto. 7/14/2007. “História de um lugar distante”
http://oglobo.globo.com/blogs/docblog/post.asp?cod_Post=65110&a=74. My translation from Portuguese.

like Cuba, which promotes universal education and welfare programs. Nevertheless, *The Economist* offers a version of success that trickles down to some discourse among Hunsrückish speakers in small-town Brazil.

Brazil's membership in BRIC¹⁹ plus its size and resources puts it in a special category within Latin America. Its population is 191.5 million, which makes up one third of Latin America (and is the fifth most populous nation in the world). It represents 40% of Latin America's GDP. In Brazil, the lower middle class has been defined by the Fundação Getúlio Vargas as having a monthly household income between R\$1064 (\$608) and R\$4561 (\$2606). Whereas in 2002 43% of Brazilians fit this bracket, in 2008 53% counted as lower middle class. This slightly exceeds the Latin American average: just under half fit this description.

While some Hunsrücker followed these declarations of Brazilian success, others focused on the low dollar and its effects on the shoe industry. The Brazilian public may also take on indices of crime, underprivilege, and chaos. Most people I talked to were less interested in Lula's social welfare programs and more concerned with governmental fraud, crime rate, and Brazilian's continuing categorization as a not fully developed country.

The national and international crime reports most likely add to the impact of the stories of first- and secondhand experiences of Dois Irmãos residents, exacerbating their fear of crime and how the world is changing. Pace (2009) writes that with the beginning of Brazilian television broadcasting in the 1950s, the government and elites have called for "the creation of a pan-national identity" (409). This includes ways to eat, spend one's free time, dress, decorate, and speak. When Hunsrückish speakers watch news reports and *telenovelas*, they may position themselves both as members of this national public and also coopt parts of it for expression of themselves as German-Brazilians.

Much organized crime has taken advantage of Latin America's relaxed law enforcements and the rich world's demand for cocaine and other drugs. The trafficking gangs have gained enormously in power, so that national security is necessary and yet complicated: The murder rate has greatly increased in Mexico since 2006, when Felipe

¹⁹ This acronym (for Brazil-Russia-India-China) came from a 2003 Goldman Sachs report predicting that these four economies would dominate all other economic powers by 2050.

Calderón took measures against the drug lords. Although recent reports show that tougher law enforcement has decreased drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro, it is still talked about as the most dangerous city. Because it is also considered the cultural capital of Brazil, from where most *telenovelas* and filmmaking come, where famous universities and publishers reside, and which was once the seat of Brazilian government, what happens in Rio becomes a metonym for what happens in Brazil.

The *malândro* or *vagabundo* is a personality type written about by culturists like da Matta that is perhaps the translation for the Hunsrückish *Spitzbuv*. When Hunsrückish speakers talked about this criminal, thug, or evil-spirited lazy person, they often aligned themselves against this part of the Brazilian public. More positive Brazilian personality types, such as the “*sensuous woman*” and “*cordial, hospitable person*” were, in contrast, agreeable alignments. Gisele Bündchen, the top-grossing supermodel in the world, is of German-speaking descent and from RS, and therefore can be claimed as part of the German-Brazilian public. Nevertheless, the sensuality that she exudes is talked about in terms of Brazilianness. “We Brazilians have a fame for being sensual,” said my host mother, in response to why it was important that her 13-year-old daughter had “finally” kissed a boy at a party. This host mother, who mostly talked to me in Hunsrückish and strongly identified with the Kolonie, erased the “German” part of the self-expression in making this statement. Similarly, another host mother explained that part of missing her daughter, who had gone abroad, must be due to her *Brazilianness*—the touchy-feely, hug- and kiss-giving part of her. This “cordial” and “warm” part of Brazilianness is contrasted to the “cold” and “suspicious” Germanness talked about by both insiders and outsiders.

The Brazilian public that is taken from national media, that is shaped and contextualized among Hunsrückish speakers often gets contrasted with the German-Brazilian public. It may be used as the common alternative in describing non-German speech and non-German descent: Do you speak German *and brasileiro*? You’re not marrying a German? You’re marrying that *brasileira*? To see this dichotomy and other shapes that the Brazilian public may take, I examined two conversations for each instance of overt terms (i.e., ones derived from the root *brasil* or *português*) used to describe German and Brazilian things.

Brasilione:

- people who are not German-Brazilians (K 1)
- people opposed to German-Brazilians, who were out to harm them/their property during the war (K 12, 12, 13)
- people who allowed German war refugees to come into their communities (K 7)
- someone born in Brazil (K 35) –*I’m like this, right, if my forefathers had not come to Brazil, right, then I wouldn’t be a Brazilian, yeah*

Brasilionisch:

- Portuguese, as opposed to *Deitsch* (K 1) (B 13,16)
 - language with Portuguese mixed in, as opposed to pure German (K 1)
- Mãe: Lid gess unn ich uns Genats Vali, Deitsch gessun, unn die anra trei honn Brasilionisch gess unn de hino. unn de fara midan ana fró hot Deitsch gessun, bei de kodi.*(K 33)

Brasilie:

- Brazil the geopolitical nation, where the speakers are, as opposed to Germany (K 3, 4)

Brasil:

- place set in contrast to Germany, where people took in Germans and could use help from Germany (K 7)
- place to which German-speaking ancestors immigrated in 1800s (K 16, 17, 35)

***brasilionasche* (government):**

- the Brazilian as opposed to the German government (K 4)

brasileiro:

- (anthem) the Brazilian as opposed to the German national anthem (K 32)
- (thing) unique to the customs, practices of Brazilians (B 23)

Portuguesisch:

- language spoken/written when German was forbidden during World War II (K 11)
- language of songs from earlier in the century (K 34) and now (K 31)

The usages of *Brazilian* were frequently opposed to something *German* in a racialized way. In São Paulo, I was told that the further south in Brazil one goes, the whiter the people are, and also the more racist they are. It was true that in São Paulo, I saw no natural blond other than myself on the street, unless they were participants in my program or some other foreigner. Many people stared at me on the subway, and when I

returned for my checked backpack at the Pinacoteca museum, the woman at the counter remembered me, even though she had checked maybe 50-100 bags since mine. In Porto Alegre and other parts of Rio Grande do Sul, in contrast, I was mistaken for a (German-speaking) Brazilian. Others' (Brazilians and nonBrazilians—c.f., Kulick 1998) experiences have corroborated this idea that fair coloring appears mostly in the south, and that in the north, they were mistaken for foreigners due to their build and color.

More important than the actual color of people is the way they talk about the color and its significance in social life. In other Brazilian publics, there has long been a discourse of racial blending. “We Brazilians are a blend of three bloodlines: European, indigenous, and African.” In reality, most descendants of Europeans will make sure to say that their ancestors were Portuguese or Spanish, etc. But an anthropology professor at the University of São Paulo asked her students, Where are the black people of Brazil? and she pointed to herself, a relatively fair-skinned person. “They are in here,” she said, embracing Boasian ideals of acceptance, which had then been taken up by his pupil Gilberto Freyre, who helped launch a myth of racial democracy in 1930s Brazil.

Among German speakers there was usually discussion of only two colors (white and black) or two bloodlines (German and nonGerman, i.e., Brazilian). In this sense, entry to the Brazilian public did not mean switching bloodlines or colors, but overlooking that distinction, and considering other salient marks instead. This simultaneous embrace of mixing and sense of distinctness is described by Andreoli and Forty (2004) in terms of the Brazilian sense of syncretism mixed with nationalism that desires to be modern, or a world player, but also distinct and independent. The authors write specifically about these two conflicting desires around architecture, celebrating modernness and newness while also leaving behind a movement that has now become 70 years old. Similarly, Hunsrückish speakers sometimes embrace syncretic movements in music, art, dance, and religion, incorporating ideas and aesthetics from multiple groups and also subsuming them under a single category, “Brazilian.” Luebke (1987) writes that “the Portuguese language and Latin Catholic culture remain at the heart of Brazilian diversity,” which is especially true of the educated, wealthy classes that have dominated the country throughout much of its history (4). Thus, certain qualities get attributed to the Brazilian public at different times, depending on the context—if an invocation of contrast,

Portuguese language and darker skin color may be highlighted; if the Brazilian public is entered in consonance, then desirable or comfortable attributes may be associated.

Gaúcho Public

“I prefer things *gaúcho* to things *alemão*.”

—Pedro, a descendant of German-speaking immigrants

The Gaúcho public, like the Kolonist and Brazilian publics, takes a spatial form in addition to other, socially hierarchical, linguistic, folkloric, and historical forms. The Kolonist public indexes local places, farm lands in the south. To enter discussion on the national (Brazilian) level is to call up placenames around the country—states, cities, national parks—and manmade and natural disasters, or other forms of play with natural elements, such as searches for energy sources or areas to perform religious rites.

“Gaúcho” means *of the state of Rio Grande do Sul*. Thus, the people born there are gaúchos and that is tied to a regional gaúcho vernacular and history relating specifically to the most southern state.

The other part of the Gaúcho public, as implicated by the quote above, is an alternative set of folkloric and ethnic that may be embraced by German speakers. No place better fits iconic gaúcho “culture” than the *Centro de Tradições Gaúchas* (CTG). The CTG is a physical place to gather, have meals, dances, and other activities surrounding the commemoration of historical gaúcho tradition. The inside of the building is made to look like a large barn or dance hall from the 19th century. Not every town has a CTG, but there are reportedly many chapters across Rio Grande do Sul, with more opening up as more people integrate its activities in their lives. Dois Irmãos’ chapter of the CTG opened recently.

Beyond a physical space, the CTG is a membership or a sponsor that promotes many events for insiders and outsiders. The center cultivates performances by non-gaúcho groups. Coral Cantares (the Dois Irmãos city choir) sang a mix of gaúcho, Italian art, popular American, Brazilian, and German songs and some sacred church music.

Gaúcho music and dance performances are often part of cultural programs in the downtown square of Dois Irmãos. The independence day parade through town featured a few children and younger adults in costume, and the newspaper regularly commended some gaúcho boys for placing well in singing and guitar-playing competitions. These

competitions were held at rodeos, where another gaúcho tradition features men riding bucking broncos. Although a stark contrast to the cars, buildings, and the dress of fellow travelers of the same cement street, gaúcho boys and men sometimes ride or walk through town, and during Semana Santa, even through the center of Porto Alegre.

Although some people told me that German Brazilians are not particularly supportive of the organization, many did belong to the CTG or participate in events held there. Apparently, there was no good German equivalent to the CTG. This is what someone told me and what I observed. The alternative social gathering places were a club where men went to play poker, cards, and soccer. At a few small bars one could also find a pool table and card table. Some women met to play cards, but usually in private homes. In truth, there were many social clubs, but few provided the community for the entire family that the CTG did.

It was this sense of family and perhaps even a practice of physical affection—hugging and kissing upon greeting—that particularly drew Pedro. He is a descendant of German immigrants born in the *Kolonie* and moved to Dois Irmãos as a child. Some of his ten siblings speak Hunsrückish, and although he usually claims not to speak it himself, he understands some things, and some Hunsrückish speakers perceive him as a fellow speaker. From his own statements as well as those of another friend, I got the impression that he found something in the CTG that his own family did not provide him. Other German Brazilians I met were also heavily involved in the CTG. The Veltens were a very active family, in their social and work lives. They have a *chácara*, farm where they raise animals and go to relax. Both parents speak Hunsrückish and Portuguese frequently, and are active in multiple communities of Dois Irmãos and the neighboring town Ivoti. They both served on the CTG board for several years.

German-Brazilian Public

Hunsrückish speakers may move among the Kolonist, Brazilian and Gaúcho publics. Each of these publics has features that may be indexed, some more iconic than others. Serving as a sort of umbrella or default public, is what I call the *German-Brazilian public*. This domain is one that acknowledges the diasporic nature of the German speakers, while placing them in Brazil. They may identify with the *Kolonie* in the present

or just in the past, they may especially cultivate national Brazilian fashions or feel out-of-place in doing so, but the German speakers I met generally carried with them a repertoire that allowed them to realign themselves, depending on the situation with whichever publics fit their needs. They responded to and created their own versions of what each of these meant.

Conclusion

The publics allow Hunsrückish speakers to align with different aspects of themselves.

One could see the features of publics in scales: the more rural, local, and German, the more Kolonist; the more regional and Spanish, the more Gaúcho; and the more urban,

national, and Portuguese, the more Brazilian. Although such features often do get linked this way, any public may be invoked and redetermined in any setting, with any language.

Therefore a number of features corroborate a potential invocation, as well as the agendas of speakers in the moment of conversation as well as in artistic expression of self. Despite the discourse of shame, or because of it, the number of resources offered through these expressions of self can work to realign an individual and group, as necessary in the situation.

Chapter 4

A Social History of Hunsrückish

Introduction

There are an estimated one million speakers of German in Brazil. They speak many varieties of German, including Hunsrückish, Pomeranian, West Falian, Swabian, Volga German, Bohemian, Mennonite German, Standard German, and still others, undocumented. The most commonly spoken is a koine¹ called Hunsrück (Rosenberg 2005) or Hunsrückish by linguists, and diverse names by its speakers. I refer to it as Hunsrückish, following Altenhofen, who has written the most extensive descriptions of it (1996, 1998, 2003, 2004; Altenhofen et al. 2007) and is a native speaker himself. About 700,000 people speak Hunsrückish (Altenhofen 1996, Auer 2007), and mostly in the three most southern states of Brazil: Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul.

To derive a picture of the complete environment of a language, Haugen (1972) suggests examining a distribution of its users as well as the domains in which they use it; the language's classification in relation to other languages; concurrent languages in use; internal varieties shown; written traditions; standardization; institutional support; and language attitudes of its users. Below I endeavor to capture this "ecology of language" by first describing Hunsrückish as it relates to other German varieties and to Portuguese in southern Brazil. Through a presentation of linguistic surveys handed out to theater audiences, I provide some demographic information on a bilingual subsection of Dois Irmãos as well as an indication of their lack of consensus on the name of their language and their attitudes toward it. Lastly, I elaborate on the discourses of sociolinguistic shame, fear of language loss, and also pride in Hunsrückish.

Hunsrückish: the Dialect and the Koine

Hunsrückish is the name given both to the variety that originated in Hunsrück and a leveled superdialect. Although many of its speakers refer to Hunsrückish as *Plattdeutsch*

¹ A koine is a superdialect that has resulted from leveling in other dialects in contact (Auer 2005).

(Low German), Hunsrückish is a dialect that is West Middle German, falling between Rhenish Franconian and Mosel Franconian.¹ Auer (2005) writes:

In phonology and morphology, almost all of the features of [Hunsrückish]² can be traced back to one relatively circumscribed area in Germany, i.e. the Middle Rhine region (today: Rhineland-Pfalz and Saarland), which includes the Hunsrück. This area does not correspond to a uniform dialect region in Germany, however. Instead, many important isoglosses run across it mostly in a southwest/northeast direction, a fact which has led traditional dialectologists to speak of a “Hunsrück barrier“ separating northern Moselle-Franconian from southern Rhine-Franconian. (60)

The area is the historic duchy Franconia (*Franken*), immediately east of the Rhine (see Figure 4). In the 9th century, this territory stretched from the western bank of the Rhine eastward along both banks of the Main and included the cities of Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Frankfurt, Würzburg, and Fulda. What today is called Franconia is situated further east.



Figure 4: Map of the Hunsrück Region³

The first recorded cultural influences in South Germany and East France are from the Celtic area. In 600_{BCE} regional, particular cultures (*Volksgruppen*) built themselves up (11). Over the next two millennia, the Romans, French, Germanic tribes and many other

¹ No consensus on the etymology of the word Hunsrück exists. One idea is that the area in Germany took the shape of a dog’s back, a *Hunds Rücken*. Another idea relates the name to the Huns. Because there are so many different interpretations, Altenhofen settles for describing it as the triangular space between Trier, Mainz and Koblenz (1996:7). In the first half of the 1800s, the Hunsrück population really increased. Economic crises burdened the region, so that by the 1880s, it became the poorest rural area of Germany. Emigrants left for various parts of the world, Brazil and North America.

² Auer uses the term Southern Brazilian German Koine rather than Hunsrückish to avoid confusion with the name of the dialect(s) spoken by immigrants on arrival from Hunsrück.

³ Adapted from www.commons.wikimedia.org

competing powers, including smaller ruling parties, alternately took control of these groups. In 475 when the Romans left, West Rhineland belonged to France and the Middle Rhine area to Alemannia. Again in 1794 the French took over Rhineland, until the Viennese Congress of 1814, when the area of Rhineland von Kleve to Saarbrücken mostly became Prussian. Thus, the genealogical records of one of my host families in Brazil showed permission for emigration from Hunsrück in the 1850s granted by the Prussian government.

The dialects of Franconia have been called High German (Waterman 1979). High German refers to all those dialects that participated to some degree in the series of changes called the High German consonant shift (53). The shift, beginning in the 5th century, resulted in voiceless stops *p*, *t*, and *k* becoming affricates *pf*, *ts*, and *kx* in initial position, medially following a consonant, and in gemination (when doubled). These dialects emerged more in the south than the north. Due to their geographical separation, High German dialects can be categorized between *Upper German* (Bavarian and Alemannic) and *Middle German* (the various Franconian dialects). Low German dialects lie mostly north of the Middle German area and historically have been divided in Low Franconian (Dutch and Flemish); Frisian; and Low German (*Niedersächsisch* or *Plattdeutsch*) (53).

This brings up the polysemy of the term “High German,” and what often replaces it, “Standard German.”⁴ Waterman uses High German because it is used in most grammars and histories of the language, although he writes that he would like something more precise. The problem is that High German now refers to both its historical developments and a standard that invokes ideologies about authenticity, purism, written language and education, and officiality. Although ideological, the usage of “Standard German” retains very real effects when speakers juxtapose an assessment of their own speech to this idealization. Through ideological links of education and literary standardization, a speaker may be deemed to possess the Standard German variety because her variety is different and learned in school, even when she would not be considered to properly form the idealized vowels and consonants by other so-called speakers of Standard German. Altenhofen et al. (2007) write that even though

⁴ Jacob Grimm coined the terms Old High German (to about 1050) and Middle High German (to about 1400) (Waterman 1979:52)

Hunsrückish looks like High German linguistically and is related historically, it is an independent language that through coincidence adopts written forms similar to High German.

Brazilian Hunsrückish: A Koine

The historical conditions for settlement of German-speaking colonies in RS are similar to those for German speakers in Russia (Rosenberg 2005:227) and the USA (Boas 2009). The immigrants began arriving in Russia in the 18th century, and in Brazil and the USA in the 19th century, and developed situations where German predominated in the homes as well as schools, until a governmental prohibition restricted use in public. In both Russia and Brazil, there were small isolated colonies in which Rhine-Franconian and Moselle-Franconian varieties prevailed over other German varieties: Upper German Swabian, Low German West Falian, Pomeranian, Mennonite varieties, and Volga German. Presumably the reason Hunsrückish was chosen was that more people came from Hunsrück than from other parts of the German provinces and that it was also more open to networks between settlements (Rosenberg 2005). For example, Rhine-Franconian features (e.g., *das/was*) combined with High German more easily than did Moselle-Franconian features (e.g., *dat/wat*). The standard taught in schools until the 1940s was High German. In the USA, English-only laws were passed earlier, such as in 1909 and 1918 (Boas 2011).

Like the koines of Russia, Hunsrückish is the result of leveling, or assimilating, basic German varieties.

Since the heterogeneous settlers' dialects have transformed into a relatively uniform variety spoken in Brazil, and since the distinctive traits of this variety do not conform to any single dialect in the Middle Rhine area in Germany, we must conclude that a good deal of levelling has taken place (Auer 2005:61).

Broad-scale leveling occurred in some New World dialects (e.g., New Zealand English (Trudgill 2004) or Pennsylvania German (Raith 1992) but not in Texas German (Boas 2009). In Russia, dialect-dialect convergence occurred, and, in the case of Brazil, Hunsrückish was strong enough that speakers of other dialects shifted toward it (Auer 2005). The convergence seemed to be highly selective: only certain vowels are leveled (and in those cases to a very high degree) (Rosenberg 2005:227).

Certain internally motivated changes in all speech island varieties of German have occurred (229). For example, since the Germanic shift to initial stress, the noun case-marking system has been reduced. It is restricted today more intensely in the dialects than in the standard to plural and genitive singular (in the masculine and neuter) and some “n”-nouns. Such loss of case morphology has been heavily investigated—in Russia, Brazil, Texas, Pennsylvania, and Kansas Volga German. Although language contact cannot be excluded in English-German and Portuguese-German cases, case loss appears to be internally induced because it is even stronger in sectarian groups—Mennonite and Amish—who have much less contact. Russian German case loss due to contact would be unlikely since Russia has six cases in noun, pronoun, and adjective systems.

Rosenberg focuses on convergence among German dialects rather than their contact with Portuguese, but he acknowledges the importance of the contact. A dialectology of other varieties of German in Rio Grande do Sul and the ideologies of their speakers illuminates the difficulty of a discussion of standard. For example, speakers of West Falian living in Estrela, Imigrantes, and Teutônia consider Hunsrückish to be like Standard German (Altenhofen 1996:6). Pomeranian descendants speak their own dialect in their family, and a Rhenish dialect when in contact with other German-speaking people, which they consider to be Standard German.

Immigrants came from different parts of the German provinces and settled in different parts of the *colonias* in southern Brazil. West Middle German dialect speakers settled mostly in the south-eastern part of the larger *Kolonie*; Low German speakers (Pomeranians) settled in the north-western part. Immigrants from parts of Bohemia (then part of Austrian empire) and adjoining Silesia constituted other pockets of the *Kolonie*, and all remained ethnically segregated (Auer 2005). Thus, what eventually became the leveled koine Hunsrückish nevertheless has always had a high variability: Each settlement and family could contribute to a different phonetic description, according to Altenhofen (1996:336). He writes that a complete homogenization of Hunsrückish is impossible in Brazil due to the large distances between locales, mixing with colonial regions of Italians, Poles, Lusos, and a growing subordination to Portuguese (347). Other “marginal languages” of Brazil with which German speakers come into contact include those that are indigenous to Brazil, Dutch, Italian, Japanese, Yiddish, Polish, Russian,

Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian, Romani, and some African language elements (1). Despite the diverse origins and then new elements in the contact situation, a supraregional variety nevertheless developed.

The next section is an inventory of Hunsrückish followed by a discussion of language changes, both in terms of effects Hunsrückish has had on Portuguese and vice versa.

Salient Features of Hunsrückish

Auer (2005) writes that the features of the koine Hunsrückish derive from what was spoken in the Middle Rhineland, but to no one place within that region. Sometimes the koine process has resulted in forms that simplify the grammar, other times in the form closest to the prestige, standard variety. Examples of features closer to the standard variety include a final alveolar *t*, as in **braucht** (third-person singular ‘needs’) and **bischt** (second-person singular ‘are’); most Middle Rhine varieties drop the alveolar.

Hunsrückish features similar to Std. German but slightly different include the lexeme **nix** (‘nothing’): Although **nix** appears in colloquial Std. German, the Std. German form is **nichts**. Whereas other German dialects distinguish male, neuter, and feminine genders of the word for ‘two,’ the single, neuter Hunsrückish **tsvoi** is close to the standard **zwei**. German dialects sometimes mark adjectives with plural endings, sometimes not. Hunsrückish does tend to, although number and gender are not necessarily marked.

Unlike Std. German but like many varieties is a trend toward a two-case system. The dative is sometimes replaced with the accusative case. A form further from Std. German and other varieties is the past participle of **denken** (‘think’). For this, Hunsrückish has adopted **gedeng** or **gedengt**, perhaps with influence from dialects coming from Southern Hunsrück. Only a third of the Middle Rhine Dialect area speakers show, like Hunsrückish speakers, identical singular and plural forms for the word **Schuh** (‘shoe’). The periphrastic **tun** (‘do’), as in **ich tun viel lese** (‘I read a lot’), also appears in other South American varieties of German, as it does in Hunsrückish (Kaufman 2007).

Altenhofen gives an extensive Hunsrückish phonology in his 1996 book *Hunsrückisch in Rio Grande do Sul: Ein Beitrag zur Beschreibung einer*

*Deutschbrasilianischen Dialektvarietät im Kontakt mit dem Portugiesischen.*⁵ A salient feature of Hunsrückish is the devoicing of the obstruent on the first syllable and the voicing of the obstruent on the following, unstressed syllable (343), for example [g] for [k] as in *drogge* (Std. German: *trocken*). These voicing rules are generally optional, and voiced plosives often devoice in idiolects (344). They are also an example of a linguistic feature that developed in Russia the same as in Brazil (Rosenberg 2005:228). Other features are not the same. The Volga German in Russia developed a nasalization ([tsã:]; Std. German: *Zahn*) that Brazilian Hunsrückish did not. In Brazil a rhotacism developed that did not in Russia (*sore*; Std. German *sagten*). Rosenberg suggests that this difference be accounted for by the fact that rhotacism was just beginning to spread in the German provinces, when Volga Germans emigrated, 60 years before Hunsrücker did. Other phonological features are vowel epenthesis and an e- and n-apocope (Altenhofen 1996:89). This happens with nouns with diminutive endings, plural nouns, infinitive verbs, and in the third-person plural present, as in participles of strong verbs (Born and Gärtner 1998, Ziegler 1996).

Morphologically, Altenhofen points to a lack of declensions (1996:49) and that the genitive is replaced by periphrasis (*dem Vater sei Kapp*).⁶ Syntactically, there is the aforementioned case loss, which for some speakers is a complete loss of genitive and dative, and for others, a substituting accusative for dative (especially after prepositions (Born and Gärtner 1998; Ziegler 1996). Also, the *ge-* prefix drops in the past participle of some strong verbs (*-en* drops due to apocope). Examples include *gebb* (Std. German: *gegeben*), or *gang* (Std. German: *gegangen*). This drop is common in Middle High German (Ziegler 1996). Lexically, Altenhofen (1996) quotes Staub (1983: 36)⁷: we see a replacement of the articles *der* and *das* with [də] and [dat], and the use of [ía] *Ihr* instead of the pronoun *Sie*. The description of these features is consistent with my experience

⁵ Hunsrückish in Rio Grande do Sul: A Contribution to the Description of a German-Brazilian Dialect Variety in Contact with Portuguese.

⁶ Fausel (1959:8) quoted in Altenhofen (1996). (Fausel, Erich. 1959. *Die deutschbrasilianische Sprachmischung. Probleme, Vorgang und Wortbestand*. Berlin, Schmidt.) Literal translation: “of the father his head;” sense translation: “his father’s head.” Other varieties of German also do this, particularly in southern German speaking areas.

⁷ Staub, Augustinus. 1983. “O empréstimo lingüístico. Um estudo de caso. (Empréstimos portugueses no ‘Hunsrück’ falado em Sao Martinho, município de Santa Cruz do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul.)” Porto Alegre, Acadêmica; *Revista Letras de Hoje*

hearing Hunsrückish in the Dois Irmãos area, except for this last statement that the formal pronoun is *Ihr*.

Personal Pronouns

When I asked contacts how to address someone, they generally gave me three options in Portuguese and one or two in Hunsrückish.

Portuguese:

tu = young people and familiars

você = business associates and strangers

o senhor/a senhora = old, clients, superiors

Hunsrückish:

du = young people and familiars

Dea = old, strangers, superiors.

Brazilian Portuguese grammar books do not frame *tu* as a usual option for the second-person pronoun, except perhaps in a footnote. This pronoun is, however, commonly used in RS, more than in any other state and also, within RS, more than any other pronoun [(Koch 2005)]. In Hunsrückish, there was no intermediate form. *Você* could be translated to either *du*, the intimate form used with family, children, and pets, or *Dea*, the respect form for strangers and people of greater status. Sometimes *Dea* was used with grandparents. The *Ihr* that Altenhofen/Staub describe was also an option, although given and heard less frequently. Of the instances I witnessed a codeswitch from Portuguese to German, in which *você* was translated, it was to *du*. This suggests that either *você* leans toward the informal end of the continuum or that *du* has a quality that enables it to be used more formally.

My data reveal many more address options than just an informal and formal one. Included in the honorific system are pronouns with and without verbal agreement, and also null subjects with and without verbal inflection. The ranking might go as follows, with the lowest deferential in Portuguese combining the pronoun (*tu*) with the unconjugated verb form. Above this come the null subject plus conjugated verb and then null subject plus verbal inflection that occurs after all three second-person pronominal subjects (as well as third-person subjects).

Table 2: Second-Person Pronouns

All these second-person singular forms gloss as the English ‘you can.’

<u>Portuguese:</u>	<u>Hunsrückish:</u>
1. O senhor/a senhora pode	Dea/Ihr kann
2. você pode	
3. tu podes	du kannscht
4. Ø pode	Ø kann
5. Ø podes	Ø kannscht
6. tu pode	

In the Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico da Região do Sul do Brasil (ALERS) study presented in Zilles (2005), a majority of the participants in RS in general and certainly in the Dois Irmãos area uttered Option 6: *tu* plus the unconjugated verb (182). Participants were asked how they would have one sibling say to the other: Did you do your obligations? The responses for ‘did you do’ in RS included:

over 50%: *tu fez*
~15%: *você fez*
~15%: *tu fizeste*
10%: *Ø fez*
6%: *Ø fizeste*

This breakdown mostly matched the responses of the Dois Irmãos area.⁸ Usage of *tu* therefore distinguishes speech regionally, as coming from South Brazil, and verb conjugation marks it stylistically.

Verb conjugation can serve to reinforce or elide a clear pronoun, especially when the subject is occult. If the subject is not spoken and the verb takes the third-person conjugation, such as *pode*, then the implied subject could be informal or formal. The very occurrence of an occult subject suggests an informality, however, in the case of an occult subject plus an informal *tu* verb conjugation, e.g., *podes*, some formality is retained. This form is less common and usually spoken in academic settings. The explicit demonstration of the *tu* verb conjugation (-s) puts it at a higher level of formality than the use of an occult subject with the *você* conjugation.

⁸ In Dois Irmãos, seven respondents said *tu fez*; four *você fez*; two *Ø fez*; and one *tu fizeste*.

The point of this ranking is to gain understanding into potential conversational strategies and reactions that occur in the examples of later chapters. Many works show that in the southern region of Brazil there is a lot of variation in the use of the second-person personal pronouns *tu* and *você*. Frequent pronoun switching in the same conversation is not done erratically or for want of a rule or attention, but due to indecision on what to call an interlocutor (Altenhofen, pers. communic.). Arduin and Coelho (2006) argue that this variation is usually stylistically marked among Brazilian Portuguese speakers (187).

Across all contexts, the use of *tu* in Portuguese and *du* in German is much greater than the use of “more formal” pronouns. This use of less formal pronoun is true of younger people addressing older people, including those who are around 60 years and older. This happens when students address teachers, instructors and professors. The children I observed address their parents and grandparents with *tu* and *du*. I argue that this greater trend in the informal in both languages suggests a common adaptation to an environment in which older and younger people are sharing more of the power. The other alternative would be that the formality behind the pronoun is changing. But this scenario does not account for the narrowing generation gap nor for the fact that both Brazilian Portuguese and Hunsrückish appear to be leveling their verb conjugations.

Null Subjects and Clitics

Like other varieties of German (Cook and Newson 1996:16), Hunsrückish sometimes acts as a head-initial and sometimes as a head-final language. It usually acts as a verb-second (V2) language. Also like other varieties of German, Hunsrückish cannot be called a null subject language in the sense that Brazilian Portuguese has been (and European Portuguese continues to be), but Hunsrückish does allow expletive null subjects.

Hunsrückish allows empty expletive subjects:

- (1) ***Sinn blos Paache drin***
 Ø are only couple[dimin.] in there
There are only a couple in there
 and topic drop, appearing only on the left edge of the sentence or clause:
- (2) ***Setze mich ins Bett unn so ganz Piramede uff der Reviver mache.***
 Ø sit myself in bed and so whole pyramid on the Reviver make.
I sit in bed and make a whole pyramid for/of the Reviver (group).

Evidence for a topic drop is strengthened by data showing a topic mentioned by Speaker A and then referred to in subsequent turns without overt mention of the subject again.

- (3) A: *Die dufte nix spreche. Ja dann honn 'se nix gesprochen?*
They could nothing say. Yes then have **they** nothing said?
They couldn't say anything. Yes then did they say nothing?

B: *ja honn nix gesprochen*
 yes Ø have nothing said
yes they didn't say anything

Agreement marking on finite verbs is not rich enough for thematic null subjects: There are only three distinctions for the derived forms of the verb *sinn* 'to be' (nominative), (1) the form *sinn*, which could refer to three different people: 'I', 'we', or 'they'; (2) the form *is* could refer to six different people: 'you sg. for.', 'you pl. inf.', 'you pl. for.', 'she', 'he', or 'it'; and (3) the form *bischt* refers to the second person informal singular.

Table 3. Agreement Marking on Finite Verb *sinn*

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	ich sinn	mea sinn
2 nd person	du bischt (inf.); Dea is (form.)	dea (inf & form) is
3 rd person	die/der/das is	die sinn

Because the subject-verb agreement affixes lack relevant person/number features, they do not fulfill the identification condition for thematic subjects (Pires 2009).

Because Hunsrückish is a V2 language, there are frequent subject-verb inversions. When inverted, the subject affixes to the verb as a clitic. Generally, clitics in Hunsrückish can be said to take their host to the left, and not necessarily to the verb. When there is an overt complementizer, the verb raises to C. Because the second position is the complementizer, following, e.g., a dependent clause, the only thing that can move is the verb. Otherwise, the verb would be competing with the complementizer. The clitic would never appear in first position and is never stressed. It cannot represent emphasis when contrasting with another pronoun that is referred to as the incorrect one.

Hunsrückish clitics fit the definition of what Zwicky (1977) calls “simple clitics,” which are “reduced forms of corresponding strong forms occurring in the same position, though the weak form may be phonologically bound in the sense that it forms a phonological unit with its host...” (van Riemsdijk 1999:14). Because the properties of a formal code include extra rules or an elaboration of existing ones (Irvine 1979:774), cliticization may be seen as less formal speech, in that clitics simplify or reduce the number of phonemes in a string of words. This informality is implied in the statement that transliteration of clitics can help maintain the feel of the spoken word (Jacobs 2004:20) or that clitics are one feature used by German filmmakers when dubbing African American English because clitics are associated with urban youth in Germany (Queen 2004).

Pronominal clitics also inform the analyst of stress patterns. As unstressed items, clitics may shift focus from one subject to another. For example, in the following utterance, *we* is stressed, while the third person proclitic *se-* takes less emphasis.

- (4) *Wal mea se’uffgenomm honn*
Because we them’intook
Because we took them in

In sum, Hunsrückish displays some features in common with the more southern and western dialects of the Middle Rhine area, and some closer to Std. German. Like many dialects, it exhibits some case loss. Hunsrückish is distinctive for its voicing rules, vowel epenthesis, and e- and n-apocope. Its offers multiple address options, including null subjects, and has heavy lexical mixing and borrowing from Portuguese.

Contact with Portuguese

It is difficult to pinpoint whether the dialect of Portuguese spoken by multilinguals in the Dois Irmãos area is attributable to their German background or their membership to a Porto Alegre or to a local gaucho (rural and nonimmigrant) speech community (Auer et al. 2007). Auer et al. point to only a few phonological and phonetic features that constitute this accent in Portuguese:

- 1) /R/-variants (with a merger of the Portuguese phonemic contrast between <rr> and <r>, /h/ vs. /r/),

- 2) loss of nasalization in the vowels (particularly in the ending *-ão*, in its extreme form pronounced as /ŋ/),
- 3) lack of palatalization of /t/ before /i/ and
- 4) lack of voicing in the voiced stop system

As to Portuguese influence on Hunsrückish, much has been documented on the lexical borrowings. “Southern Brazilian German Koine has integrated a good deal of lexical material from Portuguese” (Auer 2005). Lexical categories pertaining to technology, medicine, and cultural and environmental products specific to Brazil are easily explained by the historical timeframe in which immigrants arrived. They arrived before cds and ultrasounds, so Portuguese borrowings for these words are not surprising. Borrowings for kinship terms, such as *vovó* and *prima* (‘grandmother’ and ‘cousin’), however, or baked goods, such as *biscoitos* (‘cookies’) that one finds in both German and Brazilian histories would make for an investigation.

As usual with cases of borrowing, it is difficult to tell the difference between borrowing and codeswitching (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Phonologically, the vowel epenthesis, as evident in words such as *hellift* (Std. German: *hilft*; ‘helps’), *Turrim* (Std. German: *Turm*; ‘group’) or *Berrich* (Std. German: *Berg*; ‘mountain’), may represent an influence of Portuguese, which has a CV structure. More than vowels, Portuguese consonants have assimilated to the Hunsrückish system—in general in coincidence with rules for West German (Altenhofen 1996:329). Rosenberg mentions a velar lateral /l/ due to contact with Portuguese (2005:229).

Now that we have briefly described the linguistic systems of Hunsrückish, we proceed with social systems of the language, particularly questions involving language shift. First, a glimpse of the Hunsrückish speakers I got to know in the Dois Irmãos area.

German to Portuguese Language

Language shift is an important piece of this story because Hunsrückish speakers consistently talk about it in conjunction with the topic of their German language. They say that the younger generation is no longer learning Hunsrückish, that they do not want to learn it, and that even their own speech is increasingly tainted with Portuguese, unlike the German of their ancestors. One speaker told me: In twenty years, no one will still be speaking German. These sorts of statements are familiar in language shift studies.

Other studies of language shift often feature an indigenous language opposed to a national, official, colonizing language (Meek 2007, Kulick 1992, Moore 1988, Hill and Hill 1986). In some respects, Hunsrückish is a language of colonizers, a variation of a world language spoken by millions. The count of Hunsrückish speakers in RS alone is in the hundreds of thousands, compared to the some 470 First Nation peoples whom Meek (2007) works with. Not only does the presence of Hunsrückish speakers continue to constitute a significant part of the RS ethnoscape, their language and past do retain some prestige in their connection with the world language German and the world power Germany, or more broadly, Europe. At the same time, Hunsrückish speakers share some of the rhetoric about language purism, shame, loss and death with other speakers of minority languages. They also suffer some of the same material effects.

The ideology that older generations spoke a purer German taps the fear that both linguistic forms and practices are getting lost forever (Hill and Hill 1986). Because these are mostly oral languages, the idea is that when the speakers die, so does the language. Hill and Hill offer an alternative, syncretic project to the picture held by purists and degenerationists, who in their study insist that Spanish must be kept separate from Mexicano because Spanish will taint their Mexicano, which if not now, was once an ideal form. By working within an “ecology of language,” in which language must constantly adapt to an ever-changing environment, Mexicano speakers are both preserving and abandoning Mexicano, shifting from bilingualism to Spanish. Some Hunsrückish speakers are able to adopt this sort of view, less concerned with an antiseptic separation of Hunsrückish from Portuguese and ready to speak both languages in a continuous flow, code-mixing in most settings of their daily lives. There is nevertheless a prevailing discourse about there being two entirely separate languages and not much discussion of what a contact language might mean or represent in a positive way.

Concern with the loss of purity and negative effects of codemixing was continually stressed. A single Portuguese word dropped in a Hunsrückish sentence could bring on laments that the speaker was losing her language. One friend commented on her “unfortunate” use of a Portuguese word (*vaso* - ‘vase’): in this case, she need not have worried—the German lexeme (*Vase*) was actually the same as the Portuguese. Hill and Hill (1986) describe the same phenomenon with Mexican-Spanish speakers, who were

not necessarily aware of the etymologies of their words and also did not always perceive syncretisms that the analysts did. That many Hunsrückish speakers joke about Portuguese borrowings, such as *Goiaboode* (*goiabada* – ‘gelled guava’), *Teekui* (*cuia do chimarrão* – ‘gourd used for drinking erva mate tea’), and *prepareere* (*preparer* – ‘to prepare’), shows that they are aware of other metapragmatic features besides lexicon. Although they only overtly mention lexicon and not phonology or morphosyntax, as Silverstein (1981) shows is common and the case for Djirbal speakers in Australia, the exaggeration of the long /o/ in *Goiaboode* or /e/ in *prepareere* indicates an awareness of multiple systems. Rather than taking these adaptations as signs of the rich flexibility of language, however, the joking treats the Hunsrückish borrowings as multiple types of weakness.⁹

As in other language shift studies, speakers often blame the generation gap. Older speakers chide younger people for not wanting to learn their heritage language. Children answer an address in Hunsrückish, Kaska (Meek 2007), or Taiap (Kulick 1992) with Portuguese, English, or Tok Pisin, respectively. Beto Klein said that he tries to speak Hunsrückish with his four-year-old daughter and that she does not take up his code. He acknowledged that one reason may be that his wife does not speak German, and that when she is present, he does not want to exclude her. Even when children do learn German in school, they might come home and tell their parents that the parents speak incorrectly (nonstandard).¹⁰

What seems to be less reported in other studies are instances of the younger generation’s blaming the older for not teaching them their language.¹¹ Perhaps the children in other studies are often younger than the Hunsrückish speakers who made these comments. Speakers as young as 15 and as old as 60 told me that their parents did not speak Hunsrückish with them, often due to the nationalization campaign or its indirect effects, such as a sense of linguistic shame. Most parents I talked to who had children ages 8 to 20 spoke in regret that they had not made more of an effort. Others expressed no regrets. Flávio Scholles adamantly told me that if he were to encourage his

⁹ An abundance of humor in jokes told among friends and acquaintances, radio shows, magazine pieces, books, and theater pieces capitalize on the “mistakes” made by Hunsrückish speakers in Portuguese. These pieces are put out by both German and non-German speakers.

¹⁰ Conversation with Maria, outside German class

¹¹ In the North American colonial context, children may blame their parents somewhat, but only subtly due to the governmental oppression and other reasons that their parents had for not transmitting the language (Meek, pers. communic).

granddaughter to learn a second language, beside Portuguese, that it would be English, not Hunsrückish. Why would I want her to go through what I went through? he asked me.

As soon as the topic of Hunsrückish arose with a stranger, often a disparaging statement about it would follow. “Your German is better than mine,” I was told on multiple occasions. “We’re speaking like this,” shoulders shrugging, eyebrows raised. The presence of a nonnative Hunsrückish speaker, especially one from abroad who spoke a different variety of German, which had been learned in school, triggered comparisons with Standard German. Standard German was seen to represent an ideal form: grammatical, pure, and authentic. Those who had been to seminary and private school were most likely to have acquired such a variety.

Immediately recognizable features of the prestige variety included, for example, lexical choices such as declined relative pronouns instead of *wo* and the diphthong [ai] instead of [e:] in, e.g., *ein* and *weil* (‘a’ and ‘because’). One might codemix between the “dialect” and Standard German to approximate what one’s interlocutor(s) was deemed to be speaking, or to gain intimacy or status in the speech event. Whereas Standard German was grammatical, Hunsrückish was Potato German, the wrong German, and agrammatical German, as was displayed on the enormous sign on the main street of Dois Irmãos, which advertized German classes. “Lessons in German: Dialect or Grammatical.” The dialect, like the younger speakers’ version of Wasco in Moore’s study—“Broken Wasco”—was regarded as impoverished traces of what their elders had spoken; but in this case, as it was sometimes mentioned, even the elders spoke an inferior dialect, having come from the isolated mountains of a corner of Prussia.

Speakers mentioned instances of being humiliated or made fun of (*gespottert; debauchado*). The most clearly defined of these occurred in the stories of the nationalization campaign in the 1940s or in any of the subsequent decades, when speakers first went to school and could not say a word in Portuguese. Many said, “When I got to school, I did not even know how to ask for a glass of water.” They explained that their lack of Portuguese was humiliating and sometimes the source of explicit punishment. One woman around 30 years old said that as recent as the late 1980s, she was forced to walk on her knees over gravel as punishment for speaking German. She came from a small town further *interior* than Dois Irmãos.

When speakers mentioned concerns about humiliation and did not specify past experiences or who had done the humiliating, the stories functioned less to explain history and more to explain current behavior, usually why the speaker was unwilling to speak Hunsrückish at a certain time or with certain people. It was sometimes difficult to tell if such statements were not part of a larger pattern of shame discourse, which comprised certain, expected responses. Even when a friend who told me that she had no shame in speaking Hunsrückish, including in a public clinic where she worked, she brought the topic up unsolicited at the very beginning of our conversation about Hunsrückish, as if to fill a discursive slot.

The group narratives told by individuals about growing up bilingual exhibited a fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). Fractal recursivity refers to "the same process(es) occurring all over again" on different levels between two elements in an oppositional relationship. The child's first encounter with Portuguese at school recurs in the adult's confrontations with Portuguese in public. Specifically, the narratives commonly recount the speakers' ignorance, aloneness, and inability to take care of even their most basic needs. The student's not knowing how to ask for a glass of water, and not feeling a sense of community to back him up as he stands alone against the teacher parallels the adult's shame in having to write things down for the Portuguese monolingual clerk to understand his request. Flávio Scholles (see section below) describes the state of feeling unequipped for the world, coming from a small insular farming community. Even if the Hunsrückish speaker were to embrace a strong sense of community with his fellow speakers, in the moment of encounter with a clerk, for example, he is alone. There is little public support for bilinguals and certainly not for monolingual Germans.

Not only did many Hunsrückish speakers express insecurity about their first native language, but they said that their Portuguese was a source of *Spottern* as well. When they learned Portuguese upon entering school, at age 7 or 10, they learned how to talk about its grammar and to read and write it. These educational tools equip speakers with a ratified kind of metalanguage, one which they lack in Hunsrückish and which contributes to their sense of agrammaticality. Still, doubts about their Portuguese remained. Some had not been to school past the third grade; some blamed their accents

on the German accents of the teachers who had been abruptly charged with instructing them in Portuguese during World War II. When some of my host brothers and sisters corrected their parents' grammar in Portuguese, the parents sometimes retaliated with another piece of criticism (not necessarily about language), visibly exasperated by the exchange. They also reported such incidents to me.

The discourse of shame therefore extended to nonlinguistic areas of their lives. In addition to shame about education level, a concern was discussed over being associated with attributes of the *colono* stereotype, ranging from potential lack of cleanliness (in one's person, household, and, especially on the farm, production of food or slaughtering of animals) to lack of knowledge of the world (current events and how the world works, e.g., earthquakes and petroleum extraction—see Chapter 7). These concerns manifested themselves in requests for confirmation that they were not like that. For example, during a slaughter and sausage making event: "It's very clean here, isn't it?" A constant cleaning of homes and persons was in process. Some host mothers scolded their daughters, especially, for not keeping a clean room. My host brother was scolded for not showering properly. I too in one host family was implicated when they asked if I would not like them to wash my shoes. They did, even though I said it was not necessary and felt bad realizing that I had not recognized its importance to them.

An ignorant, unhygienic person represents only one facet of the *colono* stereotype—a *colono* can also include something more positive in alignment with a nostalgic, struggle-laden past of the immigrant ancestors (see below for elaboration). Conversely, the negative attributes can also index other, non *colono* associations. For example, some concerns about deficits are more to do with class and gender than ethnic stereotypes. One host mother explained that she could not participate in the discussion that her husband, daughter, and I were having about American movies shown on Brazilian television because she did not have time to watch television. The implication was that she was too busy with household chores or working from home for pay. If she had more money, she would have more time. Families with more money could hire maids to help with cleaning and cooking. She may have also considered television a waste of time.

The discourses of shame can be tempered by ones of pride. In looking at how ideologies and attitudes fit into a larger ecology of language, this chapter continues below with an individual whose work represents the complexity of Hunsrückish speakers' views and corresponding practices of their language

Flávio Scholles, Painter

Flávio Scholles' German-Brazilian themed paintings have sold in Brazil, the United States, and especially Germany, where he has traveled 18 times. His portrait of Jesus Christ was selected to appear in a book of the greatest portraits of Christ (O'Grady 2001), alongside works by Chagall, Picasso, and others. His work has been recognized by numerous media clips, including a short film that came out in 2009.

Through his discussions in person and in media reports, as well as through his art, the multiplicity of his sociocultural alignments becomes apparent. He wants to remember and expose the past of the Kolonists, but he also wants to move away from it. He gave me a copy of the thin book, *F. Scholles*, that explains his life and ideas first in Portuguese, then English, and then Std. German—he aims for an international audience. He describes the German-Brazilian exodus from farming to factory life, the linguistic shame that Hunsrückish speakers have had, and his reasons for becoming an artist:

I learned Portuguese at age ten. Until then, I spoke only the dialect used throughout most of the Sinos River Valley. We did not know how to speak German and we did not know how to speak Portuguese. We were a group of people isolated in the world! In addition, the start of industrialization in the country and mainly in the Sinos River Valley, plus the use of machinery in the fields of RS, Paraná and Mato Grosso, made it so that the minifúndios (small land estates) were no longer profitable. The exodus of the colonos for the city was begun, where it did not take long before they felt marginalized. Those who remained in the *interior* became ashamed of their reality, principally of the aftermath of the war. They started to truly deny their realities, their customs, their houses, etc. They were entirely losing their identity, which had very striking cultural characteristics, first-rate material for doing art. I felt, therefore that it was time to . . . to do work to save part of the culture of the country. I understood that no one, no other artist, would do art on our reality if we ourselves didn't do it . . . I began then, at the end of 1975, a series about my history, the history of my family, which was, by extension, a history of the majority of inhabitants of my village: the Sinos River Valley (9).

Scholles explains that more than just of language, people grew ashamed of their entire way of life—"their reality, their customs, their houses, etc." Although he speaks of

wanting to assert his identity and save the German-speaking culture of the Sinos River Valley, Scholles enthusiastically embraces a vision of the world in which all people can communicate through a common, global language. This language surpasses all differences among speakers of different languages, such as German and Portuguese. He expresses this language through his paintings, and calls them *The Pictures that Speak (Os Quadros Que Falam)*. The paintings speak directly to the viewer, and levels of stigma and prestige attached to particular languages lose significance.

Scholles' passion for the erasure of language differences stems directly from his past. He speaks of the humiliations he suffered in school. The teasing extended to his poor, German farmer background. Only a new scholarship program for children of farmers given by the governor of Rio Grande do Sul enabled him to leave the Kolonie. Once far away from his family, he became painfully aware of his poor competence in Portuguese as well as his impoverished exposure to art, literature, and public media.

The obstacles have continued throughout his career. On report from a couple of contacts, he wanted to construct a shoe sculpture in the boulevard at the entrance to the city of Dois Irmãos. It would pay tribute to the industry of the region. But his petition was strongly voted down by city elites. They did not want their town to be symbolized by its industry. Indeed, such a view of Dois Irmãos is not emphasized by the municipal promotional video, in which the shoe factories are shown alongside many other industries and infrastructure—chocolate, chemical labs, health clinics, schools, retail stores, churches. It is not mentioned that a significant part of the population works in shoe factories or ateliers.

Material Effects

A variety of tangible effects of the Hunsrückish sense of inferiority is visible. The basilectal dialect, as Auer refers to Hunsrückish in RS (while also showing it to have acrolectal variability), is generally considered the one of leisure, intimacy, family, and home. Thus, first-time meetings between Hunsrückish speakers, even ones that know the other speaks Hunsrückish, will occur in Portuguese. I observed this rule when I sat in on a first-time meeting between Cléo Altenhofen, noted linguist of Hunsrückish, and Beto Klein, noted Hunsrückish playwright. Even though they were aware of their option to switch into Hunsrückish, they stuck to Portuguese the entire time, except for a few

seconds toward the end of the conversation. It was rare for my contacts to speak Hunsrückish with nonnative speakers. They greatly resisted speaking it with me until we had known each other a while.

As in the Wasco case (Moore 1988:464), Hunsrückish speaker belief in language loss could be said to lead them to support that loss. One Wasco speaker did not agree to speak more than single words because she decided that Wasco was only a ritual speech. Portuguese and Hunsrückish were also slated to specific settings and interlocutors. Like many studies of contact languages, the official, government-sponsored language is the one commonly associated with public, business transactions, the one used for distancing oneself in some situations with bilinguals. As public usage of Hunsrückish dwindles, so does its legitimacy as a language and the authority of its speakers.

But public Hunsrückish still retains a strong presence. Elder speakers still maintained some authority and their social gatherings required guest speakers (especially those who wanted to gain some ground during sales pitches) to throw in a few words of Hunsrückish. In settings of family gatherings, choir rehearsals, church services, factory floors, social luncheons held in restaurants—actually in any place of business or social gathering—it was possible for those who did not speak Hunsrückish to be excluded from jokes and other conversation. Clerks were often hired for their bilingual skills because it was not infrequent that a client would enter the store and require attention in Hunsrückish. Even a storeowner who spoke Standard German was unable to help her Hunsrückish-speaking clients and switched back to Portuguese after failed attempts in German. Of those who did not speak German, many nevertheless had daily exposure to it, whether spoken in the streets, by parents or colleagues, or whether written on signs and in the newspaper. Beto Klein's theater pieces also featured some Hunsrückish.

The separation of languages was therefore more ideological than practical. The compartmentalization was enough, however, to prompt mothers to speak Portuguese with their children. A cycle developed, in which the child said he did not understand German and answered only in Portuguese, and then the parents switched to Portuguese in his presence to make sure he understood. When my friend and fellow doctoral student Raquel took me to a school in the *interior* of Teutônia, the teachers told us that after three months or so, a newly arrived kindergartener would no longer speak German in the

classroom. Teutônia is a town the same size as Dois Irmãos in rolling green hills about 85 km northwest of Porto Alegre, where the population speaks West Falian as a first language, then Hunsrückish, then Portuguese.¹² When Raquel asked some children if they could speak German, they said no. One of them she had heard recently speaking German with her mother in the grocery store. When she asked in West Falian all those children who could understand her to raise their hands, a majority raised their hands. The teacher confirmed that even though the children claimed not to speak any, that they might do so in the bathroom or at recess.

This practice of denying that one speaks German became clear in a study I conducted among theatergoers (see below). These audiences were attending Klein's plays, and I was surprised to discover that several fluent German speakers I knew had indicated on their questionnaires that they could speak little German and that they did so infrequently. People of all ages downplayed their abilities in German.

Theater Surveys

The plays of Alberto Carlos Klein were basically the only events in which Hunsrückish was spoken publicly, on a stage. The 60-person meetings of one senior social group conducted most of their business in Hunsrückish, but membership was restricted by age. All ages attended church, but when services were held in German at the Evangelical Church, they were done in Standard German. The Catholic bishop came to Dois Irmãos from São Leopoldo and gave his Easter mass in Standard German; the few people I asked said they did not generally understand his sermon. Any political speech would be given in Portuguese.

Klein's plays were an opportunity to gauge interest in publicly spoken Hunsrückish and represented German-Brazilian themes as well as self-reporting on language competence, practice, and family history. Records on the statistical breakdown of languages spoken in the Dois Irmãos area have generally proved hard to find. Neither the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) nor the Dois Irmãos City website carries much linguistic information. Remarkably, no mention is made of the linguistic data collected by the IBGE in their 2006 edited volume of 20th-century statistics. No mention is made of the 1940 census, when respondents reported on what

¹² Interview with Raquel Elbert

languages they spoke at home, and very little mention of immigrants, especially German-speaking ones. Italian immigrants make a more marked appearance.

Klein writes, directs, and acts in slapstick comedies that his group CurtoArte performs around Rio Grande do Sul, mostly in the Sinos Valley, and sometimes in other states. Headquartered in Dois Irmãos, the small theater consists primarily of Klein, 40, and several young people ages 17-20, who manage and act in the productions. He regularly invites other artists to perform in his theater, which now seats up to 90 people in folding chairs. He told me that he began showing pieces for children and that slowly the popularity of his adult pieces caught on. These are now performed in diverse venues for audiences of 75 to 500 people, all ages and language abilities. They run 150 shows per year. Now people line the aisles and the plays win festival prizes.¹³

The play “Thil Tapes” portrays impoverished farm life in the 1970s Kolonie and a family’s ability to nevertheless find pleasure in their lives. He says that the title refers to a mythical creature of 19th-century German folklore.¹⁴ “Nós Somos Mesmos Maravilhosas” (‘We Truly Are Marvelous’) and “Nós Somos Mesmos Maravilhosas Vão à Praia” (‘We Truly Are Marvelous Go to the Beach’) satirize gender relations and *colonos* leaving the *colônia* for a Brazilian public place: the beach. The all-male cast dresses up as women, acts out the bickerings of heterosexual couples, and plays up German speakers’ accents in Portuguese and uncouth behavior at the beach. The third play, “As Receitas de Tia Herta” (‘Recipes of Aunt Herta’) uses a plot about two men pursuing an overweight middle-aged aunt (played by Klein) to make bawdy jokes and share German-Brazilian recipes. The majority of the dialogue happens in Portuguese, but the Hunsrückish, generally punchlines and other humorous bits, occurs just enough to make non-German speakers in the audience nudge their German-speaking escorts for a translation. Klein gauges his improvisation in Hunsrückish to fit his estimate of the proportion of German speakers in the audience. The soundtrack is *Volkstümlicher Schlager* in Std. German, from Germany.¹⁵

¹³ [Won which festivals.] See curtoarte.com.br. Excerpts can be seen on [youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UT5DjZOLaC4): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UT5DjZOLaC4>

¹⁴ The closest I could find to a potential etymology of Thil Tapes was the Tape Indians, but no mention within German folklore.

¹⁵ This music is commonly played on local stations. If there are lyrics, it means the band is streamed from Germany; if purely instrumental (polka, generally), that the band aired is local.

My survey targeted the German-speaking population (see Appendix A for survey and its translation to English). How many members of the audience speak no, some, a lot, or only German? Do age, gender, and locale affect these statistics? How many people would like to see a play with at least some German in it, i.e., how many appreciate a public event that includes Hunsrückish?

Hypotheses And Methodology

I hypothesized that younger respondents would mostly speak some or no German, whereas older generations would speak some, a lot, or only German.¹⁶ Children of “mixed marriages” (i.e., one parent spoke German and the other did not) would be more likely to speak no German and also be younger than children of parents who both spoke German or both spoke Portuguese. If respondents whose parents are in a mixed marriage are younger, then the data would suggest a greater tendency for mixed marriage now than in previous generations. If these respondents spoke less German, an influence of mixed marriage on German speaking would be indicated. Both of these tendencies together would indicate a language shift.

A test run distributed to an audience of “Thil Tapes” in Dois Irmãos alerted me to problematic questions, which I discussed with a bilingual Hunsrückish-Portuguese speaker. Because Hunsrückish speakers often claim they do not speak Hunsrückish or deprecate their abilities, the question on the first version of the survey, “I understand and speak German,” was problematic. The second version addressed this issue by breaking the question into two—how often the speaker speaks German, and how much the person can say—as well as by asking after other potentially illuminating information, such as whether one or both parents spoke German, and whether they would like to see a play that is in German only. Still, there was room for respondents to follow the pattern of devaluing their abilities. I glanced at the responses of my host mother who regularly spoke fluent Hunsrückish. She had marked off that she usually spoke “only a little.” For this reason, if a person qualified for multiple categories, I assigned them to the higher category, i.e., “speaks a lot” rather than “some.” Also, if everything aside from one declaration indicated that the person understood German well, then I overrode those declarations.

¹⁶ See Appendix A for definition of these terms.

From the emended survey I got 318 responses from 3 different theater events: (1) 75 responses at the play “Nós Somos Mesmos Maravilhosas Vão à Praia” on 5/23/2008 in São José do Herval; (2) 99 responses at the play “Tia Herta” on 5/3/08 in Bom Princípio; and (3) 144 responses at the play “Thil Tapes” on 6/29/08 in Campo Bom.

As with all questionnaires, this one had inherent biases and sources of ambiguity (Rosenthal and Rosnow 1975). In addition to the measurement error associated with multiple interpretations of the same question or with lack of experience with this type of questionnaire format, several problems were unique to this group of respondents. When respondents answered in contradictory ways, such as marking “yes” for both “I understand and speak German,” and “I neither understand nor speak German,”¹⁷ they may have done so due to a lack of experience with survey-taking, multiple choice, written Portuguese, and written Hunsrückish. This was also visible in misspelled Portuguese and questions that people would come up and ask me. Some of them may have also been mostly monolingual German speakers struggling with a survey in Portuguese.

In the emended version of the survey, the “mostly monolingual” category was slated to only nine people, who responded that they understood German well and understood Portuguese little (see Graph 1). This number could be amplified to 16 but for contradictory answers in the ones that I then discarded. If, however, the respondents truly did not understand much Portuguese, contradictory answers would only corroborate their assertion that they understand little Portuguese. In one of the problematic surveys, the respondent checked that s/he could understand well German and Portuguese, and understand little German and Portuguese, but then s/he answered appropriately the one question written in Hunsrückish (What kind of German do you speak?). The respondent answered, “Hüns Ruck.”

Results

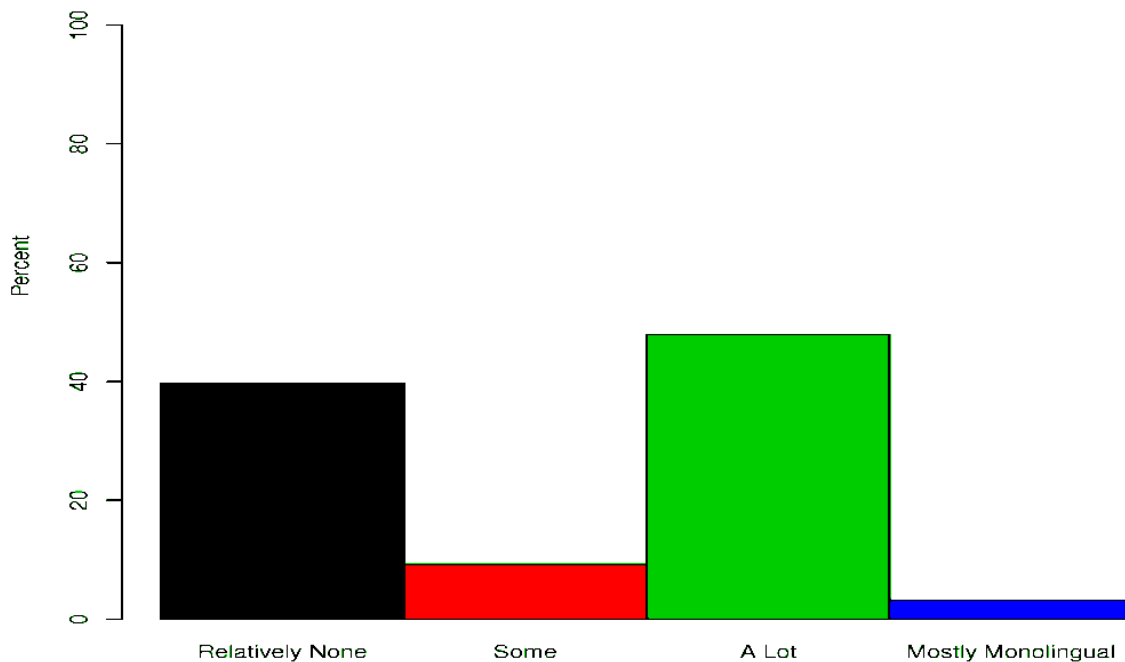
A majority of the respondents reported in a way that I assessed them to speak at least some German (60.3%), and almost one half that amount speak a lot of German (47.9%) (see Table 4 and Figure 5).

¹⁷ Out of 144 respondents to the first survey, 9 answered in this contradictory way and 26 left these questions blank.

Table 4: Reported German Speech

German Language Assessment	N	(%)
Relatively None	112	(39.7%)
Some	26	(9.2%)
A Lot	135	(47.9%)
Mostly Monolingual	9	(3.2%)
Total	282	(100%)

Figure 5: Reported German Speech



Almost two fifths reported that they speak relatively no German (39.7%), and a few that they are mostly monolingual German speakers (3.2%, or 9 individuals). Of these monolinguals, four were in their 60s and 70s, two in their 30s, and two were children. In general, the prediction that age corresponds with German speaking was true: the older the respondent, the more German s/he likely spoke (see Table 5).

Table 5: Age Distribution of German Speakers

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Q1	Median	Q3	Max
Relatively None	108	33.09	14.17	5	24	33	42.5	70
Some	26	32.23	17.35	7	15.25	32.5	46	67
A Lot	124	35.52	15.88	7	23	37	46.25	84
Mostly Monolingual	8	45.12	26.52	7	28.25	49	69.25	72
Total	285	34.18	16.16	5	22	34	45	84

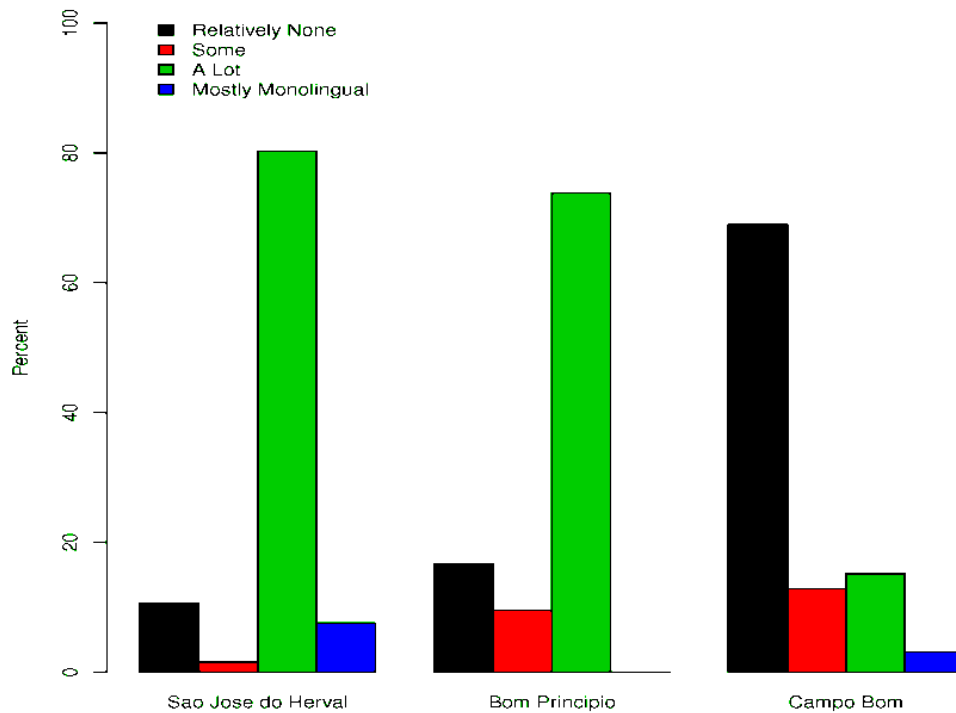
The surveys corroborate my observations that there are children still learning German as their first language. I witnessed young school children who spoke West Falian in Teutônia, and children of varying age (from 4 to 17 years) whose parents spoke Hunsrückish with them at home. On the survey, children responded that they spoke at least some, and sometimes a lot or mostly only German. Out of 45 children age 15 and younger, 27 marked that they spoke at least some. Of these, 15 were under age 11.

Gender distribution was even throughout the language categories. More telling than the gender variable, is one of locale: As predicted, the smaller and more rural the town, the more German is spoken (see Table 6 and Figure 6).

Table 6: Reported German Speech by Locale

	São Jose do Herval N (%)	Bom Princípio N (%)	Campo Bom N (%)	Total N (%)
Relatively None	7 (10.6%)	14 (16.7%)	91 (68.9%)	112 (39.7%)
Some	1 (1.5%)	8 (9.5%)	17 (12.9%)	26 (9.2%)
A Lot	53 (80.3%)	62 (73.8%)	20 (15.2%)	135 (47.9%)
Mostly Monolingual	5 (7.6%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (3.0%)	9 (3.2%)
Total	66 (100.0%)	84 (100.0%)	132 (100%)	282 (100.0%)

Figure 6: Reported German Speech by Locale

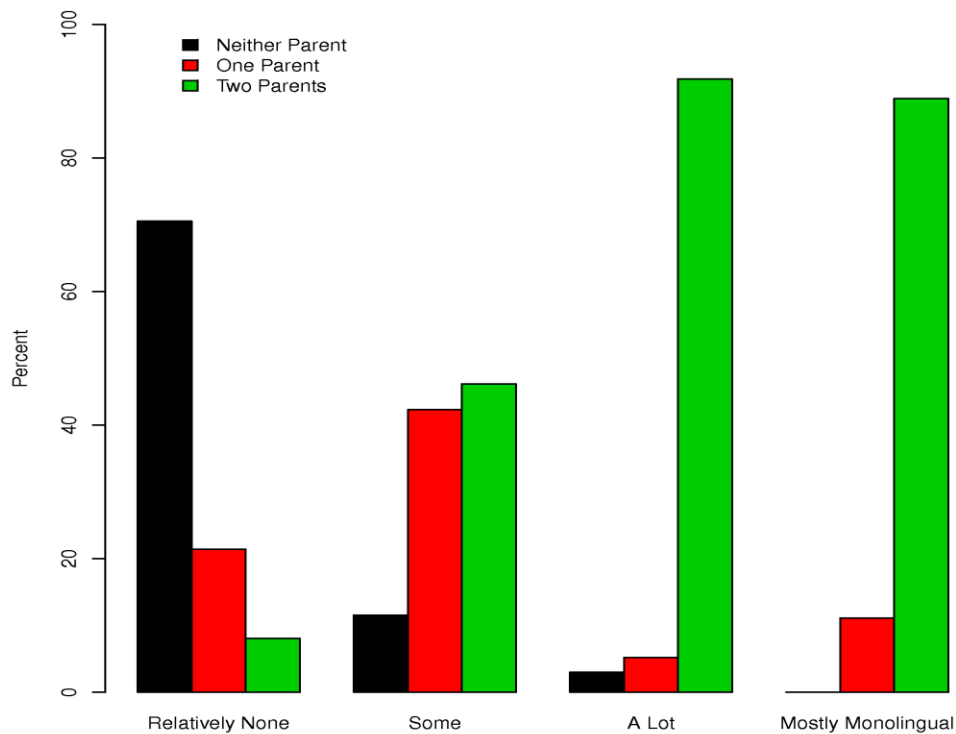


São José do Herval has a population of 2549, and 80.3% of its respondents fit the “speak a lot of German” category. Bom Princípio (pop. 11,731) also showed many respondents who “speak a lot” (73.8%), but also some who speak only some (9.5%) and relatively none (16.7%). Campo Bom (pop. 59, 366) had a majority who spoke relatively none (68.9%). It also, however, included four of the “mostly monolingual” among its respondents. Klein rightly assessed his audiences when he decided to do more improvisation in Hunsrückish.

Table 7: What the Parents Spoke

	Relatively None	Some	A Lot	Mostly Mono-lingual	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Neither Parent	79 (70.5%)	3 (11.5%)	4 (3.0%)	0 (0.0%)	86 (30.5%)
One Parent	24 (21.4%)	11 (42.3%)	7 (5.2%)	1 (11.1%)	43 (15.2%)
Two Parents	9 (8.0%)	12 (46.2%)	124 (91.9%)	8 (88.9%)	153 (54.3%)
Total	112 (99.9%)	26 (100.0%)	135 (100.0%)	9 (100.0%)	282 (100%)

Figure 7: What the Parents Spoke



As predicted, speakers of German likely have at least one parent who speaks or spoke German (Table 7 and Figure 7). There are people who speak some (11.5%) or even a lot (3%) of German despite not having parents who spoke any. These respondents may speak Std. German, which is learned in school rather than at home, or they may have picked up Hunsrückish from their environment: At least one respondent understood the survey sentence that was in Hunsrückish and responded that s/he spoke “dialeto.” The converse—children who speak relatively no German even though they had two parents who speak (8%) or at least one parent (21.4%) is less surprising given the historical concern with teaching one’s children German and speaking German in public.

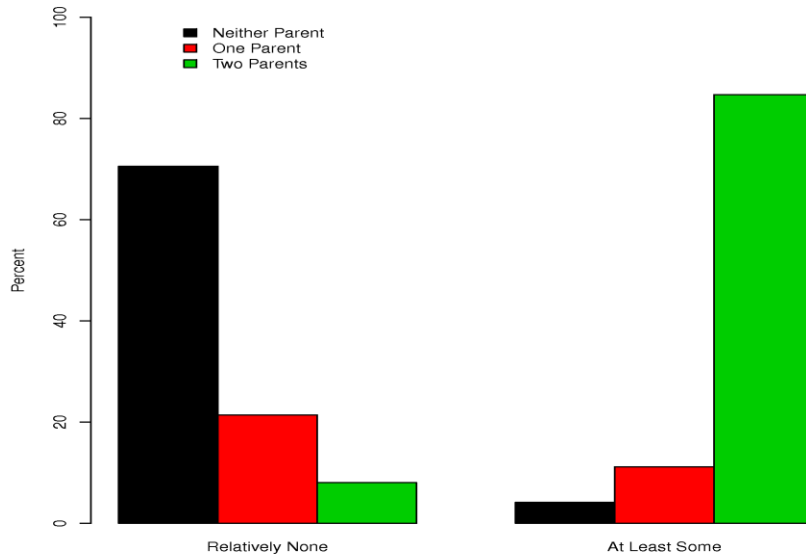
Another result, which does fall within the expected patterns of marriage and language, is that most respondents’ parents either both do (54.3%) or do not (30.5%) speak German, i.e., “mixed marriages” were less frequent (15.2%). Now there is a trend toward more exogamy and more general contact with speakers of other languages,

religions, descents, etc. Was a “mixed marriage” a factor in whether the child spoke German? (See Table 8 and Figure 8.)

Table 8: Relationship of German Spoken by Parent to German Spoken by Children

	Relatively None N (%)	At Least Some N (%)	Total N (%)
Neither Parent	79 (70.5%)	7 (4.1%)	86 (30.5%)
One Parent	24 (21.4%)	19 (11.2%)	43 (15.2%)
Two Parents	9 (8.0%)	144 (84.7%)	153 (54.3%)
Total	112 (99.9%)	170 (100%)	282(100%)

Figure 8: Relationship of German Spoken by Parent to German Spoken by Children



Of those who fit the category of speaking at least some German, an overwhelming majority had two parents who spoke German. Only 11.2% had just one parent who spoke German. As the number of mixed marriages increases and parents make less effort to raise their children bilingually, the trend toward a language shift increases.

Overall, this survey gives some idea of how Hunsrückish speakers in the Dois Irmãos area report on their language abilities (often devaluations) but also how they support a public event that features Hunsrückish language and German-Brazilian themes. Because the locale in which the study was conducted was biased toward German

speakers, we can say that those assessed as speaking “relatively no German” is underestimated. This number is probably higher in the general Dois Irmãos population. Hunsrückish is still spoken by a majority of the audiences by people of all ages and genders, especially those living in smaller, rural areas. Most of the Hunsrückish speakers’ parents both spoke German and mixed marriages were far fewer than those marriages where both parents either did or did not speak German.

The results most contradictory to the prevailing language loss discourses are that mostly monolinguals still exist and at every age. Although they represent only 3.2% of those surveyed, the existence of mostly monolinguals suggests that the social systems of their daily lives foster an environment in which there is little need to speak Portuguese; i.e., German is still present. That we can say that young people speak some, a lot, or mostly only German suggests that at least some of them will continue speaking years from now. That people I knew to speak frequently and fluently did not report themselves to do so reconfirmed a discourse that does not always match a practice. Lastly, the success of Klein’s plays indicates that a diverse audience of all ages, genders, and language abilities can participate in the same activity, and that both languages can be presented without difficulty for those who do not immediately understand both. Languages are not naturally compartmentalized, with strict boundaries. This fluidity is proved by the result that some German speakers had Portuguese-speaking parents and that some non-German speakers had German-speaking parents. One learns language through multiple influences: parents, peers, school, and other ratified and unratified institutions. Thus, a continuation of Hunsrückish is not dependent on a single source of transmission.

Little Consensus on the Name of their Language

The vagueness of the words *alemão* or *Deutsch* (German), both of which appeared on the survey,¹⁸ can be seen in the variety of responses I got to the question: What kind of German do you speak? (*Was fo deutsch spricht dea?*) (*welches deutsch*)? A lack of an overt ideologization is evident in the fact that few Hunsrückish activists exist. Unlike Kulick (1992), who argues that the Gapun villagers have explicit ideologies and

¹⁸ I include responses from the original survey version as well, because this question did not change with the emendations.

associations with their two languages, Taiap and Tok Pisin (one which is characterized by collectivism, masculinity, adulthood, and goodness; the other with individualism, femininity, childhood, and badness), Hunsrückish speakers do not agree on even a name for their language. Generally, it is referred to as *alemão* or **Deitsch**, but these labels refer to any variety of German, some of which are mutually unintelligible or index polar ideologies. Although language ideologies clearly emerge with the labels of grammatical and dialect, the connection between them is blurry and many speakers do not, in fact, discuss these ideologies, let alone act on behalf of a group representing them.

Responses to the question *Was fo deitsch spricht dea? welches deitsch?*:

“Dialect.” *Dialeto* (25). Variations: *Alemão dialeto* (‘German dialect’) (3), *Alemão tilato* (1), *Dialeto da Alemanha* (‘dialect of Germany’) (2), *Dialet* (1).

Hunsrück (9). Variations: O **Hunsirk** (4), **Hunsrik** (2), **Hünsrik** (2), **Hünrik** (1), **Hunsrigen** (2), **Hüns Ruck** (1), **Hüstrik** (1), **Hunds rich** (1), **hunh** (1), **Hunsrich** (2), **unsrich** (2), **Hunnrich** (1), **Hunrück** (*dialeto*) (1), **Hunsrick** (3), **Huns Rick** (1), **hunsrück** (1), **unsrick** (1), **Uns Rit** (1), **Hünsrich** (1), **hunsrickes** (1), **Hut. Rik.** (1).

“Low German.” *Plat deitsch.* (2). Variations: **Platt Deitsch** (1), **Platt dütsch** (2), **The plat-deitsch** (1), **Blad Deitsch** (2), **Blat Deutsch** (1).

“The wrong German.” *O alemão errado* (2). Variations: *Não é o alemão certo, o da nossa regio da São José* (‘It’s not the correct German, the one of our region of São José’) (1); *O alemão que falamos não é o certo* (‘The German we speak is not the right one’) (1); *o não correto* (‘the not correct one’) (1); *o popular n/ gramatico* (‘the popular not grammatical one’) (1) **Pisie Deitsch** (‘a little German’) (1).

“Our German.” **Unsa Deitsch** (1). Variations: *o alemao de Bom Principio* (the German of Bom Príncipe) (1), *Alemão da Cidade* (German of the city) (1).

Standard German (4). Variations: **Hoch Deutsch** (1) **och deuch** (1), **Hoch deitsch** (1), **Deutsch** (1).

These responses can be broken down into six categories. Most people called their type of German a form of **Hunsrück** (40) and many also wrote “dialect” (32). Nine people responded with a form of “Plat Deitsch.” Both speakers of Hunsrückish and West Falian sometimes referred to their language as a form of “Plattdeutsch”. Because West Falian speakers lived mostly in other areas from that in which the play was performed, and there were a lot fewer of them in RS in general, the audience members describing their

language as Platt could easily be speakers of Hunsrückish. That people¹⁹ wrote specifically that their German was the wrong kind was typical for any discourse about their language.

Altenhofen and Thun's speech atlas (2007) added more possible choices for what participants might call the German language they spoke:

Hunsrückish, Hunsrück, or Hunsbucklisch;
Deitsch or Deutsch;
Alemong or Alemão;
Standard German;
Hochdeitsch or Hofdeitsch;
Feindeitsch;
Alemão Gramatical;
Platt; and
Dialekt.

This vagueness behind the meaning of German may represent a lack of activism, of pride, and of institutional ratification, and it may also be strategic indeterminacy. 'We are not one people, so do not try to characterize us as such.' Whether or not it is strategic, the indeterminacy plays into the affairs of many speakers of a nonstandard variety of language.

How Is Our Language Being Lost?

The regret that parents and teachers express or blame that they place on an outside source is accompanied by an oversight that they themselves have a part in their child's not "wanting" to learn or not learning the language (Kulick 1992, Meek 2007). Kulick shows that parents in the Papua New Guinean village of Gapun blame their children for the community's shifting from Taiap to Tok Pisin, but Kulick argues that babies' and children's evaluations of language have not changed; rather their caregivers' evaluations have changed. He complicates the idea that language shift is due to forces frequently accredited in language shift studies (occupation, large-scale in-migration of dominant group members, incorporation into a political entity in which that language is widely used, etc.) by examining specific cultural and linguistic characteristics that make a

¹⁹ Of 68 respondents who gave at least a semi-sensical answer to this question, seven wrote a variation of "the wrong German."

community such as Gapun more or less open to shift. These include codeswitching practices, the degree to which socialization of children is in the hands of other children, and the degree of multilingualism. Meek shows that Kaska teachers and elders overlook the fact that in one of the most important places to be learning and practicing their language—in Kaska-language classes—the teachers indirectly silence the children at times when they should be able to imitate and articulate. Similarly, in the Hunsrückish case, national restrictions on their language during World War II may not be entirely to blame. Hunsrückish speakers will send messages to their children that the language is inappropriate. Children had the opportunity to observe that one does not generally speak Hunsrückish in public places, where business is transacted, either state-officiated (e.g., in school or the bank) or commercial (e.g., in the grocery store). They also got the message through discourses about written language. This is especially noticeable in public signs or internet language that replaced the letter *q* or *c* with *k*, which is a controversially foreign part of the Portuguese alphabet. When my host mother lamented the spelling of KafeHaus, saying, “It’s spelled wrong!” I asked if it might be a playful way of incorporating something that looked like German, maybe even English. She said that if it was, it should not be because the priority is for children to learn how to properly spell Portuguese.

Since World War II, literacy rates in German have sharply decreased, although there are sources of written German around. Some people did own books and documents in Standard German, often written in Fraktur, but generally these books and documents were illegible to their owners. German writing appears on the statue outside the new Catholic church, as well as on the stained glass windows in the old church. Built in 1859, these windows recount biblical parables. In exhibits for German immigration and other culture work projects, such as festivals and tourist spots along the Romantische Strasse, signs, brochures, and placards demonstrate some Hunsrückish, but more often Std. German.

German surnames were another source of written German, on street signs, business signs, and when included in local records, newspapers, and other documents. It was perhaps telling, however, that my host mother did not spell the name of her own

street correctly. There were few maps, and in general, people gave directions not based on street names but on landmarks. Most people did not own many books.

The Dois Irmãos library had no books in English, aside from a couple grammar books, even though the city was abuzz with the importance of learning it, and five English schools had popped up in the past several years. There was a general lack of priority placed on reading. No reading was done in public cafes or parks. Most children in my host families were scolded for not cleaning their rooms or staying too long on the internet, rather than for not sitting down to read a book.

These same people responded quite well to texts I showed them Hunsrückish. After some protestation that they could not be expected to read anything in German, they discovered that they could slowly make out the words, and some people spent a lot of time then reading copies of *Unsa Gut Deutsch Kolonie*. Mario Baumgarten requested that I buy him additional copies of it the next time I was in Porto Alegre. The central place to find Hunsrückish texts was a bookshop in downtown Porto Alegre, otherwise, at book festivals, especially in Porto Alegre, and eventually I was pointed to the Goethe Institut. Libraries and private collections, such as Altenhofen's, were other places to look.

When asked why Hunsrückish speakers did not have records of or know who their ancestors were, or when and where they came from in Germany, SG responded that people lack education. They are not used to reading, writing, or tracking down records. Few had traveled to Germany.

The only person I could find willing to give me regular lessons in Hunsrückish—the same one with the sign on her business reading “Lessons in German: Dialect or Grammatical”—said that most people came to her for Standard German. She was trained to teach Std. German and a native speaker of Hunsrückish and Portuguese. She had not initially been interested in teaching Hunsrückish, but over the years had gotten a few people requesting lessons in it so that they could communicate with customers entering their store. Mostly, though, people wanted to learn English. Three English-language schools existed in Dois Irmãos alone. Many young people I talked to had plans to go abroad to work or live.

A quiet resignation to what was seen as an inevitable language shift meant that many speakers did not actively pursue a revitalization. Hunsrückish is not taught in

schools or visible in institutionally ratified places. Many descendants of German speakers reported choosing to learn Standard German, English or Spanish over Hunsrückish. In fact, no grammar books or courses on Hunsrückish exist. One host brother, who did not speak Hunsrückish, showed me the grammar book that he had begun creating for himself, based on his parents' input.

Activism/Pride

Exceptions to the general lack of activists can be found in the academic, artistic, and religious communities. Conferences, workshops, seminars, research projects and fieldtrips, publications, and participation in regional and national policy development involved academics from UFRGS, UNISINOS, UNISC²⁰ and other RS universities, which attract scholars nationally and internationally. During my time in RS, I presented a paper at the 10th National Seminar of Historical Researchers of Teuto-Brazilian Communities at UNISINOS and joined some of them in a trip up the coast to track important sites of immigrant history. I also attended a workshop with a DAAD (Deutsche Akademischer Austausch Dienst) lecturer on dialectological methods, and the First International Forum of Linguistic Diversity. This Forum, held in July 2007 in Porto Alegre, drew a variety of participants, including policy makers, academics, intermediate educators, and native speakers of minority languages. The goal was to establish “a policy for a linguistic diversity in the teaching of languages,” stated in the program booklet this way:

Beginning with the idea that diversity represents the most natural order of things and the most adequate basis for a cultural democracy (Fishman 2006), as well as symbolic capital for groups of people, the forum was created to evolve concrete proposals for bringing about linguistic diversity. This should happen in the education setting as well as in daily life. Issues to discuss include language socialization (L1 and L2), rights of minority languages, linguistic and cultural identity, linguistic markets, bilingual education, language variation and change, and plurilingualism and language contact.

Following this policy agenda, UFRGS Professor Cléo Vilson Altenhofen attended meetings in Brasília put on by UNESCO (UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural

²⁰ UFRGS = Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, in Porto Alegre; UNISINOS = Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, in São Leopoldo; and UNISC = Universidade de Santa Cruz do Sul, in Santa Cruz do Sul.

Organization) and IPOL (Instituto de Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Política Lingüística) to advocate for the inclusion of immigrant languages, particularly Hunsrückish, in a national atlas under development. His own atlas projects, The Linguistic-Contact Atlas of German Minorities in the Silver Basin (ALMA) and the Linguistic-Ethnographic Atlas of the Southern Region of Brazil (ALERS) create a partnership with the University of Kiel, Germany, and 15 Brazilian universities—a network of national and international research that includes exchange with projects like the Diatopic and Diastratic Linguistic Atlas of Uruguay (ADDU) and the Guarani-Romance Linguistic Atlas (ALGR).

Another political project is the establishment of a Hunsrückish orthography. Altenhofen's group ESCRITHU conducts research in schools and in connection with the atlases to standardize an orthography based on German etymologies and linguistics. This approach stands in opposition to one pursued by a member of the Wycliffe Bible translators. Ursula Wiesemann had come from Germany within the past five years to live in Santa Maria do Herval to undertake a Hunsrückish translation of the Bible. She advocates an orthography that would allow native Hunsrückish speakers to read their own language without studying German. This orthography primarily entails rules based on Portuguese spelling. However, Wiesemann and her Hunsrückish-speaking assistants also include umlauts and other elements in ways foreign to Portuguese, which results in an eclectic approach that ESCRITHU considers unscientific. Altenhofen remarked that Hunsrückish speakers live in already marginalized ways and to alienate their orthography from German studies will only further isolate them in the world. Wiesemann's influence has spread through newspaper publications and books sold at book fairs, Beto Klein's theater group (see a play-turned-film with intertitles on YouTube: (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYPgz9KZwXc>), and in her attempts to get the schools to adopt her orthography.

For all the shame and rhetoric about language loss associated with Hunsrückish, the heart of the language still beats. Children are still learning it, especially in more rural areas, but even in Dois Irmãos as well. Even children who do not respond in Hunsrückish and whose parents often switch to Portuguese around them show a competence in Hunsrückish. Meek shows that [even if they do not speak Kaska] children reveal

emergent knowledge by responding appropriately to a command; issuing directives themselves to parents and other children; code-mixing; listening and asking questions; and understanding novel utterances in a picture-pointing game (2007:28). With any object I pointed to in the room, my 13-year-old host sister gave me the German for it. She also responded appropriately to her grandparents when they asked her what we had seen on our walk through the farm fields. “A dead mouse,” she said. They laughed. Children learn it, and some adults do as well. I heard of two storeowners who learned Hunsrückish or relearned it in order to communicate with customers. It is a valued language in the retail world.

Hunsrückish speakers do take pride in and enjoy their language. Altenhofen remarked on the *maravilha* (‘marvel’) of the relative pronoun *wo*—you can use it for all genders and numbers! The artist Flávio Scholles, despite insisting that he will not teach his granddaughter Hunsrückish, tells stories of giving lectures over the past 20 years in Germany in Hunsrückish. The questions that the audience asked him at the end were not about his art but about his “delightful dialect.” In the short film *Os Quadros Que Falam* (2009), which documents his universal language movement, he says, “A girl from the University of Michigan was here doing a master's on our dialect, and she said: ‘You have a style because you have your own way of speaking.’ So what was my shame turned into my happiness.” (*O que era minha vergonha se tornou em minha alegria*). This was said in Portuguese, but the film also shows him speaking in Hunsrückish with Portuguese subtitles. Several films have featured Hunsrückish—either as the primary language or as a cameo (*O Livro de Walachai* and *Os Mucker*, e.g.)—museums carry Hunsrückish materials, and various published stories and histories circulate.

Conclusion

This chapter gives a sociolinguistic background of the Hunsrückish speakers who live in the Dois Irmãos area. By the 1960s, a language shift began, due to institutionalized changes made during the nationalization campaign, such as Portuguese language instruction, and also to the ideological connections between speaking German and disempowerment within Brazilian society.

Not every Hunsrückish speaker has a detectable accent in Portuguese, feels out of place speaking Hunsrückish in public, or pinpoints a language shift on the nationalization

campaign. This diversity in the makeup of the Hunsrückish-speaking group is one of its defining features and why they are an intriguing study: the analyst must constantly ask herself if the object of her pursuit is in fact in existence. The next chapter branches out to more, diverse experiences of the shifts occurring in the population.

Chapter 5

Interpersonal Alignments Through Codeswitching

This chapter examines personal alignments between interlocutors who may not know each other well. In moments of conflict or tension with strangers, establishing one's ground early in a conversation could be urgent. Individual relations particularly (the *Is* and *yous*) would seem necessary to configure before intergroup relations (the *wes* and *theys*). If the standing of each conversation participant is not properly determined, the ensuing interactions may not meet expectations, whether in a completed financial transaction or an informally granted favor. Alternately, in the same exchanges, the opposite intersubjective move may also be advantageous: Avoiding an expression of one's position (or, more likely, an only partial expression) in relation to an interlocutor could be equally desirable if, for example, the relationship remains unclear and an establishment of hierarchy is not favorable. Sometimes a relationship is best left undetermined.

In the speech events presented below, these questions, among others, emerge: In expressing themselves, do strangers draw on a different set of resources from that drawn on by interlocutors who are familiar with each other? Who determines whether an alignment is made? Must an alignment be made or can a person remain unstylized, unmarked, without stance or status, as s/he transacts her/his business? Do strangers tend to make more tentative, even indeterminate, alignments with each other than do familiars?

Alignments made with and against larger networks of relations and language ideologies also become sites of greater and less urgency, depending on the effect that the alignments will be deemed to have on the intersubjective relations. The speaker's general sense of discretion also comes into play: Some alignments will be inappropriate to tender in public.

A useful place to look at these questions is in store transactions (for examples, see Heller 1978, Brown 2010). Customers, coming and going, will speak with the sales clerk

for a short, purposeful exchange, presumably with the agenda of getting a good deal (customer) and good commission (clerk). Patterns of address pronouns and codeswitching may be used in strategic establishment or avoidance of a certain relationship.

Viviane, owner of the lotto store (*lotérica*) in a small town near Dois Irmãos, invited me to sit with her behind the counter and record customers speaking German. She told me to come on days that were not so busy, i.e., not on paydays, so that I could witness interactions in which she had longer moments to speak with the customers. From 11 hours recorded in five different sessions, I draw from interactions between Viviane and three different clients that show moments of realignment. In each moment, the conversation produces possible relationships and ideological commitments, then alternatives are suggested through deictic and other semiotic moves. Some interlocutors express more openness to the alternatives than others. In the first moment, Viviane challenges a female client on her status as a German speaker, who defends herself in multiple ways. They test each other's alignments to a German-Brazilian and Brazilian public, as well as the ideologies entailed in forming the publics. In the second moment, Viviane tries to playfully engage a male client in Hunsrückish but he is in a hurry to complete the transaction and mostly sticks to Portuguese. Their code choices, accompanied by other accommodations and pragmatic behaviors, contribute to establishing ideological alignments with Hunsrückish and Portuguese. In the final moment, an elderly male client from the Kolonie raises his voice when he cannot get his benefit money, and Viviane switches both pronoun and code to diffuse the tension. In each interaction, I analyze the resources used by each interlocutor—codeswitching, pronoun address, and other indexicals and implicatures—to accommodate the other's agenda or to pursue his or her own.

Pronouns

We might expect that the address pronouns would be more diverse than those used in a familiar, stable setting, and that language switching would be more strategic, because the relationships with strangers are less determined. We would expect, based on native metadiscourse and linguistic studies, a widespread usage of the informal *tu* or *du* (Arduin

and Coelho 2006), followed by an unconjugated verb (Zilles 2005). Still, because these are business transactions, sometimes with strangers and elders, there should also be some usage of *você*, *o senhor* or *Dea*. Another social boundary that might inform a stylistic usage of the formal could be the Kolonist public. Leão (2004) found a clear predominance of *o senhor* used with parents in the German-speaking, rural area of Vale Real.¹ As far back as 1974-75, Jensen's work demonstrated that the schools of the *interior* regions of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro preferred a hierarchical address system rather than the reciprocal relationship evident in urban schools (1984). In more urban areas, older speakers are more likely than younger speakers to draw on the full repertory of forms. Because the majority of older speakers grew up in the Kolonie, the variables of age and region can get blurred when speakers assess one another. If not informal or formal, another option in the address repertory is an avoidance of any pronoun, in which case a null subject would be used with a "conjugated" (s-retained) or "unconjugated" (s-deleted²) verb, nuancing further the scale of formal options.

Irvine's (1979) breakdown of the concept formality-informality helps to illuminate what is happening in the conversations below. The three properties of formality that Irvine finds in literature from sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking include properties of: (1) a communicative code, (2) the social setting, and (3) the analyst's description. Sometimes the code creates the social setting; sometimes the setting dictates the code. If the quality of formality is connected to extra or elaborated rules, semantic or syntactic parallelism, and redundancy (774), then null subjects and s-deleted verbs can be said to evoke an informality. They involve removal of an element and addition of potential indeterminacy, especially if followed by an s-deleted verb.

¹ Arduin and Coelho (2006:188) argue against the likelihood of a regional identity marker, because in some regions only *você* is used (Curitiba), and *tu* belongs predominantly in RS. It is not, however, entirely true that *tu* is restricted to the very south: Different forms of this pronoun, such as the object *te*, appear in every region of Brazil. Also, their study takes a comparative look across states, Santa Catarina, and RS, in mostly large cities and no rural areas. My study is concentrated in the Dois Irmãos region, where all forms in Portuguese (*tu*, *você*, *o senhor/a senhora*, and their pluralizations) are known and used by all types of speakers and both forms in German (*du* and *Dea*) and are used by older speakers.

² I call this verb "s-deleted," but the matter is perhaps one where the third-person conjugation is borrowed. There is no s-deletion, for example, when the preterite *veio* ('came') is used with *tu*. The preterite conjugation for *tu* would be *vieste*.

Codeswitching

A look at practices of codeswitching offers another angle on the pragmatics of group alignments, as well as establishing a proximity or distance to one's interlocutors.

Convergence or divergence of code iconically represents a social convergence or divergence (Urciuoli 1995). Giles, Coupland, and Coupland's (1991) accommodation theory and the intimacy-distance approaches put forth by Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1972) and others gain traction if code convergences and divergences within the conversation are accompanied by other showings of accommodation or nonaccommodation. For example, does a speaker who converges her code also change the pronoun of address and her body language, take up her interlocutor's topic, and make any overt statement of agreement, such as "you're right!" Does she comply with some request as she is taking up her interlocutor's code?

The goal is not to offer a teleological, functional view of codeswitching, in which a certain function is always associated with the same language. By switching languages, the same tasks are not always accomplished: We see below ways in which both Hunsrückish and Portuguese are used to frame a conversation; diffuse tension; and link a speaker to some position of positive value. The need to understand background context in order to comprehend indexical processes within the moment of switching corresponds to Auer's (1998) invocation to include in codeswitching analysis the macrosociolinguistic factors and how they interact with local processes. Without ethnographic background context, a codeswitch is meaningless.

In gaining a sense of the meaningfulness of switches, it must also be acknowledged that these behaviors happen at different levels of awareness (Silverstein 1981). As important as understanding the ethnographic context, a consideration of actor awareness precipitates a discussion of strategic moves. We cannot say whether a person intends to make an accommodating alignment, only whether their behavior could be interpreted as such. Below the level of awareness, native speakers would not be able to describe much, but they do have relatively systematic ideas about language, which are part of pragmatic context (Hanks 1993:129). Therefore, a comparison of what actors do with what they say, as well as the reactions of their interlocutors helps in understanding meaningful behaviors.

Observation of both pragmatic and metapragmatic, and linguistic and paralinguistic behaviors reveals social and formal constraints on these behaviors. The formal, linguistic level includes Muysken's (2000) three processes: insertion, which looks like borrowing; alternation, which looks like turn-taking; and congruent grammar, which occurs when two languages of contact share a grammatical structure and either language could substitute lexically. Addressing social constraints, Auer differentiates discourse-related codeswitching from preference-related switching. The former is the use of codeswitching to organize the conversation by contributing to the interaction. An example would be repetition in the other language of what was not responded to in the first language. Discourse-related *insertions* function similarly to switching, but with a single word or phrase embedded within the matrix language. Participants try to understand "why that language now?" In contrast, preference-related switching works by participants trying to understand the specific behavior of the individual performing the switch. For example, my friend preferred speaking Portuguese to Hunsrückish around native Hunsrückish speakers of our linguistics circle because her first language was West Falian, and she felt her Hunsrückish was not fluent enough. A switch away from Hunsrückish could then be accounted for in terms of her comfort level as much or more than a strategic ideological statement about Portuguese.

A comparison of formal to social constraints reveals that the two do not always match. People converge toward and diverge away from where they believe target others are (Giles 2001). Their behavior may be read (and speakers may have intended such a reading) as reinforcing or confusing their metapragmatic statements. Intentional or more aware switching is often discussed in terms of style (Chen 2008) or register (Babel 2010).

Semiotic Processes

Coupland (2001) argues against studies of style that begin with one aspect of identity or that begin with context as a condition for variation. He advocates speaker agency and that any one dimension may interact with any number of semiotic processes. Larger networks are inevitably indexed and therefore somewhat determined by expressing who one is in relation to one's interlocutor. The indexing process carries with it presupposed (taken for granted) and entailing (creative) aspects (Silverstein 2003). As the social roles,

institutions, and publics with which the speakers align themselves come into existence during the interactions of the lotto store, we learn something about not just the individual participants but the larger structures that make up their lives. Participants range in their backgrounds, language abilities, and familiarity with one another, from acquaintances to strangers, and the setting is a semi-public, Brazilian institution (a lotto store) situated in a small, semi-rural German-Brazilian town (see Figure 9).

The Lotto Store

Figure 9: Photographs of the Exterior of the Lotto Store



The Lotto Store



Small, mountainous town near DI

The setting affects how people negotiate their status with one another (Eckert and Rickford 2001). It affects the types of disputes or tensions likely to erupt. In the case at hand, the setting is a state-affiliated institution in a mostly “German” town. It has elements of both public and private. It is a locale that has high stakes requests because they are linked to money and bureaucracy. In addition to tension due to the type of requests, the one in charge of granting or denying them is a person who can be provocative in the exchanges.

Being in public here can be like being at home. The size of the town, combined with the tendency for extended families to be large and living near one another, means that one often runs into a family member in street. August told me he was always concerned there might be a cousin walking behind him on the street. Another private element in public is that most people speak German. The clerk at the bakery told me that she did not speak German, but that when someone came in who struggled with

Portuguese, she would immediately yell for her boss to come and attend the German-speaking customer. I visited a cooking class in this village of roughly 5000. Among the class of 10 students, only the professor and one other person did not speak German.

The town is small, with a population of about 5000, just outside what is considered the greater Porto Alegre metropole. Most people in the town can speak Hunsrückish. Yet the town is not entirely *interior*. Its inhabitants work in several factories, retail shops, and restaurants. Not all employees in the shops and restaurants speak Hunsrückish, but Viviane and her clerk both relearned it to work with customers. They both grew up hearing it but had never spoken it much until the past few years.

Viviane, a woman in her early 50s, sports form-fitting sweaters and jeans, and a pair of high heels. Like many Brazilian women, she gets a manicure and pedicure every few weeks. She also has her short blond hair done regularly. I like new, modern things, she told me. She lives in a neighboring city and drives every day to the store. She is a social person, checking in with her friend every day for the latest gossip. She broaches topics that are not often discussed around me, affirmative action policies, for example. She states her opinions loudly. Her provocative behavior may be a performance for me.

Her general posture was one of authority. Unlike clerk-customer relations elsewhere (see Levinson in Silverstein 2003, Heller 1978), the lotto clients make requests of the owner or her clerk, who know that the clients cannot easily go elsewhere for such needs. It is a convenience store that acts also as a bank, in accordance with federal regulations. This upper hand stance combined with Viviane's fondness for provocation instigated various moments of tension in the lotto store, three of which I parse below.

Figure 10: Photographs of the Interior of the Lotto Store



Customer at the counter



View from behind the counter

Moment 1

In the first moment, Viviane challenges a female customer, whom she has not met before, on the woman's authenticity as a fellow member of the German-speaking world. In a conversation just under two minutes, or 46 turns, the storeowner hammers home five times the “surprising” disconnect between the woman's dark hair and her ability to speak German. In response to this challenge, the customer lays out multiple ways in which she can claim membership to the German-speaking community: she establishes herself as someone who is semi-rural, socially intimate with other descendants of German immigrants, and of the local community.

MOMENT 1

1 Client: *Bezohl's jetz*—³

1 Client: [I] will pay it now—

2 Other woman: h

2 Other woman: h

3 Owner: [to client] *Sprichst du ooch Deutsch? e é bem morena né?*

3 Owner: [to client] **Do you**[sg.inform] **speak German too?** and Ø⁴ is/are very dark, né⁵?

³ [Each line represents an intonation unit.] Transcription notation, adapted from Bucholtz (2000):

bold ital. German

bold German in English gloss

ital. Portuguese

/ an alternative translation

? end of intonation unit, sometimes rising, sometimes falling

^ rising then falling intonation

— self-interruption, break in the intonational unit

- self-interruption, break in the word, sound abruptly cut off

. . . changing direction of sentence

: length

h laughter

[] transcriber comment or simultaneous speech

[.] pause, for which number represents seconds

<> uncertain transcription

(()) nonvocal noise

([]) phonetic transcription

= latching (no pause between speaker turns)

[...] skipped transcript lines, see Appendix to see them

⁴ Because I am focusing on second-person null subjects, I indicate them with Ø, and write other null subjects with the underlying person in brackets.

⁵ I did not translate *né*, a flavoring (emphatic) particle in both German and Portuguese, whose frequency of usage is greater than any counterpart for most English speakers I know. It is a tag word meaning, ‘right?’ or ‘isn’t it/she/he?’

4 CI: <i>alles, alle Leit spricht Deutsch</i>	4 CI: everything, all people speak German
5 Client: <i>alles awer ooch noch verkehrt, né?</i>	5 Client: all but also still mixed up, né?
6 Owner: <i>Não? Das is net verkehrt</i>	6 Owner: no? It's not mixed up
7 [to CI]: <i>viu como é que é?</i>	7 [to CI]: ∅ see how it is?
8 ((Owner transacting))	8 ((Owner transacting))
9 [Others speaking]	9 [Others speaking]
10 Client: <i>minha filha estuda lá em Curitiba ela sabe fala tudo as línguas-</i>	10 Client: my daughter studies in Curitiba she knows how to speak all the languages-
11 Older woman: <i>Guck das is schon . . . das is ijo das schlimme</i>	11 Older woman: look that's already . . . that's the terrible thing
12 Client: <i>=die kenne alles verstehe, die kenne die ganza Línguas spreche</i>	12 Client: =they can understand everything, they can speak all the languages
13 Owner: <i>é? unn du wohnst do leen do hie?</i>	13 Owner: really? and you[sg.inform] live alone here?
14 Client: <i>ich, ijo</i>	14 Client: me, yes
15 Owner: <i>eu não te conheço, eu nunca te vi</i>	15 Owner: I don't know you[sg. inform], I've never seen you
16 Client: <i>sim eu sou a namorada do Lourival Steig ali</i>	16 Client: yes I am the girlfriend of Lourival Steig there
17 Other clerk: <i>ah tá, é lá do . . . que vende coelho né?</i>	17 Other clerk: oh okay, ∅ is there/of . . . who sells rabbits, né?
18 Client: <i>sim, eu sou lá de Valparaiso, eu moro numa chácara, ganz allein driver</i>	18 Client: yes, I am from Valparaiso, I live on a farm, all alone over there
19 Owner: <i>ah, tu é de Valparaiso, por isso eu não te vejo por aí</i>	19 Owner: oh, you[sg. inform] are[s-del.] from Valparaiso, that's why I don't see you around
20 Client: <i>sim</i>	20 Client: yes

- 21 Owner: *mas tu não, das hot kee . . . uh, das sieht net aus, wie wenn's Deitsch spreche teet, gell?* 21 Owner: but you[sg inform] don't, **she has no, uh, she doesn't look like she would speak German, right?**
- 22 CI: *das is* 22 CI: **there is**
- 23 Owner: =*ausgeord* 23 Owner: =**unusual**
- 24 CI: *das is viel Leit* 24 CI: **there is many people**
- 25 Owner: =*morena, né* 25 Owner: =dark, né
- 26 CI: *das is vi:el— Leit die sinn Deitsch* 26 CI: **there is ma:ny—people who are German**
- 27 Owner: *ich teet soon das du nix Deitsch kennt* 27 Owner: **I would say that you couldn't speak any German**
- 28 Client: *ah, wie ich ja das ehershta mo uff de Morro komm sinn, honn'se mich all ongeguckt, fo Brasiliona Mensch se sinn da bis dem Lourival sein Tia hot gesoot, das is ooch noch enn "Schwarze" hor'a gesoot, e eu sabia fala alemão né, e ela achava que eu não sabia* 28 Client: **oh, when I came the first time on the mountain, they all looked at me as a Brazilian person, yes until Lourival's aunt said she is also a Black, she said, and I knew how to speak German né, and she thought I didn't know how**
- 29 Owner: h 29 Owner: h
- 30 Cliente: *da hot'se* 30 Client: **then they had**
- 31 Other woman: =*toch chen tas hitchie pareeirt noch* 31 Other woman: =**that's right, the little hat is right**
- 32 Other woman: *tas hitchie tot immer grod so pázã, denke só wie'n tipche h* 32: **the little hat always fits, I think just like a little pot h**
- 33 Client: *All die wu ich verzehle soor'ich* 33 Client: **Everyone I tell I say**
- 34 Other woman: *ach ela cortou o cabelo, dei Hoohr?* 34 Other woman: Ø think she cut her hair, her hair?
- 35 Client: *sim, mas é a primeira vez que eu pinte* 35 Client: yes, but it's the first time I dyed it
- 36 *o meu cabelo é preto, só que eu pinte* ele 36 my hair is black but I dyed it

37 Owner: aaaahhh	37 Owner: aaaahhh
38 Other woman: <i>Ich hot noch nie schwarze Hoohr</i>	38 Other woman: I never had black hair/I never black hair
39 Other woman: = <i>o meu também é preto</i>	39 Other woman: =mine is also black
40 Client: <i>so, ich hot ganze natural schwarze Hoohr</i>	40 Client: so I have totally naturally black hair
41 Other woman: <i>O meu é ainda</i>	41 Other woman: Mine is still
42 Client: <i>então saiu uns brancos assim do lado do honn'ich se ongestrich</i>	42 Client: So some white ones came in on the side here/so I have dyed them
43 Owner: <i>Awer mais das sieht'ma das du morena bischt. bischt net weiss</i>	43 Owner: But but one sees that you[sg. inform] are dark. Ø are not white
44 Other woman: = <i>sim</i>	44 Other woman: =yes
45 Cliente: <i>sinn noch natural morena</i>	45 Client: Ø am still naturally dark
46 Owner: <i>é a gente vê, que tu é uma pessoa morena</i>	46 Owner: yes we see that you[sg. inform]are[s-del.] a dark person

In this interaction, the owner challenges her client on her status as a German speaker. The challenge, both a personal negotiation for the upper hand as well as a larger probe into the meaning of German speaker, is evident in codeswitching and pronominal system, as well as referential statements and paralinguistic behavior. In her defense, the client also draws on these resources. As the challenger, the owner might be expected to engage in more code divergences than the client. The client might speak mostly German to prove the point that she is a German speaker, and if she is accommodating of her interlocutor, to demonstrate more code convergence. A situation of unmarked or "smooth" switching might indicate less tension and formality. A switching that occurs mostly between sentences and is accompanied by reflexive or metalanguage might indicate more awareness or strategy by the speakers.

Table 9 shows convergences and divergences made by the two main participants in the conversation.

Table 9: Moment 1 Convergences and Divergences

	Code convergence		Code divergence	
	with Port.	with Hunsr.	from Port. to Hunsr.	from Hunsr. to Port.
Storeowner	1-2 ⁶	2-4	0	1-2
Client	4	5	1	1

The client makes more apparent code accommodations than the storeowner (or the other *senhoras* who enter the conversation). Her default mode appears to be a back and forth between the two languages, as she initiates in each line (1 and 10), and switches mid-turn to the other code three times, in addition to the converging and diverging switches. The owner takes fewer total turns than the client, but each turn is a negative, questioning interrogation of her personally.

At first glance, it might appear that the interlocutors codemix with ease or automaticity, i.e., from either language to the other, both within and between clauses—whatever suits the moment. Both the owner and client codemix within clauses (Line 18, 42, 43 and 45) and between clauses (Line 3, 21, 28, and 34). But on closer look, half of the switching turns are interclausal, or potentially more formal, and of the so-called less formal intraclausal insertions, half of those are due to a single word: *morena*. Thus, constraining, socially induced switches, which include the *morena* constraint, make for an environment in which code convergence (taking up the code of the previous turn) or code divergence (not taking up the code) are often determined by taboo or ideological devaluation of codemixing. In some cases, such as the ideology that mixing languages reflects on some inability of the speaker to maintain a pure and “better” German, the shame discourse affects the mixing system.

The scolding (Line 11), a metacomment on the client’s code choice in Line 10, was explained by my transcriber as referring to the fact that the client was switching to Portuguese when the conversation had been in German. This interpretation makes sense given that the previous comment had just described that very “terrible” practice of switching. In Line 6 Viviane refers to a conversation she and I had just before these

⁶ Range represents ambiguous cases—etymologically Portuguese lexica that may now be considered borrowings or other subsets of German. Another problem of categorizing words as clearly either Portuguese or Hunsrückish is, for example, the small phrase, often a single word, framing a phrase in the other language.

clients arrived about how everyone thinks they speak *verkehrt* ('mixed up' or 'wrong') because they switch between Portuguese and Hunsrückish. In acknowledgement of the disparagement made in Line 11, the client then returns to Hunsrückish in Line 12.

To understand the social implications of mixing around the sequential position of the term *morena*, some ethnographic background is necessary (Auer 1998), in this case, a knowledge of racial terms. The term *morena* ('dark') was used as the cause for an alternation (2, 25) and insertion (43), contrasting with the opposite, given in Line 43 in German: *weiss* ('white'). The complementary term for *weiss* (*schwarz*; 'black') is considered too pejorative to say to the woman's face. A host father had told me that saying *schwarz* at the wrong time could get you arrested. The Portuguese equivalent, *preto* or *negro*, is equally problematic. Only within the last few years have some parts of the Brazilian population begun reporting themselves as *negro* or *preto* on government forms such as school applications and census forms. For decades, it has been more acceptable to say *morena* ('dark') or *pardo* ('brown').

The client uses *schwarz* herself, when reporting speech that was directed at her by someone who thought she could not understand. She uses *morena* when describing her hair (Line 45), and *branco*, *preto*, and *schwarz* are also used to describe hair in particular. That Viviane inserts or switches to Portuguese for *morena* could be because she does not know a translation for it, at least not one that will not sound offensive.

Another switch that derives from both social and formal factors is the one that the client makes to Portuguese when framing her story of arriving on the mountain (Line 28). Her framing *eu sabia falar* could be interpreted as a pointing to her performance as she has done it, a highlighting, as codeswitching is "so often used as [a] distancing device—way of setting off a quotation, making a parenthetical aside, mimicking someone, or enabling a speaker to comment on his or her own behavior" (Irvine 1979:777). The distance that Portuguese provides in this case is a metapragmatic turn with a message that German is the object of investigation, and not the only means of communication here. In fact, it is important that she demonstrate both Hunsrückish and Portuguese skills; otherwise, she might be taken for a *colona*. The fear of exhibiting incompetence in Portuguese reflects the fear of not adequately managing participation in a Brazilian public that brings one out of the backcountry hills and into the mainstream.

A speaker cannot simply decide to pursue a particular agenda and express distance or solidarity. There are many reasons why a person may have chosen a particular code. Also, the question of whom is being accommodated is relevant in accommodation analysis. Sometimes a set of turns sandwich turns that are unrelated in topic and divergent in code, spoken by other ratified participants. This set of turns should be considered influential in the code choices of the other participants. In the other set of code convergences considered part of the conversation. Thus, everyone mentioned above is part of the conversation, and their code choice affects the line of uptakes and divergences. I pursue these questions of accommodation and convergence further, in conjunction with the other two moments analyzed below.

Before bringing the other two moments in, a look at personal pronouns in this moment reveals that the only person to use any second-person address pronoun is the owner. Viviane delivers the *du* pronoun four times (Lines 3, 13, 27, 43) and the *tu* pronoun three times (19, 21, 46). Three additional forms of the Portuguese *tu* occur in the accusative *te* (Lines 15, 19). The verbs accompanying the usages of *tu* are the unconjugated verb (19, 46). She also formulates a second-person null subject with a turn in Hunsrückish (43) and, unless actually the third person, a second-person null subject in Portuguese (3). All of these addresses target the client. The one other person whom Viviane addresses is me: with a null subject and ambiguously conjugated verb.

In contrast to Viviane's direct informality, the client is mostly on the defense: Every subject is an explicit first-person or an implied null subject. Her references to *they* in Line 12—apparently indicating schoolchildren—and the enclitic in Line 28—are not taken up by her interlocutors. The attention is focussed instead on her. Viviane returns the line of conversation to *you* and *me* in 12. She pluralizes the subject in her final line (46), that *we* see that you are a dark person.

Interpersonally, Viviane aligns herself to the client with a direct, informal upper hand. The client remains indirect in her address, accommodating in code choice, and compliant in keeping attention focused on herself. Ideologically, Viviane aligns herself with the statement that German speakers are blond. The client presents an alternative idea, not only by speaking German while having dark hair, but also through narratives of other confrontations, in which, she explains, she spoke German to the surprise of others.

When the alternative is presented, Viviane appears to remain closed to the idea, never conceding that her previous understandings have been narrow. Despite the ideological dissonance on German-speaking phenotype, the conversation participants colluded in negotiating definitions of Brazilian and German-Brazilian publics, as well as the speakers' places within them.

The negotiation between owner and client on the client's status as a German speaker also reveals a definition of what it means to be a German speaker. The client lays out multiple ways in which someone can claim membership to the German-speaking community beyond phenotype: Lines 5 and 28 she explains that she is competent in German; Line 10 she explains that her daughter is competent in German; Line 16 she explains her social connection to this area; and Line 18 she explains that she too lives here (on a farm in a town just over the mountain). The questions of her social connection and place of residence are collaboratively investigated by the storeowner, her clerk, and the client. The storeowner asks after both issues in Line 13 ("and you live alone here?"). The client responds that she is the girlfriend of a local man, and the clerk attests to his existence—he is the one who sells rabbits. The storeowner attests to the place where the client is from, repeating its name and resolving why she had not seen the woman before.

The connection that the client makes to her daughter (Lines 10 and 12) may be the weakest claim because it is not directly about the woman herself, as she does not say that she taught her daughter German; in fact, if the girl did learn it in school, then it would be Std. German, not Hunsrückish.

When Viviane says *we* see that you are a dark person, she could refer to the people present in the room, but likely indexes a higher, generic order of people who are familiar with the norms of German-speaking phenotype and would therefore have the same reaction (of surprise at a dark-haired German speaker) as herself. Despite the focus on individuals, a larger *we*-ness in terms of the German speaker is nevertheless invoked. German speakers are put in opposition to "black" or "dark" people, also known as Brazilians. But this opposition is not a case of desirable versus undesirable self-representation: As corroborated in the other moments shown below, the use of Portuguese, and displayed knowledge of city life and its bureaucracies (i.e., identification

with Brazilian public) are just as important as displayed knowledge of Hunsrückish. The timing of one's codemixing is a skill that bilinguals master to different extents.

Moment 2

In another moment, the storeowner playfully engages her customer in Hunsrückish. That the storeowner does so in a leisurely poetic fashion contrasts with the customer's urgent business in Portuguese. This customer, a middle-aged man, is in a hurry, worried he will miss the bus. He repeats his urgent message in Portuguese as the owner tries to engage him in Hunsrückish until the climax when she overtly acknowledges his need and also accommodates his language choice.

MOMENT 2

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Client: [addressing CI] <i>pode fazer um [fogo] da quina?</i> | 1 Client: [addressing CI] can you do a <i>quina</i> game? |
| 2 Owner: [on cell phone] <i>eu liguei antes</i> | 2 Owner: [on cell phone] I called before |
| 3 [to Client] <i>uh?</i> | 3 [to Client] uh? |
| 4 Client: ([fogo]) <i>da quina sem cartão</i> | 4 Client: <i>quina</i> game without a card |
| 5 Owner: [on cell] <i>só um pouquinho</i> | 5 Owner: [on cell] just a minute |
| 6 [to client] <i>ela não trabalha aqui comigo. Ela só está aqui pra ouvir vocês falar alemão</i> | 6 [to client] she doesn't work here with me. She's only here to listen to you[pl. semi-formal/inform.] speak German |
| 7 <i>kannscht bissche Deutsch spreche mit dem</i> | 7 you[sg. inform.] can speak a little German with her |
| 8 Client: <i>jo</i> | 8 Client: yeah |
| 9 Owner: <i>das is en Amerikane, das will lenne Deutsch spreche</i> | 9 Owner: She is an American, she wants to learn to speak German |
| 10 Client: <i>é. Não eu quero pegar o ônibus</i> | 10 Client: yes. No I want to catch the bus |
| 11 Owner: <i>ah. Hast du presse?</i> | 11 Owner: oh. are you[sg. inform.] in a hurry? |

12 Client: <i>jo</i>	12 Client: yes
13 Owner: <i>wieviel Quina willscht du honn?</i>	13 Owner: how many quina do you want to have?
14 Client: <i>cinco</i>	14 Client: five
15 Owner: <i>dé cinquenta</i>	15 Owner: Ø comes to fifty
16 Client: <i>uh cinco uh cinco cartão com sete número</i>	16 Client: uh five uh five card with seven numbers
17 Owner: <i>kenne se all beisamme sinn?</i>	17 Owner: could they all be together?
18 Client: <i>jo, se all beisamme</i>	18 Client: yes, they all together
19 ((Owner transacting))	19 ((Owner transacting))
20 Client: <i>jo. vou perder o ônibus</i>	20 Client: yes. Ø am going to lose the bus
21 Owner: <i>ele quer pegar o ônibus</i>	21 Owner: he wants to get the bus
22 Client: <i>sim</i>	22 Client: yes
23 Owner: <i>tá. Dez pila</i>	23 Owner: okay. ten bucks
24 Client: <i>dez pila?</i>	24 Client: ten bucks?
25 Owner: <i>ija</i>	25 Owner: yes
26 Client: <i>valeu</i>	26 Client: fine

Because Viviane is on the phone and the customer is in a hurry, he turns to me (Line 1). The man addresses me with a null subject and s-deleted verb in Portuguese. He never addresses either the storeowner or me with any subject after that. Viviane, however, addresses him with the **du** form two times and a null subject plus **du** conjugation once. In addition to the familiar address form, she informally suggests that he do something else beside the transaction at hand, that he speak to me in German. She may have taken his pronunciation of words like *jogo* [ʃogo] (Line 4) as an indication that he was a German speaker, even if she did not know him.

As in the first Moment, the interpersonal alignments, as evidenced by pronominal second-person address, are a direct upper handedness by the Owner and an indirect or elided second-person address by the client. This client is less accommodating in code choices than the female client.

Table 10: Moment 2 Convergence and Divergences

	Code convergence		Code divergence	
	with Port.	with Hunsr.	from Port. to Hunsr.	from Hunsr. to Port.
Storeowner	4	2	3	
Client	3	3	0	2-3

No explicit social taboos, such as would be implicated in metalanguage about the shame in codemixing, accompany the switches.⁷ However, the move to compartmentalize Hunsrückish as a language of leisure and Portuguese a language of communication about business comes across in more and less explicit ways. The client aligns himself with this ideological compartmentalization by expressly rejecting Viviane’s suggestion to speak German with a “No” (Line 10) and by sticking to Portuguese as he insists that he has time only for business at hand (“I want to catch the bus”—Line 10; “yes, [I’m in a hurry]”—Line 12; and “I’m going to lose the bus”—Line 20). Although he does answer her in Hunsrückish four times (Lines 8, 12, 18, and 20), his answers are limited to one word or in one case, a slightly elaborated response consisting of a repetition of the storeowner’s question. He does not take up her Hunsrückish code with even a single word in three different turns (Lines 10, 14, and 26). His repeated code divergence iconically represents a divergence in topic and in activity.

The owner, meanwhile, diverges three times from Portuguese to Hunsrückish, continuing to speak it even when the client says he does not have time to do anything but the transaction. She uses Hunsrückish through Line 17, after which she finally converges back to Portuguese and also overtly acknowledges his concern, which he elevates in urgency from “I want to catch the bus” to “I’m going to lose the bus”. Through her initial inattentiveness while on the phone, foot-dragging with his request, informal pronoun choices, and code divergences, the owner violates a Gricean or Goffmanian cooperation

⁷ That numbers are usually expressed in Portuguese, which affects codemixing choices, is discussed in the next section.

and also resists the client's idea of a neat code distribution: Portuguese for business, German for leisure.

As she realigns herself interpersonally, Viviane has nevertheless offered an alternative ideological alignment toward the usages of each code. Despite the lotto store setting of a Brazilian public—all the written, audio and visual media, and products sold in the lotto store confirm that the setting it is in Brazil—Viviane reveals one way of indexing a German-Brazilian public: through language choice. The client, while colluding minimally, primarily cultivates an alignment with a Brazilian public.

Moment 3

The storeowner tells another middle-aged man, older than the client of Moment 2, that his retirement benefit money is not yet available. He challenges her four times until he reluctantly concedes, confirming the date to pick up his money, after which he leaves the store. He begins the conversation in Portuguese. When the owner initiates a codeswitch, he takes up her code. But when he initiates a switch to Hunsrückish, she sustains a language divergence (stays in Portuguese). Only after he raises his voice and concedes in a climactic moment to the idea that he or his wife will have to return another day does the storeowner follow his switch to Hunsrückish.

MOMENT 3

1 Client: <i>'cê pode dar uma olhada se o Pis chegou primeiro antes</i>	1 Client: can you[semi-form.] look if the Pis arrived first before
2 Owner: <i>só o cartão</i>	2 Owner: just the card
3 Client: <i>a ver se—</i>	3 Client: see if—
4 Owner: <i>que mês é</i>	4 Owner: what month is it
5 Client: <i>novembro sempre foi</i>	5 Client: it was always November
6 Owner: <i>não, que mês tu nasceu?</i>	6 Owner: no, what month were you[inf.] born?
7 Client: <i>em junho</i>	7 Client: in June

8 Owner: <i>Só a partir do dia vinte um. Alsmo gucke, a partir de vinte um</i>	8 Owner: just from the 21st. Let's look, from the twenty first
9 Client: <i>Então—é sim</i>	9 Client: so—yeah yes
10 ((Owner transacting))	10 ((Owner transacting))
11 Owner: <i>noch nichts</i>	11 Owner: still nothing
12 Client: <i>nichts? Dann schick'ich die Froo die Toche mo raus</i>	12 Client: nothing? Then I'll send my wife out that day
13 Owner: <i>die anne Woch dann, net die anne, die anne. seis die quarta vem die Lotto dia vinte um, sabe?</i>	13 Owner: next week, yeah? Not next, but the week after, 6th the Wednesday the lotto comes on the 21st, you know?
14 Client: <i>o ano passado peguei dia vinte três</i>	14 Client: last year I got it on the 23rd
15 Owner: <i>muda todos os anos. É que é assim: todo o ano que vem < > nasceu em agosto domina o primeiro rodizio. não são sempre igual</i>	15 Owner: it changes every year. It's like this: all the year to come [those?] born in August control the first rotation. They're not always the same
16 Client: <i>ja, die Froo is- is die Mai uff die Welt komme soon'mea- kann'ich soon- hees</i>	16 Client: yes, my wife was- was born in May let's say- can I say- that means
17 Owner: <i>não, ela pode pegar à partir de treze de agosto, até à partir de dia treze < > dia novembro quer dizer</i>	17 Owner: no, she can get it from the thirteenth of August until the thirteenth < > of November which means
18 Client: <i>novembro?</i>	18 Client: November?
19 Owner: <i>é, ela é nascido em maio ela pode pegar à partir do dia treze</i>	19 Owner: yes, she was born in May she can get it starting the thirteenth
20 Client: <i>mm</i>	20 Client: mm
21 Owner: <i>o senhor é o último. Os nascidos em junho são os últimos</i>	21 Owner: you[form.] are the last. Those born in June are the last ones
22 Client [raising his voice]: <i>ja, was woll hinmache ja ja dann komm'ich dia vinte dois vinte tres</i>	22 Client [raising his voice]: I do yeah, yeah then I'll come the twenty-second twenty-third

- 23 Owner: *ija, unn kann ab dia treze e holle, tá?* 23 Owner: **Yes, and Ø can get it starting the thirteenth, tá?**
- 24 Client: *dia vinte dois vinte tres kann'ich die holle, certo?* 24 Client: **the twenty-second twenty-third I can get it, all right?**
- 25 Owner: *certo* 25 Owner: all right

A clear climactic couple of turns of the conversation (Line 21-23) is accompanied by a code- and pronoun switch. The owner addresses the client three times, at the conversation's start with the informal *tu* plus s-deleted verb, and then later with the most deferential *o senhor*, followed by a null subject with *Dea* conjugation. The client addresses her directly only once, and with 'cê, a clipped version of the semi-formal *você*.

The two speakers show almost equal frequency in code convergence and divergence.

Table 11: Moment 3 Convergences and Divergences

	Code convergence		Code divergence	
	with Port.	with Hunsr.	from Port. to Hunsr.	from Hunsr. to Port.
Storeowner	6	2	1	1
Client	5	2	2	0

The two begin the conversation in Portuguese, each aligning with introduction-appropriate behavior. After initially using Hunsrückish when she tells the customer that his benefit money is not yet available (Line 11), she switches to Portuguese and remains there, even when the customer initiates a return switch. Thus, although the speakers display about the same number of divergences and convergences, it is also evident that the client's preference for German is partly denied.

The client's code preference for German is evident in his two divergences from Portuguese to Hunsrückish (Lines 15 and 22), which accompany expression of frustration that he is not getting his benefit money. A code that accompanies an expression of anger, which includes increased speed of talk, would likely be one that a speaker feels comfortable in. It is possible, however, that rather than represent an "inner sphere" language (Urciuoli 1996), in which he feels more confident, his use of Hunsrückish is to reinforce his petition, or soften it (Gal 1987).

The client's competence in, if not preference for, German is clear. Unlike the client in the previous example, his turns consist of elaborated German, not just quick, one-word answers but phrases he generates himself and without mixing. The fact that both he and Viviane use Portuguese for expressing numbers complicates the separation of codes, but I consider them part of a Hunsrückish turn because many other speakers show the same pattern and the numbers are dropped in a syntactically appropriate position for Hunsrückish, as we can see in the owner's "*unn kann ab dia treze e holle, tá?*" (Line 23). Here, the second verb remains in final position, as in German varieties generally, following the prepositional phrase that includes the Portuguese loan words *dia treze*.

Other indications of his preference for German are his accent (e.g., his prosody or the lenition of his voiced stops and fricatives), referential cues, and appearance. The owner may interpret the man's weathered face, clothes, and craggy smoker's voice as fitting of a Kolonist. The topical focus of interaction also fits this picture—a request for rural workers' retirement money—and his statement that he would send his wife "out", which means, according to my transcriber, out of the *Kolonie* and into the city. His ignorance of the bureaucratic system ("last year I got it on the 23rd!" he says before the storeowner explains that the system rotates every year, changing the dates) may also contribute to a perception that he has traveled a way from a rural, primarily German-speaking area.

Any ideological alignments in this excerpt emerge only implicitly in the combination of archetypal features mentioned above—*colono*, in regard to the client, and Brazilian bureaucrat, in regard to the storeowner—with the way that the two treat each other. Viviane's high handed behavior with the elderly man is reminiscent of Auer, Arnhold, and Bueno-Aniola's (2007) syndicate customer who is treated less respectfully because he addresses the clerks in German and fits the *colono* stereotype. Viviane purposefully speaks Portuguese and uses a low deferential until after her client is clearly upset.

His frustration is visible in that he is inconsistent in intonation (including pitch contour, loudness, and speed of talk), he interrupts himself, and gets muddled (Line 16). She denies his request and he continues to challenge this denial over multiple turns. Not only does she deny his request, but she does so by maintaining an alignment with her legalistic, bureaucratic position. She describes the process in Portuguese by which the

benefit money arrives. She indicates that a system, not determined by her, is in place. This alignment with a Brazilian public puts the client at a disadvantage. Although he also has access to this public (e.g., he speaks Portuguese and at appropriate times), he is clearly not as comfortable there.

Discussion of All Three Moments

The sociolinguistic behaviors of the storeowner and her clients in the lotto store reveal certain interpersonal, ideological, and public alignments. The familiar or less-deferential pronominal address that the storeowner uses with most people most of the time may be interpreted as friendly or neutral, especially if familiar address is increasingly widespread. However, other behaviors of the storeowner, as well as her clients' behaviors, indicate that her interpersonal alignments are taken as other than friendly.

First, she does not immediately grant the requests they make for financial transactions. She delays the transaction in Moments 1 and 2, switching topics from financial exchange to the clients' German speech. The female client expresses no adverse reaction and colludes with the discussion. However, her accommodations to the number of direct challenges to how she identifies herself ethnically and linguistically, topics of some sensitivity, represent a conflict in which the client is on the defense. When delayed in his request, Client 2 expresses visible frustration. He does not want the storeowner to remain on the telephone or to chat in German. The third client, who never gets his initial request, leaves in dissatisfaction.

The third client more than the other two expresses doubt that his treatment is fair, that perhaps the storeowner could do him more favors. He questions the rules and responds sharply that he will send his wife the next time—indicating that it was not convenient for him, and then he questions the rules: He is surprised that this year's time schedule is different from last year's, and at what the new schedule is. His suspicions of this bureaucracy resonate with general Brazilian talk about state officials and their corruptions. Journalist reporting on fraud, bribery and poor distribution of wealth was a constant during my time there. The relationship between German farmers and Brazilian merchants also has had a long antagonistic history, as referenced in Klein's plays and scholarship (see Kühn 2004, Vogt 2001, and Luebke 1987).

While delaying or not granting her client's requests, the storeowner begins with and maintains some control of the speech event through her authoritative position as representative of the state and then with familiar address and frequent code divergences.

Pronouns of Address

Of the 16 instances in which a pronominal or null subject was used to directly address the interlocutor, 14 of them were uttered by the storeowner. Most of these were the least deferential options. The first, female customer, who repeatedly accommodates the owner, never once addresses Viviane directly with a second-person subject.

Pronouns of address in the three moments

Moment I

Storeowner: *du*
Storeowner: *du*
Storeowner (to CI): null subject with ambiguously conjugated verb
Storeowner: *du*
Storeowner: *tu*
Storeowner: *tu*
Storeowner: *tu*
Storeowner: *tu*
Storeowner: *du*
Storeowner: *tu* + unconjugated verb

Moment II

Client (to CI): null subject with ambiguously conjugated verb
Storeowner: *vocês* (semi-formal/inform plural)
Storeowner: null subject with *du* conjugation
Storeowner: *du*
Storeowner: *du*

Moment III

Client: *você*
Storeowner: *tu*
Storeowner: *o senhor*
Storeowner: null subject with *Dea* conjugation

It is possible that clerk or storeowner culture encourages a heavy use of overt and informal pronouns and that customers do not find the clerks' addresses indicative of an upper hand but rather a false intimacy or other attribute of the vendor genre (Bauman 2001). In my experience, however, the address I received upon entering a store varied: Many clerks called me *a senhora*, the most deferential option, others *você*. More likely, based on

Viviane's other assertive behaviors as well as her clients' avoidance of the informal, and, at least for the male clients, their expressed annoyance with the transaction, her form of address aligns with a position of power that may be interpreted as manipulative or domineering.

If the formality rankings do not hold the distinctions that so many consultants claimed they did—many told me an evolution was underway—then Viviane's heavy use of the informal may not have signified disrespect to her customers. Even so, an evolution of the ranking system would still involve interactions with people at different stages of the transition who hold different opinions about which address is appropriate. This is most likely true for older people and those from rural settings, such as the client of the third example. Viviane's choice and frequency of *tu* and *du* may well, in combination with other indices, have given off signals to certain interlocutors that she was asserting a position of power or authority. Her rare switch to the most formal pronoun *o senhor* indicates an acknowledgment that the customer might prefer such formality as he got increasingly agitated.

Codemixing

Analysis of codemixing offers some idea of interpersonal alignments through solidarity and distancing moves. Is code convergence another aspect in a show of deference, and does it occur more frequently with particular social dynamics, such as (older) age and (female to male) gender? A clear example of accommodation is the female client's codemixing, then the explicit metacommentary from her interlocutor on the "terrible thing" of mixing, followed by the client's turns in unmixed German. As mentioned above, however, codemixing cannot be transparently called converging and diverging due to solidarity and distancing. Thus, more than just counting uptakes, I consider general code preference expressed by the clients, as they make their desires known. The three examples of the chapter represent three different code preferences: one of mixing, one of Portuguese, and one of Hunsrückish.⁸ This is interesting only so far as Viviane and other interlocutors do

⁸ A word on how these stretches of talk were chosen: That each example represents a different code preference emerged during later stages of analysis. As with many decisions made during fieldwork and analysis, issues were noted and chosen in part because they were accessible or provided a stretch of talk in Hunsrückish or sounded from the outside like it would be interesting. But only after uncovering layers of potential meanings, did I notice the deployment of code preferences, following Geertz' (1973) description of

not necessarily share the code preference, and it becomes an additional aspect of the conversation to negotiate.

In addition to corroborating analysis about interpersonal alignments, codeswitching also exposes ideological alignments—commitments to ideas about the appropriate use of the code—which language, with whom, under what circumstances. The ideology that Hunsrückish is *verkehrt*, mixed up, because speakers mix in Portuguese was talked about in Moment 1 as soon as it happened; this talk and then metatalk occurred in many other conversations as well. The excerpts above show a range of speakers and that no particular set functions exist for each language. Both languages can be used to create or diffuse tension. Portuguese is not always the language of confrontation or distance. It must also not be the language for beginning the interaction (Moment 1) or even with strangers, although the interrogative direction that Moment 1 took may have resulted partly from the client’s opening in German. It may have been taken as an inappropriate choice from an unratified participant, making her German speech the subject of conversation. Similarly, Hunsrückish sometimes represents a language of higher value, such as in proving one’s membership in a German-speaking world, or perhaps in negotiating Kolonie issues like farmers’ benefits. Despite this, the stereotypically Kolonist behavior of the client in Moment 3 may have impelled Viviane to continue speaking Portuguese in a statement of distancing herself.

Blond German speaker or weathered farmer man are archetypes, as is the storeowner or representative of state bureaucracy. A person may be quickly assessed to inhabit such a role but can then easily be reassessed as s/he starts talking and making alignments. These alignments can dislodge initial, intersubjective impressions and also larger, long held ideologies. Such an ideological realignment involves a stage of indeterminacy—until a new alignment has replaced the old one.

The chance for realignment of ideology emerged in metatalk in Moment 1. There was a “sociolinguistic disjuncture,” or “everyday point of discontinuity and contradiction –between social or linguistic groups. . . that interrupt[s] the flow of action,

“what the ethnographer is in fact faced with”—“a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render” (10).

communication or thought” (Meek 2010) when the dark-haired client expressed herself as a German speaker. The client’s experience had obviously differed from that of the storeowner, even if they both grew up in the same region, with the same diasporic narratives and languages. The client acknowledged the commonly held belief while showing that it was not true. The storeowner, in repeating many times the same disbelief, may have in fact been preparing to believe it.

The same realignment process with the *verkehrt* ideology occurred: an alignment with the idea that Hunsrückish is mixed up was offered by the client (Moment 1, Line 5). Viviane countered with an alternative alignment in the next turn. She, as much as anyone else, may have then considered it without her having truly realigned her thoughts. It takes time to change one’s perspective, and she may have brought up the idea that Hunsrückish is not *verkehrt* in reference to our previous conversation, not yet actually registering it. But she does performatively validate Hunsrückish by speaking it and, indirectly, by challenging someone on why she does or does not speak it. Thus, alternatives are offered, and those who are open to considering them do so, maybe just in conversation if not then also outside conversation.

The insistence that German speakers are blond—so pervasive that counterevidence is openly dismissed—stems from a rigid dichotomy, in which a variety of colors and phenotypes are channeled into either blackness or whiteness. Not only is the female client dark-haired, according to Viviane, she’s black (Line 28)! The term *morena* in this context, I argue, is euphemistic for blackness, rather than representing a middle-ground ‘darkness.’ The use of this word follows the Brazilian tradition of avoiding the word *preto* and *negro*. It also underscores the fact that talking about someone’s race to their face is a sensitive topic in Brazil.

The blond ideology is highly reinforced by the tourism industry and media. Tourist brochures, enormous dolls at the entrance to Santa Cruz do Sul, insignia on hand towels, restaurant advertisements, supermodels—the blond image is everywhere, and not just in Brazil. The icon also appears in Frankenmuth, USA, Windhoek, Namibia, and other “German towns” around the world. More than just a public icon, blondness is perceived to represent a long line of German speakers, both ancestors and descendants of immigrants.

The insistence that very light skin, or more commonly, light hair, should define the population of German speakers means that such a label does not reflect on a person's actual phenotype so much as an array of features that link her with German-speaking. These features include, as we see in the transcript above, being semi-rural, socially intimate with other descendants of German immigrants, and of the local community. One may be deemed to speak another variety of German because one has come from abroad (visitors to the Dois Irmãos region who come from abroad generally come from Germany). German family history, German surname, a few words or phrases in German, interest in German topics, participation in folkloric events—all these qualities work in conjunction with fair coloring to create the appearance of a German speaker in the Dois Irmãos region. The archetype of blond speaker therefore represents just one aspect of what I call a public, in this case a German-Brazilian or Kolonist public.

Ideologies Resonating In Other Places

The ideologies revealed in these conversations resonate with larger discourses, like those found in the plays of Beto Klein and the film of Rejane Zilles. Below I take us through the plays and the film as products, the production of them, and reactions of insiders and outsiders to highlight other ways that the ideologies get expressed. These ideologies include “German speakers are blond,” “Hunsrückish is *verkehrt*,” “Hunsrückish belongs in certain situations only,” and the less explicit “a German-Brazilian public alignment involves being a part but not fully Kolonist and not fully Brazilian.

Despite recruiting local children for the cast of *O Livro de Walachai*, the director Rejane Zilles selected almost only blond children. When I asked her why, she said that she wanted it immediately clear that these were German speakers.⁹ When I showed the film to the Fischer family, the mother Anita said, *E era bem assim. Olha **alle Weisskop**—mas como era!* (‘and it was exactly like that. Look at **all the towheads**—but look how it was’). While making it clear that her subject matter were Kolonists, Zilles presented herself as a German-Brazilian, or part neither too Kolonist nor too Brazilian, but a combination of both.

⁹ UFRGS, DATE.

O Livro de Walachai was also made for locals as well as projected for a national audience. Zilles said that she wanted to show Brazilians a part of Brazil they had never seen before.¹⁰ In a film made purely for the local audience, more Hunsrückish could have been used. All language is in Portuguese except for a couple sentences spoken by one interviewee. Zilles said that she had plenty of material in German but wanted to keep it to a minimum so that her film would be as accessible to as many Brazilians as possible.¹¹ Thus, the interviews, title sequences, credits, captions, reenactments of a 1940s classroom scene, songs, prayers, and voiceovers are all in Portuguese. That Zilles could have chosen Hunsrückish instead is revealed by an elderly man interviewed in the film, who comments that everyone here speaks German most of the time, and only occasionally does he meet someone, when he travels to town, who does not. (In that case he must often write down his request because they do not always understand his spoken Portuguese.) The other interviewees in the film also have heavy German accents. That Benno Wendling's book is written mostly in Portuguese also symbolizes the community's language choices. It is a history of a people written by an insider and largely for insiders, although perhaps just as much for outsiders.

While aimed at a broader audience, the film was also made for and by locals. Zilles captured people from the Walachai region on film and played it for them and other locals who rejoiced in seeing themselves and people and places they knew.¹² The language and casting choices capture the blond stereotypes and bias toward Portuguese that local audiences share with the national audience. Although more Hunsrückish could have been incorporated, Portuguese is generally the language choice for publicly viewed productions, whether mostly monolingual Portuguese or those audiences assumed to include some bilinguals as well.¹³ This language choice fits into the ideology compartmentalizing Hunsrückish into a historical slot. Because residents of the Walachai/Dois Irmãos area already understood that all school children in the area would

¹⁰ UFRGS, DATE.

¹¹ UFRGS, DATE.

¹² Mattos, Carlos Alberto. 7/14/2007. "História de um lugar distante"
http://oglobo.globo.com/blogs/docblog/post.asp?cod_Post=65110&a=74.

¹³ An exception would be a work that was more political or perhaps attempting to establish more of an "authentic" feel of another time and place. Such is the case with the film *Os Mucker* (1978), whose dialogue is in Hunsrückish and subtitles in Portuguese. The film's narration claims to use "real descendants" to portray their own ancestors speaking as they would have spoken 100 years earlier.

have been German speakers in the 1940s, and because local viewers recognized the actors in the film (“*Isso é a irmã da Rita Wendling!*” -- ‘that’s the sister of Rita Wendling!’ my host mother said), more dark-haired German speakers could have nevertheless been represented with minimal confusion.

The way that Zilles approached Kolonists to be interviewed for another film also resonated as someone of multiple worlds (i.e., Kolonist and Brazilian), and therefore ultimately German-Brazilian. Zilles kindly let me accompany her and her cameraman Pedro as they drove around the Walachai countryside. Pedro came from Porto Alegre, did not speak German and was much darker skinned. He was concerned that the people we approached for interviews were looking at him suspiciously. Some of the suspicious looks must have had to do with the fact that he had a video camera in his hands, which Zilles sometimes told him to turn on even though she had not asked her subjects’ permission.

Our unannounced arrival on people’s property plus the camera, our looks and language all likely contributed to a guarded reception. The Kolonists were dressed very casually, sometimes with clothes stained from the dirt of the fields where they had been working. They wore shorts and t-shirts. Some men wore old loose tank tops. Zilles was dressed in a knee-length flowery, form-fitting sundress that showed off her svelte figure. Pedro and I wore jeans and button-down shirts. Zilles approached people sitting on their porches or coming out their doors to meet us when they saw us through the windows of their wood houses. She began with the greeting customary anywhere in Brazil: *Bom dia, boa tarde, tudo bem?*, (‘Good morning, good day, everything well?’) after which she often switched to German. I was surprised to hear her mix a lot of Std. German in with Hunsrückish. Most people did not speak much Std. German and connected it to education, foreignness, arrogance, high status, or all of the above. When I asked her why she spoke this way, she dismissed it as something she was unaware of—she had been away so long, such mixing was bound to happen.

She must have been aware of some of the distancing effects of our looks, language, and approach, because she arranged to have someone of the community, a teacher, take us to households he thought would be open to her project. With his help, she continued to meet with mixed results. Some people were ready to talk about their lives

and some responded monosyllabically. Even those who clearly did not appreciate the camera, however, offered us *chimarrão*. I asked Pedro if this was significant and he said, Oh no, there is no one who would not offer us *chimarrão*.

In many ways Zilles is an insider to the communities where she does her filmmaking. She grew up in Walachai and reminded people of this. She would ask if they had known her father, the ironworker. The interview published on the Globo website¹⁴ quotes Zilles in explaining her connections to the area:

My mother's family all come from Walachai. I was born in that region and lived there until age nine. Lídio Klaus (in the film) is my uncle and godfather, and that house with the wood stove was the house of my grandmother, where I spent my childhood. Like all the children, I also learned to speak Portuguese only at age seven, when I went to school. I have a strong connection with that place. And I was always impressed by this way of life with values so genuine and foreign to the globalizing world.

Zilles can claim insidership because she was born in Walachai, lived there for a while, and some of her relatives still live there. She also speaks German. She says of directing the schoolchildren in the reenactment scene: "With some I had to speak German." Additionally, she is blond, which adds credibility among Brazilians, at least southern Brazilians. Despite these credentials, her last sentence in the quote above conveys a detachment, a bird's view of Walachai. She is aware of the globalizing world in a way that Walachai residents are not. She has moved away from the Walachai region, even from southern Brazil, and has other perspectives now.

The reactions of insiders expressed some simultaneous identification with and laughter at the Kolonie, i.e., the apprehension surrounding the ideology that Hunsrückish is *verkehrt*. I showed the film to one host family and also viewed the film at a public screening along with native speakers who had grown up in the Kolonie. My host mother Anita, who herself speaks Portuguese with a slight German prosody and phonology, commented on one man's accent. He spoke particularly slowly, trilling his final r in the same way a friend had described my doing and therefore giving myself away as a

¹⁴ Mattos, Carlos Alberto. 7/14/2007. "História de um lugar distante"
http://oglobo.globo.com/blogs/docblog/post.asp?cod_Post=65110&a=74.

nonnative speaker. She and the rest of her family laughed at the grammar of another interviewee.

In addition to grammar and prosody, the audience responded to the film's portrayal of daily life, as something both familiar and yet on the brink of change. The same simple wooden farm equipment that has been used for the last hundred years continues to be used. The farmer Lídio Klaus is interviewed:

<p><i>“Uma junta de um boi e uma carreta vale mais do que o auto. É, é pra mim vale muito mais porque com auto não posso fazer nada na roça. Agora carreta e os boi faça muito coisa.”</i></p>	<p>‘A pair of oxen and a cart is worth more than a car. Yes, yes for me it’s worth a lot more because with a car I can’t do anything in the field. But the cart and oxen do a lot.’</p>
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At this statement, the host family laughed extra hard. Although they were still very connected to farm life and understood the value of oxen and carts, they also used a car every day. They, among several of my host families, regularly continued to visit their elderly parents in the Kolonie and participate in *Schlachtereis* (slaughter and barbecue fests) and take home produce, eggs, meat, and other Kolonie products. For the most part, these families were busy, confident, happy, social people who spoke Hunsrückish as well as Portuguese a lot. They had left the farm and developed a middle-class lifestyle in Dois Irmãos. In general, these host families did not express any shame about having grown up in the Kolonie or speaking Hunsrückish.

From an outsider perspective, the oxen and cart, the wood-burning stove, the long walk that the old man takes to the church every day, and the seven loaves of bread baked by Wendling’s daughter-in-law may appear to be an outdated or arduous existence. The daughter-in-law describes her day: She wakes up at 5:45am, wakes her father-in-law, helps him into a bath if he needs it, bakes bread, etc. This may appear dreary to the stereotypical middle-class urban Brazilian family potentially watching the film. Among members of the Brazilian public, whose extended family celebrates the birthday of every relative, and whose maid comes in to make the birthday cake, the ideology that one should not spend much time alone may cast a pall over the representation of the Kolonie family as isolated, separated from one another as they work hard in the fields, rather than

all together indoors. Carlos Alberto Mattos, the Globo blogger, writes of a dialogue he exchanged with Zilles:

the only *carioca* short film to be selected for the Gramado film festival was filmed there in the gaúcha mountains by a gaúcha resident of Rio de Janeiro. In *O Livro de Walachai*, Rejane Zilles simply touches on the surface of the history of Walachai, a community of German immigrants where she was born that continues to live isolated in time and space.

The author implies that coming from the *carioca* ('of Rio de Janeiro') perspective, this film is first most a gaúcho one, a categorization that subsumes the German immigrant category. Although the Gaúcho public is not addressed much in the dissertation, it is one that was continually evoked during my fieldwork. Because I was surrounded by gaúchos (almost everyone I talked to had been born in Rio Grande do Sul), it was not generally important to remind each other of this membership, unless faced with cariocas, paulistas, or people from other parts of the country.

Even though media press calls Walachai a people and place fixed, and isolated in time and space, the subtext augurs a change. The present way of doing things, which is analogous to the past way of doing things (e.g., handwritten literature, and oxen carts instead of cars) will soon be lost due to a history of deteriorating German culture that began with the ban of the language in schools. This story fits in with a national subsumption of ethnic groups, a relentless movement to cast an image of Brazil as a single nation with a single people and single language.

The need to be neither too Kolonist nor too Brazilian, but a combination of both, is a struggle performed in *O Livro de Walachai*, by Viviane and the female client, and Beto Klein's plays. The struggle requires a simultaneous embrace and distancing of the Kolonist and the Brazilian publics. One cannot come across as too much of either but should demonstrate an affiliation with both. Although in the first example above the metacommentary was most overtly focused on whether the female client spoke German, the conversation included additional, nonlinguistic features to define her as an insider. Not only the client but the storeowner also generally aligned herself as a German speaker and a Portuguese speaker; as someone local and someone who traveled a bit. The client lived a little distance away and at some point "came to the mountain." Viviane commuted every day from another city. Although only the client mentioned her daughter's studies

out of state in this conversation, Viviane at other times also proudly talked about her daughter's studies in London.

Klein's plays form a double-sided relationship with the Kolonie. On one hand, they appeal to the ideology that Hunsrückish is "better for making jokes in." This erasure reduces Hunsrückish to a function (the poetic function), as Lemon (2002) shows with Soviet stage Romani, which was reduced to an emotive function rather than credited with referential content. Most of the play is in Portuguese, and any framing talk before and after the play is in Portuguese.

Of the four actors in the play "Thil Tapes", all of whose parents were German speakers, one was a monolingual Portuguese speaker, one claimed to speak "*Hofdeitsch*" but never spoke any with me, and the other two were bilingual. Klein was the only one who improvised in Hunsrückish, when he thought the audience could understand more than the few words written in the script. The stereotypes and jokes targeted the supposed poor linguistic or cultural knowledge of German speakers, thus reinforcing a general fear that Hunsrückish speakers expressed about being humiliated (*'gespottert,'* *'debauchado'*). The actors donned a "German" accent as they spoke their lines in Portuguese. This consisted of leninized voiced stops and fricatives, fortis unvoiced stops and fricatives, denasalized and monophthongized vowels, as well as changes in prosody.

Klein told me that their mixing up of sounds and words is based on reality, unlike the stereotyped and therefore problematic accent of someone such as radio personality Wilmuth. On Wilmuth's show, the actor calls people and babbles on about something he wants from them, maybe information or the person's commitment to buy a product, all the while using the lenis and fortis stops indexical of the stereotypical German accent. Aside from his hassling someone unaware that s/he is live on the radio, the joke relies on these few phonemes. Klein objected to Wilmuth because he did not present a realistic accent and because he is not actually a German speaker with the authority to do such an accent.

As a native speaker with perceived authority to make jokes about *colonos*, Klein explains his project as one of re-embracing, a reconciliation with the past, in particular an acknowledgement of the joys of farming life, and speaking German. He also addresses topics of gender equalities. The erasures and reductions of Hunsrückish notwithstanding,

his work does appeal to insiders as well as outsiders. He has achieved the unusual event of Hunsrückish spoken in public, and perhaps does achieve his goal of gentle laughter at oneself and days in the Kolonie. This would fit the agenda of a German-Brazilian public.

Both Klein's plays and Zilles' films, in addition to other conversations and discursive projects, support the analysis of the lotto store conversations. They share angles on the linguistic shame surrounding both Hunsrückish ("it's a language of humor, of the past, and one that is tainted with Portuguese") and Portuguese (the voiced and devoiced consonants that "betray" the lotto store clients as German speakers, even while speaking Portuguese, are the features brought out by Klein's crew intentionally and Zilles' interviewees probably unintentionally). The artists behind the film and plays also show expressions of self as connected both to Brazilian and Kolonist publics, without committing fully to either, as did the storeowner and first client. Some of the film interviewees, like the third client, display a rural lifestyle and express a preference for speaking German; in so doing, they align themselves more with a Kolonist public.

Conclusions

The setting of the lotto store brings together strangers who enter into interactions that generate dynamics less predictable than those with family members. Clients make monetary requests of the storeowner, who sometimes engages in provocative or "uncooperative" behavior. During these negotiations, interpersonal alignments must be made, although the direction is unpredictable. The alignments are not predetermined by setting or presupposed hierarchies. The storeowner could have begun her interactions as she ended them with the male clients: more formal and transaction oriented. Conversely, the clients could have aligned themselves with her not at a neutral distance but as though she were somebody lower in status, a servant to their needs. Or they could have humbled themselves to her, as a person with power over them. That these alignments did not occur but nevertheless exist in the repertory of possibilities indicates a balance of presupposed and entailing elements within any negotiation of interpersonal alignments.

How do people in the moment of conversation invoke entire networks of relations? The alignments made under such circumstances inevitably involve commitments to one's interlocutors as well as larger expressions of self. As interpersonal relationships are established, publics are also formed, made of multiple alignments with

language ideologies that are both contingent on the situation and presupposed from previous formulations. Multiple alignments become interwoven through semiotic processes, such as indexical orders, erasure, iconization, and fractal recursivity, which link signs to social values. As the features are put together with background, macrosocial information and also with the local processes of the moment, they form entailments (Silverstein 2003). In this creative space, the features are taken up as ethno-metapragmatic second-order indexicals. Realignments can happen both in the first turn of an interaction or at a later, climactic moment; we see both occurrences in the examples above.

Yet, to get what they wanted, clients sometimes remained less determinate in their alignments. For the most part, the clients avoided direct address and converged their code to that of their interlocutor. These actions of interpersonal indeterminacy are more salient among strangers or acquaintances than with the family members in the conversations of the next chapter. Among family, speakers did not change second-person pronouns and less often made a strategic, pragmatic codeswitch.

Chapter 6 Temporal Aspects of Personal Alignments

INTRODUCTION

Through analysis of a particular family's speech event, set in dialogue with other conversations and media, this chapter explores historical aspects of personal alignments and realignments of Hunsrückish speakers in the Dois Irmãos region. Realignments can be observed in the moment of conversation in a shift in the pragmatics indexed by a personal deictic pronoun. For example, an individual establishes her historical connection to a group through an explicit *I* or *we* and a brief description of the group, such as 19th-century Germans. After she expresses this alignment, alternatives are suggested. Perhaps the *we* under discussion is not 19th- but 20th-century. Those conversation participants open to considering alternatives begin to imagine themselves in this new way. Perhaps we could align ourselves as 20th-century in this scenario due to x and y reasons, they extrapolate. In this theoretical realm, a realignment has already occurred. A more fundamental, practical realignment may also occur if the individual embodies the alternative alignment in future conversation and practice.

Because temporal alignments are interconnected with alignments of intersubjectivity and space, the theoretical, deictic level in the historical alignment is essentially *us* and *them*. The deictic indexing an individual to a group is embedded in a larger index. In aligning with a group, she is also aligning that group—as agentive or passive, sympathetic or antagonistic. The indeterminacy or vagueness of these deictics allows the speaker to talk about herself long before she was born. It allows two speakers to use the same lexical item and change the meaning of it as they are using it.

That temporal alignments can be made with events, people, and places during your lifetime or predating your birth leads to a greater level of abstraction than other kinds of alignments. For even as you say, “I am a German speaker,” and thereby index a phenomenon that encompasses various associations, you still always maintain an

embodied first-order index of self. Once this self-expression moves to a time before you were born, i.e., “We were German speakers,” the alignment inevitably becomes more generalized, not just to a first-person plural but often to one beyond your own family. Generalized narratives rely on others’ sources—books, films, scholarly accounts, and also circulating oral discourses. Perhaps more so than with interpersonal alignments, an idea that temporal alignments will be consistent and linear means that historical narratives will put events in a particular order that gets fixed and rehearsed.

Because an event or series of events in the past is used to explain who a person is in the present, temporal alignments may become high stakes. It is important to manage them so as to ensure that one’s associations are with the right group, depending on one’s interlocutors. Beyond space and interpersonal relations, time is linked with forces larger than the immediate line under discussion, such as language ideologies, nation states, and interpretation of wars. As with all alignments, those made in historical narratives sometimes rely on indeterminacy, erasures and other semiotic processes to maintain or create ideologies.

Below, a family conversation about Germany’s relationship with Brazil over the past 200 years shows that it may be desirable to align with German immigrants up to a certain time: *we* becomes *here* in realigning the meaning of “German immigrant” so as to avoid association with World War II refugees. The Sieber family tries to answer the question: What is our relationship with Germany today and in the past? They ask: Why does Germany send money today to restore German-Brazilian houses and other cultural projects?

One sister says: Because in the past they sent *us* away.

The other sister responds: Because *we* took them in.

These sisters, born in Brazil after World War II, express a larger *we* in thinking of themselves as belonging to a historical people (German immigrants). They shift the referent of the first-person plural from an identification with German-speaking immigrants in the 19th century to an identification with people born and established in communities in Brazil during World War II. They co-construct an alignment whereby up until a certain historical time they were German, and after that time they became Brazilian.

Other alignments also become clear. There is a sympathy with German-speaking immigrants and their descendants, no matter when they arrived in Brazil, including a portrayal of them as victims. The erasure of certain parts of the story, such as Nazi history, is noteworthy for the role that Nazism has played in the humiliations against German-speakers in Brazil. Whether the movement had any practitioners in the German-speaking communities, they were accused and punished as if there were. For this reason, perhaps, the Siebers and others express distance from some groups of German speakers, especially those who immigrated around World War II. There is also an antagonism toward non-German-descended Brazilians of the past. Lastly, the implicated timelessness in the Kolonie—the continuous past and present—contributes to a dual sense of nostalgia (for those who no longer live in the Kolonie, but feel they still almost could) and dismissal of a public that never properly modernized (Inoue 2004).

Before we get to the transcript and accompanying analysis, I first elaborate on sources of history and the general historical narrative.

Representations of History

What sources of information were used to investigate the past in the Dois Irmãos region? I came across books, films, scholars, museum exhibits, architecture, cemeteries, and other parts of the landscape that reveal their age. The Dois Irmãos houses a small museum, a historical society, a friends of the Old Church society, and other groups concerned with maintaining buildings, cemeteries, and other structures. In terms of official, city-supported policies about local patrimony, decisions seemed to be in the hands of a few. Essentially the same people constituted the membership of the historical society and friends of the Old Church. Their gatherings were also featured in the daily Dois Irmãos newspaper, whereas musical events are often neglected, one contact complained.

Many of these influential people belonged to the “old families” of Dois Irmãos, who had been there for generations, before the factory boom. Older people in the Dois Irmãos area were often considered authorities on matters of the past, as they sometimes had lived through a bygone era or appeared closer to the event under discussion. Their

oral accounts, passed down through children and grandchildren, were referenced as much or more than books on the subjects.¹

Some of the members of the patrimonial groups participated in projects outside the Dois Irmãos area that dealt with the larger German-Brazilian community. The pictures below depict restoration projects in Ivoti, a village neighboring Dois Irmãos. Both houses sit in a “nucleus of half-timbered houses” that have been renovated as part of a preservation by the Institute for Historical and Artistic Patrimony (IPHAN). The “Yellow House” was built in 1907 and served as a commercial warehouse until 1940. After some flooding, it was abandoned in the 1960s. One of my host families lived there for a time, and then in 2005, a fire damaged some of the interior. In 2008 the restoration was finished with the support of a cultural government agency from Germany, whose ambassador appeared at the opening of the “Yellow House.” Now it is used for exhibiting art and historical artifacts, as well as cultural performances and a *café colonial*, or elaborate German tea. The picture on the right is an interior shot of a half-timbered house next to the Yellow House, iconic of German architecture in Brazil.

Figure 11: Photographs of Architectural Renovation Projects



The opening of the “Yellow House”



Inside a renovated half-timbered house

¹ The large, beautiful bookstore *Cultura*, of which there were two branches in expensive shopping malls in Porto Alegre sold books at such a high price that many middle-class people are probably deterred from purchasing them. Perhaps to encourage purchase of children’s books, especially, such books are generally printed on cheap paper with cartoon-like drawings, as opposed to the painted illustrations on heavy, coated paper one sees in children’s books at any Barnes and Nobles in the USA. That most books are published only in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro suggests that people in the rest of the country have difficulties accessing them. Thus, the lack of written materials in German-speaking regions may be due to more than lack of education and the nationalization of campaign.

Different musical and dance groups performed at the opening ceremony of the Yellow House, some singing in German, others dancing in Afro-Caribbean costumes. Thus, the event cultivated a multicultural tone. Note the three flags displayed in front of the left window come from Germany, Brazil, and Rio Grande do Sul. An effort at multiculturalism is consistent with the long struggle of German immigrants and their descendants to demonstrate their niche in Brazil. German-Brazilian culture workers want to represent a German-speaking community that is both ethnically unique and patriotically Brazilian. Such multicultural displays were selective, however: a pair of Peruvian panflute players told me they had been asked to leave the central area of the Dois Irmãos celebration of German immigration, because it was a “German” event.

In addition to architecture and commemoration events, university conferences and other academic-affiliated projects take on many other topics of historical interest. The Tenth National Seminar of Historical Researchers of Teuto-Brazilian Communities was held in Ivoti, RS, Brazil on June 19-20, 2008. Its participants were affiliated mostly with two universities, the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre) and the University of the Rio dos Sinos Valley (São Leopoldo). The six sessions were 1) Literature of German expression and German language dialects spoken in Brazil; 2) Cultural manifestations— theater, festivals, and tourism; 3) Education; 4) Relationships among ethnicities, *colônias*, municipalities, and political questions; 5) Patrimonial education, material and immaterial patrimony, archive preservation; and 6) Other themes related to immigration.²

What came out of these sessions, the commemorations of historical patrimonies, texts, and various conversations among scholars and laypeople reveal six basic moments in the historical discourse of the Dois Irmãos region:

- (1) the time of the first emigration from “Germany” beginning in the 1820s;
- (2) the Mucker Revolt of the 1890s;

² Examples of session topics from the first session included diaries written during the Paraguayan War; sociolinguistic topics of current bilingual speakers of Portuguese and Hunsrückish, including contact with West Falian and Hochdeutsch; the role of religion in German immigration, and Jakobine of the Mucker War. Paper topics of the session entitled Patrimonial Education, Material and Immaterial Patrimony, Archive Preservation included museology, church registries, a scholastic memory project, and the archives and historical patrimonies of particular cities, the earliest date being 1835.

- (3) World War II and the nationalization campaign;
- (4) the exodus from farming to factory lifestyle in the 1970s;
- (5) the urbanizing lifestyle since the factory boom; and
- (6) the period that Hunsrückish speakers and their ancestors spent in the Kolonie.

The narrative begins with the diaspora or journey out of Europe; contacts did not talk about what life was like for the ancestors who lived in Europe. In this way Brazil always constitutes a part of their historical narrative. In addition to the more or less chronologized events (1-5), another, more timeless moment in history is (6) the period that Hunsrückish speakers and their ancestors spent in the Kolonie, leading farming lifestyles. This period is evoked in discussions of both the past and present, in the days of the first immigrants arriving, and in the childhoods of people now living in town; these get blurred with the present time, in which relatives still live in the Kolonie. This practice of collapsing the present with the past has a long history, among anthropologists and nonanthropologists (see, e.g., Fabian 1983).

The Further Back in Time, the More ‘We’ the Narrative

To identify with a time in which one was not actually present, personal descriptors are shifted from singular to plural. It is not *I* who emigrated a century ago, but *we*. Now one is part of a group whose collective actions helped form the world that one found oneself in at birth or at some point in one’s lifetime. When a group’s history revolves around a diaspora, the understandings of *then* and *now* go hand-in-hand with understandings of *here* and *there*. In the case presented here, the descendants of the immigrants construct their history so that it begins with their ancestors’ emigration. “Back then” (*frihersch*) often refers to those years of the first immigrations in the 1820s. Nevertheless, it can also mean any other time specified before “today” or “now”, and becomes clear only with added details of geography and activity. Although “here” and “there” refer for the most part to Brazil and Germany, respectively, it is often necessary to clarify which here and there by specifying time period. The mother asks: why should [Germany] help us now here? The inherent vagueness of the deictic shifters allows for alignments to slip in and out of modes—sometimes they are more spatial, sometimes more temporal, but they are always working toward an understanding of *we* and *they*. Rather than defining *we* as

German speakers in Brazil or Brazilians, Gláucia's statement that "we took them in" connects the *we* to an activity, a place, and a time.

A Family Conversation

Sandra Sieber, my current host mother, takes me, her sister Gláucia, and their mother to visit their uncle and his wife in the *interior* ('countryside') of Ivoti. The uncle and aunt are in their late 70s. They have lived together in the small wood house the duration of their marriage. Uncle Klaus was born in the house, as were his father and grandfather. He said his great grandfather³ built it in 1836. His wife was born a half kilometer away. The house has few decorations and furniture. There is a wood-burning stove in the kitchen.

Sandra took me to Klaus because he loves to tell stories and talk about history. He told Sandra that in honor of our visit he and his wife Inge were going to bathe. Sandra relayed this to me laughing because bathing is something that people in Dois Irmãos do once or even twice a day. I sat next to Klaus on the sofa and the others sat in chairs across from us. Every now and again Sandra or Gláucia would ask me what else I wanted to ask to make sure that all my questions were getting answered. They also checked to make sure my recorder was still working. Because I wanted mostly to observe everyone interact with each other and hear about daily lives, I tried to stay peripheral to the exchange and did not request any particular historical narrative (although I encouraged elaboration once a line was started).

The Topic Arises

A few minutes after I had turned on the recorder, Sandra turns to me and says, "they do a lot of bowling here and the community goes along; that is all from the Germans" (Lines 1-5). Klaus then tells a story about bowling in Nova Petrópolis and asking a man from there how his association had the money to build the clubhouse in the city center. This exchange marks the beginning of a discussion about why Germany helps Brazil today. As the interaction unfolds, so do multiple affiliations with different spaces, times and people. I take you through these shifts with an analysis of the deictic shifting in the following annotated excerpt (see fuller transcript in Appendix B).

43. *sot de man, mea honn kans wenig aus gep* 43. **said the man, we spent very little of our**

³ My calculations suggest that it was his great great grandfather.

fon unsam gelt.

money.

44. *honn mea alles fon Deutschland krid, ja.*

44. **we got everything from Germany, yes.**

58. *unn vas tut heit Deutschland net macha fa Brasilie?*

58. **and what does Germany today not do for Brazil?**

59. *haupsechlich do hia nuna né, Paraná, Santa Catarina, e no Rio Grande do Sul né.*

59. **mainly down here, right, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and in Rio Grande do Sul, yeah.**

60. *tot nufa net meh né!*

60. **up above no more, right.**

Why does Germany help Brazil? This question spurs the family to explore the relationship between these two nations and subsequently the people of these two nations. As they home in on answers, the question also changes. Klaus qualifies “Brazil” with mostly just Southern Brazil. Why does Germany help the southern (German) parts of Brazil? To consider the answer, they must define where they fit in—are they still part of Germany? When were they part of Germany, and, if no longer, when did that membership end?

First they jointly establish that Germany does help Brazil, the Southern (German) part of Brazil.

61. Gláucia: *hia in Rio Grande do Sul net*

61. **not here in Rio Grande do Sul**

62. Klaus: *aver do hia...*

62. **but here**

63. Sandra: *deve ter algum interesse, [do is etvas vascheinlich hia.]*

63. **there should be some interest, [there is probably something here.]**

64. Klaus: *[die helfe viele mit]*

64. Klaus: **[they help a lot]**

65. Sandra: *die helfe viele mit*

65. Sandra: **they help a lot**

66. Klaus: *was die mithelfe, do hia die trei Staate né, (1)*

66. Klaus: **what they help with, here the three states, yeah,**

67. *do hia in Brasil né, unn ...*

67. **here in Brazil right, and...**

68. *war wieviel Jahr?*

68. **(it) has been how many years?**

69. *einan fétsich, sechtsich, finaf na*

69. **forty-one, sixty, sixty-five years, like**

sechtsich, Johre, vi Deitschland...

Germany...

70. Sandra: [*die helfe viel mit*]

70. Sandra: [**they help a lot**]

Now a timeline emerges. Klaus considers the beginning of the War 1941⁴. He drives at a relationship between World War II and Germany's aid to Brazil. He emphasizes that it was so long ago ("it has been how many years?")—either that the last flux of German emigrants arrived or that Brazilians allowed them in—his speech gets interrupted and the thought is only partially articulated. The latter idea is developed as the conversation continues.

"Germany" is replaced with "they" (Lines 64-70). Germany was already a vague entity from the start of the conversation,⁵ undefined in space, time, or politics, and the pronoun "they" brings the object of reference to a greater level of abstraction. Without its antecedent, a pronoun is unclear, indicating only a number and a speaker role. In this case, the pronoun has an antecedent, but it is not specific as it might be: Is *they* a number of people from Germany? In which year? Germany the nation did not exist until 1871. The willingness to discuss Germany as a vague, historically fixed agent becomes a reification of an unclear entity, an other. At the same time that the use of *they* is semantically more abstruse, it also specifies something: that the speakers are not identifying themselves as part of that referent. They are instead aligning themselves with those who are helped, the objective or passive agents of the sentence. They do not say "us", as in "they help us," but the speakers use the deictic "here", which is a form similar to "we" in the sense that it is related to the speakers rather than an other, who would be "there."

71. Mother: [*sivan sechtsich, Johr is's. Val ich sinn in fetsich, gebohr.*]

71. Mother: [**sixty seven years it's been. Because I was born in forty.**]

72. Klaus: *voor Deitschland Kaput geves.*

72. Klaus: **Germany was destroyed.**

73. Sandra: *weeshta was ich denke die honn*

73. Sandra: **do you know what I think they**

⁴ Brazil officially entered the War in August 1942. http://www.tau.ac.il/eial/VI_2/mccann.htm

⁵ The indeterminacy of "Germany" becomes more pronounced as the conversation continues (see below). For example, when discussed as an entity of the early 19th century, what today is Germany was then the holdings of various national kings, dukes, princes, and free cities, as well as the territories of international powers then and what today are non-German nations. The Prussian Empire was a strong presence with islands around today's Germany and extending into today's Poland and Baltic states.

*die Deitschla..., das estado, de- assim o país,
hellift mit,*

**had the Germ...the state of like the country
helps,**

74. *porque die honn die all uff die schiffa
getun, frihersch (.) unn die muschta faht.*

74. because **they got them all on the ship,
back then and they had to go.**

75. *die sinn net fat vel die voldä . . . volde die
Deitscha frihersch.*

75. **because . . . they did not go because they
wanted the Germans earlier.**

Klaus' comment (Line 72) marks the beginning of a line of sympathy with Germany, a victimhood that Germany and its people have suffered. Sandra suggests that Germany compensates today for the forced migration of the early 19th century. She refers to the German state as well as the early German-speaking immigrants as 'they,' not overtly aligning herself with either side. She switches to Portuguese (the unbolded text) to specify her meaning of "Germany"—the German state or country—one could think because the Portuguese provides a more precise or technical description of a geopolitical unit, however a few turns later she says the same word in German. More likely she does not know exactly who was behind the forced migration but must clarify that she is moving the timeline back a century, to when the German-speaking emigrants first arrived. This move is evident through her use of *frihersch* ('in the past'/ 'earlier'), which she uses to differentiate from the World War II time period under discussion. Gláucia later confirmed this interpretation.

76. Gláucia: *die sinn all do heakomm.*

76. Gláucia: **they all came here.**

77. Klaus: *do sin 'ra fót né, torich die ormund
sinn viel komm rin.*

77. Klaus: **there they went, right, because of
poverty many came in.**

78. Sandra: *aver das, das Stodt hot alles
bezohlt.*

78. Sandra: **but the the state paid everything.**

79. *das Schiff bezohlt, hot alles bezohlt de
Stodt fon de Deitscha.*

79. **paid for the ship, the state of the
Germans paid everything.**

80. *unn ich denke heit so, tunn die ... ich ves
net op das iss, das kann am en sinn net, tun
die... wolle uns mithelfe.*

80. **and I think that today, they do . . . I
don't know if that is, it may not be, (why)
they ... want to help us.**

81. Klaus: *ja.*

81. Klaus: **yes.**

82. Sandra: *vel die honn friasch uns mo fortgeschickt.*

82. Sandra: **because they sent us forth.**

83. Claire: *hmm, [aver die brasilionische Regierung hot pitsolt fô die leit zu komma.]*

83. Claire: **hmm, [but the Brazilian government paid for people to come.]**

84. Gláucia: [*val mea sa uffgenom honn*]

84. Gláucia: [**because we took them in**]

Again, Klaus discusses the poverty or low stature of the German people, this time the German-speaking people who emigrated in the 19th century (Line 77). He attributes poverty as the push motivation for emigration. Sandra argues that the emigrants were nevertheless subsidized by the German state (Lines 78-80). This aid by the 19th-century state Sandra connects to the aid given by today's state, implicating the occurrence of the second by the occurrence of the first period of aid. The emigrants' pull motivation to migrate were the state subsidies for passage over to Brazil and free land, among other concessions upon arrival. Sandra seems to say that due to their sending away their own people, the state wants to continue payments today. Gláucia, whose speech parallels mine, and therefore contests Sandra's idea, not mine (Line 84): Rather than a compensation for a 19th-century forced migration, Germany's aid is a reciprocity for the kindness that the Brazilians or German-Brazilians gave during World War II when they took German war refugees in. Later in the conversation they describe hiding the Germans (Line 237).

Gláucia and Klaus continue Sandra's reference to the immigrants as *they*, as not themselves but the Other (Lines 76 and 77). The first instance of the first-person plural occurs in this stretch of conversation when Sandra says, "They want to help us" (Line 80). With her use of "today", her listeners know that she has returned the reference to the present recipients of Germany's support for cultural projects in Brazil. Thus, she aligns herself with Brazil or people living in Brazil getting help from the German government. The next utterance of *us* (Line 82), however, jumps back to the 19th century: "Because in the past they sent us away." How do we know that Sandra refers to the 19th-century and not to a different past such as during World War II? This question is especially pertinent because in the next turn (parallel with my interjection), Gláucia jumps a century in time.

Due to the rapid jumping among different time periods and the pragmatics behind the pronouns, this discussion made sense to me only in listening to it as a whole and then

clarifying it with the sisters afterward. I asked Gláucia by email why and when the German state paid for emigration. According to my sources, the Brazilian government had subsidized German immigration in the 19th century, so I wondered if when Sandra credited Germany with the financial aid, she was describing World War II immigration. Gláucia wrote:

*o que eu sei é que foram enviados
para o Brasil as pessoas
indesejadas, presidiários,
mendigos "indignos em geral" no
Rio Grande do Sul os primeiros
imigrantes chegaram em 1824.*

what I know is that people who were sent to Brazil were undesirables, convicts, beggars, “general despicable” in Rio Grande do Sul the first immigrants arrived in 1824.

Gláucia’s response implies that Sandra’s discussion was indeed centered on early 19th-century immigration and that “Germany” had a reason for wanting its people to emigrate—they were unwelcome members of society. She writes that this characterization was told to them by their grandparents. (I have yet to find other sources to corroborate the idea that the first immigrants were the “undesirables”, as was the case in Australian colonization roughly the same time period). Whether or not the immigrants were undesirables, the significance of such a statement is its potential implication for how the family sees itself. The alignment with these immigrants suggests a pride in the idea that they are descended from criminals.

The third instance of the first-person plural occurs when poetically, Gláucia contradicts Sandra: “Because we took them in” (Line 84). With this statement, she jumps a century, changes the first-person plural from passive/objective to active/subjective and potentially also changes nationalities, from German to Brazilian. The first two instances are in a passive, objective voice and the last instance is in the active, nominative voice. All three instances refer to different groups of different time periods. Below are three more (final) instances of the first-person plural. Will they continue Gláucia’s alignment with World War II-era (German-)Brazilians?

89. Sandra: *ja aver mehta die tsvoi
rechirun’a passama gesprun sinn,*

89. Sandra: **yes but might the two
governments together**

90. *unn gesprochen honn schickt’sa bei uns?*

90. **have spoken and sent them to us?**

91. Gláucia: *eu acho que sim.*

91. Gláucia: I think so.

92. Sandra: *hera die volda so tipo uns escravisira.*

92. Sandra: **(I) heard they wanted to like enslave us.**

93. Klaus: *ja, não sei.*

93. Klaus: yes, I don't know.

94. Sandra: *wascheinlich*

94. Sandra: **probably**

95. Claire: *uh*

95. Claire: **uh**

96. Gláucia: *Isso talvez não,*

96. Gláucia: This maybe not,

97. *aver tesvech Alemanha hellift heit teng'ich viel mit vel mea die uffgenom honn fa, (1) wie die Zeit vi tena sein Krich voor né.*

97. **but Germany helps a lot today I think because we took them in to, (1) in the time like that his war was, right.**

98. *vi die do hea komm sinn né.*

98. **when they came here, right.**

99. Mother: *die sinn ijo do hea komm, vi de Schneider, vu do nevich iôva gevont hot.*

99. Mother: **they definitely came here, like Schneider, who lived over there next door.**

100. Klaus: *die helfe aver plos mit vu die Deitscha regione sinn*

100. Klaus: **they just help with where the German regions are**

Sandra takes up my suggestion that the Brazilian government paid for the immigration and counters that maybe both the governments of Brazil and “Germany” “sent them to us” (Line 90). This fourth instance of first-person plural, Sandra’s *us*, now indexes people in Brazil, who are being sent German immigrants. She pronominally aligns with (German-speaking) Brazilians. In the next turn she identifies with the immigrants: “I heard they wanted to like enslave us.” It is unclear to which time period Sandra refers, although she presumably continues the discussion of the 19th-century immigrants who came over and received land to farm and or the treatment these new arrivals received from the Brazilian government. Now her *they* refers to the Brazilians and her *us* remains the German-speaking immigrant population. She could not be referring merely to the people sitting in the room with her because these events occurred before Gláucia’s and her births. Also, the relationship with Germany is not one had as individuals. Throughout the discussion they define the recipient of Germany’s aid as the German regions of Brazil, not individually named people.

No one takes Sandra up on the idea of German-speaking immigrants' being in danger of enslavement, although the indentured servitude of 19th-century European plantation workers has been written about (see Chapter 2). Gláucia switches time periods again to identify with settled German-Brazilians or Brazilians, "We took them in." She clarifies the time frame she is discussing: "in the time of their war". She clearly delimits those German immigrants from "our" immigrant population. The mother adds to this demarcation by giving an example of an individual, Schneider. Schneider does not share the same history as the Sieber ancestors, who arrived long before the War.

147. Sandra: *finaf an sechtsich Johr, menschta ted Deutschland so tenga? Nê.*

147. Sandra: **sixty-five years, do you think Germany thinks like that? No.**

148. Gláucia: *não sei, mas parece.*

148. Gláucia: (I) don't know, but (it) seems (like that).

152. Sandra: *Zeit das de krich voor, de ment so, tu tescht mena die terá tanga fa Brasil, vel han die Brasiliona honn viel uffgenom vi de krich Inge, do sinn ijo viel do hea komm*

152. Sandra: **(It) was the time of the war, he thought, you would think they would have thoughts of Brazil, because the Brazilians had taken many in as it was war, then many did come here**

153. Mother: *do hea komm*

153. Mother: **then came here**

154. Sandra: *vecha fás sinn die do hea komm?*

154. Sandra: **for what did they come here**

155. Klaus: *die sinn ausgeriss.*

155. Klaus: **they were torn away**

156. Sandra: *vel die vuschta das do hia Deutsche were*

156. Sandra: **because they knew Germans would be here**

157. Klaus: *ijo, ja claro unn die easchta sinn toh komm in achten hunat fia unn tsvansich*

157. Klaus: **yes, yeah sure and the first came in 1824**

158. Gláucia: *Si vuschta tas sa uff genom terá were*

158. Gláucia: **They knew that they would be taken in**

159. Sandra: *unn do in tausant noin hunat enan fetsich,*

159. Sandra: **and here in 1941,**

Sandra never overtly concedes to Gláucia's suggestion of why Germany helps Brazil (as a thanks for allowing in World War II refugees). Sandra changes the question to why the Germans came to Southern Brazil, rather than some place else, during World War II (Line 154). In this pursuit, she continues to align overtly with neither the German war refugees (rather than *we/us*, she says "many") nor the Brazilians ("the Brazilians") who took them in (Line 152). In this stretch there is no overt first-person pronoun. Sandra does, however, use the spatial deictic *here* to connect the conversation participants to times and places. When she says that the immigrants came here, she modifies the deictic with a time, 1941. She distinguishes the place from how it is now, but nevertheless acknowledges a commonality between then and now; otherwise, a word such as *there* could be chosen to indicate a greater distance. "Germany" also is presented as continuous, in that the same agent that was present in World War II, and maybe even as far back as 1824, is thanking Brazil or repaying at least parts of it. Another thing, debated throughout this conversation, is now also presented as a continuous, static agent: German immigrants. In Line 157, Klaus defines them as one stream of people, beginning in 1824, continuing during World War II, and also connecting with those people already settled in Brazil.

The next section further explores how the deictic, referential, and grammatical shifts shown above reflect on the shifting alignments between self and group, and group and public.

Shifting Alignments Visible in Shifting Deictic Elements

An alignment is a commitment to or against a group, idea, place, time, or public. Because time, space, and interpersonal relationships cannot stand in isolation, a focus on any of these variables only partially captures the full alignment. The clearest evidence of an alignment is a personal pronoun followed by a group, time, and place that situate the speaker on a grounded level. When left unexplained, a deictic remains more abstract. If not a personal deictic, but, for example, a spatial *here*, the utterance rises still further in indeterminacy. Indeterminacy serves to open a space for imagination. As opposed to everything getting clearly laid out, an indeterminate alignment may provoke considerations of more than one meaning. Are "we who take them in" Brazilians? Are we

German Brazilians? Are we taking them in because we are actually the same people as they are?

The Sieber conversation does not contain many instances of an overt *we* or *us*. The six instances of an overt first-person plural are listed in Table 12, although not many, nevertheless give multiple alignments—multiple suggestions for who the speakers are and with whom they contrast themselves.

Table 12: Referential Shifts in the First-Person Plural

<u>Instance</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>First-Person Plural</u>	<u>Third-Person Plural</u>	<u>Time</u>
1-San*	80	(German) Brazil – (<i>uns</i>)**	Germany	Today
2-San	82	German-speaking immigrants – (<i>uns</i>)	Historical “Germany”	19 th century
3-Gl	84	(German) Brazilians – (<i>mea</i>)	German immigrants (them)	World War II
4-San	90	(German) Brazil – (<i>uns</i>)	Germany	Today
5-San	92	German-speaking immigrants – (<i>uns</i>)	Brazilians	?
6-Gl	97	(German) Brazilians – (<i>mea</i>)	German immigrants (them)	World War II

* The two speakers engaging in the usage of overt first-person pronouns are Sandra (San) and Gláucia (Gl).

** The instances of the passive *uns* (‘us’) are said by Sandra; the instances of the active, nominative *mea* (‘we’) by Gláucia.

Two kinds of deictic shifting as well as a grammatical shift occur in this dialogue. They occur not within the speech of a single person, but as co-collaborative speech, in which multiple understandings or suggestions make up a whole discussion. The first shift, which happened before this excerpt began, is from *I* to *we*; the second is the referential shift of the first-person plural (*we* changes in meaning); and the grammatical shift from accusative or dative case to the nominative case.

Four of the instances of the first-person plural refer to German-Brazilians or Brazilians during World War II who received German war refugees into their communities. The other two tokens of first-person plural were uttered by Sandra in reference to German immigrants in the 19th century. The third-person plural appeared in the forms of *die*, the clitic *se* (‘they’), and *dena sein* (‘their’); in different instances they

refer to Germany, German immigrants during World War II, the Brazilian government in the 19th and 20th centuries, and in one instance to the German immigrants in the 19th century. At what point, then, does their first-person plural change from German to Brazilian? If in fact they never have left Brazil, when were they once German? Is it an exact knowledge of their ancestry that tells them when they were Germans and when they were Brazilians?

The beauty of the dialogue is the simplicity of its form—both sisters’ using the same first-person plural—and the complexity of the concept. It is a shift in time period as well as national affiliation. “Because in the past they sent us away.” “Because we took them in.” Physically, historically, geographically, the sisters were born after World War II and in Brazil. Their use of the referential index *we* or *us* could denote themselves only since they were born into this world. But in this historical discussion, they align themselves with their ancestors and other immigrants. The different uses of *we* are not necessarily contradictory—we are both immigrants who came and who were already here.

Much of the discussion retains a level of abstractness visible in its groupness. Klaus and the mother name some individuals, but the sisters stick to generalized groups of people. They also then rely on more conventionalized historical narratives. The sisters could have given Klaus more speaking time, making him, an individual, the focus of the entire narrative, from start to finish. He tries to give a lineage of the family history over many turns of the conversation, but is increasingly interrupted.

The closer the place is to the speakers and the closer the time period is to the present, the less abstract the discussion becomes. *Here* and *now* nevertheless also have many degrees of indeterminacy. Therefore, for example, some explanation is needed when the family discusses in which part, exactly, Brazil is being helped. It is only in the most southern states, and specific, German-speaking cities in those states, that financial aid is received. The continuum of specificity of group alignment breaks down into 1) *we* modified by overt identifying language—2) *we* with more indeterminate relationships—3) other deictics such as *here* and *now*—4) no deictic but another form of alignment, such as gesturing. The level of specification thus reveals at least two things. The specificity of the sign speaks to the measure of iconization, or the ideological process of taking two

things, such as a way of speaking and a group of people and framing their connection as if it were transparent and natural (Irvine and Gal 2000). How real are these things to the speakers, how present or clear in their minds? Breaking down the alignment into these levels reminds us that no overt pronoun is necessary for an alignment.

The grammatical shift from passive to active calls attention to an ideology pervading historical narratives of German-speaking Brazil. The accusative/dative *uns* rather than nominative form *mea* iconically links to a passive, victim role of the German immigrants. The passive – active divide falls with the speaker: Sandra speaks of their group only in terms of the passive. Things were done to the German-speaking ancestors and later, to the German speakers in Brazil. First they were sent away from their homeland, then they were potentially enslaved, and lastly they were given help. Gláucia offers the idea that they played a more active role in that they allowed in the German refugees.

The Ideologies of the Alignment Process

The alignments connecting the speakers to different historical groups include earlier German-speaking immigrants (Line 82), German immigrants regardless of the time period (Line 157), and Brazilians or German people settled in Brazil (Lines 80, 84, 90, 97). Alignments were also made against German immigrants arriving during World War II (Lines 84, 97) and non-German-descended Brazilians (Line 92). Sometimes an alignment is left undetermined, as when Sandra refers to both Germans and Brazilians in the third-person (Line 152). Other alignments less directly connect an individual to a larger network or ideology in that the utterances focus on only the network or ideology; only in another moment of speech is the connection made between the speaker and her topic. The Siebers imbue German immigrant history with the features of long struggle, abandonment and even antagonism by the government and general population of both their home- and host land. They are committing a group to a certain history, or aligning the two sides of the equation. As already mentioned, this general alignment is made of smaller, diverse ones, and is thus subject to change. By eventually aligning their individual selves to the history of German immigrants, the Siebers contribute to the formation of what it means to be German-Brazilian.

Aligning their individual selves occurs through more (e.g., *I-we*) and less (e.g., *here-now*) overtly interpersonal deictics, as well as paralinguistic speech such as prosody and body language that supports their statements—or undermines it through sarcasm, for example, and proves the opposite alignment to be true. Minimal codeswitching occurs in this conversation, perhaps because, as family members, no outer sphere language is necessary to convey formality. Also, the elder folk living in a rural place generally speak Hunsrückish, and younger folk accommodate this code choice.

The German-Brazilian public rests on an immigrant past of struggle. The Siebers' joint understanding goes as follows: The first immigrants met with obstacles of different nature from those facing the war refugees. The family conversation jumps between the time of World War II and the “first” immigrants or the ones who all got on a ship “back then.” They were forced out of their homeland (Line 74-5, 77, 82, 155); and when they arrived, *es war alles Urwald* ‘it was all wilderness’ (Line 143, 145). It was incumbent on the immigrants to sustain themselves. The Brazilian government did not keep promises made by recruiters to the German speakers (if any promises were made: Sandra was not aware of Brazil’s role in the immigration).

285. Sandra: *Sin tô viel Deitscha gestorap vel die gesproch honn Deitsch?*

285. Sandra: **Did many Germans die because they spoke German?**

286. *honn die Brasiliona viel geschoss?*

286. **did the Brazilians shoot many of them?**

Far from aiding German immigrants, Brazilians, according to Sandra, may have acted as antagonists or enemies. She also says, “I heard they wanted to enslave us” (Line 53).

While making Brazilians into enemies, the German speakers take on roles of victims.

The 19th-century immigrants provide easier lines of sympathy than the war refugees, although all immigrants are shown to have suffered. The later immigrants arrived in a place where everything was clean and organized: Sandra says: “and here in 1941, as the war was there, they came here. Because they knew that here everything was already clean, that there was already school here, that there were already associations here, that everything was already here” (Line 162). The implication is that German Brazilians are clean, hard-working, organized people who, unlike native Brazilians,

civilized the natural landscape and the population. Not all of them may have been entirely civil—some may have been the “undesirables” of their homeland. No matter the degree of their degeneracy, the “first” immigrants are distinguished from later immigrants in that they arrived before World War II.

World War II Immigration: Sympathies and Distancing

Other mixed characterizations of German-speaking immigrants and their descendants arise in discussions of World War II time. Despite a distance that the interlocutors maintain in reference to war refugees, the Siebers describe both the immigrants and the nation of Germany during and after World War II as sympathetic characters. They are people who struggle with guilt and shame. In Lines 50-57 Klaus describes the German “wall of shame.” He connects the wall to World War II when he says

. . . I experienced the '41 War, yeah. I was uh 11 12 years old né, I experienced that, then the Americans or whoever it was, made Germany . . . went bust. Was directly shot down, né. Geralda was just there and saw they took down the wall né. It got the name “the wall of shame”.

Gláucia elaborated in an email that the shame comes from having a wall that separated the people of Germany and that kept them from coming and going. This explanation does not clarify the wall’s connection to World War II (which ended over 20 years prior to the construction of the wall). But it fits with a general picture that Germans were impoverished in Europe, during and after the War, and then had to face more enemies in Brazil. Their language was not a welcome part of the Brazilian public. A sympathy for the trials of both fresh-off-the-boat immigrants and the descendants of earlier immigrants pervades discourses of German emigrant history and of linguistic shame of current Hunsrückish speakers.

Another line of sympathy with German immigrants comes indirectly through creating alignments against Brazilians during the time of War. Even when distancing themselves from the World War II German immigrants, the Siebers did not then automatically identify themselves overtly as Brazilians. Klaus immediately dismisses Sandra’s idea that Brazilians shot at Germans, but the conversation turns to the lengths that German-Brazilians went to hide German refugees, books, and other German-language objects from the “Brazilians”. They hid refugees in cellars and books in wells (wells with water, which undermined the attempts at salvation).

They also hid their spoken language, a painful process that involved much tension with non-German speakers (“Brazilians”) of the time. Many German speakers determined not to teach their children German. Sandra refers to the nationalization campaign’s prohibitions of the German language in schools, public, and even, essentially, in homes. Raimundo Ackerman, a retired Latin professor at UFRGS, told me that one could always speak German at home. “There were no police around . . . our house was far from other houses. No one heard what we always spoke.” But other people, such as Heitor Zweig of Santa Cruz do Sul, told me they could not speak German even at home, and that is why they did not learn German. As I show in Chapter 4, the reasons behind the language shift are more complex than just the nationalization campaign and its aftermath, but the general discourse follows this idea, that the prohibition is the beginning of the downfall of German. Ursula Wiesemann, resident Wycliffe Bible Translator, credited the aftermath of such a prohibition with a high number of suicides among Hunsrückish speakers.⁶ The antagonism with “Brazilians” is visible in grammar and deictics, but also through semiotic processes. One such process is erasure: the omission of aspects of the situation that do not fit with the ideology (Irvine and Gal 2000). There was no mention of why Germans escaped during World War II (whether Nazis or Jews), and there was also no mention of Brazil’s role in the War. Why would they talk about war crimes when neither their family nor they committed any? This erasure of motivation for Brazilian efforts to infiltrate Kolonies contributes to a sense of random violence against them. Although Brazil did participate in World War II, Gláucia calls it “their war” (Line 97) and Sandra the “German War” (Line 217). Gláucia says that they call it this “because of Hitler” (Email, August 2009). Hitler was the main character, and yet the discourses in the Sieber family and others in the Dois Irmãos region, featured almost no mention of Nazis or war crimes. Cruel and unjust in its treatment of German speakers, the Vargas regime nevertheless dwelt on their potential connections with the Nazi regime, and this fact complicates the story of simple victimhood of German speakers in Brazil.

The erasures during the Sieber discussion exemplify a general omission of certain facets by most of my consultants in the Dois Irmãos area. The entire history of

⁶ The high number of suicides, particularly by hanging, was known to me only through anecdotes. It seemed that everyone I talked to who had grown up in the Kolonie knew of someone who had hanged themselves. This issue requires further investigation.

immigrants is collapsed into two time periods—the 1820s and World War II—and two places—modern Germany and rural Southern Brazil. There is no mention of different types of immigrants, for example, those who came from different regions of Germany, who had different motivations to leave, who settled in urban rather than rural areas of Brazil, or who settled in one area and then migrated to another. Such nuance would encompass Jewish and Nazi history. These erasures serve a purpose: to reconcile unpleasant parts of the past with present components of their self-understandings.

These erasures also serve to distance themselves from World War II German immigrants and war in general. The Sieber sisters do not know much about the war; it was not their war. They contribute to the idea that Kolonists did not fight in the War, merely receiving fellow German speakers. The idea of non-fighting is also part of Brazilian discourses. Brazilians I talked to in the South and further north pride themselves on being a peaceful country. Especially when addressing an American, whose government and compatriots were supporting two wars, Brazilians told me that Brazil doesn't do wars. When I ask about the Mucker Revolt (1868-1898) or the Farroupilha Revolution (1835-1845), or other wars, a common answer is: well, that was a long time ago. In this discussion, the mother brings up the Mucker Revolt, but the family does not connect it with immigrant issues (Lines 163-210). Their knowledge about it comes through a film and a novel as much as personal family history.

A conflation of historical events, such as the Berlin Wall with World War II and a German rather than Brazilian underwriting of the immigration to Brazil, reifies German shame and an antagonism toward the Brazilian government. Rather than refer to specific organizations and individuals, a vague reference is made to “Germany” and “they” as an active agent, who sent forth emigrants due to poverty and possibly criminality in the 19th century, and then due to war in the 20th century. Although Germany was not officially recognized as a united nation until 1871, Sandra argues that it is an agent that today reaches back almost 200 years to remember its lost children. The German-Brazilian and the Kolonist publics use the idea of a German nationality as a bonding agent, at least in historical views of themselves. Through an erasure, a collapse of history, the body governing the 19th-century ancestors is in this case and many others considered a national government, like the one governing today's German citizens.

German immigrants and their descendants are portrayed not only as victims. They also were active. They were met with wilderness, and from this chaos, they made order. For this reason, the war refugees wanted to come to the German parts of Brazil (Line 162). *Os Mucker* and *O Livro de Walachai* are films that portray the Kolonists working hard in their fields, attending church, baking bread, and raising families and animals. Flávio Scholles paints many work scenes in his art that represents the lives of Hunsrückish speakers. In addition to representations in popular discourse and art, academic studies such as Vogt (2001) describe the German speakers' abilities to form their own social institutions and sustain themselves; in fact, he argues, this self-sustainment is thought to have contributed to the Kolonie isolation over so many generations, more than Italian-speaking and other immigrant groups.

Realignments

In the Sieber conversation, *we* gets redefined, as does the historical figure of the German immigrant. Their conversation indirectly elicits the questions: When exactly did their ancestors emigrate? When did the descendants start calling themselves Brazilian? What relationship do they have with Germany today? These realignments, or set of alternatives, occur as a group negotiation. The co-constructed speech does not mean that everyone agrees on what *we* means, but that the participants give each other opportunities to imagine alternative ways of thinking. In doing so, they must consider their sources of information and reconcile conflicting ideologies. One path to reconciliation is leaving the details vague and under-determined. Leaving the answers to these questions undetermined adds coherency to a representation of German-speaking immigrants and their descendants.

The disagreements, or alternative alignments, are visible in moments of uptake and nonuptake. There are moments when people are chastised or dismissed for overstepping limits. Gláucia suggests that Germany does not help people "here in Rio Grande do Sul". Klaus and Sandra respond by repeating upwards of seven times that Germany does help here/ does help (Lines 58-67). When Sandra wonders if Brazilians shot at the Germans (Line 203), Klaus rejects the idea. No one utters any signs of agreement. At another point Sandra tells her mother, No, the individual you mention is

not our relative. They go back and forth with raised voices until Sandra entirely drops the interaction and turns to address me about a different topic. These are moments of nonuptake.

Just because these ideas are dismissed in the moment, however, does not mean they will not be reflected on in the future and even then agreed with. An email exchange with Gláucia afterward illuminated her (and my) openness to considering new sources of information and other ideas about who German immigrants were and are. She wanted to know which books I was reading, because, she wrote, all the information they knew had been passed down by their grandparents.

This negotiation of authority during the realignment process asks: Who has the right to tell a story? Whose version of history is trustworthy, not just because s/he has cited appropriate sources, but also because s/he commands a position valued by her/his social groups? The oral source of history is considered fine by many people. Benno Wendling's brother says in the film that he does not need to read the book because he has lived the history himself. History is not something that needs another's (an outsider's) account if you have lived it yourself and heard it from your parents and grandparents. When Sandra asked her uncle if the Brazilians had shot at the Germans and he said no, she did not refer to written materials describing the event. Rather, she said: You didn't hear anything at the time? When he says he does not know about the Mucker War, the mother says, Many people speak about that, they were how old. Who said something about that—(Line 166). Later, the sisters bring up the book and film they had seen on the subject. A citation of popular books and movies as well may indicate a concern with the validity of their reports. The more that is written or researched about a subject, the more people may be aware of multiple versions of the account.

Most people I talked to were vague about when and where their ancestors came from, but they emphasized Germany and the 19th century rather than the 20th century. Only one person I knew told me that her father had arrived in the 1930s. Johanna was also one of the few people who spoke Std. German rather than Hunsrückish, and perhaps the only one who had learned it at home rather than school. Sandra Sieber did have documents showing the 1855 dates of her ancestors' immigration. When asked why German speakers did not seem to have details or records of their genealogies, Sandra answered that their lives

consisted of unending farm work and raising families with 10 children. People did not have education and were not in the habit of reading books or keeping papers around. The book burnings during World War II left many families without what might have been genealogical records.

By exploring these issues, the family comes to understand that multiple temporal spatial public elements emerge and that there is no one answer to who they are. This is a contentious redefinition of *we*. Spiegelberg's (1973) contention that *we* has a transformative power, in which it "appeals to interlocutors as partners (not merely informative or indexical) transforming into associates" so that there is no longer a confrontation but an outward facing of a single unit. Here, there is a confrontation—a demand for a reconsideration of what *we* means. While able to easily envision themselves as different nationalities, the uncle implies that it is not easy to change what one is born into: "I could have been a German, if I hadn't been born in Brazil." Still, this realm of the imagination is what enables action (Appadurai 1996). In effect, the uncle and sisters become a new nationality by imagining it and switching publics.

The alignments with a Brazilian or German-Brazilian public and with a historical, Kolonist public tend toward a division between past and present. They align with a Brazilian public when envisioning the present: (What does Germany not do for Brazil today? here in Brazil?), and more recent past, the wartime immigration (The Germans came here because they saw everything was clean and organized here). When envisioning the past, they speak of "the Germans in the past," "the first immigrants," and then Sandra includes themselves in that alignment ([Germany] sent us away).

In a sense, German immigration during World War II is an anti- or a triggering index. When this index surfaces, it triggers a new alignment. It is an unwanted index. German-Brazilians do not want to associate themselves with the charges brought against them, not just by the government but "Brazilians" in general. So German immigration during World War II now indexes something else beside the interlocutors' personal history. It is unclear what German immigration during World War II indexes in terms of the war refugees or today's citizens of Germany. Discussion of war refugees was rare in my presence. The *they* or the Other that refers to the war refugees is perhaps even more vague than the *we* referring to those German-Brazilians who received the refugees.

The indeterminacy of their narratives is helped by the use of vague deictic shifters as well as vague labels such as Germany, German immigrant, and Brazilian. The referential shift of the *we* and also a transformation in type of deictic—from a people to a place. Because the family is not referring to a time and space-specific, literal level of identity, the moment that the family members become Brazilian was determined by factors other than a physical migration. It is not an exact knowledge of their ancestry that makes most people identify with 19th-century and not 20th-century German immigrants. Although the Sieber ancestors did not in fact arrive in World War II but in the 19th century, their larger *we*-alignment with German-Brazilians was determined by ideology rather than personal history. When they discuss “their history” they generalize to the common emigrant experience rather than what happened specifically to their relatives. They do refer to the year that their house was built, but in relating their past selves to Germany, and to the sufferings experienced in 19th-century Brazil, they speak of a general immigrant population. Thus, the moment that they switched from identifying as German immigrants to German-Brazilians or Brazilians was selective, was changeable.

How the Generalized Versions Got Formatted

To understand better the changing ideologies and semiotic processes of the conversations I participated in, I examine other ways the narratives take shape in the films *Os Mucker* and *O Livro de Walachai*, as well as Klein’s theater pieces. The discourses in these media feed into and out of the discourses in which descendants of immigrants try to understand themselves and their place in history. Specifically prevalent are lines promoting a sympathy with struggles of German speakers during the Mucker War and World War II, the Kolonie as a timeless place, and as a public often isolated from the national, Brazilian public. The Kolonie is backwards and also charming and peaceful.

Os Mucker and the Kolonie

The Mucker (1978), 122 minutes, is a film Altenhofen gave me for its examples of Hunsrückish as spoken by the actors. It shows that there were many types of German speakers in the 19th-century Kolonie, and even the ones considered cultish suffered great tragedy. The film takes place in 1874, 14 years before the end of slavery. It covers the Mucker Revolt, a feud that occurred when a group of Kolonists from an area close to the

Sinos River Valley follow their cult leader, Jakobine Mentz, who persuades her parishioners that she is a reincarnation of Christ. In the film she is shown to have lascivious behavior and to bewitch hysterical supporters. She stirs up violence, although political turmoil is the very thing that the Kolonists had wanted to escape when they fled Europe for Brazil. So a written narration explains initially and a character argues in the dialogue. The group is brutally quashed by the military government, and both sides suffer casualties.

In addition to the violent contact with the government, the film shows more peaceful relations. Although the onscreen written narrative begins by describing them as “isolated people,” the film also shows various contacts to outsiders. The Kolonists have knowledge of surrounding parts of Brazil. They ride to Porto Alegre for supplies; they intend to take a trip to Rio de Janeiro to give Dom Pedro II a letter. The film shows the white German speakers mingling with darker, gaúcho cowboys and also with a couple Afro-Brazilian servants or slaves. That the Afro-Brazilians speak Hunsrückish and serve the family in intimate quarters suggests a social status approximating family members. The Kolonists mention *bugres*, a pejorative term for indigenous people, with whom they also had contact. The film shows a different vision of the isolation that is often attributed to the Kolonists.

The film makes no moralistic judgment against the Kolonists and no absolute judgment against the Mucker cult. Both cult members and noncult members who live in the Kolonie close to the Sinos River Valley suffer great casualties when the military, government, and farmers strike at the Mucker cult led by Jakobine Mentz. She is a powerful force, a role model for many, yet she is no Jeanne d’Arc—she is not glorified in a martyrdom. Because the film shows German speakers in a variety of roles—the Mucker cult members, other villagers, magistrates and others in the more urban area of São Leopoldo, no particular negative or positive alignment with German speakers is made. They are shown farming jointly in the fields, mingling with gaúchos and Afro-Brazilians. The film also shows a light-hearted people who stays close together, drinks, and has sexual relations. These communal activities are conflated with dreary singing by the congregation and rantings of Jakobine, as well as depictions of the hard life people face. They must endure difficult separations—a boy from his father and a girl from her lover. When the

adolescent boy's father is found hanging, the characters debate about whether the death was suicide or murder. The girl and her lover are both killed in the revolt.

The film draws a continuous line from the past to the present, which creates the sense that not only past generations are being portrayed, but present ones as well. By filming in the same place where the historical events took place, using the actual hills, farming lands, what looks like the same farming equipment, some houses, and even descendants of the characters depicted, the filmmakers attempt to claim an authentic representation of how the event actually happened. The film aligns today's speakers with the Kolonists through their common language and direct descent. The onscreen written narrative lays this out at the beginning of the film: "This is shown by descendants themselves in a language they preserved through today." Local people watching the film can personally confirm or refute the descents of their neighbors when they recognize members of the cast. Because the film connects characterizations of past German-speaking Brazilians to ones of the present, as Klaus Sieber also did, the historical narrative takes on a coherency and erases temporal context, as if the events between then and now did not change much. For some, the cultish or other strange behaviors shown in the film might become indexes of a present-day Kolonist public.

A temporal erasure happens to a degree in *O Livro de Walachai* as well. The specific period of the nationalization campaign is portrayed in a time-ambiguous way, which leaves out dates and is talked about in connection with today's Kolonists. Zilles discusses the scene that reenacts a 1940s classroom in an interview on the Globo website:

All of the children are from the community and study in the local school. I made a selection from that very place and had little time to prepare. I wanted something very natural, so I didn't even rehearse much. I asked that they behave as if they were actually in school. Sure, the atmosphere of the era, the clothes, etc, definitely conferred something magical that they had never before experienced. Some were very timid and cried when it came time to act. With some I had to speak German. I tried to absorb this natural atmosphere and reproduce some of what I myself felt at that time. The majority of the clothes and objects in the scene were brought by the children themselves, gathered from their grandparents' belongings. The teacher "character" is a teacher of the community who had never had contact with a film crew. I wanted to preserve this thing "of the place."⁷

⁷Mattos, Carlos Alberto. 7/14/2007. "História de um lugar distante"
http://oglobo.globo.com/blogs/docblog/post.asp?cod_Post=65110&a=74. My translation from Portuguese.

This assertion of authenticity creates a continuity between today's Kolonists and their descendants. Such continuity serves to cast a timelessness about the life of the Kolonie, which can be broken only by contact with the outside world.

We see a classroom in a simple, half-timbered house with windows, wood floors, wood desks and benches. Half-timbered white walls exposing the wooden beams have become almost as iconic as blond children. The camera pans the girls, who wear simple cotton dresses and no shoes, and the boys in shorts or pants and light-colored shirts. In addition to their clothing and the school facilities, including chalk and slates, we know the scene represents the past because it is shot in black and white. The teacher raps his long stick against the desk when he hears a group of children speaking German. "Don't you know it's forbidden to speak German in school?" he says. A boy is then brought to the front of the class to stand in the corner in punishment.

O Livro de Walachai aligns itself sympathetically with the speakers who suffered during World War II. At the same time, the film is light-hearted and presents an idyllic life. The establishing shot of Walachai is a serene river valley, nestled in green trees and elephant grass. The punishments shown in the reenactment scene are not too bad; the children are almost laughing. Lídio Klaus plays upbeat *bandinha* music while having *chimarrão* with his wife. He explains the reasons for wanting to stay there rather than move to the city. There are birds all around, a family member over here, a neighbor over there, everyone working peacefully. Wendling is a handsome and vigorous 82-year-old retired teacher and farmer who takes a beautiful walk every day to the church. His church is wood and stained glass. His house is clean and tidy. He is well groomed. His daughter-in-law makes no complaint about baking eight loaves of bread in the wood-burning oven and taking care of him every day. For many insiders and outsiders, this life may appear peaceful and charmed.

The overtones of victimhood conflated with ones of levity represent conflicting alignments. There is at once an appreciation for the Kolonie way of life and also an urging to modernize or at least get more Brazilian / more Portuguese-speaking. There is a prescient demise of this Kolonie life, symbolized in the haunting innocence of the children's choir that plays over the credits and that takes up where Wendling left off singing. The subjective, handheld camera zooming in and out on him as he sings what

feels like one of his last songs. He is old and will not live forever. (Indeed, not long after the film release, his health began to deteriorate rapidly.) The book that he wrote is all in long-hand, the only copy, and its future remains uncertain as his relatives are slow to get it published. As Wendling himself says, If something happens to this book, the history of Walachai is gone. Along with the film's concern for the loss of the history, the language, and the ways of the people who have lived in Walachai, there is also an outsider perspective that Portuguese is the official, framing language, and that surely, a car must be worth more than a pair of oxen.

Like *O Livro de Walachai*, Klein's plays deal with family farm life on the eve of exodus. "Thil Tapes" is set in the 1970s, just before the real explosion of factory jobs occurred. It portrays the difficulties of impoverished farm life in the Kolonie and a family's ability to nevertheless find pleasure in their lives. The family consists of a father, his two teenage children and a neighbor boy. They work through their difficulties as they harvest potatoes: since the mother has died, the daughter is told to do all the housework instead of going to school and she has little guidance through her pubescent experiences. The potato crop prices are low and the farmers too disorganized to unite against the buyers.

Klein's plays and his discussions with me clarified multiple alignments—toward celebrating the pleasures of Kolonie life and toward recognizing the difficulties of such a life as it was, and still is. His nostalgia for farm life turns to a lament that it cannot sustain families and their middle-class dreams. He treats various social issues that the Kolonie life did not handle well, such as gender inequality and lack of support for girls growing up, women who are silly and gossipy, and men who come home drunk and vulgar. There is an idea that the Kolonists are behind the times, unaware of how best to make a profit or organize themselves to gain social benefits. These critiques are combined with a slating of Hunsrückish similar to Zilles' film, that is, to a function of comedic relief or something unofficial, quaint, and isolated.

Conclusion

Through analysis of a particular family's speech event as well as other conversational events, two films and Klein's plays, this chapter explores how the historical narratives of a family correspond with those of a larger, German-speaking minority, even those of national

media. The Sieber conversation puts the beginning of German-speaking immigrant history at 1824, which is two years after Brazilian independence and 324 years after the European “discovery” of what the national narrative considers its land. The alternative timeline given by the German speakers puts them in a different category from other Brazilians, although it does not necessarily make them identify with Germans from Germany. There is no discussion of life before the emigration, so that Brazil has nevertheless always been a part of their self-understandings.

Certain historical periods, figures, and movements get negotiated and reshaped. The historical narrative of Hunsrückish speakers in the Dois Irmãos region begins with the arrival of the first immigrants, passes through the trials of the 19th-century Kolonists, the nationalization campaign and its effects, and the opening of factories, and finishes with today’s continuing transition from Kolonie to more *aportuguesado*, urbanizing towns. In these discourses, the most salient alignments are with historical groups of people. A sympathy—even a representation of victimhood—for German immigrants is evident until the topic of World War II arises. The war refugees act as an indexically unpleasant part of German immigration to Brazil, and association with them triggers these Hunsrückish speakers to realign publics. The alignments are accompanied by various historical erasures, such as Jewish and Nazi history. The importance that Jewish and Nazi history plays is in the charges leveled against German-Brazilians, and the hardships they underwent because of them. Other noticeable alignments are an antagonism toward nonGerman-speaking Brazilians and a contradictory alignment toward Kolonie life, which is a dual nostalgia and dismissal of it.

As we can see, language choices intertwine with social alignments and discourses at every level. How German speakers view their pasts and futures in terms of place within Brazil cuts immediately to questions of German and Portuguese usage. Because German-speaking Brazilians suffered profoundly during World War II at the hands of military intervention into very intimate settings such as school classrooms, they credit this event with the beginning of what they see as the deterioration of their languages. Futures are imagined as free of these humiliations, whether they be through the next generation’s educated command of Portuguese, at the expense of any competence in Hunsrückish, or Scholles’ vision of a universal, wordless communication. As people form alignments,

they make strategic, individual decisions. But they are also part of a larger process, subject to social patterns such as the conventions for talking about the past—*then*—and about *us* and *them*.

Chapter 7

Spatial Alignments: Here and There

This chapter looks at spatial aspects of alignments made by Hunsrückish speakers in the Dois Irmãos area. Spatial alignments are positionings of self either physically or abstractly in the world in relation to other people and objects. Inevitably, such positioning involves political, ethnic, linguistic, temporal, and personal connections as well. Can spatial alignments tell as much about a person's expression of self as other alignments, such as the explicitly personal alignments addressed in Chapter 5 or the historical ones discussed in Chapter 6? Can a statement about *here* substitute for one about *me* or *us*? The importance of examining alignments that either are explicitly spatial or have a spatial aspect to them is that they reveal speakers' concepts of the world through language. They also reveal degrees of membership to different publics as well as negotiate status in microrelations during conversation.

In anticipating types of alignments, we might assume that these multilingual inhabitants of a speech island have a double topography: They might align themselves with Brazil and also with their speech island, which is related to larger imagined community, the German-speaking world. This world is both within and beyond the borders of Brazil, or at least represents a self-differentiation from the majority language speakers (Rosenberg 2005). We might also assume that in talking about things and people who are immediately within the field of vision, that more elaborate, concrete descriptions are given, because physical proximity enables first-hand knowledge of the space. In contrast, discussion of a much larger or more distant space, such as another country or Brazil as a whole, would entail generalized, vague concepts and therefore generalized, vague language. As I will show, neither of these assumptions turns out to be entirely true.

In my accounting for space and how people talk about it, Hunsrückish speakers positioned themselves with many more than just two—in fact 13 in one conversation—relatively concrete spaces. Among these spaces they make local, regional, national, and

international alignments. The spaces can be categorized also in terms of those that are mobile, such as between origins and destinations, versus those that are fixed and emphasizing a structured place that has borders. More abstract spaces include hypothetical images, such as discussions of what is happening “in the air” or “in the ground,” and the embodiments of institutional spaces, such as a group acting as if in church without explicitly calling it church. With fixed spaces, speakers more easily associated certain languages and types of people; these variables and other, specific topics (such as earthquakes, war, homelessness, sensuality, etc.) therefore triggered discussions of place. The naturalizing associations between a culture, people, and place is common around the world (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), and among Hunsrückish speakers, associations among language, space, and phenotype were especially sticky.

Even if borders were not defined around fixed places, speakers established oppositions by their use of *here* and *there*. This minimal oppositional pair is an example of a less concrete space, because it depends on context for meaning and represents the points on the axes of specificity furthest from the center, which represents the specific speech event. *Here-there* was one way that speakers could create insider-outsider relations.

In microrelations during the conversation, solidarities and distances were expressed, sometimes through individuals and sometimes through groups. An individual could come across as personally friendly, representing just herself with first-person singular, or as representing a welcome to the group by using the first-person plural. A group could create what could be interpreted as someone’s outsider status through exclusive body language and spatializing deictics, such as adverbs, prepositions, and pronouns (“over there by you”). A larger, supralevel discourse about outsiders and insiders pervaded many conversations and media throughout my year in Dois Irmãos. This discourse I show was one way for Hunsrückish speakers to deal with a diversity of neighbors and contacts, which was steadily increasing from the first days of industrialization and when their families left the homogenous, isolated farms of the Kolonie.

To examine these spatial alignments, I compare a transcript of ongoing speech—a conversation among members of an elder group at their bimonthly social meeting—with

two incidents of discourse around other group spaces. One is a choir constructing a disliked member as an outsider and one is an event in which my host mother chastised me for bringing an outsider into her home. These data elicit multiple and hierarchically organized spaces that provide answers to questions such as who can be an insider, who counts as local, when should one present oneself as a Brazilian, as a German farmer, and as a Gaúcho? It becomes clear that indeterminate language is present in discussion of all types of spaces; this language can be an important strategy for advancing or impeding conversations.

When vague, potentially indeterminate forms are used (“She is from there; I live here”), the following things are happening: First, the relationship between signs (e.g., the words “USA” and “Brazil”) and objects (e.g., an imagined USA or Brazil) becomes less important than the relationship between the two signs (“here” and “there”)—now forefronting a contrast. The contrast serves to create an inside and outside space, potentially making insiders of people “here” and outsiders of people “there.” Second, the use of an unspecific deictic works to move the conversation forward. Especially in the case of communicative misfires, an imprecise placeholder allows interlocutors to interpret what they will, without stopping the flow of ideas. Third, the indeterminate pronoun or adverb reveals the flexibility of language to address either or both microrelations with fellow conversation participants or macrorelations, such as ideologies about foreigners. What appears indeterminate to some interlocutors may be clear and simply polysemous to others, working at multiple levels and relying on context for meaning. Fourth, the lone deictic employs a metalanguage (language about language) that may presuppose a shared understanding or shared perceptual field among interlocutors. To be understood, “here” would felicitously address a space that both speaker and listener(s) have already come into contact with. Alternatively, speakers may be conveying a disengagement with the interlocutors, and listeners may need to assume responsibility for clarification.

To sum up, an indeterminate set of deictics (e.g., “here,” “there,” and others such as “over there”) can 1) forefront a contrast rather than the relationship between objects and signs; 2) smooth over a conversation rife with misunderstandings; 3) touch on both macro and microrelations; and 4) convey either solidarity or distancing by a

metalinguistic pointing to the relationships between interlocutors. Establishing how specific or indeterminate the spatial form is therefore becomes significant for its role in constructing relationships and expressions of self.

As this chapter examines the processes of establishing relationships through spatial alignments, it also aims to show how language and social reality are circular in that they create each other. Part of this goal is to reveal the linguistic resources of a people thought to have no metalanguage. Hunsrückish has been described as an object language, used to communicate ideas about concrete objects rather than philosophical subjects (Altenhofen, personal communication 2007). He also describes the verb system as rich. Because it is an oral language not taught in schools, speakers also cultivate the ideology that Hunsrückish lacks a metalanguage. It is therefore important to account for the abstract and reflexive forms of Hunsrückish: those that comment on the speech event context and include reflections that are more and less explicit, more and less within speakers' awareness.

Other Anthropological Studies of Space

Perhaps anything can be said to have a spatial dimension, and inversely, any consideration of a spatial alignment must include its relationship to time, intersubjectivity, and in the Dois Irmãos case, also language, ethnicity, and nationality. "Spatial thinking is crucial to almost every aspect of our lives" (Levinson 2003:1). Hanks argues for the multiple, interwoven dimensions that make up a deictic frame to include "perceptual, spatial, attentional, background knowledge and temporal fields of our ongoing interaction" (1993:140). He uncovers a rich set of linguistic resources that Maya speakers use to describe spaces as well as how they came to perceive the space (observable through use of evidential markers). These grammatical particles represent a reflexivity, or incorporation of the present speech event context along with the object of reference.

Hanks' approach to the anthropological study of space explores speakers' indications of physical spaces through verbal and nonverbal gesturing. Many other studies also tackle this relationship. Enfield (2003) relates semiotic hand gestures to expressions of kin, describing how Lao speakers spatialize nonspatial speech. Some studies attempt to measure the spaces referred to. Bennardo and Schultz (2003) take GIS

measurements of the island of Tonga, so that when its inhabitants reference where things are, the anthropologist or linguist has a better idea of those objects.

The majority of anthropological examinations of space concern center-periphery or continuity-discontinuity models (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:6). An ontological query into borders around a clan, community, public, or nation is addressed to some degree by any attempt to describe a group, and Gupta and Ferguson remind us “that notions of locality or community refer both to a demarcated physical space *and* to clusters of interaction” (8). They describe an indexical inversion, in which academics and nonacademics alike map a people onto an autonomous space, rather than recognizing that spaces have already been hierarchically connected. What appears to be an organizing of borders around a homogenous group is actually a reorganizing.

Levinson (2003) examines cross-cultural expressions of space, showing they are not innate but at least in part determined by language. Depending on the language, a speaker’s pointing to herself could mean she is using herself as a coordinate of reference or, in the case of a Guugu Yimithirr story teller, he is referencing south-east, as if his own body is not there at all (5). Another differentiation among types of space and coordinate system is, for example, motion versus static description. Many aspects of motion description involve the same distinctions in descriptions of static spatial scenarios (95). However, it has additional parameters because it involves a temporal dimension. Thus, “not only a change of location, but also manner of motion, medium, instrument and other attributes” will be coded in the language (97). My study shares Levinson’s and Gupta and Ferguson’s (1992) goal of exploring not naturalized conceptions of “spatialized” cultures but the production of difference within common, shared, and connected spaces. I examine how spatial alignments emerge through interaction, drawing on pre-constituted signs, what Hanks refers to as “common-sense” ideas that guide rather than determine usage and interpretation of language.

Many types of spaces that emerge in the conversation below inevitably link up to ideological conceptions of where individuals and groups of people should be placed at different times. It may be impossible to talk only about space, and therefore I do not attempt it. Rather, I begin with a description of how I arrived at a certain space—a building— with a group of elders, and how quickly the conversation conjured many types

of relationships that put its participants in different places: concretely, in different parts of the room, abstractly, in geographical entities, historically, when the same place was called something else, in motion, toward or away from something, and exclusively or inclusively within their personal circles.

Elder Group Conversation

On March 12, 2008 I paid a third visit to the senior meetup group Reviver. The Reviver ('relive') Club was a 120-person group started in 1975 by Philomena Leonida Backes. In its 32nd year, 85-year-old Dona Leonida was still the president and primary speaker at the microphone. She was well known about town, not just because she attended every parade and public celebration (often in a dirndl), but she also had helped deliver half of the town over the years as a midwife.¹ Now her health was more fragile, but she still regularly led the bi-monthly meetings. Reviver was the oldest of six elder groups in Dois Irmãos, and the most visible.

Figure 12. Grupo Reviver's Folkloric Dances



See Leonida, second in line. She is in the court, but not the *rainha* ('queen') of *Kerb*, the annual holiday celebrating German immigration.

¹ In Justino Vier's (1999) *History of Dois Irmãos*, she is listed as one of its most influential citizens.

Fifty to seventy people usually attended the meetings, women making up about 90% of the group. Almost everyone spoke Hunsrückish. Because a few did not, Dona Leonida translated frequently to Portuguese.² The agenda entailed sung and recited prayer, which was often in a call-and-response format, and which gave the impression to the ESCRITHU³ group that Reviver members (at least Dona Leonida) were Catholic. The rest of the program included some motivational talk by Dona Leonida, snacks, stretching, dancing, announcements about events outside the meeting, and sometimes pitches from guest speakers, such as representatives of businesses catering to the elderly.

Figure 13. Recreational Dancing During a Meeting



A subgroup of Reviver performed couples dancing at public events. These were German folkdances led by Tia Líria, a retired professor of folklore at the University of the Sinos River Valley (UNISINOS). She acted as a second-in-command to Dona Leonida, along with a board of directors. She described the purpose of the group to me as an opportunity for elderly people—mostly women—who worked on the farm their whole lives to now get out of the house and do things they never had the time and money to do as farmers, wives, and mothers. The bi-monthly meeting got them socializing, sharing plants that could be used medicinally, and listening to religious, spiritual, and entertaining ideas about how to spend their time. With Reviver they could also go sightseeing around the state and further north. They attended music, dance, and other festivals, which often

² I met only one non-German speaker, a woman who stood out visibly by her much darker skin. She approached me and was friendly. She said she lived in a *bairro* ('neighborhood') on the outskirts of town, and I wondered if anyone had welcomed her. I saw her at only one of the five meetings I attended.

³ ESCRITHU is the group of linguistics and German language students meeting under the direction of Altenhofen at UFRGS, who kindly reviewed some of my transcripts.

promoted awareness of German ancestry. Members were also encouraged to sign up for gym classes, such as swimming.

An excerpt of my recordings from this March visit to the group is described and analyzed below. In this conversation, a group of several women sit at a table, waiting to be served a snack of juice, sandwiches, and pastries. The talk among themselves begins at a local, concrete level, describing themselves and objects in relation to one another. When I enter their conversation and they are confronted with my foreignness, their topics and spatial expressions switch to an international level. The conversation vacillates among what I count as 13 spaces, including domains that are fixed and others that are mobile.

13 Spaces Invoked in Elder-Group Conversation

1. on persons
2. within the meeting space
3. between local spots in Dois Irmãos (mobile space)
4. home; local spots
5. Dois Irmãos
6. the fields/the Kolonie
7. the big City, i.e., Porto Alegre
8. German-speaking region of Brazil
9. Rio Grande do Sul
10. between RS and other parts of Brazil (mobile space)
11. in world, between Brazil and Germany (mobile space)
12. Germany
13. between Brazil and rest of the world (mobile space)

These spaces take on indexical relationships to language, nationality, and phenotype. This indexical process is evidenced by deictic forms and other spatial expressions that fall on axes from local to distant, concrete to abstract, and specific to indeterminate. Specifically, I note usage patterns for spatial adverbs, demonstratives, prepositions, verbs of motion and of fixed location, and motion adverbial affixes. The spatial expressions combined with language choice, conversation topic, and body language are all linguistic resources that speakers use to indicate an alignment toward a larger social space, toward a public.

In the first section excerpted here,⁴ Mayara and I have asked if we may join a table of about seven women waiting to have snacks served to them. Mayara, age 43 and a native speaker of Hunsrückish and Portuguese, is my friend and transcriber. (She is an outsider to Reviver, but much less so than I.) One woman, a bit younger and more vigorous (Sílvia), nods, but no one initiates any conversation. No one responds satisfactorily when I ask four times if I might record them. The lack of uptake by these women reinforces my outsidership of the spatial field they orient themselves in, which includes a turning of bodies toward each other. Their talk entails subjects relating mostly to their immediate surroundings and the imminent activity of snacking.

EXCERPT 1: The Meeting Space

- | | |
|--|---|
| 6. <i>Sílvia: honn kee Glos, honn kee Teller, nicks</i> | 6. Sílvia: (I) have no glass, have no plate, nothing |
| 7. <i>Sra 1: nee, die bringe die</i> | 7. Sra 1: no, they'll bring them |
| 8. <i>Sra 2: ja, fa was hoscht du die Tasch, gu'mo do hoschta dein Bichelche bei dia auf de Tisch beides</i> | 8. Sra 2: yeah, why do you have your bag, look here you have your little book with you on the table both |
| 9. <i>Sílvia: ja, eu não sabia como funcionava</i> | 9. Sílvia: yeah, I didn't know how it worked |
| 10. <i>CI:]Is das ok, mit mein Gravador... honn?</i> | 10. CI:]Is it ok with my recorder... have? |
| 11. <i>Sra 3: Hunh?</i> | 11. Sra 3: Hunh? |
| 12. <i>CI: Is das ok wenn ich gravee:re?</i> | 12. CI: Is it ok if I record? |
| 13. <i>Sra 3: [waves hand dismissively] Jo, Jo</i> | 13. Sra 3: [waves hand dismissively] yes, yes |
| 14. <i>Sra 2:]Ich geve dann dia das Telleche, dann</i> | 14. Sra 2: Then I'll give you the little plate then |
| 15. <i>Sra 3: Ah tuscht Deitsch spreche?</i> | 15. Sra 3: Ah do you[inf/semi-form] speak German? |

⁴ See Appendix for full transcript.

16. <i>CI: Deutsch spreche</i>	16. CI: speak German
17. <i>Sra⁵: Meia breiche-</i>	17. Sra: We need -
18. <i>Sra: =meia kinne ooch mitsama</i>	18. Sra: =we can also together
19. <i>Sra: So Telleche</i>	19. Sra: plates[dimin.] like this
20. CI: [louder] Is dass ok, dass ich graveere?	20. CI: [louder] Is it ok that I'm recording?
21. <i>Sra: Die copos</i>	21. Sra: The cups
22. <i>Sra 1: nee, die bringere die bringe die wea keens hot</i>	22. Sra 1: no, they'll bring they bring them to those that don't have any
23. <i>Snack lady 1: Wollt dea bissche'enn siss mailche mache?</i>	23. Snack lady 1: Do you want to sweeten your mouths a little?
24. <i>CI: Is das ok, dass ich graveere? die Sprooch hier</i>	24. CI: Is it ok that I'm recording? the speech here
25. <i>CI: ja?</i>	25. CI: yes?
26. <i>Sra: Di Bicher sinn gut...keen grooss Tasch</i>	26. Sra: The books are good . . . no big bag

In this section, three to four speakers confer about the immediate surroundings: the table, the books and bag in front of them, the dishes and snacks they see across the room. They create a space with tangible, material objects that are in service of their activity—snack time. They also create the space by building inclusive and exclusive relationships. On one hand, Senhora 2 creates an opposition between herself and Sílvia by saying *you* and *your books* (not *me* and *my things*). On the other hand, Senhora 2 sets up a relationship between the two of them, or among Sílvia, others in the group who are ratified participants, and herself. This group is separate from Mayara and me, who are not yet part of the conversation.

I attempt to enter their conversation by asking permission to turn on my audio digital recorder. Although one *senhora* requests repetition (*hunh?*), asks if I speak

⁵ I write *Sra* (*senhora*, 'lady') when the voice may or may not be one of the others that Mayara and I have distinguished from the recordings as Sra 1-5, Sílvia, Mayara (MB), or me (CI).

German, and even summarily grants my request, and a couple others make eye contact with me, no one pays much attention or attempts further communication with me or Mayara. They create an exclusive space to orient them toward each other and away from us through a variety of resources. Physically, through body language, they turn toward each other and make eye contact mostly with each other. Deictically, they address each other with personal pronouns *meia* ('we[exclusive],’ Lines 17-18), and *du* and *dia* ('you[sing. inf. nom./dat.],’ Lines 8 and 14) and *dein* ('your[sing. and inf.],’ Line 8). The adverbs *mitsama* ('together,’ Line 18), locative prepositions *Bichelche bei dia* ('books by you,’ Line 8), and the objects belonging to themselves (Sílvia’s books and bag, and not, for example, my digital recorder), all serve to align themselves with each other.

My introduction to the group is helped by a member who recognizes me from a previous visit.

EXCERPT 2: The World Outside Brazil: Germany, England and the United States

- | | |
|---|---|
| 47. <i>Snack lady 1: ô alemoazinha tu ainda está aí! tudo bom?</i> | 47. Snack lady 1: oh little German girl, you're still there! how's it going? |
| 48. <i>CI: oi:!! tudo bo:m</i> | 48. CI: hi! goo:d |
| 49. <i>Snack lady 1: ou tu veio de novo? Tu ainda está aí do ano passado?</i> | 49. Snack lady 1: or did you[s-delet come again? Are you still here from the past year? |
| 50. <i>CI: Ja, unhunh. Estou ainda aqui</i> | 50. CI: yes, unhunh. [I] am still here |
| 51. <i>Snack lady 1: Que bom.</i> | 51. Snack lady 1: oh good. |
| 52. <i>CI: Dea kommt jede [.1] Sammlung hier?</i> | 52. CI: do you[form.] come here every [.1] meeting? |
| 53. <i>CI: Kommt immer hier?</i> | 53. CI: Do [you] always come here? |
| 54. <i>Sílvia: hier hin?</i> | 54. Sílvia: to here? |
| 55. <i>CI: hier hin</i> | 55. CI: to here |
| 56. <i>Sílvia: Wovon seid Dea? von Deutschland?</i> | 56. Sílvia: where are you[form.] from? from Germany? |

with understanding my country of origin and languages. On hearing my accent and ersatz grammar, Sílvia asks if I am from Germany (56). When I answer that I am from the USA, she asks if I speak German or English (58), and English and Brazilian (62), thereby sorting out language and place. Perhaps this heavily loaded index between language and place helps her generate the suggestion that I am from England (64). The confusion around my language continues when she implies that the kind of German that she and her fellow Hunsrückish speakers speak is different from the kind that I want to learn (66). Mayara counters this idea in the next turn: “No, but she wants to learn that.”

The spaces constructed here are of an international level, an attempt to figure out my international alignments, and which languages go with which places. Sílvia aligns herself with the local German speakers (*nós*), who speak differently from others, in other parts of the world.

EXCERPT 3: The Diasporic Map

- | | |
|---|---|
| 78. <i>Sílvia: wollt Dea hier was lenne?</i> | 78. Sílvia: Do you[form] want to study something here? |
| 79. <i>CI: ja. uh ich sinn een Johr um zu lenne Hunsrückisch unn uh wie die Leit hier lewe, was Leit tun jedde Tooch</i> | 79. CI: yes. uh I am here a year to learn Hunsrückish and uh how people here live, what people do every day |
| 80. <i>Sílvia:]unh</i> | 80. Sílvia:]unh |
| 81. <i>CI: Das is fa antropologie.</i> | 81. CI: It's for anthropology |
| 82. <i>Sílvia: digamo pesquisa</i> | 82. Sílvia: let's call it research |
| 83. <i>CI: pesquisa, ija [.1] ah</i> | 83. CI: research, yes [.1] ah |
| 84. <i>Sílvia:]ich wees net wie ma do soot richtig uff Deutsch [.1] nos estamos três língua numa só. Até inglês [.1] vai junto na nossa</i> | 84. Sílvia:]I don't know how one says that correctly in German [.1] we are three languages in only one. Even English [.1] goes together in our [language] |
| 85. <i>CI: unh hunh</i> | 85. CI: unh hunh |
| 86. <i>Sílvia: não se[^]i. sabe, uh die Eldere die hann das Plattdeutsche gesprooch [.1] unn unn ich denke sie sinn auch von von</i> | 86. Sílvia: I don't know. [You] know, uh the elders they spoke Plattdeutsche [.1] and and I think they also came in here |

<i>Nordamerika darinkomm [.1] e assi:m foi misturada a língua</i>	from from North America [.1] and in this way the language was mixed
87. CI: ja	87. CI: yes
88. Sílvia: scheen, né?	88. Sílvia: nice, né?
89. CI: ja!	89. CI: yes!
90. Sra 3: Do hie rom sinn doch all von Deutschland komm, die Eldre	90. Sra 3: around here everyone came from Germany, the ancestors
91. Sílvia: sinn von Deutschland komm awer die spreche net richtig das richtige Deutsche	91. Sílvia: [they] came from Germany but they don't speak right . . . the correct German
92. Sra 3: Spreche net so wie mein Sobrinho wo in Deutschland wohnt... sprecht anerschte	92. Sra 3: [they] don't speak like my niece⁶ who lives in Germany ... speaks differently
93. Sra 4: Mea spreche Hunsrickisch	93. Sra 4: We speak Hunsrickish
94. Sílvia: mea sinn Hunsrick	94. Sílvia: we are Hunsrick
95. Sra 3: lá tem Hunsrick	95. Sra 3: there are Hunsrick there
96. MB: Das will awer das will de Hunsrick lenne	96. MB: But she wants to learn Hunsrick
97. Sílvia: Ach, das will die Hunsrick lenne!	97. Sílvia: Oh, she wants to learn Hunsrick!
98. MB:]ijo	98. MB:]yes
99. Sra 3: Plattdeitsch	99. Sra 3: Plattdeitsch
100. Sílvia: ach so:. Warum?	100. Sílvia: I see:. Why?
101. CI: weil es ist interessant dass es eine Mischung is. Deitsch unn Portugiesisch mistuieert	101. CI: Because it's interesting that it's a mixture. German und Portuguese mixed together
102. Sílvia: =da is de noch Hunsrick in Deutschland	102. Sílvia: =there are still Hunsrick in Germany

⁶ Could be niece or nephew. Altenhofen I will translate it to niece.

103. CI: <i>ja</i>	103. CI: yes
104. MB: <i>]i:ja</i>	104. MB: <i>]y:es</i>
105. MB: <i>Das is de Platz von wo de Leit hierhin komm sinn</i>	105. MB: That is the place from which the people came here
106. <i>Sílvia: ja do is awer enn língua wo mein Gros Mutter hat gesprooch [.1] fa ‘das’ hat die ‘dat’ gesoot</i>	106. <i>Sílvia: yes but there is a language that my grandmother spoke [.1] for ‘das’ she said ‘dat’</i>
107. CI: <i>mm</i>	107. CI: <i>mm</i>
108. <i>Sílvia: unn fa ‘was’ hat die ‘wat’ gesoot</i>	108. <i>Sílvia: and for ‘was’ she said ‘wat’</i>
109. CI: <i>mm</i>	109. CI: <i>mm</i>
110. <i>Sílvia: e assim, mas eu acho isso mais pro inglê:s [.1] fa mein hot sie my: gesoot</i>	111. <i>Sílvia: and like that, but I think this is more English [.1] for ‘mein’ she said ‘my:’</i>
111. CI: <i>aha</i>	111. CI: <i>aha</i>
112. <i>Sílvia: my my brother, né. é meu irmão, né</i>	112. <i>Sílvia: my my brother[English], né is my brother, né</i>
113. CI: =my brother. <i>das kommt von a bissche</i>	113. CI: =my brother[English]. that comes from a little
114. <i>Sílvia: =isso isso é ingles</i>	114. <i>Sílvia: =that that is English</i>
115. CI: <i>]weiter nordlich in Deutschland</i>	115. CI:]further north in Germany
116. <i>Snack lady 2: =docinhos</i>	116. <i>Snack lady 2: sweets</i>
117. <i>Sílvia: meu deus</i>	117. <i>Sílvia: my god</i>
118. CI: [in response to food offering] schon genug h	118. CI: [in response to food offering] that’s enough h
119. <i>Snack lady 2: Come é que vai? tudo bem?</i>	119. <i>Snack lady 2: How are you? everything well?</i>
120. CI: <i>tudo bem, danke</i>	120. CI: everything well, thanks

Sílvia asks if I want to learn or study something *here* (Line 78). This deictic could refer to here in Brazil, in RS, in Dois Irmãos, or in this meeting space. I interpret the question to indicate here in Southern Brazil, where German is spoken. After she exclaims, Oh, she wants to learn Hunsrückish! (97) and seems to understand that basic linguistic part of my study goal, Sílvia later takes up the spatial dimensions of the study by suggesting I go live with someone (Line 141, Excerpt 4), implying someone who speaks Hunsrückish.

In this excerpt, Sílvia and others map out some of the diasporic narrative. The ancestors came from the Hunsrick region (102, 105) in Germany (90, 91, 102), traveling through an English-speaking land (Line 86: “they also came in from North America”).⁷ This excerpt wonderfully illustrates Hunsrückish metalanguage through the different names and descriptions people give their variety and other varieties of German, such as that spoken by Sílvia’s grandmother or the one spoken by Senhora 3’s niece/nephew. The language ideologies about what is proper or grammatical German emerge. The different names people give to their variety of German include Plattdeutsche (86), Hunsrickisch (93), Hunsrick (96, 97, and possibly 95 and 102), and Plattdeitsch (99). They oppose what they speak to what people in Germany speak: the “richtige Deutsche” (‘correct German’ (84, 91) and a “different German” (92). Their ancestors did not speak this “correct” language (86, 90, 91), despite coming from there.

As was the case with other members of Reviver, Sílvia’s Hunsrückish is peppered with elements of Std. German, not to mention Portuguese. She sometimes says [doɪf] in referring to Germany or German spoken in Germany, instead of the Hunsrückish [dɑɪf][lenis], [am] (*ein* ‘one’ or ‘a’) instead of [e:n] and [aʊç] (*auch* ‘also’) instead of [ɔ:ç]. She also says *Gros Mutter* instead of *vovó* or *Mutter*. This language mixing is likely heightened by my presence.

The contrast between older and younger generations’ German is also blurred here. The descriptions of “our language” (*nossa língua* Line 84) are interwoven with

⁷ The 1824 passengers spent weeks in England when their ship was wrecked by a storm (Altenhofen 1996). Most people I spoke with omitted the English-speaking part of the narrative.

descriptions of their ancestors' language. Sílvia explains how the language came about, through the ancestors' journey through North America (86), as if what they spoke was the same as what she speaks. In Line 92, Sílvia and Senhora 3 use the present tense to refer to the ancestors' speaking. They *came* from Germany and they *speak* something not proper. The insistence that ancestors spoke a purer German (something more authentic and closer to the real German) was a common idea among my contacts. Here, there appears to be a general shift, in which the younger generation, i.e., Senhora 3's niece, is now speaking something more grammatical. Nevertheless, the expressions of shame about their language are somewhat tempered here by Sílvia's explanation about how their language is mixed with English, which carries a positive indexical value (*scheen, na?* 'nice, eh?' Line 88).

The *here* of Lines 86, 90, and 105 (the destination at which the German immigrants arrived), if not also 78 (the place where we are and where I might learn something) is opposed to the *there* of Lines 95, 102 and 105 (the place where there are still Hunsrick people or speakers). The major places of this discussion are Germany, specifically the Hunsrück region, and Brazil, southern Brazil specifically. This mapping occurs after and in conjunction with comments about language and also ethnicity.

93: We speak Hunsrickish

94: We are Hunsrick

In all the discussions of where I and others were from, Hunsrickish was the only ethnic label used (aside from *alemoazinha*) for a person in adjective form. Particularly in this discussion of German origins, the alignment to make most explicit is with Hunsrick, the language, the region of origin, and the label that describes the people who live today in Brazil.

EXCERPT 4: Brasilionisch

126. CI: e uh die Dona Leonida hat mehr Portu- Brasilionisch heit gesprooch [.1] wie das letzte Mol ich voor hier. Warum?

126. CI: and uh Dona Leonida spoke more Portu- Brazilian today [.1] than the last time I was here. Why?

127. Sra: letzte Mol ich voor net net do-sinn heit ringang

127. Sra: last time I was not not here-went in today

128. *CI: Ich vor hier im September. September unn die hot mehr Deutsch gesprooch. Warum?* 128. **CI: I was here in September September and she spoke more German. Why?**
129. *Sílvia: [about MB]ist das ooch von Deutschland?* 129. **Sílvia: [about MB] is she also from Germany?**
130. *MB: Né ich wohne hier* 130. **MB: No I live here**
131. *Sílvia: mm* 131. **Sílvia: mm**
132. *MB: Ich helfe dem schreiwe* 132. **MB: I help her write**
133. *MB: die verstehen awer all die Brasilionisch, gell?* 133. **MB: but they all understand Brazilian, right?**
134. *Sra: opa* 134. **Sra: whoops / wow / hi**
135. *MB: achei* 135. **MB: I thought so**
136. *Sra 3: adiante eu tenho ainda* 136. **Sra 3: I still have one to go**
137. *Sra: a juventude manda aqui* 137. **Sra: young people decide here**
138. *Woman passing: eeeh!* 138. **Woman passing: eeeh!**
139. *Sra 4: lá de junge die Kinne* 139. **Sra 4: there the youth the children**
140. *Sra: mea sinn lauda junge scheene Med* 140. **Sra: we're just beautiful young girls**
141. *Sílvia: ja fa das se lenne misse bei jemann wohne gehn* 141. **Sílvia: yes to learn that [you] must go live with someone**
142. *CI: ich wohne bei uh verschiedene Familie* 142. **CI: I live with uh different families**
143. *MB: das hot bei Poor Leit gewohnt, né* 143. **MB: she lived with a few people, né**
144. *Sílvia: opa, meine Baum is umgesprooch* 144. **Sílvia: whoops, my tree is [full?]**
145. *MB: h* 145. **MB: h**

The misunderstanding about my origin continues. Is she also from Germany? (Line 129) Sílvia asks about Mayara. Mayara answers with *here*. “No, I live here,” which could represent a place as small as Dois Irmãos and as large as South America. The significance of *here* is not the specific place but a place that contrasts with Germany. This *hier* is also contrasted with the here of the meeting space in Line 2. There Sílvia corrects my use of *hier* with *do* to indicate the smallness of the here.

Mayara asks if everyone here understands Portuguese (*Brasilionisch*) and gets an affirmative (“*opa*”). Then another *senhora* says that the youth are the ones that run things (12). This comment reinforces the idea that the younger generation, which is mostly Portuguese-speaking, has gained a power that the old generation did not have with their parents and grandparents. Because they get more education and learn Std. German or English in school or in internships abroad, their German (and certainly their English) is considered more grammatical than that of older generations. The next bit of dialogue shows how much has changed over the generations, and that space cannot be discussed without relating it to time.

EXCERPT 5: Local Towns

160. CI: War war Dea uff de Wel- hier uff de Welt komm?	160. CI: Were were you bor-born here?
161. Sra:]Wer will	161. Sra:]who wants
162. Sílvia: Ja Brasilien	162. Sílvia: yes Brazil
163. CI: in Dois Irmãos	163. CI: in Dois Irmãos
164. Sílvia: Dois Irmãos, município [.1] Friher voor's friher voor's Morro eh Morro Reuter	164. Sílvia: Dois Irmãos, the municipality [.1] before it was before it was Morro Morro Reuter
165. MB: Morro Reuter	165. MB: Morro Reuter
166. Sílvia: quando eu nasci era Morro Reuter	166. Sílvia: when I was born it was Morro Reuter
167. MB: Wie heest's?	167. MB: What's it called?
168. Sílvia: é não era Morro Reuter, era	168. Sílvia: yes it wasn't Morro Reuter, it

<i>Dois Irmãos agora é Morro Reuter</i>	was Dois Irmãos now it's Morro Reuter
169. <i>ah tá</i>	169. ah yes
170. <i>Sílvia: assim. me confundi</i>	170. Sílvia: like that. I got confused
171. MB: <i>Walachai? Walachai? [.1] Perekiteck Perekiteck -- Bugr berrich is ooch dort drum</i>	171. MB: <i>Walachai? Walachai? [.1] Perekiteck Perekiteck -- Bugarberrich is also around there</i>
172. Sílvia: <i>Bugr berrich is eh eh Santa Maria do Herval</i>	172. Sílvia: <i>Bugarberrich is uh uh Santa Maria do Herval</i>
173. MB: <i>Ah Santa Maria do Herval</i>	173. MB: <i>Ah Santa Maria do Herval</i>
174. [background] <i>abacaxi:!</i>	174. [background] pineapple!
175. MB: <i>Das voor alles een Dings die Johre, né</i>	175. MB: <i>That was all one thing those years, né</i>
176. Sílvia: <i>voor Dois Irmãos alles Dois Irmãos [.1] daí mudou primeiro Santa Maria ou Morro primeiro, primeiro Morro</i>	176. Sílvia: <i>[it] was Dois Irmãos all Dois Irmãos [.1] then first Santa Maria moved, or Morro first, first Morro</i>
177. MB: <i>Morro, Santa Maria-Boa Vista do Herval</i>	177. MB: <i>Morro, Santa Maria-Boa Vista do Herval</i>
178. Sílvia: <i>Não. Boa Vista pertence a Santa Maria— do Herval</i>	178. Sílvia: <i>No. Boa Vista belongs to Santa Maria— do Herval</i>
179. <i>Sra [yelling]: abacaxi!</i>	179. <i>Sra yelling: pineapple!</i>
180. Sílvia: <i>eu queria, mas tenho um monte aqui, suco de abacaxi</i>	180. Sílvia: <i>I wanted, but I have a lot here, pineapple juice</i>

My question about where Sílvia was born triggers a discussion of placenames—not a simple list but one that is reconfigured in language as it is in time period. Sílvia affirms that she was born *hier* and clarifies that by *hier*, she means Brazil. Specifying the city becomes problematic because what is called Dois Irmãos now did not used to be. First she said that what today is “Dois Irmãos” used to be “Morro Reuter;” then she corrects herself: what today is Morro Reuter used to be Dois Irmãos.⁸ With this specification, she

⁸ A 1960 division of territory established that DI be constituted by three districts: Dois Irmãos, Morro Reuter and Santa Maria do Herval. In 1988 Santa Maria do Herval separated itself and then in 1992 Morro

was not born exactly *here* in the spot where we are speaking and living but in the neighboring village.

This excerpt is an example of how personal histories describing where Hunsrückish speakers were born and raised bring up these placenames. The Hunsrückish placenames were used only in discussion; I never saw them on any maps, unless they were part of a rare history book. They index knowledge that is local and often the domain of older people.

EXCERPT 6: Here versus There

240. MB: Was is dort driver? Is dort dings fa se fakoo:fe?	240. MB: What is over there? Are those things to se:ll?
241. Sra: Nāo, die tun das prepareere, das do wo mea esse	241. Sra: No, they are preparing that, that there which we'll eat
...	...
247. MB: ich honn ebder gesihn wie die das abgibb honn do	247. MB: I saw before how they gave it up here
248. wus net fa was. ich honn gedenkt, das were fa di Leit fa se fakoo:fe	248. [I] didn't know why. I thought that would be for the people to sell
249. Sra 5: vocês duas tão junto lá fora?	249. Sra 5 : are you two together abroad?
250. MB: unh?	250. MB: unh?
251. Sra 5: vocês duas estão junto lá fora?	251. Sra 5: are you two together abroad?
252. MB: né, ich wohne hie.	252. MB: no, I live here.
253. Sra 5: Ach	253. Sra 5: Ah
254. MB: Ich hellif dem schreiwe	254. MB: I help her write
255. Sra 5: Ah	255. Sra 5: Ah
256. MB: unn das is von dort	256. MB: and she is from there
257. Sílvia: Wie is denn dein Schreibnoom?	257. Sílvia: What is your last name?

Reuter did the same.

258. <i>MB: Insel</i>	258. MB: Insel
259. <i>CI</i> [speaking to another]: <i>Hunsrückisch se schreiwe</i>	259. CI: [speaking to another] to write Hunsrückish
260. <i>Sílvia: Não entendi ainda</i>	260. Sílvia: I still didn't understand
261. <i>MB: Insel, né</i>	261. MB: Insel, né
262. <i>Sílvia: Insel?</i> [.1] <i>h</i>	262. Sílvia: Insel? [.1] h
263. <i>MB: ijo. Insel heest du</i>	263. MB: yes. you're called Insel
264. <i>CI: ich komme von Kalifornien</i>	264. CI: I come from California
265. <i>Sra 5: Ich hat gedacht du das dot lene</i>	265. Sra 5: I thought that you study there
266. <i>MB: California</i>	266. MB: California
267. <i>Sra 5: ah California</i>	267. Sra 5: ah California
268. <i>CI: ja</i>	268. CI: yes
269. <i>MB: Das lenn- will hier^ lenne</i>	269. MB: She stud- wants to study here
270. <i>Sílvia: California das is Estados Unidos?</i>	270. Sílvia: California that is United States?
271. <i>MB: ija</i>	271. MB: yes

Mayara uses the expression *dort* (as an adverb and a demonstrative) to reference “there” across the room (about 50 feet away). Then the same deictic describes where I am from (Line 256). It may be a translation of the Portuguese *lá fora* (‘abroad,’ literally ‘there outside;’ Lines 249, 251), and this is likely since Mayara knows I am from abroad, although her specific knowledge does not likely coincide with Senhora 5’s conception of my homeland. Primarily, it serves as an opposition to *hie* (‘here’), which is where she is from:

*Né, ich wohne hie (252)
unn das is von dort (256)
No, I live here
and she is from there*

The question “Are you two together *lá fora*?” is the fifth time the question of my origin has arisen (not counting questions about which languages I speak), and the second time it has been considered that Mayara is from abroad (“Is she also from Germany?” Line 129). The implicature of our common origin almost appears to erase our linguistic differences, or at least not recognize Mayara as a speaker of the same community.

EXCERPT 7: National Brazil

- | | |
|--|--|
| 272. <i>Sílvia: lá também tem terremoto?</i> | 272. Sílvia: there there are also earthquakes? |
| 273. <i>CI: bastante. ja, schon</i> | 273. CI: a lot. yes, definitely |
| 274. <i>Sílvia: é ruim pra morar?</i> | 274. Sílvia: is (it) bad living (there)? |
| 275. <i>CI: ich denke net daran. ich denke net. Man kann net so denke. “Ah, jedde Tooch, wann kommt das?” Awer dann uh mea honn kee tornados, keen tempestades de mar</i> | 275. CI: I don’t think about it. I don’t think so. One cannot think like that “oh, every day, when is it coming?” But then we have no tornados, hurricanes |
| 276. <i>Sílvia: =Ah tem um parte que tem muito tornado</i> | 276. Sílvia: =Ah there is a part that has a lot of tornado |
| 277. <i>CI: man muss auswähle, was man will: terremotos ou tornados ou tempestades de mar</i> | 277. CI: one must choose what one wants: earthquakes or tornados or hurricanes |
| 278. <i>Sílvia: aqui não tem isso</i> | 278. Sílvia: here we don’t have that |
| 279. <i>CI: tem nada disso</i> | 279. CI: none of that |
| 280. <i>Sílvia: por enquanto não. já deu[teu] terremoto, lá encima do nordeste, um pouquinho [.1] eu acho que é o petróleo lá em baixo que eles tiram[tirong], um dia afunda aquilo. [.1] será que não é isso?</i> | 280. Sílvia: for the time being no. there was already an earthquake there above in the northeast, a little [.1] I think that (it) is the petroleum there below that they extract, one day (it) will sink that. [.1] might it not be that? |
| 281. <i>MB: kann sinn.</i> | 281. MB: could be |
| 282. <i>Sílvia: é mu:ito mu:ito muito caro no mundo</i> | 282. Sílvia: (it) is ve:ry ve:ry very expensive in the world |

283. **MB:** *wees net richtig richtig von was das so richtig sinn. awer das hellift uh do is zu viel poluição in de Luft [.1] das hellift oo:ch, viel Dings hellift* 283. **MB:** **(I) don't really really know about what those really are but that helps uh. . . there is too much pollution in the air [.1] that a:lso helps, many things help**
284. **Sílvia:** *]das hellift net* 284. **Sílvia:** **]that doesn't help**
285. **MB:** *was?* 285. **MB:** **what?**
286. **Sílvia:** *é— é— acho terremoto não ajuda. die poluição [.1] que pode ajudar o— o— né die tornado [.1] das hellift net die poluição. tornados kann 's helpe [.1] awer terremoto se vem lá* 286. **Sílvia:** **(it) is— (it) is— (I) think earthquakes do not help pollution [.1] what can help the— the—. né the tornado [.1] that doesn't help the poluição. tornados it can help [.1] but earthquakes come there**
287. **MB:** *ija* 287. **MB:** **yes**
288. **Sílvia:** *von unne ruff [.2] das is . . .* 288. **Sílvia:** **from below up [.2] that is . . .**
289. **MB:** *=ijo* 289. **MB:** **=yes**
290. **MB:** *ja unn da uwe, wo voor das rom richtig wo de terremoto gibb hot?* 290. **MB:** **yes and there above whereabouts was that really that the earthquake was?**
291. **Sílvia:** *hier in Brasil?* 291. **Sílvia:** **here in Brazil?**
292. **MB:** *ijo* 292. **MB:** **yes**
293. **Sílvia:** *in Ceará oder dot oove?[.1] Pernambuco ou Ceará < > tem do fundo ali. Do river mares do runne mares [.1] Alles encostiat so dicht am Meer* 293. **Sílvia:** **in Ceará or up there? [.1] Pernambuco or Ceará < > Up there seas down here seas [.1] everything pushed up so close to the sea**
294. **MB:** *unn brillt so viel Pletze wenig Wasser. Da tunn die das Wasser unne drunne raus hole unn das geht ooch runne* 294. **MB:** **and little water runs so many places. There they take out the water from down there and that also goes under**
295. **Sílvia:** *Dann kommt hier kei Terremoto hin. < > Rio Grande do Sul ontem ainda honn 'se noch gezeigt. von hier, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Santa Cata—Rio Grande do Sul, Catarina, São* 295. **Sílvia:** **Then no earthquake comes here. < > Rio Grande do Sul they just showed yesterday. from here, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Santa Cata—Rio Grande do Sul, Catarina, São Paulo until Matto**

Paulo até Matto Grosso. Tem uma Bacia grande agua doce em baixo da rocha. unichte Fells

Grosso. There's a big sweet water basin down there below the plot **under the falls**

296. MB: Lençois, wees net wie's heest
Guaraní . . . não sei o quê

296. MB: Lençois, (I) don't know what it's called. Guaraní . . . (I) don't know what

[...]
306. Sra 3: In Himmel auf Erde unter die Erde

[...]
306. Sra 3: in heaven on earth under the earth

307. Sílvia: unnich de unnich de Fells

307. Sílvia: under the under the falls

308. Sra 3: =unter de Erde honn die Tooch noch lees

308. Sra 3: = under the earth (I) read these days

309. Sílvia: não, das Wasser is unnich de Fells

309. Sílvia: no, the water is under the falls

310. Sra 3:]in de
deutsche Biche [.1] unn honn die Zeitung von Deutschland, Alemanha ... honn die Zeitung, deutsch Zeitung ... mein Sobrinha wohnt in Alemanha, [louder] mein Sobrinha wohnt in Alemanha, das hot me enn Zeitung von dot bron

310. Sra 3:]in the
German books [.1] and have the newspaper from Germany, Germany ... have the newspaper, German newspaper . . . my niece lives in Germany, [louder] my niece lives in Germany, she brought me a newspaper from there

311. other Sra: enn revista

311. other Sra: a magazine

This section continues directly from the previous, when we had established that I am from California. Now Senhora 1 asks if it is terrible to live there, and a comparison between living in Brazil and the USA occurs. The Hunsrückish speakers in this moment no longer represent descendants of German immigrants but residents of Brazil, and even of the world (Line 11). They discuss how earthquakes generally come about and why Brazil does not suffer many. Sílvia refers to these Brazilian places: the northeast (9), Ceará, Pernambuco (293), Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Santa Catarina, São Paulo and Matto Grosso (295). Mayara mentions the Lençois [...] Guaraní, which she later (in written communication) identified as Aquífero Guaraní, or the Guarani Aquifer System, which is in the state of São Paulo and one of the world's largest potable water reservoirs,

extending from the center of Brazil to la Pampa, Argentina, flowing underneath part of Paraguay and Uruguay.

When Mayara asks about where the earthquake was, her deictics *da uwe* ('**there above**') are indeterminate enough that Sílvia asks for clarification. First she establishes that Mayara means in Brazil (291), then in which part—in Ceará or somewhere else in the northeast. Other vague places and people come up: “they” in the north extract petroleum there below (280). There is too much pollution in the air (283). These vagaries are accompanied by expressions of insecurity about their statements: a tag question (Line 280: Might it not be that?), a hedge (Line 283: I don't really really know), multiple pauses (286), and repetition (283, 286). The enthusiastic interjection of Senhora 3 (297 and 299) maintains a vagary and message that Sílvia attempts to repair.

EXCERPT 8: In the Fields

- | | |
|---|---|
| 354. CI: Weistu, was honn die mehrschte Leit gemacht fur Beruf? wenn die uh | 354. CI: Do you know, what did most people do for occupation? when the uh |
| 355. Sílvia: als die arbeit honn? | 355. Sílvia: when they worked? |
| 356. Sílvia: na roça in die Feld im Plantoorsch geschafft | 356. Sílvia: worked on the farm in the field in the plantation |
| 357. Sílvia: eu ich habe mich aposentiert | 357. Sílvia: I retired |
| 358. CI: unh hunh | 358. CI: unh hunh |
| 359. Sílvia: acht unn vierzig Johre honn ich geschafft. me machuquei. Quase peguei um cancer de pele. Não, aqui me machuquei. | 359. Sílvia: forty-eight years I worked. I got hurt. (I) almost got a skin cancer. No, here (I) hurt myself. |
| 360. Sílvia: já tinha assim Kestche | 360. Sílvia: (I) already had a kestche (?) |
| 361. CI: ah, Kestche | 361. CI: ah, kestche |
| 362. Sílvia: mas não não é cancer ainda o médico disse. só passou assim um um remedio. Er hat nur gesoot, wenn's net uffgehn unn ted Loch geve dann mis ma raus. teet Dann were's cancer. Krepps | 362. Sílvia: but it (is) not not cancer yet the doctor said, (he) just passed over a medication. He just said, if it doesn't go away and there is a hole then one has to go out. then it would be cancer. Cancer |

363. <i>CI: das is net von de Soone?</i>	363. CI: that isn't from the sun?
364. <i>Sílvia: Das is von de Soone. Das is von de Soone. Ich honn so wenig mich beschitzt</i>	364. Sílvia: That is from the sun. I protected myself so little
365. <i>CI: unh hunh</i>	365. CI: unh hunh
366. <i>jetzt mache</i>	366. now do
367. <i>Sra 3: Tu dich mo beschitze vensta must in die Plantoorsch</i>	367. Sra 3: Protect yourself when you have to go to the plantation
368. <i>Sra 4: kam'ma lange Orme</i>	368. Sra 4: one can (wear) long sleeves
369. <i>Sra 3: ija awer ich soon, weistu</i>	369. Sra 3: yes but I'm saying you know
370. <i>MB: hot Dea je immer in Plantoorsch geschafft?</i>	370. MB: did you always work in the plantation?
371. <i>Sílvia: ja, acht unn verzig Johr</i>	371. Sílvia: yes, forty-eight years
372. <i>MB: Dea sieht net aus</i>	372. MB: You(form) don't look like
373. <i>Sílvia: von zehn Johre [.1] vierte Klasse hab'ich nur gemacht.</i>	373. Sílvia: from ten years [.1] I only did the fourth class
374. <i>CI: unh hunh</i>	374. CI: unh hunh
375. <i>Sílvia: uff die Kolonie voor's sonst nix unn die Elder honn uns net fortgehn geloss.[.1] voor nure ganz in de gros Stadt gressre Schule e e daí [.1] Ich voor kei[kaI] ellef Johr alt [.1] und dort acht un fenifzig Johr in trabalhei in Fels in de Plantoorsch geschafft</i>	375. Sílvia: on the Kolonie there wasn't anything else and the parents didn't let us go out [.1] (there) was only in the big City the bigger schools and from there [.1] I wasn't even eleven years old [.1] and there fifty-eight years in the field I worked worked in the plantation
376. <i>CI: ah jedde Tooch in de selvige</i>	376. CI: every day in the same
377. <i>Sra: =não era es voor net wie jetzt mit Maschin mit Maschin</i>	377. Sra: =it wasn't it was not like now with machine with machine

When I ask *what* Reviver members had done for a living, Sílvia responds with *where* they had worked.: “on the farm **in the field in the plantation**” (356) and later “in the

Kolonie” (375). This is a space connected with the past—Sílvia describes it with the past tense, how it was not like today (“now”) with machines (377) and there was nothing in terms of schools and other public infrastructure (375).

But the medical effects of working in the sun—another space of the Kolonie—remain with Sílvia. She had pre-cancerous skin irritations (362); Senhora 3 also has terrible skin problems and an ear inflammation from working in the fields (Excerpts 9 and 10). Senhoras 3 and 4 both advise to protect oneself when one has to go in the *Plantoorsch*, suggesting that they assume she continues to visit this space in the present. Indeed, many people I knew either owned a bit of land outside the city where they raised crops and animals or visited their parents on their farm.

EXCERPT 9: More Fields

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>410. CI: Sinn sinn Dea ooch hier gebor?</i> | 410. CI: Were you also born here? |
| <i>411. Sra 3: mm?</i> | 411. Sra 3: mm? |
| <i>412. CI: Sinn Dea ooch hier gebor in Dois Irmãos?</i> | 412. CI: Were you also born here in Dois Irmãos? |
| <i>413. Sra 3: in die verzich Jahr</i> | 413. Sra 3: in the forties |
| <i>414. CI: ah, in die verzich Jahr</i> | 414. CI: ah, in the forties |
| <i>415. Sílvia: na, is net hier gebor</i> | 415. Sílvia: no (she) was not born here |
| <i>416. Sílvia: die is in Santa Maria do Herval</i> | 416. Sílvia: she was in Santa Maria do Herval |
| <i>417. CI: awer</i> | 417. CI: but |
| <i>418. Sílvia:] in Teewald</i> | 418. Sílvia:]in Teewald |
| <i>419. Sra 3: val ich sinn schon acht unn siebzig</i> | 419. Sra 3: because I am already seventy-eight |
| <i>420. Sílvia: mea sinn Prima. Unser Vater voore Geschwister</i> | 420. Sílvia: we are cousins. Our fathers were siblings |
| <i>421. CI: aha</i> | 421. CI: aha |

422. *Sra 3: Wenn'ma mo achtzig <kriege> gibt, dann geht'ma kaputt, heest'mo so* 422. **Sra 3: When one <is> eighty, then one goes kaput, it is said**
423. *CI: aha* 423. **CI: aha**
424. *CI: honn Dea ooch immer in Plantoorsch geschafft* 424. **CI: did you also always work in the plantation**
425. *Sra 3: hier jaus net* 425. **Sra 3: out here no**
426. *Sílvia: ela tem problema seria de de de pele* 426. **Sílvia: she has a serious problem of of of skin**
427. *Sílvia: Olha as perna dela uma vez* 427. **Sílvia: Look at her legs**
428. *Sra 3: < > sinn jetz* 428. **Sra 3: < > are now**
429. *Sílvia: Die hot so schro Probleme, wenn'se bissie in die Soon geht, gibt's schon Bloose* 429. **Sílvia: She has problems so bad, when she goes for a bit in the sun, there are already blisters**
430. *Sra 3: =Bloose an, ija* 430. **Sra 3: =blisters on, yes**
431. *Sílvia: Die deft goo net ringehn* 431. **Sílvia: she shouldn't go in at all**
432. *Sra 3:]honn meh Doktor jetzt* 432. **Sra 3:](I) have doctor now**
433. *Sílvia: um dia een Tooch kann komme das nimme kann cureere* 433. **Sílvia: one day one day can come that no more can cure**
434. *MB: schro* 434. **MB: tough**
435. *CI: Was honn Dea geplantz immer?* 435. **CI: What did you plant always?**
436. *Sílvia: Kartoffel* 436. **Sílvia: potatoes**
437. *CI: Kartoffel, immer* 437. **CI: always potatoes**
438. *MB: Dort is viel Kartoffelpflanze, né?* 438. **MB: There there are many potato crops, ne?**
439. *Sílvia: Kartoffel, Zwiebel, hier im Morro dos Reis. Im Keenichs Berrich wie ich geheirat honn, honn'ich dot gewohnt [.1] Gemi:se honn mea in de Stadt gefohr unn Novo Hamburgo, Neu Hamburg...is* 439. **Sílvia: Potatoes, onions, here in Morro dos Reis. In Kenichs Berrich when I got married, I lived there [.1] Ve:getables we drove into the City and Novo Hamburgo, Neu Hamburg . . .**

<i>ooch enn Neu Hamburg in Deutschland</i>	(there) is also in Neu Hamburg in Germany
<i>440. Sra 3: Mea honn viel Thueck gepflanzt</i>	440. Sra 3: We planted a lot of tobacco
<i>441. Sra 4: meia ooch</i>	441. Sra 4: us too
<i>442. Sra 3: sechs hunnert kila</i>	442. Sra 3: six hundred kilos
<i>443. MB: alles mit Hand</i>	443. MB: everything by hand
<i>444. Sra 3: alles mit Hand, alles gevickelt</i>	444. Sra 3: everything by hand, everything raised
<i>445. Sra 3: gedreht unn ringeschmiss [.1] jede Tooch moints mitoochs unn omts [.1] Die Kinner in die Schul gang unn mea zwoi Elde honn Fum gewickelt, moints, mitoochs unn omts [.1] Soon raus komm misse mea alle raus getron [.1] ich honn getreht unn in de bura geschmiss [.1] gedreht</i>	445. Sra 3: turned and threw in [.1] every day mornings, afternoons, and evenings [.1] the kids gone to school and we two parents raised tobocco, mornings, afternoons, and evenings [.1] Sun came out we all had to get out on it [.1] I turned (it) and threw it in the burro [.1] turned
<i>446. other Sra: Dea hot in de bura geschmiss</i>	446. other Sra: You threw it in the burro
<i>447. Sra: mitsamme</i>	447. Sra: together
<i>448. MB: was? wie set'ma? Burra geschmiss?</i>	448. MB: what? how does one say it? "Burra geschmiss?"
<i>449. Sra 3: Do voor de Fum drin</i>	449. Sra 3: the tobacco was in there
<i>450. MB: ah</i>	450. MB: ah
<i>451. Sra 3: Wenn's mo Reen gesihn hot, must'man fix all rin ton, dann is no'mo die Sun rauskomm, dann no'mo al raus getron. [.1] Kinner sinn in die Schul gang unn mea zwoi Elde honn de ganz Fum geplanz</i>	451. Sra 3: When one saw rain, one had to get them all in, then the sun came out again, then again take all out [.1] kids went to school and we two parents planted all the tobacco
<i>452. Sra: nicht allein</i>	452. Sra: not alone
<i>453. Sra 3: ija [.1] sechs hunnert kila enn</i>	453. Sra 3: yes [.1] six hundred kilos a

<i>Johr</i>	year
454. MB: <i>Wu hot dea gewohnt</i>	454. MB: Where did you live
455. Sra 3: <i>Kinne sinn in de Schul gang</i>	455. Sra 3: kids went to school
456. <i>huh?</i>	456. <i>huh?</i>
457. <i>Sílvia: Wo seid Dea gebor?</i>	457. <i>Sílvia: Where were you(form) born?</i>
458. Sra 3: < >	458. Sra 3: < >
459. MB: <i>de Fum hot dort ooch gepflanz?</i>	459. MB: the tobacco (you) also planted there
460. Sra 3: <i>De Fum honn mea im Walachai gemach</i>	460. Sra 3: we did the tobacco in Walachai
461. MB: <i>Ich wust net das do Fum gepflanzt gebb ooch in Walachai</i>	461. MB: I didn't know that tobacco was planted also in Walachai
462. Sra 3: <i>Im Walachai ho'mea 15 Johre gewohnt</i>	462. Sra 3: We lived in Walachai 15 years

The irony of my question to Sra 3 (“Were you also born here?” Line 410) is that I have focused on the difficulty that the Hunsrückish speakers had with my country of origin and now I expose my own difficulty in understanding that “here in Dois Irmãos” means something different in different decades. *Sílvia* clarifies that *Senhora 3* was born in Santa Maria do Herval (**Teewald**). With more discussion of working in the *Plantoorsch*, the same topics arise: *Senhora 3* suffers medical problems from her career of tobacco (*Thueck*, Line 441; *Fum* 450, 446, 452) planting. In terms of education opportunities—unlike *Sílvia*, *Senhora 3* insists that her children went to school, leaving the parents to do everything alone, by hand. Her repetition of speech indicates a set narrative that she has rehearsed. (Mannheim and Van der Fleet)

*every day mornings, afternoons and evenings
the kids gone to school and we two parents raised tobacco
mornings, afternoons, and evenings
sun came out we had all had to get on it (446)*

sun came out again . . .
kids went to school and we two parents planted all the tobacco (452)

kids went to school (456)

The work was intense and her speech may help her process the experiences. Another reason she may repeat the lines is that her hearing loss makes her unsure whether others can hear her (446, 466, 488; Excerpt 10). Another *senhora* questions that the two parents did everything alone (453), perhaps because children often did stay behind to help (Sílvia's and others' reports; Klein's plays always dealt with this theme). In addition, farming families were large, so there must have been cousins, siblings, aunts, and uncles, in addition to children, who could help out.⁹

Mayara asks about the term *burro*. It refers to the piles, or bulks, in which cigar tobacco is fermented. It is a term common in web explanations about how to grow tobacco for Cuban cigars. Mayara's question may mark her as an outsider to the farming lifeworld. She told me that despite growing up on a farm, she decided early that she would pursue a different career, and she did: nursing. Still, *burro* may not be known to those not specifically dealing with tobacco farming. *Senhora 3* seems eager to repeat it, as if *burro* were a novel way to describe the image.

The *Kolonie* might be represented as a place isolated in time and space. It evokes rurality, far from town, a place where the German-speaker settlers sustained themselves, from the arrival of the first immigrants until the factory boom of the 1970s. But Sílvia situates her *Kolonie* past in a larger network of spaces. She planted potatoes and onions in *Morro dos Reis* (**Kenichs Berrich**). For vegetables they drove into the city of *Novo Hamburgo* (**Neu Hamburg**), and this city is named after Hamburg in Germany. The *Kolonie* was not entirely without connection to larger cities and even countries abroad.

In the last excerpt below, the *Kolonie* is still a place of the present.

EXCERPT 10: Local spots

464. Sra 3: *Ich hera oorich schlecht, enn* 464. Sra 3: I hear very badly, one side

⁹ Vier (19) reports that families averaged [x number] children in the Dois Irmãos area, and many of my contacts age 35 and older had nine or so siblings. Sílvia's mention that *Sra 3* was her cousin (420) was no surprise. My impression in Dois Irmãos was that everyone was cousins. August said: I always have the feeling that I am being followed by one of my cousins.

<i>Seid goo nix meh</i>	not at all anymore
465. MB: aahh	465. MB: aahh
466. Sra 3: Hot enn oorich Entsindun im Ohr. Jetz her'ich. Wees net was die heit gesprooch honn'ich fastehn goo nix < > Ich wees net wann de pique nic is.	466. Sra 3: (I) have a terrible inflammation in the ear. Now I hear. Don't know what they said today I understood absolutely nothing < > I don't when the picnic is. . .
467. Sílvia: zwittere Oostertooch	467. Sílvia: second Easter day
468. Sra 1: zweite Oostertooch	468. Sra 1: [repairing grammar] second Easter day
469. Sra: Montoochs no de Oster	469. Sra: Monday after Easter
470. outra Sra: Suntoochs is die Oster unn Montoochs Kinda tanze gehn	470. other Sra: Sunday is Easter and Monday the kids go dancing
471. Sílvia: não, is kee Tanz, ne das is unne in Sete Amigos	471. Sílvia: no, there is no dance, no that is down in Sete Amigos
472. Sra: unne am Berlitz Plinis	472. Sra: down at Berlitz Plinis
473. Sra: unne wo mea schon hingefoohr woore io vorrich Johr an die Weihnachte	473. Sra: down where we already drove to yes last year at Christmas
474. Sra: ich muss die Schuss frooe, die muss mea alles ausleia	474. Sra: I have to ask Schuss . . . she has to lend me everything
475. other Sra: Wea?	475. Sra 1: Who?
476. Sra: Die Schuss mein Nochbah	476. Sra: Schuss my neighbor
477. Sra1: a tá tá tá	477. Sra1: ah ok ok ok
478. as metz Hingelche	478. the chick butcher
479. MB: h h. as metz Hingelche	479. MB: h h. the chick butcher
480. other Sra: Mas eles falaram antes	480. other Sra: But they used to say that
481. MB: io honn net dron gedenkt	481. MB: yes (I) didn't think about it

482. *other Sra: é um velho ditado*

482. other Sra: (it) is an old saying

483. **MB: h h**

483. **MB: h h**

The senhoras explain to Sra 3, who cannot hear well, when and where the Reviver picnic is. It is suggested that there is a dance, and Sílvia says: “No, that is down in Sete Amigos.” Sete Amigos is the name of a resort campground that is rented out for events. In describing where it is, Sílvia uses the adverb *unne*, (**‘down’**; Std. German: *unter*), locating it south or downhill from where the conversation participants currently sit.¹⁰ This vague deictic is modified three more times in a construction of where exactly this place is: The two turns following Sílvia’s take up her same deictic in a paralleling poetic:

...das is unne in Sete Amigos
unne am Berlitz Plinis
unne wo mea schon hingefoohr woore (Lines 471-73)
that is down in Sete Amigos
down at Berlitz Plinis
down where we already drove to

Berlitz Plinis is the name of the owner or someone who lives there. The third modification reaffirms Line 473, that yes they did drive there last Christmas. The speakers add on to each other’s statements and with the poetic function call attention to a group-oriented activity, reinforcing each other’s membership to that group. The message function—the referential content of their statement—also shows their insider status in the group when they say *we* drove there together.

This excerpt describes a couple of local spots—the semi-rural resort area and Senhora 3’s neighbor, the “Metz Hingelche” (‘chick butcher’). The speakers illustrate a mobile space in which they travel, visiting different spots. This mobility is represented through the verb *gefoohr* (‘drove’) and its affix **‘hin’** (*hingefoohr*, Line 473), as well as the lexeme *Nochbah* (‘neighbor’), which entails a relationship of proximity between the speaker and her *nearby*, maybe next-door, fellow resident of the same area. (At least the neighbor is in lending distance, i.e., not in Porto Alegre.) In order to ask him anything,

¹⁰ Campo Sete Amigos is located in Dois Irmãos on Alberto Rübenich street south of downtown, off the main road that becomes unpaved and dips down into a small valley.

either she or he must travel a little distance. The semi-rurality of these local places, the resort and the neighbor with chickens underlie a conception of the speakers' living space. It is no longer the Kolonie, but it contains Kolonie elements.

Discussion of the Elder Group's Spatial Alignments

In the Reviver conversations, which I showed above in 10 excerpts, the Hunsrückish speakers move among multiple spaces using a variety of codes and expressions.

Sometimes spaces are invoked through single-word deixis, other times a network of indexical orders that brings together conceptions of space, time, and self. I begin this section with a list of concrete spaces constructed during the conversation, from most local to distant. Then I examine how the Hunsrückish-speakers index explicit labels of place to certain languages, ethnicities, and nationalities. Thirdly, the significance of less concrete spaces, such as inside and outside, is illuminated by a comparison with two events separate from the Reviver meeting, which shaped an idea of insiders and outsiders in the Dois Irmãos community. Lastly, I discuss the role of indeterminacy in the process of alignment, which is enabled in part by deixis. All of these discourses ultimately reveal something of the lifeworlds of these Hunsrückish speakers—about their language, farming background, and present preoccupations.

13 Concrete Spaces, from Local to Distant

(1) **On persons.** The most local, concrete, and specific space is personal body space. For example, when Sílvia points out the damage from the sun on her skin, she directs her listeners to “this” part “here,” which is a place immediately in her body space, on her person (Lines 387-92). Because it is a place within our field of perception, let alone a place she is physically touching, the demonstrative plus adverb *isto aqui* (‘this here’) unequivocally references the wrinkled part of her face. It is a place in her possession. In Line 8, when a *Senhora* identifies the bag on the table as the one by Sílvia, the preposition *bei* ‘by’ indicates a space and the dative pronoun *dea*, ‘you’ specifies that the space is one belonging to Sílvia, i.e., not shared in possession but shared in its perceivability.

(2) **Within the meeting space.** The room of the meeting space, plus a few noises from outside to situate it, lies within a perceptual field shared by the conversation participants

and lends itself to definition by the group more easily than, say, a speech event over the telephone. In that case, they would have had to rely to a greater degree on their interlocutor's description of the immediate surroundings. Here, attention is continually redirected to this space, corresponding with announcements made over the microphone, snack ladies passing by, and the food getting eaten. Speakers ask each other, Why do you have your bag on the table? (Line 8) or What are those things over there (Line 240)? With these questions, they represent objects closer to and further from each other but within the same space.

(3) **Between local spots in Dois Irmãos (mobile space).** When I asked Sílvia if she always came *hier* (to every meeting), she corrected my adverb to reflect the motion-bearing affix *hin*. Do I always come *hierhin* (Line 54)? With this expression, she inflected the sentiment with the idea that there was a space between the meeting hall and her place of origin. This representation of mobility can show an agency to the people or animals who came and went (Lines 28, 74, 127); the coming and going between fixed destinations represents spaces of in-betweenness, signaling that there exists another place that one was at before and may return to, that one belongs to multiple spaces, at least for moments.

(4) **Home; local spots.** Although not much discussion of local spots occurs in this conversation— objects within their homes (224-231), and a place that is perhaps Sílvia's home (Lines 74-76)—local spots were the focus of many other conversations I participated in. Many people had hardly spent time in places further away, such as Porto Alegre or other cities more than an hour's bus ride away. Most had never been on an airplane, and several told me they always knew they would build a house in Dois Irmãos to live in after they left their parents' house. The home/local spots category overlaps with the category of Kolonie, which is close by. When the speakers mention a *chácara*, or Travessão Rübénich (331-37), or the rural resort place called Sete Amigos (Lines 471-73), they are describing a place that is local as well as a place that brings them to the Kolonie in a contemporary sense.

(5) **Dois Irmãos.** Contemporary Dois Irmãos is referenced in response to my question about it (164). When discussed historically, the name becomes less clear in its

demarcation due to the multiple times that borders were reorganized, and demographics and land developments changed since the 1950s (Lines 164-76).

(6) **The fields/the Kolonie.** The Kolonie or Travessão can be a pleasant place to return to in the present, a place where people go dancing and still raise chickens and other sources of food from the land (Lines 413-483) or visit their relatives. Frequently, though, this category of space carries a great historical weight. Because “Kolonie” was the name that German-speaking settlers used for their living space for over one hundred fifty years, until industrialization really took hold, everyone who was raised in Dois Irmãos before the 1970s was raised in the Kolonie. Many contacts had grown up in a neighboring village, such as Walachai or Padre Eterno Baixo, which is considered even more *interior* than Dois Irmãos. (Still, one contact who had lived abroad said that he considered Dois Irmãos still very much *interior* today.)

The Kolonie link to the past often triggers difficult memories. When I asked Sílvia what the Reviver members had done for an occupation, she answered as if I had asked *where* they had worked: “*na roça in die Feld im Plantoorsch*” (‘on the farm in the field in the plantation,’ Line 356). Their pasts had been spent farming. The lengthy stretch of conversation from 356 to 402-409 recounted the missed opportunity to go to school (the schools were far away and the parents did not let Sílvia go); the work done by hand rather than machine, which left no time for things like trips to the lake; and the health problems that resulted from backbreaking work in the sun. They were days before the roads had been asphalted, and people lived fairly sedentary lives, constantly involved with the tasks of raising crops and animals. They planted potatoes, onions (Lines 436-39), corn, beans (Altenhofen 1996:80), and other vegetables (Vier 1999) as well as tobacco. The damage from the sun and the processes of tobacco planting that are told by Senhora 3 (Lines 413-483) were recapped and translated into Portuguese by Mayara (and then into English by me):

“We planted a lot of tobacco, everything by hand, we rolled (it) and threw (it) in, every day, from morning to afternoon and night, we two (father and mother), and the children went to school. When the season turned to rain, we harvested everything, and when the sun came out, we took everything again outside. We planted tobacco in Walachai, where we lived for 15 years.” Then she said, “I hear very little, in one side (of the ear) nothing. I had a big inflammation in the

ear. Now I hear. I don't know what they said today. I don't understand anything. I don't know when the picnic is going to be." [...]

Then I ask: "You never went to the doctor because of that ear?"

"Yes I went to Novo Hamburgo, but the audition won't return. The doctor said that (it) is age (and a hereditary defect) and (it) is hereditary. My father also didn't hear much. . ."

So (she) is another victim of tobacco. I felt bad for the old lady. But she seems to be well adjusted to this situation.

Mayara is a nurse as well as someone who grew up in the Kolonie and is perhaps familiar with the effects that this lifestyle has had on the body. The descriptions of bodily effects adds a materiality to the discussion. They form a sort of evidence that the person was actually there, doing those things. They carry a higher order index, a dual pain of present symptoms and past inflictions.

The Kolonie story here, like other stories I heard, touches on the theme of deprivation. Farmers sacrificed their bodies by not protecting them from the sun. Many people did not have an opportunity to be educated; in Sílvia's case, not past the fourth grade. Senhora 3 says here that her children did go to school and other contacts said: "*hoje quem não estuda só não quer*" ('today whoever doesn't study just doesn't want to'), implying that the opportunities for children today are much improved and that they also have a duty to take them. As with the daughter of one host family, a sense lingered that children should expect to be in perpetual service to the parents because they (the children) are so privileged:

Notes from a conversation I had with my host mother (HM) December 2007:

CI: But [your daughter] helped iron clothes last night.

HM: and then I told her to do the rest this morning. And she hasn't even started! She just wants to go to the store and spend money. But to spend money you have to work, work very hard for all that you have. Working is so hard—you haven't worked so you don't know.

CI: I worked for five years between college and graduate school.

HM: But just part-time.

CI: No, normal hours. I always worked during the summers, but then during the year I went to high school.

HM: Your parents helped you and now the government is helping you. Here, we don't have this. It used to be age 12 that people started working in the factory. That's why they would only finish the 7th grade. Now it's age 16 that people start working.

This host mother, born in 1964, had started working at age 12. She contributed to the discourse that children do not suffer like their parents did and should therefore obey their parents and expect to do house chores or homework most of the time. Kolonists sacrificed health, classroom education, and also time. The Reviver women repeat multiple times that everything was done by hand: milking the cows, rolling the tobacco leaves, using the hoe. There were no machines like today. Even today, some of the women still use a wood-burning oven (Lines 227-31).

The Kolonie was a place of deprivation and hard work, but also brings on nostalgic statements about a different pace and a sense of security that has been lost with the connections to the bigger cities (see Chapter 3). The Kolonie was a place strongly associated with the German language. When I asked where Sílvia had been born, a discussion of places and their names in Hunsrückish followed (Lines 164-77). The Hunsrückish names are necessarily invoked when speaking historically, because the objects of reference have shifted. What was Baumschneis (Dois Irmãos) in 1943, when Sílvia was born, is now Morro Reuter.

(7) **The big City, i.e., Porto Alegre.** Mention of the bigger cities occurred in Line 375 when Sílvia compared one to the Kolonie: the bigger schools were only in the big city—in the Kolonie there was nothing. She also mentions that they drove there and to Novo Hamburgo to get vegetables (Line 439). In Line 486 Senhora 5 says that the hospital sent her to Novo Hamburgo. The metonymic relationship that *de Stadt* ('the City') or *de gros Stadt* ('the Big City') has to Porto Alegre, like it does for San Francisco, New York, Guatemala City, San Salvador, or London, comments on the size, density, and stimulation of the place compared to the suburbs from which it is viewed. Although Porto Alegre is not as cosmopolitan as these other cities, it is the most worldly city that many Dois Irmãosenses will encounter. The place represents both resources, such as food and supplies, and a threat to the peaceful, relatively homogenous population perceived to exist in the *interior*.

(8) **German-speaking region of Brazil.** This category subsumes the categories of Kolonie and local spots. It is referenced in discussions of the history of German-speaking emigration or of the present-day ethnic landscape. In Line 90, "Around here everyone

came from Germany,” the past and present get blurred because most people in the area were born in Brazil and if anyone came from Germany, it was their ancestors. Many people speak German (Lines 141-43: “to learn German here you should go live with someone”) but the German spoken is a variety considered inferior to other Germans (Line 66: “we’re talking like this”) and most people speak Portuguese as well (Line 133: “everyone here understands Brazilian, right?”). The space is constituted by its languages and its speakers of those languages.

(9) **Rio Grande do Sul.** The state of Rio Grande do Sul is mentioned only once in this conversation (Line 295, when Sílvia says “here in Rio Grande do Sul). The fact that little mention was made of either the state or its associated demonym, the *gaúcho*, may indicate that elderly generations of German speakers are less likely to participate in explicitly folkloristic *gaúcho* activities. Many descendants of German speakers are members of the Center for *Gaúcho* Traditions, but it opened only as recently as 1989 in Dois Irmãos. The German speaking pockets of Brazil extend beyond RS to Santa Catarina, Paraná, and further north. In this sense, conceptualizing oneself as a German speaker or as a Brazilian may not include one’s state affiliation.

(10) **Between RS and other parts of Brazil (mobile space).**

More discussion of RS occurred in its relation to other parts of Brazil, as Sílvia and others list off parts of Brazil during the discussion of earthquakes (Lines 280 and 290-309). Rather than a delimited entity in which people and things remain bounded, the state is part of a chain of places within the space of Brazil. Ultimately, the earthquake discussion contrasts Brazil’s situation with the USA’s.

(11) **In world, between Brazil and Germany (mobile space).** The discussions of travel between Germany and Brazil are frequent among German speakers in Brazil because the majority of foreigners whom they have met come from Germany (or are perceived to come from Germany: Line 47) as part of touring folk groups, tourists, or people interested in genealogy. Obversely, Germany, along with English-speaking countries, is a common place for younger Brazilians to travel to as interns, au pairs, or even permanent residents (Line 310, 320). Thirdly, travel from Germany always enters into the immigration narrative (Lines 90, 105).

(12) **Germany.** Germany is one of the first places to enter any discussion covering the space outside Brazil (Lines 56, 92, 102, 129, 310, 322). It is connected to the German-speaking region of Brazil through fellow Hunsricker (“there are still Hunsrick in Germany:” Line 102) and placenames (“There’s also a New Hamburg in Germany:” Line 440). While Hunsrückish speakers feel connected to a place called Germany, they also use it as a source of competition. A speaker from there is assumed to command a superior German. Social infrastructure and organization of *um país do primeiro mundo* (‘a country of the first world’) is assumed to surpass any social aspect of the “horror” that is Brazil.¹¹

(13) **Between Brazil and rest of the world (mobile space).** When made explicit that Hunsrückish speakers were talking to a foreigner (Lines 58-64, 249, 251, 256, 270-78, 317-27), they moved to compare and contrast Brazil. They exhibited their alignments with a Brazilian (Was I born here? yes, in Brazil: Line 162) or German-Brazilian public (Our ancestors came through North America to here: Lines 84-86).

Place and Its Connections to Language, Ethnicity, and Nationality

The concepts of language and nationality are frequently inextricable, iconically represented by the use of a single Portuguese word for both things in three different examples in the Reviver conversation: *brasileiro* (from Brazil and the Brazilian language), *alemão* (from Germany and the German language), and *inglês* (from England and the English language). The Hunsrückish versions of these concepts are also a single word: *Brasilionisch*, *Deitsch*, and *inglês* (they switch to Portuguese rather than use the Germanic possibility *Englisch*). The speakers generally avoided use of an adjectival nationality in favor of asking about a place of origin or a language spoken. Rather than asking, Are you German? they asked, Are you from Germany? or Do you speak German? This phrasing makes sense, given the complicated labeling system they give to themselves.

“He is Austrian,” I was once told, only to find out later that he had been born in Brazil, as had his parents, and that his grandfather had emigrated. I also heard multiple times: “I am Brazilian, but my family came from Italy.” In other words, it was commonly

¹¹ Such comments were made to me in Dois Irmãos, Porto Alegre, and São Paulo, by multiple sources, some of whom had just met me on the street, some who had known me a long time. “Brazil is a horror, isn’t it?” one woman in a store said to me upon learning that I was a foreigner. She seemed to be waiting for me to defend it and be relieved when I did.

clarified that one was not entirely Brazilian but of an ethnic group within Brazil, probably one that was not associated with indigenous and African minorities. Rather than using hyphenated labels (e.g., Chinese-American), Brazilians said they were either Brazilian or took pains to differentiate themselves, even though they had been born in Brazil.

The questions of my place of origin (*Deutschland, Deitschland, Inglaterra, California, and Estados Unidos*) were as frequent as questions of what language I might speak (*Deitsch, inglês, brasileiro*) and what language I want to learn (*Deitsch, Hunsrick, and alemão*). These questions were asked as they observed what I was called (*alemoazinha*), how I looked (blond and perhaps foreign in dress and hairstyle), how I approached the table (with recorder and no introduction to group), and how I spoke. Neither my speech patterns alone nor my blond hair indexed Germany by themselves, as is evidence by the fact that Mayara, a dark-haired native Hunsrückish speaker, was thought to come from the same place I did.

In representing themselves, the Reviver members aligned themselves with *Deutschland* and *Deitschland*, places where there are still *Hunsrick*, i.e., the language was, or the people who spoke the language and emigrated were, once there and still are there. There are towns such as *Neu Hamburg* with the same name as towns in the German-speaking region of Brazil. *Hunsrick, Deitschland* is where their ancestors came from, and then *Nordamerika* is where the ancestors traveled through on the way to Brazil. North America is a place that affected the language that the Reviver members speak, because the ancestors picked up some English. *Brasilien* or *Brasil* is where they were born and where their point of comparison is to other places that have natural disasters and may be better or worse places to call home. Any of these alignments shift depending on their interlocutor and topic of conversation.

When the topics of birthplace, life in the Kolonie, or the history of the local places arose, the place names became bilingual. Only a few larger places, such as countries and continents, could be called by their German name, and no Brazilian state or city outside the local region was referred to in German. But local place names in Hunsrückish represent another access point to concepts about the Hunsrückish speakers' world.

Place names may tell something about what is in that place. For example both the German and Portuguese names for the same village express that a lot of erva mate has

been grown there: Teewald ('tea forest') and Santa Maria do Herval ('Saint Mary of the herb'). Another, more intriguing example was finding Cléo Altenhofen's translation of *Avenida São Miguel*, which is the principal street in Dois Irmãos, to *Judengasse* (Jew Street). Similarly, local historian Justino Vier (1999) translated the Dois Irmãos *centro do comércio* ('commercial center') to *Jude-Gasse*. Not having heard of any Jews living in Dois Irmãos, nor having read anything about them in academic work, I wondered if this Hunsrückish name had been invented merely to reference a stereotype of Jews and financial transactions. Altenhofen responded to my email (June 2010):¹²

About the Judengasse. I took advantage of my historian colleagues at the June meeting of the Historical Institute of São Leopoldo, in which I participate. Martin Dreher emphasized the need to rewrite the history of immigration. While it is true that German immigrants came here, it doesn't mean they were all homogenous in origin. Much diversity and social meaning can get lost when subsumed in one concept "German." In their findings, analyzing for example the inscriptions in cemeteries and church registries, they found at least three places where there were Jews.

1. *Igrejinha;*
2. *Dois Irmãos (therefore the Judengasse you spoke of);*
3. *Picada Café (before getting to the bus station, in Nova Petrópolis, there is, according to him, a Street Judengasse).*

But they were reduced in number and spread out; they didn't manage to come together to form their own community. They were entombed among the Evangelicals, reflecting their relation < > to the official Brazilian state religion, Catholicism. They were assimilated by need to find their own space. Among them were names like Maus, Elly, Reithenfuss, Israel, Aarons, which can still be found in places, including in Porto Alegre. In this detail, it is said that my ancestors also should have had Jewish origin: the first to come of Weiler bei Bingen, in 1827, was Adam Altenhofen, married to Elisabeth Dori.

The bilingual placenames reveal "a consciousness of history and colonialism [that] enter[s] into the poetics of place and the discourse strategies used in the deployment of [them]" (Samuels 2001). Like Samuels' Western Apache names replaced by English, **Bugerberrich** ('**Indian** (pejorative) **mountain**') is an iconic example of a colonizing practice, in which the German settlers gave a (derogatory) name to a place inhabited by aboriginal people without learning their name for it. This practice was also then done to the German speakers—such as the blog writer describing Walachai as Old German for 'a

¹² My translation from Portuguese.

place where time stopped,' which fits too conveniently his description of the town. The fact that the names are not published in many sources (including maps and street signs) and are not always easy translations, one must be local enough to know the names. One must also be old enough: even Hunsrückish speakers, such as Mayara, do not know all the names in Hunsrückish. As Portuguese grows in daily usage and younger generations speak less Hunsrückish, these names become more the domain of older people.

Less Concrete Spaces

The spaces are not limited to concrete, physical ones that can be identified by name. As already mentioned, mobile spaces act as liminal areas, between an origin and a destination. They may be considered not quite concrete, and yet they can be talked about explicitly and structured by borders. Something less concrete is a hypothetical space, such as “in the street” (Line 238), “in the air” (282-89), or “from the sky” (304-29). It is unclear where exactly these places are or what they look like, and the listener must create her own image. There are also spaces invoked without any metalanguage whatsoever. For example, before snack time begins, the group joins in prayer, singing and then responding in unison to their leader’s calls (Lines 1-5). They do not discuss any sensation of inhabiting an overtly institutional space different from the ones they create while eating, nor do they express any transition as if traveling from one place to another. However, they invoke as a group the format of a church service and thus create a temporary type of church.

Another space not found on a map and perhaps even less evocative of theoretically tangible borders such as the image of a church, is an inside and outside. Establishing an interlocutor’s insiderness or outsiderness requires inclusive or exclusive body language (i.e., turning toward versus away from a person, touching them with affection versus not at all—or in an extreme case—with violence). Mayara and I sat at the end of the snack table. To talk to us, the women needed to lean in and look at us. Until we had conversed a while, they made little effort to look at or listen to us. This exclusive body language was accompanied by unengaged or completely absent verbal uptake. Any conversation did not last more than a couple turns and my questions were met with return questions.

In the context of my entrance to the group, a cold reception is understandable. My stark and aggressive question, *Is it okay if I record you?* was my attempt to begin a conversation about what I was doing there at the meeting and offer these women the chance to deny my recording of it. I was relying on rapport work from the previous meetings, when I asked Dona Leonida if I might sit in on the meeting, talk to people and even record some language. She announced this idea to the group and had me introduce myself at the microphone. The next two meetings, including the one we just had, Leonida spotted me in the audience and commented, “*Unser lieb deutsch Medche is nommo da.*” (‘Our dear German girl is back again.’) I tried to sit next to different people and engage them in Hunsrückish as long as they seemed comfortable. By March, some of them may also have heard of me, as not many foreigners visited Dois Irmãos for extended periods of time and I had joined a number of groups.

This meeting was the first time Mayara joined me and the first time I attempted to record a group conversation. Because I felt their body and verbal language to be unwelcoming or at least reticent, and my Hunsrückish to be shaky, as well as their hearing and experience with foreign accents to be potentially lacking, I did not feel comfortable interrupting them to explain myself well. Instead I continued to repeat the question, *is it okay if I record?*

An opening into the conversation came after I had been quiet for a bit and then one of the women coming around to serve snacks greeted me cheerfully (Line 47). Perhaps this recognition by an insider served to ratify my participation. My next question to the group (*Do you come here every meeting?*) was picked up by the younger, vigorous woman I call *Sílvia*. She did not answer it but clarified my grammar. Then she returned a question, one very common in response to anything I might say to a stranger: *Where are you from?* The implicature was that I spoke differently from a native speaker or that I was not from there.

Obversely, several women facing each other established themselves as insiders. They remarked on the objects close to them. They talked about sharing things (Line 14) or getting something to eat together (18). They picked up each other’s statements with relevant referential responses. The perceptual field is potentially shared by all and yet it is segmented, partitioned off by individuals to create a smaller field with (an inside and an

outside) boundary between themselves and the rest of the table cohort. When the three speakers talked about the books and bag by Sílvia on the table, ironically a discussion about not knowing the rules that potentially positioned her as an outsider (“I didn’t know how it worked,” 6), the women socialized her into the group. They created an exclusive threesome: *Dein Bichelche*—this is the singular informal, which is an address specifically to one person only and represents an already established rapport.¹³ Also, the contrast set up was you and me: your books by you (not me).

Later in the event, when these women expressed an interest in conversing with Mayara and me, our outsidership evolved to a different level. Now we had established a shared interactive framework—all conversation participants were eating the same foods, greeting the same snack ladies passing by, and aware of the same topics discussed at the microphone. When Mayara asked what was “over there” and looked across the room, we could know she was indexing a table by the stage with food and plants on it. Despite this common field of perception, it was clear that we did not share a background knowledge or skill set. Both the near-deaf lady and I asked what had been said about future events that had been announced. Sílvia answered both of us, although her interpretation was clarified if not disputed (Lines 468-74). At some level, no interpretation can be presumed to be shared (Quine), but some will undoubtedly be closer than others.

A crystalizing moment in the alignment of me with the space outside occurred in a simple deictic pairing. Before it was finally acknowledged explicitly that I was from California and not Germany, England, or anywhere else, and while it was still unclear that Mayara was a German-speaking Brazilian, she did not attempt to describe my origins except with the indeterminate *there*. This polysemous deictic was all that was necessary to establish a contrast between her and my origins.

Senhora 5: So are you together (1) *lá fora?* (‘there abroad’) Line 249

Mayara: No, I live (2) *hie (here)* . . . and she is from (3) *dort (there)*. Lines 252, 256

¹³ Although any pronoun, including *tu* or *du* can be used with strangers, the norm with older generations and throughout the countryside, as well as throughout this speech event at Reviver is to use *Dea/Ihr* (‘you/your’ formal) with less familiar interlocutors. See Chapter 3.

After many communicative misfires, she establishes that I am from “there” and that Mayara is from “here.” Rather than determine exactly where I am from, the focus resolves to position me as an outsider and Mayara as an insider.

The question addresses Mayara and my relationship. It also addresses the speaker’s relationship to us: In positioning us, she is positioning herself. Although the question includes an idea of simply being rather than origin, Mayara’s response emphasizes the difference in origin with the origin preposition *von* (‘from’). CI is from there and she is from here. The space constructed in this dialogue is one outside (the country) of the current place, a place where Mayara and I are not together. This place must be at least outside Dois Irmãos, because we are together in the town; we even lived in the same house for a time. Relations among people, among objects, among people and objects are formed as speakers use language and other actions to position themselves and things near or far.

Other Insides and Outsides

Whereas the Reviver conversations framed me ultimately as a non-Brazilian, another group constructed one of its members as an outsider primarily through her non-German-Brazilianness. She identified herself as different mostly because she was a *mineira* rather than *gaúcha*, in other words, a social difference due to physical region of Brazil. Her fellow musical society members also used spatial difference to explain why she did not belong with them, but in different ways and in combination with other factors: she was not from the downtown area of Dois Irmãos (as was most everyone else); she was not born of the German-speaking parts of Brazil, nor was she in compliance with the intersubjective rituals, personal appearance, musicality, and ethnicity expected of the group.

The Story of Ana Maria

Ana Maria was the one member of the City Musical Society (CMS) (beside myself) who was not a gaúcho. She came from Minas Gerais, a state north of Rio de Janeiro. Although not everyone was a German speaker or a descendant of German speakers, Ana Maria was most visibly neither, following local, regional, and global stereotypes. She was darker skinned and haired than everyone else. A fellow member of CMS once referred to her as

nossa morena ('our [female] dark one'). She was quite offended by another (Italian-Brazilian) community member, who called her a *mulata* to her face. In addition to her phenotype, she dressed a little more "Brazilian" than other women. Her hair reached below her shoulders, even though she was a *senhora* (woman over the age of 50) who could easily have grandchildren; the other women of the Society had much shorter hair. She dressed in form-fitting, dressy clothes and wore artisanal jewelry.

Indeed, Ana Maria spoke no German, said she was a descendant of Spaniards, and came from a middle-class, urban background, although now she lived on a farm (*chácara*) with her husband, (a *chaqueiro*, one who tends the farm for its owners). She had a propensity to cling to whoever would listen to her self-aggrandizing stories, which were sometimes inconsistent, and her histrionics. She was noticeably out of tune—both musically and socially. One member told me that I had become friends with her probably because I did not realize what Ana Maria was like at the beginning due to being a foreigner with poorer command of Portuguese. Another friend told me he was impressed that I had been friendly with her long before a dramatic story about her past came to light in the local papers. With this media attention, some members of the group began to pay more attention to her.

Some members had long been threatening to leave the group if Ana Maria continued to come to rehearsals. "She's using it as a social club, and is disrespecting our music," a couple women told me. I wondered why had she not been told to leave the group if she did not meet the ostensible minimum requirement for membership—musical ability. My experiences in the USA were that auditions weeded out potentially discordant members and if not, they might later be disinvited.

There was some gatekeeping to the group. When I enquired in my first week in Dois Irmãos at the Cultural Center of Dois Irmãos about musical groups to join, I was told to call the secretary of CMS. The secretary told me she would need to run my request by the group at their next rehearsal and that I could potentially come the following week. This decision pended then not on my musical role or ability, but merely on the fact that I was a young American woman who wanted to join the group. Ana Maria had entered the group only a few months before I arrived, by tagging along with another member, Roseli. Roseli was also held in disfavor by some members of CMS because she did not always

participate in rehearsals and at the same time took some ownership of the historic building where we met; she was one of two members to have the key. Perhaps the association with Roseli did not help Ana Maria, and Roseli was also concerned that the group thought she had invited Ana Maria in.

When I asked the Society's director why he did not disinvite Ana Maria, he told me that he would not kick her out when her musicality was not the problem. He thought that she was improving, and that the real problem people had with her was social. Another member told me that the reason Ana Maria had not been asked to leave was because the director was afraid of confrontation. This may have been true, although he was not avoiding confrontation with the significant number of members who were obviously annoyed with Ana Maria and wanted her out. Still, he took some action by placing her at the end of the row on stage for our concerts. He frequently singled her out to change her pitch.

A third reason given for her continued presence in the group was that the group did not want to act as if it thought it was better than other groups (*Não queremos aparecer como se estivermos nos achando*¹⁴). This was told to me by an active and popular participant in the Society, a board member. This idea was corroborated by the fact that the Society held no auditions and that it was open to all members of the city. The value placed on group over individual, and on interpersonal relations over competition is one common to Brazilian society.

That Ana Maria was heavier in weight than most other women of the group gave them more ammunition to make fun of her. This was easy to do in German because so many in the group understood it even if they did not speak it. Although she was married to a descendant of German speakers, his status did not help much: for one thing, he could not converse easily with others due to a medical condition. Ana Maria told me that the reason people in the group were not particularly kind to her was because she was married to someone of low socioeconomic status. I saw no evidence of this, however her frequent requests for rides (she lived further away and had no car) combined with requests for money that she apparently did not always pay back were sources of complaints about her.

¹⁴ *Achar-se* means to find oneself (inappropriately) important or good.

Despite the many complaints and overt slights during and outside rehearsal, some kindnesses were shown Ana Maria. She usually attended group wide events and occasionally got together one-on-one with a few people. She did get car rides for a while and she engaged some people in conversation during rehearsal. She met with one member regularly to train her ear. When I pressed one woman on the idea of excluding Ana Maria from our subsection meeting, she responded that despite all of Ana Maria's problems, it would be unconscionable to exclude her. In some ways, the whole society colluded to continue the participation of Ana Maria in the group.

Around the time of her media attention, Ana Maria's participation began to slow down. Eventually, at some point after I left, she stopped coming altogether. There is some turnover in the group, so it is no surprise when members leave, but this departure had been long under discussion, including by Ana Maria, who insisted that she would not leave the group just to spite those people who wanted her out.

The CMS members, including Ana Maria, both colluded to keep Ana Maria in and colluded to keep her out of their circles. She was marginalized physically within the rehearsal meetings, on stage and off stage. And she lived far away and could not always easily go to and from downtown Dois Irmãos. Her ethnicity, race, language, and place of origin were all highlighted as being different. At the same time, members did take time to help her musically, give her rides, and include her in some events outside rehearsal. Ana Maria's presence, like mine, provoked in group members talk that indicated a switch in alignment, depending on whether they were trying to form solidarities or distances. Sometimes Ana Maria and others emphasized the fact that she was a *mineira* among *gaúchos*; more often, she was a Brazilian among German-Brazilians.

The Role of Indeterminacy in the Process of Alignment, Enabled in Part by Deixis

How do spatial deixis and other locative expressions of Hunsrückish and Portuguese particularly work to describe where things are (physically and in terms of status)? The smallest-scale alignments, those that position objects and people immediately within the field of perception, depend on shared interactive frameworks. How do these positionings help conversation participants become what Goffman calls ratified or unratified

(identified as formal addressees versus eavesdroppers, e.g.), or as insiders versus outsiders?

Deictics and many locative expressions work through a state of polysemy. They are versatile words that can fit a range of contexts. Evidence for this versatility is in the modification that either the speaker or listener uses to clarify the meaning: the very same deictic words are used before and after certain clarifications are made. This shows that the deictic acts as a somewhat empty place holder for what clarification may follow. The placeholder is only somewhat empty because it may have within it a message, such as a contrast. In the example of Mayara explaining that she lives here and I am from there, the relationship getting established is that I am an outsider in almost every way possible—age, nationality, language, class, education, kin group, etc.—and Mayara is a relative insider; she is obviously too young to be a member of the group and was not in fact born in the Dois Irmãos region.

The polysemy, and/or indeterminate use, of the deictics there and here (*dort-lá-hier-aqui*) was helpful in conversations such as the with Reviver members, which was replete with communicative misfires. Both of the deictic words *do* [do:] (var. [da:]) and *hier* [hi:ʰ] (var. [hi:])¹⁵ can be glossed as ‘here’. In Std. German, the closest form to *do* is *da*. It overlaps in meaning with the existential there and the spatial here or there. The Hunsrückish form does not share the Std. German meaning of the causal ‘since’ (e.g., *Da ich keine Zeit habe, kann ich nicht gehen.* ‘Since I have no time, I can’t go.’). In other Germanic languages (e.g., Yiddish) and dialects (Pennsylvania Dutch) *do* also means here.

In Hunsrückish, *do* has these different meanings.

The locative function (pointing to an object in space),
e.g., ***Do hie rom sinn doch all von Deutschland komm
around here everyone came from Germany***

A subset, which is an adverb following a sensory directive
***gu‘mo do hoschta dein Bichelche bei dea
look here you have your little book with you on the table both***

A second subset is the existential (unique to Hunsrückish)

¹⁵ Phonetic transcriptions come from Altenhofen (1996) unless otherwise specified.

do is zu viel poluição in de Luft
there is too much pollution in the air

Introductory function, which can also have sequential/temporal/causal meanings (Miller 2004:1).

ja awer do awer enn Língua wo mein Grosmutter hat gesprooch
yes but there is a language that my grandmother spoke

There is also a prepositional (drin)

Das do Ohr wo die Entzündung drin hot, do vor'ich drei mo beim Docktor,

and deictic demonstrative, followed by overt or implied noun (**das do Ohr**).

The most frequently used meanings of *do* are the spatial there/here expression and the demonstrative deictic. Of the 19 instances of *do/da* in the 35-minute recording of the Reviver speakers, there was one instance of the sensory directive, four existential theres, five spatial there/here adverbs, and four deictic demonstratives. Because it is difficult to distinguish discourse marker from spatial adverb, the number of adverbs could be as many as nine. Perhaps they take on characteristics of both—drawing attention to the beginning or end of an utterance, and in a way that directs attention to a physical space. When modified by adverbs following the *do*, it refers to a specific or abstract place, rather than a discourse marker; when *do* appears at the end of an otherwise verb-final sentence, it acts as a discourse marker above the sentence level.

The function of the deictic polysemy is a flexibility that allows participants to form their own meaning without stopping the conversation. The degree to which the deictic is qualified may suggest several illocutionary and perlocutionary effects. A fairly unmodified deictic may indicate either intentional indeterminacy, a disengagement from the listener; or it may indicate a presupposition that the listener is in tune enough with the speaker's statements to already know exactly what she is talking about. It may be a test to see if the listener is listening, a call for clarification from the listener. As the relationship between speaker and listener(s) is established, an insider-outsider contrast may form through the spatial deictic's working in conjunction with other deictics, such as personal pronouns. "Your[inf.] books are by you[inf.]", while seemingly a statement about a single person, necessarily includes the speaker that is created by the mention of *you*, and so creates a space around *you* that is not far from *me*.

Other words beside the deictics are indeterminate. For example, *Deutsch* takes on five different meanings in the Reviver conversation, two of which are contradictory. It is invoked as the language that CI might speak (Lines 15, 58) and that CI wants to learn (67); the language that “we” the Reviver members speak (improperly) (66); and, contrastingly, proper German (84) and the language of the books brought from Germany (310). This indeterminate word was used in many conversations and required frequent clarification (cf., Chapter 6 transcript, Lines 142-45). Sometimes it is modified with *richtig* (‘correct’) or *dialekt*, or other positive and negative evaluations to clarify Hunsrückish or Standard.

All these calls for contextual clarification indicate that Hunsrückish speakers employ a significant metalanguage. The pervasive ideology that Hunsrückish has no metalanguage, let alone no grammar, should be reconsidered in light of the frequency with which Hunsrückish speakers use words and parts of words to index the current contextual moment surrounding the situation of the conversation. What is metalinguistic—language used to comment on language—about a deictic here is the aspect that rises above the utterance, above the pre-constituted sign, and addresses or indexes or refers to the relations between objects and people.

Conclusion

The discourses creating multiple types of spaces, specific and indeterminate, concrete and abstract, and local and general, ultimately reveal something of the lifeworlds of these Hunsrückish speakers—about their language, farming background, and present preoccupations. The elder group conversations, along with the stories of the outsider musical society member and my host family’s ban on outsiders to the house show how outsider spaces were created: through an emphasis on differences attributed to a combination of racial, ethnic, linguistic, geographical, and psychological factors. Thus, the spatiality of inside and outside is only one aspect of many. The speakers’ experiences and lack of experiences with traveling and meeting diverse types of people contributed to their concerns about crime, and how their neighbors view them. Part of the complexity of understanding where I was from could be explained also by the Hunsrückish speakers’

limited experience with foreigners, as well as iconicizations of my phenotype, dress, language and approach to the group.

As the addressee and topic shift, the speakers aligned themselves with different spaces and publics. In the Dois Irmãos region, discourse among Hunsrückish speakers about local places often included discussions of the past, of German speech and descent, and of farming life. The Kolonie could still be treated as a place of the present, even when farmers no longer make their living from farming. Discourse about the Brazilian nation often got connected with discussions of modernity, progress, technology, and large institutions of power. The women's connections to the United States came from comparing natural disasters with those that occur in Brazil. One senhora had knowledge of Germany through her niece, but mostly their knowledge of other nations comes from the news, which is often biased.¹⁶

These ideological connections are aided by indeterminate or polysemous language that allows speakers to interpret what makes sense to them. The spatial expressions range in specificity from a single-word deictic unmodified by explanation such as *dort* ('there') (potentially quite indeterminate), to an extensively modified expression accompanied by deixis, gestures, maps, and illustrations (specific). This indeterminacy, or polysemy, illustrates the flexibility of language and potentially the level of engagement of the interlocutors. The responsibility for clarification, if not forthcoming from the speaker, may then reside with the listener.

¹⁶ See Kottak (1990); he argues that Brazilian news stories about the United States focus on some unwelcome aspect of technology in US society and confirm Brazilian stereotypes of US society.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

How can an anthropologist label a group of people that does not label itself? Recognizing patterns in self-expression, including those not above the speaker's level of awareness, means acknowledging that alignments are not always the same in different settings among different types of speakers. Nor does a single speaker's alignment made now necessarily reflect the one he made last utterance. To reconcile such indeterminacy with some form of substantial existence, I see speakers' moving among different publics. The publics are social spheres both presupposed and entailing, determined in the moment by negotiation, bringing together ideologies of code choice and race; folkloric dress, music, and dance; and less explicit alignments, such as pronouns of deference.

Publics

The publics emerging in conversations analyzed here, as well as in written and visual media, become clearer over a number of examples. I lay out some of the emerging features of these publics before focusing on the processes by which speakers make alignments. If the features of publics overlap and continually change, why lay them out? Because, as Mitchell (2002) writes, objects in the material and ideal worlds shape each other:

Social science is always founded upon a categorical distinction between the ideality of human intentions and purposes and the object world upon which these work, and which in turn may affect them. There is little room to examine the ways they emerge together in a variety of combinations, or how so-called human agency draws its force by attempting to divert or attach itself to other kinds of energy or logic. (29)

It is as if the elements are somehow incommensurable. They seem to involve very different forces, agents, elements, spatial scales, and temporalities. They shape one another, yet their heterogeneity offers a resistance to explanation. (27)

The historical and sociolinguistic material features constituting publics recur over different speech events and in larger discourses, forming the center of the debates and negotiations of self-expression. A Brazilian public is evoked with "public," institutional

settings. That is: state-supported institutions such as schools, the lotto store, and other places where one may expect to encounter persons never met before. Portuguese is generally spoken there, at least in speech that frames the conversation such as greetings and goodbyes. The magazines, lotto cards, television blaring—everything in the lotto store was in Portuguese.

But language choice is not the only indication of a Brazilian public. Certain topics arise, such as city crime or the national soccer team. Stereotypes of Brazilians emerge, such as the sensuous woman or the *Spitzbu*v (‘young male thug’); and particular geographical inventories, such as the natural wonders or disasters occurring in different parts of Brazil. Within these evocations are racial, historical, and nationalist ideologies. Some ideologies come from mass media; others from more local understandings of society. In the constellation of publics surrounding German-Brazilians, the word “Brazilian” is often invoked with darker skin/hair. Further north than South Brazil, racial overtones of the word more likely involve historical associations with racial democracy or some other form of mixing.

No opposite public can be juxtaposed with the Brazilian public, because the features of any public may overlap with another; at the same time, each public creates a unique space. Thus, although dyadic terms may be used, as in national/local, Portuguese/German, black/white, and forwards/backwards, what is called the Kolonist public may encompass all of these things. A woman at the senior group described the Kolonie as a place where in the past the parents slaved day and night over their crops, and where there was “nothing”—e.g., no school or hospital. In other moments, the Kolonie became a joyous excursion that my host family took me on, where we could find fresh milk, eggs, and a loving family. In other words: a thing of the present, where a mix of Portuguese and German was spoken, and something the family was proud to show me.

The conversations analyzed in this dissertation do not focus on the Gaúcho public, but many contacts talked about it; written materials and speech on television and radio appealed to “fellow Gaúchos,” and several host families had members who belonged to the Center for Gaúcho Traditions. In some form, the set of rituals, folkloric traditions, vernacular, and discussion of belonging to Rio Grande do Sul served as an alternate space to ones provided by the German-Brazilian public. The German-Brazilian public

nevertheless covers all the publics, a sort of default public defined by transition. This transition—a language shift, an urbanization, and increased connection to people, ideas and goods from other cities as well as countries—contributes to and is reflected by hyperconcern with crime, change, and contact with new types of people.

Alignments

The discussion of publics depends on discussion of alignment process, by which speakers represent (sometimes contradictory) commitments to different publics, ideologies, or relationships. In terms of language ideologies, the lotto store examples reveal commonly heard metastatements that (1) German speakers are blond, (2) Hunsrückish is a mixed-up dialect, and (3) Hunsrückish is for leisure, whereas Portuguese is for business. Each of these ideologies was questioned. The dark-haired, female client challenged the first one, the storeowner the second—although she may have been performing for my sake. The use of Hunsrückish coincided with expressions of urgency or business in the first moment when the female client attempted to prove herself and in the third moment when the older male client confronted the storeowner. While this use of Hunsrückish may represent an appeal to intimacy, there was some tension that created a decidedly nonleisure atmosphere.

The drama of a realignment—a change in perspective or behavior—is hard to capture because a person generally changes over the course of multiple events. Nevertheless, the opportunities for realignment abound and are notable for the potential beginnings of a speaker's change, an imagining that can result in a later on-the-ground upheaval. These alignments and realignments are visible as semiotic processes described by Irvine and Gal (2000): *erasure*, *fractal recursivity*, and *iconization*. For example, the ignoring of dark-haired German speakers is a process of *erasure*. Speakers oppose German to Portuguese by calling attention to mixing of the two; this mixing is then *refracted recursively* on the level of publics, when the client moves between identifying herself as local and “German-Brazilian” although others, including the storeowner, see her as an outsider, a **Brasiliona Mensch**, a *Schwarze*. Thirdly, the feature of code-mixing or switching is *iconized* as a “mixing up” in an undesirable way. The first-order index of codemixed language takes on a second order of negative mixed-upness, which also reflects on the speakers of that language (Silverstein 2003).

The alignments addressed in Chapters 5-7 reveal the difficulty of isolating expressions of intersubjectivity from time from space. In the Sieber family conversation, the sisters align themselves with German immigrants. Their personal pronoun extends from the two of them and their family to other German speakers in other parts of the Dois Irmãos region and in various eras covering almost two centuries. Together, the sisters move between a first-person plural that links to an agentive or passive force, and to immigrants from Germany or residents of Brazil. Such alignments presuppose a solidarity between interlocutors that an exchange among strangers has not established, at least not from the start. Thus, the lotto store examples handle second-person pronouns susceptible to more frequent realignment. The owner asserts an upper hand alignment evident in her recurring use of an overt pronoun (versus her clients, whose direct address is much less frequent if at all present) and a generally less deferential option (versus her male clients, who use an indeterminate, or neutral or semi-formal, pronoun).

These pronoun choices work in conjunction with code convergence and divergence. The owner more frequently diverges from her interlocutors' code choice than they diverge from hers. Her notable realignment to the most deferential pronoun (in both Portuguese and Hunsrückish), in addition to code convergences with the two male customers after they express tension (visible in one man's increase in volume and speed, and explanation of urgency by the other man), indicates a potential strategy in the owner's choices. The difference in her treatment of her female versus male clients also indicates a gendered bias and informs the analysis of power dynamics.

Like the lotto store confrontations, which suggested insider-outsider relations, the conversations of the elder group also created insiders and outsiders using spatial and personal deixis as well as codeswitching. Through many types of spaces involved, depending on time, geography, and abstractness, conversation participants could become different types of insider or outsider. Codeswitching of placenames provided an opportunity to show one's localness. We can see that an analysis of alignments thus involves observation of the social relationships in the speech event and the networks of institutions and forces beyond the speech event, as well as microlinguistic behaviors.

Another type of alignment, perhaps an "unalignment" is the use of a null subject, a vague deictic, or a lack of clear commitment to a single public, person, or ideology. The

motivations behind such indeterminacy are manifold. Encounters with outsiders, i.e., non-German speakers or speakers of a different variety of German, might be difficult. The difficulty could be due to a combination of acoustic/articulatory or nonnative-speaker “errors” as well as ideological miscomprehension. For example, a speaker might perceive his interlocutor’s language to be different from his own and dismiss it, saying, “I don’t speak that language,” even though they are speaking the same one, albeit with different articulation (Bruce Mannheim, personal communication). Similarly, my friend whose mother tongue was West Falian felt insecure about speaking Hunsrückish with native speakers. In order to move beyond a seeming impasse in conversation, an indeterminate word or phrase might allow both sides to continue communicating despite not having nailed down a more precise meaning.

A second type of indeterminacy—not just of deictics but of a label for the entire group of descendants of German-speaking immigrants—involves a historical and contemporary lack of support and outright antagonism from the government and popular media. The prohibitions of German language, the aftereffects of the nationalization campaign, plus more subtle racism in the form of negative stereotypes or erasure from the Brazilian ethnoscape in today’s popular written and visual media, also contribute to a general dearth of Hunsrückish-speaking activists and culture workers. Although in the past 20 years the tourism industry has promoted images and attractions of a happy, hardworking German culture, and met with some success, Rio Grande do Sul and its capital Porto Alegre have yet to develop the celebrated type of ethnic enclaves that other big cities do, such as New York, Toronto, London, and São Paulo in terms of its Japantown. Most tourist attractions in Rio Grande do Sul are not in celebration of Hunsrückish, and if they promote “German” themes, they have little to do with actual historical sites or commemorations.

Indeterminacy on one hand works against a movement for Hunsrückish rights, i.e., a recognized place in the official language atlas of Brazil and in schools and other public places, but indeterminacy also is a weapon of agency. Thus, the moral panic that Heller and Duchêne (2007) describe only partly applies to the Hunsrückish case. They write that the panic around language is often really about larger concerns, such as the threat to the very existence of the language, a threat from the outside—the Other (4).

Hunsrückish speakers exhibit such concerns about language loss—that they should have taught their children German or that their sentences are tainted with Portuguese—however, their blame mixes outside threat with inside behavior. They blame the nationalization campaign but also their own poor decisions (“we did not teach our children well”), their children’s resistance (“they do not want to learn it”), and some internal incompetence (“I do not speak well”).

Language Ecology

Some concepts of this dissertation appropriate terms that have been variously claimed by other academics and nonacademics. Therefore, it is important that “publics,” and “language ecology,” for example, be understood as intended here. When I call for an acceptance of Hunsrückish as part of a language ecology, I do not presuppose the ideology that languages are bounded and homogenous, and therefore a unique unit that will be lost forever if not “saved.” Rather, my hope is for Hunsrückish speakers (and those who live around them and effect the policies that affect them) to adopt a vision of Hunsrückish, in its many varieties, as an equally important set of features that can be drawn from when communicating and expressing oneself.

In comparison to many minority groups, an enormous number of people still speak Hunsrückish. The reported 700,000 speakers indicates that the features constituting Hunsrückish are not about to vanish entirely from Brazil, let alone the planet. Even if this number is high, other indications, such as children still learning it and the (small but) continued existence of mostly monolingual speakers, corroborate the disparity between the metadiscursive fear of its loss and an actual “death” within the next two generations.

Still, this fear has real effects and paradoxically contributes to a language shift. Many parents did not speak it around their children and those in more urban areas, such as Dois Irmãos proper, generally do not respond to their parents, even if the parents speak Hunsrückish to them. Meek writes that historically, American Indian languages were acquired at home and dominant languages at school; and now the reverse is true (2010:41). This is the opposite case for Hunsrückish: children used to reinforce their language in school, although written materials and rote exercises would have been in Std. German. Now, for the past 60 years, they are still made to feel bad about speaking any

Hunsrückish in school. It is difficult to find Hunsrückish spoken on stages at public events, in written form, and at festivals specifically celebrating German immigration.

An acknowledged problem of anthropology is the inaction that academics take because we see the situation as too complicated to take a side, or our interests lie with our own careers or other places (e.g., corporations), or we see ourselves as outsiders with no right to interfere. Silverstein and Hill¹ observe that indigenous communities sometimes view linguists as pharmaceutical companies, coming in to extract knowledge and substances that will benefit them rather than the indigenous people they work with (Muehlmann 2007:19). Thus, well-intentioned linguists, publishing a system of features and resources unique to a group, so that perhaps others can use the information to further their studies of that language family, linguistics in general, or those particular speakers, may in the end undermine advocacy efforts. The speakers may feel alienated or even threatened by the process and wish to discontinue it.

In spite of a myriad of misguided corporate, NGO, and academic projects, a discourse of “language ecology” or “linguistic diversity” can be put to good use if the speakers in question realize their own goals in the process. Rather than argue that a diversity of languages necessitates a salvation of discrete forms, I propose that an appreciation of diversity entail an investigation of Hunsrückish features, which should then be freely mixed with other languages. Should such a message get promoted by Hunsrückish speakers and others within their circles, the linguistic shame that has built up since World War II (and that is common to speakers of other minority languages as well) could be dispelled.

Perhaps this advocacy work would be greatly helped by outsiders, especially powerful ones with financial and policy-making prowess. The challenge would be to recognize the role of insiders, making them authoritative if not dominant in the process. Equally important to recognize is the agency of those who do not want to determine themselves or their language use (Muehlmann 2007). Those interested in change, however, should know of some of the unique and rich aspects of their contact situation.

¹ Silverstein’s personal correspondence to Muehlmann (October 31, 2002) and Hill, Jane. 2002. “‘Expert Rhetorics’ in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who is Listening, and What Do They Hear?” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 12, (2), 119-33

Hunsrückish-Portuguese Resources

Because native metapragmatic assessments are essential to learn before the linguist can apply her own judgments (Agha 1998), metastatements such as “Jokes are better in German,” should be investigated for resources that Hunsrückish has to offer. Even if joking is in the end a cover-up for linguistic devaluation, there is also some aspect of positive value (e.g., Beto Klein’s comedies are one of his sources of economic income). With the proliferation of metacomments about their grammar or lack thereof, native speakers, just like professional linguists, may take an interest in these features of Hunsrückish:

- (1) a flexible R-pronoun, *do*, which has gained functions over time, and which has a locative function that (like all deictics) allows for important indeterminacy;
- (2) a deference system of multiple choices, including null subjects, which may add to the elision of status or be ranked at particular value points;
- (3) a system of clitics that is less constrained than in Portuguese and other languages. In addition to giving Hunsrückish a distinctive quality, clitics are useful for investigating language change (Miller 2004) and less formal speech;
- (4) various salient points of interest, not focused on in this dissertation, such as reductions in case and relative pronouns. There is periphrasis unique to German speech islands in South America (Kaufmann 2007). Phonologically, apocope and epenthesis.

There are specific benefits of the Hunsrückish-Portuguese contact situation. A contact language not only adds to the number of pronouns with which speakers can address a second person, but the act of switching languages can result in a pragmatic effect of raising or lowering status. In this particular case of contact, in situations where Portuguese is deemed more formal or official, a switch to it or to Standard German may have an effect similar to raising to a higher pronominal address. Something like s-deletion in Portuguese second-person verbs, which creates an ambiguity when combined with a null subject, creates a pragmatic effect that may be eventually shared in Hunsrückish, which already has an ambiguity between third-person and second-person formal when a null subject occurs.

It has been argued by many (e.g., followers of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis) that mixing and switching allow for multiple systems of thought. Switching, as well as diachronic and synchronic changes in lexicon, reveal historical and contemporary substance (Williams 1976² quoted in Muehlmann 2007:23). Thus, the Hunsrückish word for airplane, *Luftschiff*, (**blimp** in Std. German), reflects on the history that the Hunsrückish-speaking immigrants arrived in their host land before the airplane was invented. Having been cut off from their homeland, speakers innovated this word. Other technological words are borrowed from Portuguese (e.g., *fitas*, ‘tapes’). Further study is warranted for other words, however, that did exist in the 19th century, but are still borrowed from Portuguese. These include kin terms for cousin, grandmother, and grandfather. Synchronic word changes are apparent, for example, in the second-person pronoun options. Younger German speakers do not have as full a repertory as older speakers. Lastly, placenames provide a rich site for local, embedded history: *Judengasse* and *São Miguel* provide very different information about the main street in Dois Irmãos.

Scholarship Contributions—Mine and Others

Most of the accounts of German-Brazilian language and history are written in German and Portuguese. American scholars have published very little on German immigration to Brazil (Luebke 1987:2). The fullest account on German-Brazilian experience in World War I in English, until Luebke’s, was from 1920³. In linguistics, Peter Auer and Peter Rosenberg both have authored solo and collaborative accounts of dialect change and the German speech island of Brazil in English. A series of articles in English by Emílio Willems, a Brazilian-American anthropologist, are widely cited, as well as Jean Roche’s *La Colonisation Allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul* (1959) in French.

The (many good) studies written in German and Portuguese rarely emphasize the conjunction of ethnography and linguistics. This conjunction is also often missing from both linguistics and anthropology. As Meek (2010) points out, linguistic anthropology achieves these two areas in interactional analysis, but even so, often focuses on negative relationships between ideology, history and institutional aspects of shift.

² Williams, Raymond. 1976. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

³ Haring, Clarence H. 1920. *The Germans in South America: A Contribution to the Economic History of the World War*. NY: Oxford Univ Press

This dissertation, adding to the body of work in English (and hopefully in Portuguese, when translated), looks cross-contextually at the sociolinguistic resources and at the concealments of those resources by members of a multilinguistic community. Face-to-face interactions are analyzed against a backdrop of discourses circulating among speakers' general spontaneous talk, more practiced narratives, popular media, and art. The Hunsrückish speakers were not invaded by disease like aboriginal peoples and continue to thrive in numbers but nevertheless share a language endangerment rhetoric with indigenous minority language speakers. Perhaps because they are neither indigenous nor among traditionally oppressed groups in Brazil (e.g., descendants of slaves) there is no move on the part of the government to address past persecution. In contrast to other "large" endangered languages (Heller and Duchêne 2007), Hunsrückish is not maintained through a powerful centralized state and its agencies (i.e., the legal system). Additionally, the long-term isolation of German speakers has been credited with continued negative stereotypes and marginalization (Lesser 1999). Although there are activists and culture workers, the majority of native Hunsrückish speakers do not publicly take up language revitalization, and the conversations of these nonactivist, nonelite inhabitants of the Dois Irmãos region reveal much about the shifts of the community.

Further Directions

Further questions stemming from work on this dissertation lead me in four directions:

- (1) More synchronic study of the speakers in the Dois Irmãos Region. I would like to isolate variables of age, class, gender, and language ability to follow particular ideologies and how they respond to questions of different publics, German-Brazilian history, affirmative action, and the role of the languages spoken in their region. How do non-Hunsrückish speaking people, including descendants and nondescendants of German-speakers, fit into this region?
- (2) Diachronic study of the shifting population. Are the same processes occurring in more rural, German-speaking areas? As the Kolonie further industrializes, will activist efforts increase?
- (3) More study of multilinguistic resources and codeswitching. A closer examination of Portuguese resources and how they work well with Hunsrückish brings up these questions: What evidence for Muysken's congruent lexicalization or creative innovations,

such as Queen's fusion, is to be found? Do codemixings by older speakers more likely represent borrowings, presupposing that they have a larger lexical repertory?

(4) Lastly, a comparison with other speech islands. In other parts of the German diaspora, do speakers show similar relationships to the host nation, patterns of self-expression, including indeterminate labels, histories of isolation? In addition to German speech islands, comparison with other immigrant colonies of southern Brazil, such as Japanese and Italian speakers, would be productive.

Appendix A Theater Surveys

Survey in Portuguese and Hunsrückish

Estou fazendo uma pesquisa lingüística sobre a cultura teuto-brasileira nesta região do RS. Se você quiser participar, por favor responda às perguntas abaixo e devolva o questionário à caixa que esta na entrada do teatro.

Eu agradeço muito.

Claire Insel
Universidade de Michigan, EUA

Marque todas as frases que são verdades para você:

- Eu geralmente falo alemão bastante
 às vezes
 pouco
 nunca
- Em alemão eu consigo falar o básico
 muitas coisas
 nada
- Eu entendo bem alemão
 português
- Eu entendo pouco alemão
 português
- Meu pai fala/falava alemão
Minha mãe fala/falava alemão
- Eu gostaria de assistir uma peça só em alemão
- Eu gostaria de assistir uma peça em alemão e português
- Eu gostaria de assistir uma peça em só português
- Was fo deitsch spricht dea? (welches deitsch)?

Sexo: M F

Idade:

Se tiver mais interesse na pesquisa, por favor entre em contato comigo:
claireel@umich.edu ou escreve seu email ou telefone aqui. Obrigada!

Survey in Translation

I am doing a linguistic study about the Germanic-Brazilian culture in this region of Rio Grande do Sul. If you would like to participate, please respond to the questions below and return the questionnaire to the box that is in the entrance to the theater.

Thank you very much.

Claire Insel
University of Michigan, USA

Mark the option that is true for you:

I usually speak German

- a lot
- sometimes
- only a little
- never

In German I can say

- the basics
- many things
- nothing

I understand well

- German
- Portuguese

I understand little

- German
- Portuguese

My father speaks/spoke German

My mother speaks/spoke German

I would like to see a play only in German

I would like to see a play in German and Portuguese

I would like to see a play only in Portuguese

What kind of German do you speak [*this question is written in Hunsrückish*]

Sex: M F

Age:

If you have more interest in the study, please contact me: claireel@umich.edu or write your email or telephone number here. Thank you!

Definition of Terms

To examine the number of German speakers, I assess speakers to command

(1) *relatively no German*

if they answered “never” for “I usually speak German” and “nothing” for “In German I can say....” They left “German” blank in “I understand well. . . .”

(2) *some German*

if they answered “the basics” or “many things” for “In German I can say....” and they left “German” blank in “I understand well. . . .”

(3) *a lot of German*

if they answered “a lot” or “sometimes” for “I usually speak German” and “the basics” or “many things” for “In German I can say....”

I assess speakers to be *mostly monolingual in German* if they checked off “German” for “I understand well. . . ,” and “Portuguese” for “I understand little.”

If they qualify for more than one thing, they were put into the highest category that qualified for.

Appendix B Fuller Sieber Transcript - See Chapter 6

Practices, things from Germany

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Sandra [to CI]: <i>hot . . . jogam muito bolão aqui,</i> | 1. Sandra [to CI]: have . . . (they) play a lot of ball here, |
| 2. <i>Kechle,</i> | 2. Kechle, |
| 3. <i>boliche,</i> | 3. boliche, |
| 4. <i>tun die viel do hia Kechle unn ged die comunidade mit (.)</i> | 4. they do Kechle a lot here and the community goes along (.) |
| 5. <i>das is alles me fon Deitscha</i> | 5. that is all from the Germans |
| 6. Mother: [<i>ja etvas is was unn so gell, kina sinn ijo so < ></i>] | 6. Mother: [yes something is what and so right, children are so < >] |
| 7. Inge: [<i>hatam mitprón do voor ijo an gansa Tooch hia voore frô unn do volt te,</i>] | 7. Inge: [((they) brought him here . . . a whole day here he was happy and he wanted to,] |
| 8. <i>to honn'sa honn'sa gespild.</i> | 8. they they played. |
| 9. Klaus: <i>ja, io das Kechle is,</i> | 9. Klaus: yes, yes Kechle came, |
| 10. <i>das is fon Deutschland do hia (.) rinkomm né!</i> | 10. it came here from Germany, right! |
| 11. Sandra: <i>das ton die heit noch preserviere</i> | 11. Sandra: they preserve it still today. |
| 13. <i>heit noch Spila.</i> | 13. today (they) still play. |
| 14. <i>Kechle, ieda voch.</i> | 14. Kechle, each week. |
| 15. <i>ieda freidach omt, gell?</i> | 15. each Friday evening, right? |
| 16. Gláucia: <i>hoschta gesihn Sandra?</i> | 16. Gláucia: did you see, Sandra? |
| 17. <i>foich unsa haus macha'sa'n boliche uff.</i> | 17. before our house they make a boliche. |
| 18. Mother: <i>ah so, blind Kuh.</i> | 18. Mother: oh, blind cow. |
| 19. Gláucia: <i>nevich de Igreja Universal.</i> | 19. Gláucia: next to Universal Church. |
| 20. Sandra: [<i>legal!</i>] | 20. Sandra: [cool!] |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 21. [<i>de hot das...</i>] | 21. [he has that . . .] |
| 22. Gláucia: <i>interessante</i> | 22. Gláucia: interesting |
| 23. Inge: <i>do honn'sa zugehal, die Aua,</i> | 23. Inge: they closed their eyes |
| 24. [<i>unn do honn'sa sich versteckelt. Zek.</i>] | 24. [and then they hid. Zek] |
| 25. Inge: [<i>ijo, unn dann hot das</i>] | 25. Inge: [yes, and then that had] |
| 26.. . . <i>ich honn ima dann te < ></i> | 26.. . . I always then him < > |
| 27. Inge: <i>das de gevun hot, dann is'a gesprun.</i> | 27. Inge: he won that, then he sprang |
| 28. Klaus: <i>vi mea vorher gesprooch honn né,</i> | 28. Klaus: as we said before, right, |
| 29. [others stop talking]
<i>das sociedade, Vereinshaus soon mea dann
uff Deutsch is's Vereinshaus né.</i> | 29. [others stop talking]
the association, Vereinshaus as we say in
German it is Vereinshaus, yeah. |
| 30. <i>das is'n tradição [tradi'son].</i> | 30. that is a tradition. |
| 31. <i>die kommt ooch fon Deutschland né?</i> | 31. it also comes from Germany, right? |
| 32. <i>unn Nova Petrópolis né,</i> | 32. Klaus: and Nova Petrópolis right, |
| 33. <i>dat voor die sociedade voor in de Stadt.</i> | 33. there was the association was in the city. |
| 34. <i>tot honn'ich gekehelt,</i> | 34. there I played ball, |
| 35. <i>do voor das in de Stadt.</i> | 35. here that was in the city. |
| 36. <i>ja tas must tóh mô haus aus de Stadt, im
centro né?</i> | 36. yes that had to be taken out of the city in
the downtown, right? |
| 37. <i>unn das het doch teier komm né.</i> | 37. and that would be expensive, yeah. |
| 38. <i>das tot raus sa holle né, unn neibaue né!</i> | 38. that was to be taken out and rebuilt,
right! |
| 39. <i>unn das hot die die, das municip né, ti, ti,
leit fom platz,</i> | 39. and that the the city, right, the the
people from the place, |
| 40. <i>honn das gepaut.</i> | 40. built it. |

41. *ich hat mit'en man gesprochen,* 41. **I spoke with a man,**
42. *ich sot, (1) Dea hot so'n Vereins
Vereinshaus tô stehn, vô hat dea das gelt her.* 42. **I said, you(formal) have an association
for a house there, where did you(form) get
the money for it.**
43. *sot de man, mea honn kans wenig aus gep
fon unsam gelt.* 43. **said the man, we spent very little of our
money.**
44. *honn mea alles fon Deutschland krid, ja.* 44. **we got everything from Germany. Yes.**
- Beginning of Timeline discussion—World
War II
45. *jets tengmo hin, ich honn de 41 (einan
fetsicha) Kriech mitgemach né.* 45. **now think a minute, I experienced the
'41 War, yeah.**
46. *voor'ich eh, (1) zwellef elaf tselaf Jahr
alt né, das honn'ich erlebt né, h* 46. **I was uh 11 12 years old right, I
experienced that, h**
47. *do hot de Amerikaner ora wer's voor, hot
Deutschland . . . voor kaput.* 47. **then the Americans or whoever it was,
made Germany . . . went bust.**
48. *voor direkt nidagechossos né.* 48. **was directly shot down, okay.**
49. *die Geralda voor iets dat gewees né unn
hot gesiehn,* 49. **Geralda was just there and saw**
50. *die Maua is abgeriss né am.* 50. **they took down the wall right.**
51. *„o muro da vergonha” hot die de nóma
krid.* 51. **it got the name “the wall of shame”.**
- Present-day / 1989 Germans
52. Several people: *a muralha.* 52. Several people: **the wall.**
53. Klaus: *hot aver en parte stehngeloss, né.* 53. **but left a part standing, no.**
54. Sandra: *fa sa veisa.* 54. **to show**
55. Klaus: *fa sa sihn né!* 55. **to see it, right**
56. Gláucia: *pra lembra!* 56. **to remember**
57. Klaus: *ja, pra lembra né!* 57. Klaus: **yes, to remember, yes.**

Discussion question: Why Germany helps

Brazil

58. *unn vas tut heit Deitschland net macha fa Brasilie?* 58. **and what does Germany today not do for Brazil?**
59. *haupsechlich do hia nuna né, Paraná, Santa Catarina, e no Rio Grande do Sul né.* 59. **mainly down here, right, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and in Rio Grande do Sul, yeah.**
60. *tot nufa net meh né!* 60. **up above no more, right.**
61. Gláucia: *hia in Rio Grande do Sul net* 61. **not here in Rio Grande do Sul**
62. Klaus: *aver do hia...* 62. **but here**
63. Sandra: *deve ter algum interesse, [do is etvas vascheinlich hia.]* 63. **there should be some interest, [there is probably something here.]**
64. Klaus: *[die helfe viele mit]* 64. Klaus: **[they help a lot]**
65. Sandra: *die helfe viele mit* 65. Sandra: **they help a lot**
66. Klaus: *was die mithelfe, do hia die trei Staate né, (1)* 66. Klaus: **what they help with, here the three states, yeah,**
67. *do hia in Brasil né, unn ...* 67. **here in Brazil right, and...**
68. *war wieviel Jahr?* 68. **(it) has been how many years?**
69. *einan fétsich, sechtsich, finaf na sechtsich, Johre, vi Deitschland...* 69. **forty-one, sixty, sixty-five years, like Germany...**
70. Sandra: *[die helfe viel mit]* 70. Sandra: **[they help a lot]**
71. Mother: *[sivan sechtsich, Jahr is's. Val ich sinn in fétsich, gebohr.]* 71. Mother: **[sixty seven years it's been. Because I was born in forty.]**
72. Klaus: *voor Deitschland Kaput geves.* 72. Klaus: **Germany was destroyed.**
73. Sandra: *weeschta was ich denke die honn die Deitschla..., das estado, de- assim o país, hellift mit,* 73. Sandra: **do you know what I think they had the Germ...the state of like the country helps,**
74. *porque die honn die all uff die schiffa getun, frihersch (.) unn die muschta faht.* 74. **because they got them all on the ship, back then and they had to go.**
75. *die sinn net fat vel die volda . . . volde die Deitscha frihersch.* 75. **because . . . they did not go because they wanted the Germans earlier.**

76. Gláucia: *die sinn all do heakomm.* 76. Gláucia: **they all came here.**
77. Klaus: *do sin 'ra fót né, torich die ormund sinn viel komm rin.* 77. Klaus: **there they went, right, because of poverty many came in.**
78. Sandra: *aver das, das Stodt hot alles bezohlt.* 78. Sandra: **but the the state paid everything.**
79. *das Schiff bezohlt, hot alles bezohlt de Stodt fon de Deitscha.* 79. **paid for the ship, the state of the Germans paid everything.**
80. *unn ich denke heit so, tunn die ... ich ves net op das iss, das kann am en sinn net, tun die... wolle uns mithelfe.* 80. **and I think that today, they do . . . I don't know if that is, it may not be, (why) they ... want to help us.**
81. Klaus: *ja.* 81. Klaus: **yes.**
82. Sandra: *vel die honn friasch uns mo fortgeschickt.* 82. Sandra: **because they sent us forth.**
83. Claire: *hmm, [aver die brasilionische Regierung hot pitsolt fô die leit zu komma.]* 83. Claire: **hmm, [but the Brazilian government paid for people to come.]**
84. Gláucia: *[val mea sa uffgenom honn]* 84. Gláucia: **[because we took them in]**
85. Sandra: *ja, hat die brasilionacha?* 85. Sandra: **yes, the Brazilian did?**
86. Claire: *ja, die hat passagem unn Lant gebb hia.* 86. Claire: **yes, they gave the passage and land here.**
87. Gláucia: *tesvecha, helfe die ooch mit.* 87. Gláucia: **therefore, they also help.**
88. Klaus: *ja das land honn die krid do hia, stimt, stimt* 88. Klaus: **yes they got land here, that's true, true**
89. Sandra: *ja aver mechta die tsvoi rechirun 'a passama gesprun sinn,* 89. Sandra: **yes but might the two governments together**
90. *unn gesproch honn schickt'sa bei uns?* 90. **have spoken and sent them to us?**
91. Gláucia: *eu acho que sim.* 91. Gláucia: **I think so.**
- Sounds like 1800s
92. Sandra: *hera die voldá so tipo uns escravisira.* 92. Sandra: **(I) heard they wanted to like enslave us.**

93. Klaus: *ja, não sei.*

93. Klaus: yes, I don't know.

94. Sandra: *wascheinlich*

94. Sandra: **probably**

95. Claire: *uh*

95. Claire: **uh**

Gláucia Reorienting to World War II

96. Gláucia: *Isso talvez não,*

96. Gláucia: This maybe not,

97. *aver tesvech Alemanha hellift heit teng'ich viel mit vel mea die uffgenom honn fa, (1) wie die Zeit vi tena sein Krich voor né.*

97. **but Germany helps a lot today I think because we took them in to, (1) in the time like of their war was, right.**

98. *vi die do hea komm sinn né.*

98. **when they came here, right.**

99. Mother: *die sinn ijo do hea komm, vi de Schneider, vu do nevich iôva gevont hot.*

99. Mother: **they definitely came here, like Schneider, who lived over there next door.**

100. Klaus: *die helfe aver plos mit vu die Deitscha regione sinn*

100. Klaus: **they just help with where the German regions are**

101. Gláucia: *das die konnte mithelfe sim.*

101. Gláucia: **That they could help with that.**

102. Sandra: *ja, ja.*

102. Sandra: **yes, yes.**

103. Gláucia: *Santa Cruz é uma cidade*

103. Gláucia: Santa Cruz is one city

104. Klaus: *do hia nuf no Bento Gonçalves, né, die gechant, né, tot nuf on...*

104. Klaus: **here above in Bento Gonçalves, right, they damaged, right there above on...**

105. Gláucia: *Santa Cruz vet viel mitgeholf.*

105. Gláucia: **Santa Cruz is really helped.**

106. Klaus: *Fon de Nova Petrópolis ón fót tot nuf, do heashta ni mo né.*

106. Klaus: **From Nova Petrópolis on ahead, here you never hear (about it) right.**

107. *Ênsicha plätz vu as mithelfe vu ich vez, is, do hi in Nova Petrópolis né.*

107. *Ênsicha plätz vu as mithelfe vu ich vez, is, do hi in Nova Petrópolis né.*

108. *Iets voor toh nomo an Turrim do gevez fon Deutschland, né.*

108. **Now (there) was yeah again a group here from Germany right.**

Present-day Germans

109. Gláucia: *ijo, die voore an de forich voch!*

109. Gláucia: **yeah, they were here last week!**

110. Klaus: *voore toh do una am haus, do hi*

110. Klaus: **they were too down here at the**

111. Mother: <i>geschta is toh tas haus ingeveit voor vu mea trin gevont honn</i>	house 111. Mother: yesterday the house was christened which we had lived in
112. Gláucia: <i>am sundach</i>	112. Gláucia: on Sunday
113. Klaus: <i>ich vez, ich vez das!</i>	113. Klaus: I know, I know that!
114. Mother: <i>Ja, das voor am sundach do gevescht</i>	114. Mother: Yes, that was on Sunday here
115. Sandra: <i>tas voor..?.... mittem tins</i>	115. Sandra: that was ..?.... with the things
116. Mother: <i>das voor am Sontooch omt gevescht</i>	116. Mother: that was on Sunday evening
117. Gláucia: <i>ijo</i>	117. Gláucia: yeah
118. Sandra: <i>ijo</i>	118. Sandra: yeah
119. Mother: <i>mea voore goo net runa gevescht, das voor zu heis gevescht</i>	119. Mother: we were not even down there, it was too hot
120. Gláucia: <i>was volschta, noch froa?</i>	120. Gláucia: what else did you want to ask?
121. Claire: <i>das is a guta Frohe, das vil ich ooch vissa varum die Deitscha helfe . . . die leit hia</i>	121. Claire: that is a good question, that is what I also want to know why the Germans help the people here
122. Mother: <i>varom tet's mea iets do hia sola helfe</i>	122. Mother: why should it help us now here
123. Sandra: <i>geholif nê, vi geschta, do honn hunat um, hunat tsvansich milhon geschickt das gerickt fon Deitschlant honn das gebb fa Ivoti.</i>	123. Sandra: helped, right, like yesterday, then sent hundred and, hundred twenty million das gerickt from Germany gave it for Ivoti.
124. <i>Fa vás?</i>	124. Why?
125. Gláucia: <i>faz haus sabe!</i>	125. Gláucia: make house, you know!
126. Sandra: <i>fa was ijo, fa was is de interesse</i>	126. Sandra: why, for what is the interest
127. Gláucia: <i>warum</i>	127. Gláucia: why
128. Sandra: <i>faróm is de grose unn de ganze</i>	128. Sandra: why the big and great interest?

interest?

129. Mother: *Ja*

129. Mother: **Yes**

130. Claire: *in tisa Romans, romance*

130. Claire: **in this novel, novel**

131. Sandra: *romance*

131. Sandra: **novel**

132. Claire: *roman, Ferr...Ferro e Fogo*

132. Claire: **novel, Ferr...Ferro e Fogo**

133. Sandra: **Ferro e Fogo**

133. Sandra: *Ferro e Fogo*

Claire reorients to 1800s

134. Claire: *es sot das leit fon hia sinn gang un n gesoot nê, komma in Brasil, das is so schena*

134. Claire: **it says that people from here went and said, right, come to Brazil, it is so beautiful**

135. Sandra: *schên, Platz, Ja Ja*

135. Sandra: **pretty place yes, yes**

136. Claire: *.....?..... un n leit tat, voore órma leit, un n die wollte etvas pésras honn. Un...*

136. Claire: **.....?..... and people did, (they) were poor people, and they wanted to have something better. And...**

137. Sandra: *un n do honn'sa do hia gefun!*

137. Sandra: **and then they found it here!**

138. Claire: *aa.... h die honn viel geleidet*

138. Claire: **aa.... h they suffered a lot**

139. Sandra: *Viel nô gelit, vi hot de Peter geschta gesoot gell, die honn viel geschafft.*

139. Sandra: **Really suffered after, how did Peter say it yesterday, right, they worked a lot.**

140. *die easchta trei gerações die honn órich viel geschafft*

140. **the first three generations they really worked a lot.**

141. Claire: **unh hunh**

141. Claire: **unh hunh**

142. Gláucia: *Ja*

142. Gláucia: **Yes**

143. Sandra: *das lant do hi, das voor alles Urwald*

143. Sandra: **the land here, it was all jungle**

144. Klaus: *ijo*

144. Klaus: **yes**

145. Sandra: *das voor alles valt, valt, valt, un n das honn die alles umgeschafft*

145. Sandra: **it was all forest, forest, forest, and that they all had and worked**

146. Gláucia: *ich mena, das were mê fa tas net so vergess gen, das...*

146. Gláucia: **I think, that would be more for them not to go forget, the ...**

Reorienting the timeline of the discussion to World War II

147. Sandra: *finaf an sechtsich Johr, menshta ted Deitschland so tenga? Nê.*

147. Sandra: **sixty-five years, do you think Germany thinks like that? No.**

148. Gláucia: *não sei, mas parece.*

148. Gláucia: (I) don't know, but (it) seems (like that).

149. Mother: *sivan sechtsich*

149. Mother: **sixty-seven**

150. Sandra: *sivan sechtsich*

150. Sandra: **sixty-seven**

151. Mother: *sinn en an fetsich gebboa, unn sinn sivan sechtsich Johr alt.*

151. Mother: (I) was born in 41, and (I) am **67 years old.**

152. Sandra: *Zeit das de krich voor, de ment so, tu tescht mena die terá tanga fa Brasil, vel han die Brasiliona honn viel uffgenom vi de krich Inge, do sinn ijo viel do hea komm*

152. Sandra: (It) was the time of the war, he thought, you would think they would have thoughts of Brazil, because the Brazilians had taken many in as it was war, then many did come here

153. Mother: *do hea komm*

153. Mother: **then came here**

154. Sandra: *vecha fás sinn die do hea komm?*

154. Sandra: **for what did they come here**

forced vs agentive emigration; connecting 2 eras: due to orig emigration, came later

155. Klaus: *die sinn ausgeriss.*

155. Klaus: **they were torn away**

156. Sandra: *vel die vuschta das do hia Deutsche were*

156. Sandra: **because they knew Germans would be here**

157. Klaus: *ijo, ja claro unn die easchta sinn toh komm in achten hunat fia unn tsvansich*

157. Klaus: **yes, yeah sure and the first came in 1824**

158. Gláucia: *Si vuschta tas sa uff genom terá were*

158. Gláucia: **They knew that they would be taken in**

159. Sandra: *unn do in tausant noin hunat enan fetsich,*

159. Sandra: **and here in 1941,**

160. *vi tas krich voor*

160. **as the war was there,**

161. *dat do sinn die do hea komm.*

161. **they came here.**

162. *Vel die vuschta das do schon alles sauva voor: das tô schon alles Schul voor, das tô schon sociedade voor, das tô schon alles voor.*

162. **Because they knew that here everything was already clean, that there was already school here, that there was already any association here, that everything was already here**

Mother **reorienting to 1873 time period; “already something else” less relevant**

163. Mother: *ja unn vi de Muka krich vu do voor*

163. Mother: **yes and the Mucker War which was here**

164. Klaus: *ja do kanich venicha fatsela*

164. Klaus: **yes this I can tell less about**

165. Sandra: *ja das is schon nomo was anras*

165. Sandra: **yes that is already something else**

166. Mother: *viel leit spreche do tefun, die hara toh vi viel Johre. Wea hotan do was gesoot*

166. Mother: **many people speak about that, they were how old. Who said something about that**

167. Sandra: *die Kruge Vôvo*

167. Sandra: **Grandma Krug**

168. Klaus: *ijo ti.*

168. Klaus: **yes her**

169. Mother *die were die schefen geves fom Muka krich. die het geschickt, die al faschteckle.*

169. Mother: **those were schefen from the Mucker War. They had sent, they hid all of them**

170. Klaus: *Maura (Meurer)*

170. Klaus: **Maura (Maurer)**

171. Mother: *Ja, Ja, kê schnell die komma hot's gehest*

171. Mother: **yes, yes, go quickly they came it was called**

172. Sandra: *die kam am en, die kam am en mit tena mitgevescht sinn, voma sôn.*

172. Sandra: **they came at the end, they came at the end with those (who) were there, let's say.**

173. *Das is die Maurasch vi hot'sa geheescht, aquela da Guerra Muckers, vi hotsa geheescht, Idalina net, ha, tu sabe alguma coisa da guerra dos Muckers?*

173. **That is the Maurasch as they called them, those of the Mucker War, as they called them, not Idalina, ha you know something about the Mucker War?**

174. Gláucia: *Albertina.*

174. Gláucia: **Albertina.**

175. Sandra: *Jacobina, vo'ma són, das is die Jacobina unn ich sinn die krucha vôvo.* 175. Sandra: **Jacobina, let's say, that is Jacobina and I am Grandma Krug.**
176. *Was die Jacobina gesoot hot das voor fa mich alles richtich, richtich, fa das net.* 176. **What Jacobina said was totally okay for me, right, for that, not okay.**
177. *Fa de was nomo, fa tich nomo net.* 177. **For him something else, for you something else again.**
178. *unn fás das Inges.* 178. **And for that that was it.**
179. *unn die vu mit téna voore, das voore alas, unn die vu net voore* 179. **And those who were with them, that was all, and those who weren't**
180. Klaus: *die voldá, die fanichta* 180. Klaus: **they wanted to destroy them**
181. Sandra: *ja voldá, die fanichta.* 181. Sandra: **yes, (they) wanted to destroy them.**
182. *Tôvora, phodara, vo (1) voldá mit tena sinn, unn voore phodara, vu dageche voore.* 182. **there were fathers, who (1) wanted to be with them, and there were fathers were against them.**
183. *Tu mo Videiras de Cristal lesa fon tem phóda, (1)* 183. **Read Videiras de Cristal by the father, (1)**
184. *vi hot de geschrip?* 184. **who wrote it?**
185. *Videiras de Cristal?* 185. **Videiras de Cristal?**
186. *Phôda... ich vez net. (1)* 186. **Father... I don't know. (1)**
187. *unn dann lechta mo das anra, ich honn das de hem honn'ich das, Miler menich schreip de sich phóda unn de is kans dageche, dos Muka.* 187. **And then read the other one, I have that at home I have that, Miler I think wrote father and he is really against them, the Mucker.**
188. *de sot die Jacobina were assassina* 188. **He said the Jacobina were murderers**
189. Gláucia: *á sim, no filme também mostra* 189. Gláucia: **ah yes, the film also shows (that)**
190. Sandra: *die were macumba, die were bruxa, die were alles gevesch.* 190. Sandra: **they were supposed to be macumba, they were witches, they were everything,**
191. *unn die anra phoda, tun die do so trón* 191. **And the other father does it like that**

192. Klaus: **Ja, Ja.** 192. Klaus: **yes, yes**
193. Gláucia: *Tem que vê o que... eu quero uma hora conversar com a Herta Pátro* 193. Gláucia: (You) have to see what ... I want to speak sometime with Herta Pátro
194. Sandra: *è que tem duas versões.* 194. Sandra: there are two versions.
195. *do sinn ti, unn tô sinn ti, die denke so, unn die denke sô* 195. **there are those and there are those, they think that way, and they think that way**
196. Gláucia: *porque a Herta, die Herta hot ooch an puch geschrip tô triva, dos Muckers.* 196. Gláucia: Because **Herta, Herta also wrote a book about it, the Muckers.**
197. Sandra: *eu não sei se ela é a* 197. Sandra: I don't know if she is the
198. Gláucia: *Eu não sei se ela é a favor ou contra os Muckers, eu não sei* 198. Gláucia: I don't know if she is for or against the Muckers, I don't know
199. Sandra: **die herta.** 199. Sandra: **Herta.**
200. *Vi schreipt die sich Herta* 200. **How does she write, Herta**
201. Gláucia: **Herta Patro, patro** 201. Gláucia: **Herta Patro, patro**
202. Sandra: *Herta patro, ela escreveu uff Deutsch gell?* 202. Sandra: Herta patro, she writes **in German, right?**
203. Gláucia: **Ja.** *ela tem alguma coisa.* 203. Gláucia: **yes,** she has something.
204. Sandra: *uff Deutsch hot die das puch geschrip* 204. Sandra: **She wrote the book in German**
205. Gláucia: *eu acho que sim* 205. Gláucia: I think so
206. Sandra: *uff Hunsrich?* 206. Sandra: **in Hunsrich?**
207. Gláucia: *eu acho que não.* 207. Gláucia: I don't think so.
208. *Hunsrich acho que não.* 208. Hunsrich I don't think so.
209. Sandra: *não, ela não sabe hunsrich* 209. Sandra: No, she does not know Hunsrich
210. Gláucia: *não.* 210. Gláucia: no.

Claire reorients to World War II

211. Claire: *unn in zweiten welt Krieg, waren die Leit hia receptif zu die Deitscha die komm?* 211. Claire: **and during World War II, were the people here receptive to the Germans who came?**
212. Sandra: *Ja* 212. Sandra: **yes**
213. Gláucia: *=Ja* 213. Gláucia: **yes**
214. Claire: *unn das hot net te...* 214. Claire: **and that didn't the...**
215. Sandra: *Klaus!* 215. Sandra: **Klaus!**
216. Klaus: *Vi?* 216. Klaus: **What?**
- “The German War”
217. Sandra: *vi de Deitscha krich Inge, vi honn do hi die leit die gut on genom?* 217. Sandra: **during the German War, how did the people here take them in?**
218. Mother: *die honnsa faschteckalt.* 218. Mother: **they hid them.**
219. *die honn nora die mans kéla gehol* 219. **they took only the mans cellar**
220. Klaus: *ah, vi te...* 220. Klaus: **ah, during the ...**
221. Sandra: *vi de krich Inge, hot das gefrod.* 221. Sandra: **during the War, she asked.**
222. Klaus: *á, ja das voor to.* 222. Klaus: **ah, yes that was here.**
223. *Tomols Inge mei papai im foastant in de diretoria in de sociedade né.* 223. **At that time my daddy was at the head of the board of the association right.**
224. *dem Evalt sei pápa ooch.* 224. **Evalt's dad too**
225. *Tô von dann na chocoloda né?* 225. **Here then in chocolate, right?**
226. *Te....?.... fon Ivoti né* 226. **The < > from Ivoti, right.**
227. Mother: *iets felt de alt Ritscha, de hot ima fom Mucka krich.* 227. Mother: **now (we) are missing the old limp, he always had from the Mucker War.**
228. Sandra: *Né lost de das dann mô tem fatsêla.* 228. Sandra: **Hey let him tell it.**
229. Klaus: *de hot una an de dea gestan né unn* 229. Klaus: **he stood below at the door, okay, and**

230. Gláucia: *uff gepasst*

230. Gláucia: **watched out**

231. Klaus: *de papa unn de alda Gelda João, die vusta net was bom dia unn boa noite were né, unn hot gellauchtat, vi'n Deitscht vot fa la ted an < > fon Ivoti, polis né.*

231. Klaus: **dad and the old Gelda João, they did not know what bom dia and boa noite were, okay, and overheard as a German was there to < > from Ivoti, police okay.**

232. *so voor tas né.*

232. **that's how it was, yeah**

233. Sandra: *ja unn die vu fon Jaus komm sinn, Klaus.*

233. Sandra: **yes and those who came from outside, Klaus.**

234. *die vu fon Deitschtlant komm sinn, vo'ma soon vit de Walmann is fon tráus aus geriss, fon tem krich.*

234. **those who came from Germany let's say like Walmann was ripped away from outside, from the war.**

235. *unn honn do hia die Deitscha die gut uff genom, ora net.*

235. **And the Germans here took him in, or not?**

Klaus **talks of World War I**

236. Klaus: *Ja, Ja, ja de hot de fetsena krich hot de mitgemach vu triva voor.*

236. Klaus: **yes yes yes, he took part in the Fourteen War that was over there.**

237. Sandra: *hã. Aver die honn'sa dann gut uff genom, honn'sa noch geholif fasteckla*

237. Sandra: **ha. But they took them in, they even helped hide (them).**

238. Claire: *ahã*

238. Claire: **unh hunh**

239. Sandra: *unn die thofta kein Inget Deitsch spreche*

239. Sandra: **and they weren't allowed to speak a word of German**

240. Klaus: *Ja, Ja.*

240. Klaus: **yes, yes**

241. Claire: *aah, Ja.*

241. Claire: **aah, yes**

242. Sandra: *die thofta nicks spreche. Ja dann honn'sa nix gesproch?*

242. Sandra: **they weren't allowed to say anything. Yes then they didn't speak anything?**

243. Klaus: *Ja honn nix gesprooch*

243. Klaus: **yes (they) didn't say anything**

244. Claire: *plos im privat.*

244. Claire: **only in private.**

245. *Im privat.*

245. **in private**

246. Gláucia: *die konda net, Ja.*

246. Gláucia: **they couldn't, right.**

247. Sandra: *im privat, Ja.* 247. Sandra: **in private, yes**
248. Sandra: *é não podia* 248. Sandra: **yes (they) couldn't**
249. Klaus: *ja Ja* 249. Klaus: **yes yes**
250. Sandra: *unn dann is alles begroobt voor, vi mea heit moint fatselt honn.* 250. Sandra: **and then everything was buried, as we talked about this morning,**
251. *die Bibal, die Bicher* 251. **the bible, the books**
252. Gláucia: *so vi de bei heit moint gesoot hot, vovo is* 252. Gláucia: **as he said this morning, grandpa is**
253. Mother: *die picha honnsa pickropt thoft kê Deitsch puch sinn unn alles do is alles begrabt voor.* 253. Mother: **the books they buried . . . no German book could be . . . and everything here is . . . everything was buried**
254. Klaus: *fon unsa gerich do hi voor alles in Deitsch gevez, fria né, (1) pesta Deitsch.* 254. Klaus: **before our war here everything was in German, before, okay, the best German.**
255. *Vesta das Deitscha fapot is voor né vi de einan fetsicha krich voor. (.)* 255. **(You) know that German was verboten okay during the Forty-One War. (.)**
256. *Ich sinn confirmeat Inge mit trei monat Unterich né, unn tô isas Deitscha fapot kan, (1)* 256. **I was confirmed when I was three months (into) catechism right, and then German was forbidden (1)**
257. *unn tô sinn mea confirmeat voor né.* 257. **and here we were confirmed, right.**
258. *as Jahr truf voor schon alles Portuguesich.* 258. **the next year everything was already Portuguese.**
259. *Tat von pruna una an tem pambas phutsch, né de voor clov'ich fetsen meda tif.* 259. **That from the well below the bamboo tree, okay, it was I think fourteen meters deep.**
260. *Tot sinn die Deitscha picha al nin...* 260. **There all the German books were . . .**
261. Sandra: *Pruna veschta?* 261. Sandra: **Well (you) know?**
262. Claire: *ah, poço!* 262. Claire: **ah, 'well'!**
263. Gláucia: *poço.* 263. Gláucia: **'well'.**

264. Klaus: *Ja, poço.* 264. Klaus: Yes, ‘well’.
265. *Tat sinn die Deitscha picha alles nin geschmiss voor, né!* 265. **All the German books were all thrown in there, né!**
266. Sandra: *im Vassa.* 266. Sandra: **in the water.**
267. Claire: *im Vassa? ôo* 267. Claire: **in the water? oh**
268. Klaus: *Ja, Ja, Vassa.* 268. Klaus: **yes, yes, water.**
269. Sandra: *ins Vassá.* 269. Sandra: **into the water.**
270. *Sim, das die net, das die Brasiliona das die nix terá fina* 270. **yes, so that the that the Brazilians wouldn’t find anything**
271. Mother: *ja das is die net sin* 271. Mother: **yes that is they weren’t**
272. Klaus: *das de Brasiliona nix fina ted né!!* 272. Klaus: **that the Brazilians wouldn’t find anything, right!!**
273. Claire: *unn die háda ken seid, das vássa raus zu nema* 273. Claire: **and they didn’t have any time to take the water out**
274. Klaus: *não, tod honnsa kensme raus gehol não!* 274. Klaus: **no, there they didn’t take more out, no!**
275. Mother: *das Inge alt vássa alda pruna* 275. Mother: **that was old water old well**
276. Klaus: *dann is dann so etlich tins is dann plip, is aver aus aver ausam fára haus raus gehol voor me is dann uff pletsa hin bei zufalesicha leit né!* 276. Klaus: **then like some things then remained there, were taken however from the priest’s house. . . and then to a place with trustworthy people, yeah!**
277. Sandra: *fara haus* 277. Sandra: **priest’s house**
- Klaus mentions the first people to arrive: great, great grandfathers
278. Klaus: *Vas dann noch flichticha Inge né, was dann schreiba tud vi die easchta armana rin komm sinn, né, vi unsa ur, ur, kros, fata...* 278. Klaus: **What then was still obligatory, right, was write like the first poor people (who) arrived, like our great, great grandfathers ..**
279. Mother: *ja faróm hot das, hama, das do hin gestellt heh* 279. Mother: **yes why did that did one arrange (it) here heh**

280. Klaus: *de nutlich nei, vi hea hin komm is in achten hunat secks an treisich, né.* 280. Klaus: **the useful new, as (they) came here in 1836, yeah.**
281. Sandra: *Est nôra.* 281. Sandra: **Eat a bit.**
282. Mother: *Tun das so hin, tat schmeckt gut.* 282. Mother: **Do it like this, that tastes good.**
- Timeline mishmash: church first built (1800s?), still here (present), German things exploded (during war?)
283. Klaus: *unn hot die Kerrich geholif paua né.* 283. Klaus: **And (he) helped build the church, right.**
284. *Das is dann noch tô né. dann is aver uff pletsa hin komm, net in de kërïch gelloss, Inge net tá'sa tô kucka têra né, vu noch Deitsch tins were né. unn das is nch toh né.* 284. **That is then still here, right. Then (it) was exploded, not left in the church, were not there to be seen, right, where there were still German things, yeah. And that is still there, yeah.**
- Sandra talks about World War II
285. Sandra: *Sin tô viel Deitscha gestorap vel die gesproch honn Deitsch?* 285. Sandra: **Did many Germans die because they spoke German?**
286. *honn die Brasiliona viel geschoss?* 286. **did the Brazilians shoot many of them?**
287. *umgebrung...* 287. **killed...**
288. Klaus: *Não, não.* 288. Klaus: **No, no.**
289. *Das ves'ich op tira unn pracht honn nein.* 289. **I know that if shot and brought inside**
290. Sandra: *Hot Dea nicks geheat in de tseit.* 290. Sandra: **You(form.) didn't hear anything at that time?**
291. Klaus: *Não, ha, ha.* 291. Klaus: **No, unh unh.**
292. Claire: *Plôs in de cadea, in Gefangniss..* 292. Claire: **Only in jail, in jail..**
293. Gláucia: *isso era muito escondido.* 293. Gláucia: **this was very hidden.**

294. Sandra: *Plôs ingehuckt* Inge.

294. Sandra: **Just was sat in.**

295. Klaus: *Ja sin'ra vu ingehuckt sinn Inge né, aver das Inge de 41(einan fétsicha) krich, né do de Pedrus Rammes né, do vu do iets die fró gestorap Inge, die Ingera im militea, de Kneit Etwin triva...*

295. Klaus: **yes they are those that were sat in, okay, but that was '41 War, yeah, here the Pedrus Rammes, yes, here where now the woman (my wife?) died, she was in the military, the Kneit Etwin over there ...**

296. Mother: *ijo.*

296. Mother: **yeah**

297. Klaus: *de hara'sa ooch do die sinn na die frontera geschickt né, do in Argentina né, fa guarda, ufsicht, (.) was rin unn ráus kán is né, hauptsechlich was fon triva komm is né, (1) ep do net (.) váffa (armas), rin genkta ora etvas né.*

297. Klaus: **he had them also here . . . they were sent near the border, okay, here in Argentina right, to guard, watch (.) what was going in and out, okay, mainly what came from over there, yes, or something, yes, (1) if not (.) weapons going in or something right.**

298. Sandra: *Weeschta was Waffe is?*

298. Sandra: **do (you) know what Waffe is?**

299. Mother: *was honn die missa uff passa?*

299. Mother: **what did they need to watch out for?**

300. Klaus: *Trei Jahr honn die⁴ getint (serviram ao Exército) veschta.*

300. Klaus: **Three years they served, you know.**

301. Mother: *Tessantvecha kriie die so viel heit*

301. Mother: **that's why they get so much today**

302. Klaus: *Ja, honn die das krid Ja*

302. Klaus: **yes they earned that yes**

303. Mother: *Tessantvecha krin die viel pitsólt*

303. Mother: **that's why they get paid so much**

304. Klaus: *die sinn nohea speda, speda sinn die wie soll'ich soon..*

304. Klaus: **they were later after, later they were how should I say. . .**

305. Sandra: *die pracinhas?*

305. Sandra: **the beaches(dim.)?**

306. Klaus: *Sin ti, honn die Lohn krid fomm milidea aus né. sinn die pitsólt voor*

306. Klaus: **they got, they got the salary from the military. they were paid**

307. Mother: *Hon die getsô, lôn getsô*

307. Mother: **Did they receive salaries?**

⁴ From my transcriber: Everyone who served in the army in times of war got a high salary.

308. Klaus: *Val die honn trei Johr an die krens gestan né, ufsich gemach né.* 308. Klaus: **Because they stood three years on the border, right, guarding, right.**
309. Sandra: *Na fronteira eram guardas da fronteira dann krin die Pis heit, sinn noch kina vu gellt krin* 309. Sandra: **On the border were borderguards then they get the Pis today, there are still children who get money**
310. Mother: *Ja, die am Knea Etwin sei fré tsid noh.* 310. Mother: **yes, those of Knea Etwin's wife still get (it).**
311. Klaus: *die tsits noh.* 311. Klaus: **they still get it**
312. Mother: *ja unam Reimund sei Froom.* 312. Mother: **yes and Reimund's wife**
313. Sandra: *Viel gellt* 313. Sandra: **A lot of money**
314. Sra: *Vilstā zveen?* 314. Sra: **Do you want thread?**
315. Mother: *Issam fóricha sundach, Jaesges Reinolt, sei Froom pickrópt voor, die hot ooch, was am Valdi sei mama is.* 315. Mother: **It was last Sunday, Jaesges Reinolt's wife was buried, they also had what Valdi's Mother is.**
316. *Jaesges Reinold, tengschta trón, peim Selma kród in de kea.* 316. **Jaesges Reinold, think about it, by Selma just in the kea**
317. Klaus: *die hot das ooch krid* 317. Klaus: **she also got it**
318. Gláucia: *Ja, fa val ti?* 318. Gláucia: **yes, for why she?**
319. Mother: *Wei-- val ti.....?* 319. Mother: **Becau-- because she < >**
320. Sandra: *Ven die Kina ent zu tum gevescht were, hera net kaheirat, wea die iets heit gestórap, terá die kina were das Gelt krin, so voore'sa so dum, honn'sa kaheirat, unn iets krin'sa's net.* 320. Sandra: **If the kids had known, he wouldn't have married, who dies now today, would have the children get the money, so dumb they were, that they married and now don't get it anymore**
321. several people: h 321. several people: h
322. Klaus: *Was de pub, tena era pub is net faheirat.* 322. Klaus: **What the boy, who was boy is not married.**
323. Sandra: *A de krit's noch veida tán.* 323. Sandra: **Oh, he continues to get it then.**
324. Gláucia *de Renato.* 324. Gláucia: **Renato.**

325. Mother: *Wea tán* 325. Mother: **Who then**
326. Gláucia: *de Renato.* 326. Gláucia: **Renato.**
327. Sandra: *de Renato geviss krid de das iets veida de is tehem.* 327. Sandra: **Renato surely continues to get it now he is at home.**
328. Mother: *Vercklich?* 328. Mother: **Really?**
329. *ja vo de noch tehem bei seina mama.* 329. **was he still at home at his Mother's.**
330. Klaus: *ja de hot die uff gebbhastt* 330. Klaus: **yes he looked after her**
331. Sandra: *de krid iets veida.* 331. Sandra: **he continues to get it now.**
332. Mother: *Ja, dann krid de noch veida, mein vi gut* 332. Mother: **Yes, then he continues to get it, (I) think that's good**
333. Gláucia: *ja veida tu vê.* 333. Gláucia: **yes further you see.**
334. Mother: *Bom, dann is ijo ima noch iena do gell.* 334. Mother: **Good, then there is always someone there, right.**
335. Gláucia: *Das krid* 335. Gláucia: **he gets**
- Bringing back the Germans
336. Sandra: *Aver die Deitscha die honn mitgemach do hi, huuuuuh!* 336. Sandra: **But the Germans they participated here, huuuuuh!**
337. Gláucia: *Das teng'ich* 337. Gláucia: **I think so**

Appendix C

Reviver Transcript –See Chapter 7

*For unidentified women, I wrote “Sra,” an abbreviation for *senhora* (‘woman around age 55 or older’)

Reviver CD 39 Track 46a. Recorded 3/12/2008. Transcribed by CI and MB.

Snack time; everyone already seated at tables, singing prayer

Portuguese and German

English Gloss

[sung in unison]:

*Ao Senhor agradecemos aleluia
O alimento que aqui temos aleluia*

[sung in unison]:

We thank thee Lord aleluia
The food we have aleluia

1. DL: *Glória ao Pai ao Filho e Espírito Santo*

1. DL: Glory to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit

2. All: *Como era no princípio agora e sempre, amém*

2. All: As it was in the beginning now and ever, amen

3. DL: *E assim Deus nos abençõe em nome do Pai, do Filho, e do Espírito Santo*

3. DL: And thus God blesses us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit

4. All: *Amém*

4. All: Amen

5. DL: *Um bom apetite para todos nós*

5. DL: Bon appetit everyone

6. Sílvia: *honn kee Glos, honn kee Teller, nicks*

6. Sílvia: **(I) have no glass, have no plate, nothing**

7. Sra 1: *ne, die bringe die*

7. Sra 1: **no, they’ll bring them**

8. Sra 2: *ja, fa was hoscht du die Tasch, gu’mo do hoschta dein Bichelche bei dea auf de Tisch beides*

8. Sra 2: **yeah, why do you have your bag, look here you have your little book with you on the table both**

9. Sílvia: [*ja, eu não sabia como funcionava*]

9. Sílvia: [yeah, I didn’t know how it worked]

10. Claire: [*Is das ok, mit mein Gravador...] honn?*

10. Claire: **[Is it ok with my recorder]... have?**

- | | |
|---|--|
| 11. Sra 3: <i>Hunh?</i> | 11. Sra 3: Hunh? |
| 12. Claire: <i>Is das ok wenn ich gravee:re?</i> | 12. Claire: Is it ok if I reco:rd? |
| 13. Sra 3: [<i>Jo, Jo</i>] | 13. Sra 3: [yes, yes] |
| 14. Sra 2: [<i>Ich geve dann dia das Telleche, dann</i>] | 14. Sra 2: [Then I'll give you the little plate then] |
| 15. Sra 3: <i>Ah tuscht Deitsch spreche?</i> | 15. Sra 3: Ah do you[inf/semi-form] speak German? |
| 16. Claire: <i>Deitsch spreche</i> | 16. Claire: speak German |
| 17. Sra: [<i>Meia breiche —</i>] | 17. Sra: [We need —] |
| 18. Sra:[<i>Meia kinne ooch mitsama</i>] | 18. Sra: [We can also together] |
| 19. Sra: <i>So Telleche</i> | 19. Sra: The plate [dimin.] like this |
| 20. Claire: [louder] <i>Is dass ok, dass ich graveere?</i> | 20. Claire: [louder] Is it ok that I'm recording? |
| 21. Sra: <i>Die copos</i> | 21. Sra: The cups |
| 22. Sra 1: <i>ne, die bringere die bringe die wea keens hot</i> | 22. Sra 1: no, they'll bring they bring them to those that don't have any |
| 23. Snack lady 1: <i>Wollt dea bissche'enn siss mailche mache?</i> | 23. Snack lady 1: Do you want to sweeten your mouths a little? |
| 24. Claire: <i>Is das ok, dass ich graveere? die Sprooch hier</i> | 24. Claire: Is it ok that I'm recording? the speech here |
| 25. Claire: <i>ja?</i> | 25. Claire: yes? |
| 26. Sra: <i>Di Bicher sinn gut...keen grooss Tasch</i> | 26. Sra: The books are good...no big bag |
| 27. Sra: <i>ooch noch fagess</i> | 27. Sra: (I) also forgot |
| 28. Sra: <i>Ich hat ijo gement ich kemt go net gehn wie die Kni weh getun</i> | 28. Sra: I thought I couldn't even go my knees hurt so much |
| 29. Sra: <i>Pein</i> | 29. Sra: pain |

30. Sílvia: <i>Mea sinn schon Pohr Johr eengelod, ich war schon zwoi Johre eengelood</i>	30. Sílvia: We've already been invited a couple years. I was already invited two years
31. < >	31. < >
32. Sílvia: <i>zwoi unn zwoi Johr eengelood</i>	32. Sílvia: invited every two years
33. Sra: <i>alle</i>	33. Sra: every
34. Sra: <i>mea goo net komme < ></i>	34. Sra: we don't come at all < >
35. Sílvia: <i>vorriches Johr</i>	35. Sílvia: last year
36. Sra: < > <i>teu nome lá ...</i>	36. Sra: < > your name there ...
37. Sílvia: <i>honn Russina</i>	37. Sílvia: have Russina
38. < >	38. < >
39. Mayara: <i>brigado</i>	39. Mayara: thanks
40. Claire: <i>Ah danke</i>	40. Claire: Ah thanks
41. Snack lady 2: <i>pega um copo se precisar, né</i>	41. Snack lady 2: take a cup if you need it, ok
42. Claire: <i>oi</i>	42. Claire: hi
43. Snack lady 2: <i>Vou dividir com vocês, daí vou buscar mais</i>	43. Snack lady 2: (I) am going to among you[plur.], then (I) will go get more
44. Mayara: <i>bloss bissje, so</i>	44. Mayara: just a little, like that
45. Mayara/Claire: <i>chin chin</i>	45. Mayara/Claire[cheering]: chin chin
46. Claire: <i>h</i>	46. Claire: h
47. Snack lady 1: <i>ô alemoazinha tu ainda está aí! tudo bom?</i>	47. Snack lady 1: oh little German girl, you're still there! how's it going?
48. Claire: <i>oi:!! tudo bo:m</i>	48. Claire: hi:! goo:d
49. Snack lady 1: <i>ou tu veio de novo? Tu ainda está aí do ano passado?</i>	49. Snack lady 1: or did you come again? Are you still here from the past year?

50. Claire: *Ja, unhunh. Estou ainda aqui* 50. Claire: yes, unhunh. (I) am still here
51. Snack lady 1: *Que bom.* 51. Snack lady 1: oh good.
52. Claire: *Dea kommt jede (.1) Sammlung hier?* 52. Claire: **do you[form.] come to every meeting?**
53. Claire: *Kommt immer hier?* 53. Claire: **Do (you) always come here?**
54. Sílvia: *hier hin?* 54. Sílvia: **to here?**
55. Claire: *hier hin* 55. Claire: **to here**
56. Sílvia: *Wovon seid Dea? von Deutschland?* 56. Sílvia: **where are you[form.] from? from Germany?**
57. Claire: *Ne, aus Estados Unidos* 57. Claire: **No, from the United States**
58. Sílvia: *mmm (.1) [ja sprechta Deutsch, ora sprechta inglês?]* 58. Sílvia: **mmm (.1) [yes do you[form.] speak German, or do you[form] speak English?]**
59. Mayara: [to someone else] *[sinn Kaffee am trinke. ija, ija, ich alles, das ooch.]* 59. Mayara: [to someone else] **[(I) am drinking coffee. yes, yes, me everything, her too.]**
60. Sílvia: *Quer aprender alemão?* 60. Sílvia: Do you[null subj] want to learn German?
61. Claire: *Quero. Ja, das tun ich.* 61. Claire: yes. **yes, I'm doing that.**
62. Sílvia: *Mmmmm! Fala inglês e brasileiro?* 62. Sílvia: Mmmmm! Do you speak English and Brazilian?
63. Claire: *ija* 63. Claire: **yes**
64. Sílvia: *Mas de que jeito brasileiro? Se são da Inglaterra, não da . . .* 64. Sílvia: But what kind of Brazilian? If [you(plural)] are from England, no from . .
65. Claire: *Estados Unidos.(.1) Ich honn schon Deutsch gesprooch-- Deutsch gesprooch awer keen Deutsch.* 65. Claire: United States. (.1) **I already spoke Dei—spoke Deutsch but no Deutsch.**
66. Sílvia: *Deutsch é. Deutsch . . nós estamos falando assim . . .* 66. Sílvia: **Deutsch** yes. **Deutsch . . .** we are talking like this . . .

67. Mayara: *Né das will awer das lenne* 67. Mayara: **No but she wants to learn that**
68. Sílvia: *sim* 68. Sílvia: **yes**
69. Snack lady 1 [offering snack]: *Nix vovô?* 69. Snack lady 1: [offering snack]: **Nothing**, grandma?
-
70. Sílvia: *Eu não tinha tempo pra fazer comida agora meio-dia.* 70. Sílvia: I didn't have time to make food now at noon
71. Snack lady 1: *=i:sto* 71. Snack lady 1: *=i:sto*
72. Sílvia: *Requentei o que tinha de ontem. tava trabalhando demais trabalhando demais. A Bernadete veio me ajudar <>* 72. Sílvia: (I) reheated what (I) had yesterday. (I) was working too much working too much. Bernadete came to help me <>
- [Microphone] [Microphone]
73. DL: *vamo <> . . . minhas amigas <>* 73. DL: shall we <> . . . my friends <>
- [bus passes] [bus passes]
74. Sílvia: *Nê <> blos me omts rinkomm. Moints geht'e raus. is im Tooch net hin.* 74. Sílvia: **No <> (He) only ever comes in at night, in the morning he goes out. During the day (he) is not inside**
75. Sra: <> 75. Sra: <>
76. Sílvia: *Ele não tá lá dentro.* 76. Sílvia: He is not inside there
77. Claire [to Mayara]: *Wollstu keen sandwich?* 77. Claire [to Mayara]: **Didn't you want a sandwich?**
78. Sílvia: *wollt Dea hier was lenne?* 78. Sílvia: **Do you[form] want to study something here?**
79. Claire: *ja.uh ich sinn een Johr um zu lenne Hunsrückisch unn uh wie die Leit hier lewe, [was Leit] tun jedde Tooch.* 79. Claire: **yes. uh I am here a year to learn Hunsrückish and uh how people here live, [what people] do every day.**
80. Sílvia: [uh] 80. Sílvia: [uh]
81. Claire: *Das is fa antropologie.* 81. Claire: **It's for anthropology.**

82. Sílvia: *digamo pesquisa* 82. Sílvia: let's call it research
83. Claire: [*pesquisa, ija*] (.1) *ah* 83. Claire: [research, yes] (.1) **ah**
84. Sílvia: [*ich wees net wie ma*] *do soot richtig uff Deutsch* (.1) *nos estamo três língua numa só. Até inglês (.1) vai junto na nossa* 84. Sílvia: [**I don't know how one really says that in German**] (.1) *we are three languages in only one. Even English (.1) goes together in our [language]*
85. Claire: *unh hunh* 85. Claire: unh hunh
86. Sílvia: *não se[^]i. sabe, uh die Eldere die hann das Plattdeutsche gesprooch* (.1) *unn unn ich denke sie sinn auch von von Nordamerika darinkomm* (.1) *e assi:m foi misturada a língua* 86. Sílvia: I don't know. (You) know, uh **the elders they spoke Plattdeutsche** (.1) **and and I think they also came in from from North America** (.1) *and in this way the language was mixed*
87. Claire: *ja* 87. Claire: **yes**
88. Sílvia: *scheen, na?* 88. Sílvia: **nice, né?**
89. Claire: *ja!* 89. Claire: **yes!**
90. Sra 3: *Do hie rom sinn doch all von Deutschland komm, die Eldre* 90. Sra 3: **around here everyone came from Germany, the ancestors**
91. Sílvia: *sinn von Deutschland komm awer die spreche net richtig das richtige Deutsche* 91. Sílvia: **(they) came from Germany but they don't speak right . . . the correct German**
92. Sra 3: *Spreche net so wie mein Sobrinho wo in Deutschland wohnt, spricht anerschte.* 92. Sra 3: **(they) don't speak like my nephew who lives in Germany ... speaks differently.**
93. Sra 4: *Mea spreche Hunsrickisch* 93. Sra 4: **We speak Hunsrickish**
94. Sílvia: *mea sinn Hunsrick* 94. Sílvia: **we are Hunsrick**
95. Sra 3: *lá tem Hunsrick* 95. Sra 3: **there are Hunsrick there**
96. Mayara: *Das will awer das will de Hunsrick lenne* 96. Mayara: **But she wants to learn Hunsrick**
97. Sílvia: *Ach, das will die Hunsrick lenne!* 97. Sílvia: **Oh, she wants to learn Hunsrick!**

98. Mayara:]ijo	98. Mayara:]ijo
99. Sra 3: <i>Plattdeitsch</i>		99. Sra 3: Plattdeitsch	
100. Sílvia: <i>ach so:.. Warum?</i>		100. Sílvia: I see:.. Why?	
101. Claire: <i>weil es ist interessant dass es eine Mischung is. Deutsch unn Portugiesisch mistuieert</i>		101. Claire: Because it's interesting that it's a mixture. German und Portuguese mixed together	
102. Sílvia: <i>=da is de noch Hunsrick in Deutschland</i>		102. Sílvia: =there are still Hunsrick in Germany	
103. Claire: [ja]		103. Claire: [yes]	
104. Mayara: [i:ja]		104. Mayara: [y:es]	
105. Mayara: <i>Das is de Platz von wo de Leit hierhin komm sinn</i>		105. Mayara: That is the place from which the people came here	
106. Sílvia: <i>ja do is awer enn língua wo mein Grosmitter hat gesprooch (.1) fa 'das' hat die 'dat' gesoot</i>		106. Sílvia: yes but there is a language that my grandMother spoke (.1) for 'das' she said 'dat'	
107. Claire: <i>mm</i>		107. Claire: mm	
108. Sílvia: <i>unn fa 'was' hat die 'wat' gesoot</i>		108. Sílvia: and for 'was' she said 'wat'	
109. Claire: <i>mm</i>		109. Claire: mm	
110. Sílvia: <i>e assim, mas eu acho isso mais pro inglê:s (.1) fa mein hot sie my: gesoot</i>		110. Sílvia: and like that, but I think this is more English (.1) for 'mein' she said 'my:'	
111. Claire: <i>aha</i>		111. Claire: aha	
112. Sílvia: <i>my my brother, né. é meu irmão, né</i>		112. Sílvia: my my brother[English], né is my brother, né	
113. Claire: <i>=my brother. das kommt von a bissche--</i>		113. Claire: =my brother[English]. that comes from a little—	
114. Sílvia: [isso isso é ingles]		114. Sílvia: [that that is English]	

115. Claire: [<i>weiter nordlich in Deutschland</i>]	115. Claire: [further north in Germany]
116. Snack lady 2: = <i>docinhos</i>	116. Snack lady 2: sweets
117. Sílvia: <i>meu deus</i>	117. Sílvia: my god
118. Claire: [in response to food offering] <i>schon genug h</i>	118. Claire: [in response to food offering] that's enough h
119. Snack lady 2: <i>Come é que vai? tudo bem?</i>	119. Snack lady 2: How are you? everything well?
120. Claire: <i>tudo bem, danke</i>	120. Claire: everything well, thanks
121. Snack lady 2: <i>estudando bastante?</i>	121. Snack lady 2: studying a lot?
122. Claire: <i>uh hunh</i>	122. Claire: uh hunh
123. Snack lady 2: [delivering snack to someone] <i>só</i>	123. Snack lady 2: [delivering snack to someone] only
124. Mayara: <i>é muito</i>	124. Mayara: it's a lot
125. Sra: <i>não sei <> não sei <> acho que</i>	125. Sra: I don't know <> I don't know <>
126. Claire: <i>e uh die Dona Leonida hat mehr Portu- Brasilionisch heit gesprooch (.1) wie das letzte Mol ich war hier. Warum?</i>	126. Claire: and uh Dona Leonida spoke more Portu- Brazilian today (.1) than the last time I was here. Why?
127. Sra: <i>letzte Mol ich war net net do . . . sinn heit ringang</i>	127. Sra: last time I was not not here . . . went in today
128. Claire: <i>Ich war hier im September. September unn die hot mehr Deutsch gesprooch. Warum?</i>	128. Claire: I was here in September September and she spoke more German. Why?
129. Sílvia: [about Mayara] <i>ist das ooch von Deutschland?</i>	129. Sílvia: [about Mayara] is she also from Germany?
130. Mayara: <i>Né ich wohne hier.</i>	130. Mayara: No I live here.
131. Sílvia: <i>mm</i>	131. Sílvia: mm

132. Mayara: <i>Ich helfe dem schreiwe</i>	132. Mayara: I help her write
133. Mayara: <i>die verstehen awer all die Brasilionisch, gell?</i>	133. Mayara: but they all understand Brazilian, right?
134. Sra: <i>opa</i>	134. Sra: opa
135. Mayara: <i>achei.</i>	135. Mayara: I thought so
136. Sra 3: <i>adiante eu tenho ainda</i>	136. Sra 3: I still have one to go
137. Sra: <i>a juventude manda aqui</i>	137. Sra: young people decide here
138. Woman passing: <i>eeeh!</i>	138. Woman passing: eeeh!
139. Sra 4: <i>lá de junge die Kinne</i>	139. Sra 4: there the youth the children
140. Sra: <i>mea sinn lauda junge scheene Med</i>	140. Sra: we're just beautiful young girls
141. Sílvia: <i>ja fa das se lenne misse bei jemann wohne gehn</i>	141. Sílvia: yes to learn that (you) must go live with someone
142. Claire: <i>ich wohne bei uh verschiedene Familie</i>	142. Claire: I live with uh different families
143. Mayara: <i>das hot bei Poor Leit gewohnt, né</i>	143. Mayara: she lived with a few people, né
144. Sílvia: <i>opa, meine Baum is umgesprooch</i>	144. Sílvia: whoops, my tree is [full?]
145. Mayara: <i>h</i>	145. Mayara: h
146. Sílvia: <i>krien net meh. Gestern brescht'e um.</i>	146. Sílvia: take nothing more. 140. Yesterday he broke off[check].
147. Snack lady 3: <i>Vão se servindo</i>	147. Snack lady 3: Go ahead and serve yourselves
148. Mayara: <i>não</i>	148. Mayara: no
149. Snack lady 3: <i>Não?</i>	149. Snack lady 3: No?
150. Mayara: <i>schon genug gess</i>	150. Mayara: (I) already ate enough

- | | |
|---|---|
| 151. Snack lady 3: <i>schon genug?</i> | 151. Snack lady 3: already enough? |
| 152. Mayara: <i>jo</i> | 152. Mayara: yes |
| 153. Sra: <i>De Sanduich schmeckt mea heit mo gut. Mi mols ess'ich's Sanduich</i> | 153. Sra: The sandwiches tastes good today. Several times I eat the sandwich |
| 154. DL: <i>schmeckt gut?</i> | 154. DL: does (it) taste good? |
| 155. Claire: <i>ganz gut</i> | 155. Claire: very good |
| 156. Mayara: h | 156. Mayara: h |
| 157. DL: <i>dass mea heit viel Kinne honn, gell? Viel liebe amigos honn</i> | 157. DL: that we have a lot of kids today, right? (we) have many dear friends |
| 158. Mayara: <i>jo</i> | 158. Mayara: yes |
| 159. < > | 159. < > |
| 160. Claire: <i>War war Dea uff de Wel— [hier uff de Welt komm]?</i> | 160. Claire: Were were [you born here]? |
| 161. Sra: [<i>Wea will</i>] | 161. Sra: [who wants] |
| 162. Sílvia: <i>Ja Brasilien</i> | 162. Sílvia: yes Brazil |
| 163. Claire: <i>in Dois Irmãos</i> | 163. Claire: in Dois Irmãos |
| 164. Sílvia: <i>Dois Irmãos, município (.1) friher voor's friher voor's Morro eh Morro Reuter</i> | 164. Sílvia: Dois Irmãos, the municipality (.1) before it was before it was Morro Morro Reuter |
| 165. Mayara: <i>Morro Reuter</i> | 165. Mayara: Morro Reuter |
| 166. Sílvia: <i>quando eu nasci era Morro Reuter</i> | 166. Sílvia: when I was born it was Morro Reuter |
| 167. Mayara: <i>Wie heest's?</i> | 167. Mayara: What's it called? |
| 168. Sílvia: <i>é não era Morro Reuter, era Dois Irmãos agora é Morro Reuter</i> | 168. Sílvia: yes it wasn't Morro Reuter, it was Dois Irmãos now it's Morro Reuter |
| 169. <i>ah tá</i> | 169. ah yes |
| 170. Sílvia: <i>assim. me confundi</i> | 170. Sílvia: like that. I got confused |

171. Mayara: <i>Walachai? Walachai? (.1) Perekiteck Perekiteck -- Bugr berrich is ooch dort drum</i>	171. Mayara: Walachai? Walachai? (.1) Perekiteck Perekiteck -- Bugarberrich is also around there
172. Sílvia: <i>Bugr berrich is eh eh Santa Maria do Herval</i>	172. Sílvia: Bugarberrich is uh uh Santa Maria do Herval
173. Mayara: <i>Ah Santa Maria do Herval</i>	173. Mayara: Ah Santa Maria do Herval
174. [background] <i>abacaxi:!</i>	174. [background] pineapple!
175. Mayara: <i>Das voor alles een Dings die Johre, né</i>	175. Mayara: That was all one thing those years, né
176. Sílvia: <i>voor Dois Irmãos alles Dois Irmãos (.1) daí mudou primeiro Santa Maria ou Morro primeiro, primeiro Morro</i>	176. Sílvia: [it] was Dois Irmãos all Dois Irmãos (.1) then first Santa Maria moved, or Morro first, first Morro
177. Mayara: <i>Morro, Santa Maria—Boa Vista do Herval</i>	177. Mayara: Morro, Santa Maria—Boa Vista do Herval
178. Sílvia: <i>Não. Boa Vista pertence a Santa Maria . . . do Herval</i>	178. Sílvia: No. Boa Vista belongs to Santa Maria . . . do Herval
179. Sra yelling: <i>abacaxi!</i>	179. Sra yelling: pineapple!
180. Sílvia: <i>eu queria, mas tenho um monte aqui, suco de abacaxi</i>	180. Sílvia: I wanted, but I have a lot here, pineapple juice
181. Sra yelling: <i>abacaxi!</i>	181. Sra yelling: pineapple!
182. <i>na, die dois</i>	182. well, the two
183. Mayara: <i>né, danke</i>	183. Mayara: no, thanks
184. Claire: <i>schon</i>	184. Claire: already
185. Sílvia: <i>não, misturar não. na. Depois. Ich honn mo chega.</i>	185. Sílvia: no, mix [them] no. na. Later. I have enough.
186. <i>alguém gritando: abacaxi! liquidação de lanche</i>	186. someone yelling: pineapple! snack liquidation
187. Mayara e outras: <i>h h</i>	187. Mayara and others: h h

188. Mayara: <i>das soon. liquidação de lanche</i>	188. Mayara: say that. snack liquidation
...	...
189. Sra: <i>Muss mo mei Rosca esse, wenn net bleibt de all ivrich</i>	189. Sra: (I) need to eat my rosca, otherwise it will all be leftover
190. Mayara: <i>Gibbstu nimmeh . . . nix mehr los?</i>	190. Mayara: do you not have more . . . nothing else happening?
191. <i>Hie gibt's du noch etwas los, enn Stickche de do is halve groos</i>	191. Here is something more for you, a little piece that one is half as big
192. Snack lady: <i>Quem dá mais, um noventa e nove?</i>	192. Snack lady: Who will give more, one ninety-nine?
193. <i>Eu!</i>	193. me!
194. <i>um noventa e nove</i>	194. one ninety-nine
195. Sílvia: <i>brigado pelo um noventa e nove</i>	195. Sílvia: thank you for the one ninety-nine
196. <i>um noventa e nove</i>	196. one ninety-nine
197. Sílvia: <i>das Brot das Ranchebrot schmeckt gut</i>	197. Sílvia: the bread the Ranchebrot tastes good
198. <i>abacaxi:</i>	198. pineapple:
199. Sílvia: <i>eu! eu! eu!</i>	199. Sílvia: me! me! me!
200. Mayara [to Claire]: <i>já comeu</i>	200. Mayara [to Claire]: have you already eaten
201. Snack lady 4: <i>suco de frutas, isso não é salada de frutas, suco de frutas.</i>	201. Snack lady 4: fruit juice, this is not fruit salad, fruit juice.
202. Sra: <i>metade do copo</i>	202. Sra: half a cup
203. Mayara: <i>das do is . . . das do is nechst wie pão de queijo. Kommt blos kee queijo rin. o resto é igual.</i>	203. Mayara: that there is . . . that there is almost like pão de queijo. There's just no cheese in it. the rest is the same.
204. Snack lady 4: <i>das komm alles beisamme. sucofruta</i>	204. Snack lady 4: that comes all together. fruit juice

205. Claire: <i>Is das kompliziert se mache?</i>	205. Claire: Is that complicated to make?
206. Mayara: <i>née</i>	206. Mayara: no
207. <i>suco de abacaxi:!</i>	207. pineapple juice!
208. Sra: <i>Wea hot die gebocht.</i>	208. Sra: Who baked it.
209. Claire [to Mayara]: <i>ich honn beijû gemacht</i>	209. Claire [to Mayara]: I made beijû
210. Mayara: <i>mmm! (.1) ich kann net!</i>	210. Mayara: mmm! (.1) i can't!
211. Claire: <i>is ganz leicht</i>	211. Claire: [it] is very easy
212. Mayara: <i>mmm. Wo?</i>	212. Mayara: mmm. Where?
213. Claire: <i>ich honn die polvilho in Novo Hamburgo gekooft</i>	213. Claire: i bought the powder in Novo Hamburgo
214. Sras: <i>h h</i>	214. Sras: h h
215. Mayara: <i>wie heest das?</i>	215. Mayara: what is that called?
216. Claire: <i>polvilho</i>	216. Claire: powder
217. Mayara: <i>pra beijû?</i>	217. Mayara: for beijû?
218. Claire: <i>selvige fa das</i>	218. Claire: for that
219. Mayara: <i>ech</i>	219. Mayara: ech
220. Snack lady 3: <i>Rosca (.1) i:sto. sim. pão de queijo.</i>	220. Snack lady 3: Rosca (.1) ye:s. yes. cheese bread.
221. Claire: <i>alles gut?</i>	221. Claire: everything good?
222. Snack lady 3: <i>ijo unn bei Dea? Nem sei né?</i>	222. Snack lady 3: yes and with you? I don't even know, né?
223. <i>é. was is?</i>	223. yeah. what is [it]?
224. Sra 3: <i>ich honn ooch so Caneckche</i>	224. Sra 3: I also have a little mug like this

225. Sílvia: *drei Stick, zwoi vaiza, unn een Blaues* 225. Sílvia: **three pieces, two white and one blue**
226. Sra 3: *Ich honn Sticke sechs* 226. Other Sra: **I have piece six**
227. Sílvia: *ja ich koofe net viel Gas. ich honn een Holzoove. So'n antiga.* 227. Sílvia: **yes I don't buy much gas. I have a wood stove. an old kind.**
228. Sra 3: < > 228. Sra 3: < >
229. Sílvia: *tenho lenha* 229. Sílvia: (I) have firewood
230. Snack lady 2: *Quem quer rosca? ohne Butter* 230. Snack lady 2: Who wants *rosca*? without butter
231. Sra: *ich mache mi'm Gas* 231. Sra: **I make [it] with gas**
232. Snack lady 2: *sem manteiga* 232. Snack lady 2: without butter
233. Mayara: *brigado* 233. Mayara: thanks
234. Sílvia: *primeiro tem que ver, até vai (.1) de onde vai o estomago (.1) não vou pegar um monte e joga fora. eu não sou dessas coisas (.1) nix versaure.* 234. Sílvia: first (you) have to see, where (it) goes to (.1) from where does the stomach go (.1) I'm not going to take a whole lot and throw it away. I don't like such things (.1) **don't waste anything.**
235. Claire: *ja das is voa* 235. Claire: **yes. that is true**
236. Sílvia: *tem muitos muitos perdisses* 236. Sílvia: there are many many wasted
237. Claire: *ja* 237. Claire: **yes**
238. Sílvia: *sacola de comida na rua até eu paro pra olhar as vez. Tenho dó. Muita gente gostaria de comer e não tem, né.* 238. Sílvia: bag of food on the street . . . I even stop to look sometimes. It pains me. Many people would like to eat and don't have [any], né.
239. [microfone Líria]: *contando os votos, uma vai contar os votos dos homens e outra vai contar os voto das mulheres. . . e depois*
< > *dann wolle'ma mo sihn wea do gewinnt* 239. [microphone Líria]: counting the votes, one is going to count the votes of the men and the other is going to count the votes of the women. . . and after < > **then we'll want to see who wins here**
240. Mayara: *Was is dort driver? Is dort* 240. Mayara: **What is over there? Are**

dings fa se fakoo:fe?

241. Sra: *Não, die tun das prepareere, das do wo mea esse*

242. Mayara: *ahh*

243. Sílvia: *não mas se vai sobrar vai ser vendido*

244. Sra 3: *não vende, é.*

245. Mayara: *unn unn das Dings gibb koo:f fa se fateele?*

246. Sílvia: *é, fo clube*

...

247. Mayara: *ich honn ebder gesihn wie die das abgibb honn do*

248. *wus net fa was. ich honn gedenkt, das were fa di Leit fa se fakoo:fe*

249. Sra 5: *vocês duas tão junto lá fora*

250. Mayara: *unh?*

251. Sra 5: *vocês duas estão junto lá fora*

252. Mayara: *né, ich wohne hie.*

253. Sra 5: *Ach*

254. Mayara: *Ich hellif dem schreiwe*

255. Sra 5: *Ah*

256. Mayara: *unn das is von dort.*

257. Sílvia: *Wie is denn dein Schreibnoom?*

258. Mayara: *Insel*

259. Claire[*speaking to another*]:

those things to se:ll?

241. Sra: **No, they are preparing that, that there which we'll eat**

242. Mayara: *ahh*

243. Sílvia: *no but if something is left over, it will be sold*

244. Sra 3: *don't sell, no.*

245. Mayara: **and and those things are sold[bought?] to distribute?**

246. Sílvia: *yes for the club*

...

247. Mayara: **I saw before how they gave it up here**

248. (I) **didn't know why. I thought, that would be for the people to sell**

249. Sra 5 : *are you two together abroad*

250. Mayara: **unh?**

251. Sra 5: *are you two together abroad*

252. Mayara: **no, I live here.**

253. Sra 5: *Ah*

254. Mayara: **I help her write**

255. Sra 5: *Ah*

256. Mayara: **and she is from there.**

257. Sílvia: **What is your last name?**

258. Mayara: **Insel**

259. Claire: [*speaking to another*] **to write**

Hunsrückisch se schreiwe

260. Sílvia: *Não entendi ainda*
261. Mayara: *Insel, né*
262. Sílvia: *Insel? (.1) h*
263. Mayara: *ijo. Insel heest du*
264. Claire: *ich komme von Kalifornien*
265. Sra 5: *Ich hat gedacht du das dot lene*
266. Mayara: *California*
267. Sra 5: *ah California*
268. Claire: *ja*
269. Mayara: *Das lenn-- will hier^ lenne*
270. Sílvia: *California das is Estados Unidos?*
271. Mayara: *ija.*
272. Sílvia: *lá também tem terremoto?*
273. Claire: *bastante. ja, schon.*
274. Sílvia: *é ruim pra morar?*
275. Claire: *ich denke net daran. ich denke net. Man kann net so denke. "Ah, jedde Tooch, wann kommt das?" Awer dann uh mea honn kee tornados, keen tempestades de mar*
276. Sílvia: *=Ah tem um parte que tem muito tornado*
277. Claire: *man muss auswähle, was man will: terremotos ou tornados ou*

Hunsrückish

260. Sílvia: I still didn't understand
261. Mayara: **Insel, né**
262. Sílvia: **Insel? (.1) h**
263. Mayara: **yes. you're called Insel**
264. Claire: **I come from California**
265. Sra 5: **I thought that you study there**
266. Mayara: California
267. Sra 5: ah California
268. Claire: **yes**
269. Mayara: **She stud—wants to study here**
270. Sílvia: California **that is** United States?
271. Mayara: **yes**
272. Sílvia: there there are also earthquakes?
273. Claire: a lot. yes, definitely.
274. Sílvia: is (it) bad living (there)?
275. Claire: **I don't think about it. I don't think so. One cannot think like that "oh, every day, when is it coming?" But then we have no tornados, hurricanes**
276. Sílvia: =Ah there is a part that has a lot of tornado
277. Claire: **one must choose what one wants: earthquakes or tornados or**

<i>tempestades de mar</i>	hurricanes
278. Sílvia: <i>aqui não tem isso</i>	278. Sílvia: here we don't have that
279. Claire: <i>tem nada disso</i>	279. Claire: none of that
280. Sílvia: <i>por enquanto não. já deu[teu] terremoto, lá encima do nordeste, um pouquinho (.1) eu acho que é o petróleo lá em baixo que eles tiram[tirong], um dia afunda aquilo. (.1) será que não é isso?</i>	280. Sílvia: for the time being no. there was already an earthquake there above in the northeast, a little (.1) I think that (it) is the petroleum there below that they extract, one day (it) will sink that. (.1) might it not be that?
281. Mayara: kann sinn.	281. Mayara: could be
282. Sílvia: <i>é mu:ito mu:ito muito caro no mundo</i>	282. Sílvia: (it) is ve:ry ve:ry very expensive in the world
283. Mayara: <i>wees net richtig richtig von was das so richtig sinn. awer das hellift uh do is zu viel poluição in de Luft (.1) [das hellift oo:ch, viel Dings hellift]</i>	283. Mayara: (I) don't really really know about what those really are but that helps uh. . . there is too much pollution in the air (.1) [that also helps, many things help]
284. Sílvia: <i>[das hellift net]</i>	284. Sílvia: [that doesn't help]
285. Mayara: <i>was?</i>	285. Mayara: what?
286. Sílvia: <i>é . . . é . . . acho terremoto não ajuda. die poluição (.1) que pode ajudar o...o. . . né die tornado (.1) das hellift net die poluição. tornados kann's helpe (.1) awer terremoto se vem lá</i>	286. Sílvia: (it) is . . .(it) is . . . (I) think earthquakes do not help pollution (.1) what can help the...the. . . né the tornado (.1) that doesn't help the poluição. tornados it can help (.1) but earthquakes come there
287. Mayara: <i>ija</i>	287. Mayara: yes
288. Sílvia: <i>von unne ruff (.2) das is . . .</i>	288. Sílvia: from below up (.2) that is . . .
289. Mayara: <i>= ijo</i>	289. Mayara: =yes
290. Mayara: <i>ja unn da uwe, wo voor das rom richtig wo de terremoto gibb hot?</i>	290. Mayara: yes and there above whereabouts was that really that the earthquake was?
291. Sílvia: <i>hier in Brasil?</i>	291. Sílvia: here in Brazil?

292. Mayara: *ijo* 292. Mayara: **yes**
293. Sílvia: *in Ceará oder dot oove?(.1) Pernambuco ou Ceará <> tem do fundo ali. Do river mares do runne mares (.1) Alles encostiat so dicht am Meer* 293. Sílvia: **in Ceará or up there? (.1) Pernambuco or Ceará <> Up there seas down here seas (.1) everything pushed up so close to the sea**
294. Mayara: *unn brillt so viel Pletze wenig Wasser. Da tunn die das Wasser unne drunne raus hole unn das geht ooch runne* 294. Mayara: **and little water runs so many places. There they take out the water from down there and that also goes under**
295. Sílvia: *Dann kommt hier kei Terremoto hin. <> Rio Grande do Sul ontem ainda honn 'se noch gezeigt. von hier, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Santa Cata—Rio Grande do Sul, Catarina, São Paulo até Matto Grosso. Tem uma Bacia grande agua doce em baixo da rocha. unichte Fells.* 295. Sílvia: **Then no earthquake comes here. <> Rio Grande do Sul they just showed yesterday. from here, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Santa Cata—Rio Grande do Sul, Catarina, São Paulo until Matto Grosso. There's a big sweet water basin down there below the plot under the falls.**
296. Mayara: *Lençois, wees net wie's heest. Guaraní . . . não sei o quê* 296. Mayara: **Lençois, (I) don't know what it's called. Guaraní¹ . . . (I) don't know what**
297. Sílvia: *Eu também não* 297. Sílvia: **I don't either**
298. Mayara: *não me lembro. já ouvi falar disso* 298. Mayara: **(I) don't remember. (I) have heard of this**
299. Claire: *das Wasser unter unter dem Erde?* 299. Claire: **Water under under the earth?**
300. Mayara: [é:] 300. Mayara: [ye:s]
301. Sílvia: [*unich de natua Fells*] 301. Sílvia: [**under the natural falls**]
302. Mayara: =*Fonte de Agua Mineral* 302. Mayara: =**Fountain of mineral water**
303. Sílvia: *é muito água mineral, muit--* 303. Sílvia: **(it) is a lot of mineral water, a**

¹ Later, Mayara identified this as Aquífero Guaraní, or the Guaraní Aquifer System, which is in the state of São Paulo and one of the world's largest potable water reservoirs, extending from the center of Brazil to la Pampa, Argentina, flowing underneath part of Paraguay and Uruguay.

	lot--
304. Sra 3: <i>Himmel auf Erde unter die Erde, nich da?</i>	304. Sra 3: heaven on earth under the earth there isn't it
305. Sílvia: <i>unnich die E--</i>	305. Sílvia: under the ea--
306. Sra 3: <i>In Himmel auf Erde unter die Erde</i>	306. Sra 3: in heaven on earth under the earth
307. Sílvia: <i>unnich de unnich de Fells</i>	307. Sílvia: under the under the falls
308. Sra 3: <i>=unter de Erde honn die Tooch noch lees</i>	308. Sra 3: = under the earth (I) read these days
309. Sílvia: <i>não, [das Wasser is unnich de Fells]</i>	309. Sílvia: no, [the water is under the falls]
310. Sra 3: <i>[in de deutsche Biche] (.1) unn honn die Zeitung von Deitschland, Alemanha ... honn die Zeitung, deutsch Zeitung ... mein Sobrinha wohnt in Alemanha, [louder] mein Sobrinha wohnt in Alemanha, das hot mea enn Zeitung von dot bron</i>	310. Sra 3: [in the German books] (.1) and have the newspaper from Germany, Germany ... have the newspaper, German newspaper . . . my niece lives in Germany, [louder] my niece lives in Germany, she brought me a newspaper from there
311. <i>other</i> Sra: <i>enn revista</i>	311. other Sra: a magazine
312. <i>jetzt</i>	312. now
313. Sílvia: <i>ich honn ooch keen Hunger</i>	313. Sílvia: I am also not hungry
314. <i>Bissje, bissje!</i>	314. little bit, little bit!
315. <i>ooch bissje.</i>	315. also a little
316. Claire: <i>ja</i>	316. Claire: yes
317. Sílvia: <i>mit Luftschiiff hergefoohr komm? Wieviel Stunne Reis?</i>	317. Sílvia: (you) came here by airplane? How many hours of travel?
318. Claire: <i>uh [.2] nechst zwanzig Stunne. (.1) das is uh. . . .</i>	318. Claire: uh [.2] almost twenty hours (.1) that is uh. . . .
319. Sílvia: <i>não não queria</i>	319. Sílvia: (I) wouldn't wouldn't want

320. Sra 3: <i>Meu sobrinha ooch. Vinte quatro até Alemanha</i>	320. Sra 3: My niece also . twenty-four to Germany
321. <i>até Alemanha?</i>	321. to Germany?
322. Sra 3: <i>sím eles moram lá</i>	322. Sra 3: yes they live there
323. <i>não Estados Unidos é pra esse lado, e Alemanha</i>	323. no United States is on this side and Germany
324. <i>other sra: sechsunzwanzig Stunne</i>	324. other Sra: twenty-sixty hours
325. Claire: <i>zwanzig Stunn. Viel Zeit in uh Flughafen- in aeroportos—</i>	325. Claire: twenty hours . A lot of time in the airport—in airports—
326. Sílvia: <i>ja, 's Luftschiiff geht nieder unn tut no'mo een anras weiter gehn</i>	326. Sílvia: yeah, the airplane lands and another one goes again
327. Claire: <i>=ja. awer (.1) es lohnt sich. So interessant, ein anderes Land zu sehen</i>	327. Claire: =yes but (.1) it's worth it. So interesting to see another country
328. Sra 3: <i>Wasser geht dann muss es ooch gehn. das were</i>	328. Sra 3: Water goes then it has to rise. that would be
329. parallel conversation on microphone: <i>]ehrscht ellef tausend Meter in de he gewesen unn wie'se ans Wasser komm sinn muste'se noch steie fo zwellef tausend Meter, muste in die he gehn...hot so</i>	329. parallel conversation on microphone: Sra 3:]was only eleven thousand meter in the [he?] and the way it came to the water, it had to still climb for twelve thousand meter, it had to go in the he< > ...had so
330. Claire: <i>aha</i>	330. Claire: aha
331. Líria am Microfone: <i>sábado. saia seja muito bem-vindo. Tem baile lá em Travessão Rübenich</i>	331. Líria on the microphone: (you) are very welcomed. There is a dance there in the Rübenich travessão
332. [audience talks]	332. [audience talks]
333. Sra 1: <i>Driwer an chácara is das Bool, Samschtooch</i>	333. Sra 1: There on the farm is the dance, Saturday
334. [Brill salão]	334. [Brill hall]
335. [das is]	335. [that is]

336.[<i>tem que tocar um</i>]	336.[have to play a]
337.[<i>descubriere . . . salão</i>]	337.[discover . . . hall]
338. Sra: [<i>Wenn 'se mo elda sinn, komme'se hin. Pode deixar</i>]	338. Sra: [When they're older, they come there]
339.[<i>duas caxias</i>]	339.[two boxes]
340. Sra: [<i>Wenn mea unser Ginásio mo krin dann vet's</i>]	340. Sra: [when we get our academy mo then it will be]
341. Claire: <i>jetzt enn Bool?</i>	341. Claire: a dance now?
342. Sílvia: <i>não tem Bool</i>	342. Sílvia: there is no dance
343. Claire: <i>baile baile</i>	343. Claire: dance dance
344. Sílvia: <i>não tem baile.</i>	344. Sílvia: there is no dance
345. Claire: <i>ah não?</i>	345. Claire: aah no?
346. Sílvia. <i>não. hoje não (.1) die hot do ewe gesoot tera heit net tanze. were die Zeit zu kurz</i>	346. Sílvia: no, not today. (.1) she said there earlier today there would be no dance. the time would be too short
347. Claire: <i>awer die hot gesoot Travessão</i>	347. Claire: but she said Travessão
348. Sra: <i>das is de nechste Samstooch</i>	348. Sílvia: that is the next Saturday
349. <i>was war? was macht doch nix</i>	349. what happened? what doesn't matter
350. <i>Das is de nechste Samschtooch</i>	350. that is the next Saturday
351. Claire: <i>geht Dea dann?</i>	351. Claire: will you go then?
352. <i>é, aí tem baile</i>	352. yes, then there is a dance
353. Claire: <i>mmhmm</i>	353. Claire: mmhmm
354. Claire: <i>Weistu, was honn die mehrschte Leit gemacht fur Beruf? wenn die uh</i>	354. Claire: Do you know, what did most people do for occupation?
355. Sílvia: <i>als die arbeit honn?</i>	355. Sílvia: when they worked?

356. Sílvia: *na roça in die Feld im Plantoorsch geschafft* 356. Sílvia: **worked on the farm in the field in the plantation**
357. Sílvia: *eu ich habe mich aponsentiert* 357. Sílvia: **I retired**
358. Claire: *unh hunh* 358. Claire: **unh hunh**
359. Sílvia: *acht unn vierzig Johre honn ich geschafft. me machuquei. Quase peguei um cancer de pele. Não, aqui me machuquei.* 359. Sílvia: **forty-eight years I worked. I got hurt. (I) almost got a skin cancer. No, here (I) hurt myself.**
360. Sílvia: *já tinha assim kestche* 360. Sílvia: (I) already had a **kestche< >**
361. Claire: *ah, kestche* 361. Claire: **ah, kestche**
362. Sílvia: *mas não não é cancer ainda o médico disse. só passou assim um um remedio. Er hat nur gesoot, wenn's net uffgehn unn ted Loch geve dann mis ma raus. teet Dann were's cancer. Krepps.* 362. Sílvia: **but it (is) not not cancer yet the doctor said, (he) just passed over a medication. He just said, if it doesn't go away and there is a hole then one has to go out. then it would be cancer. Cancer.**
363. Claire: *das is net von de Soone?* 363. Claire: **that isn't from the sun?**
364. Sílvia: *Das is von de Soone. Das is von de Soone. Ich honn so wenig mich beschützt* 364. Sílvia: **That is from the sun. I protected myself so little**
365. Claire: *unh hunh* 365. Claire: **unh hunh**
366. *jetzt mache* 366. **now do**
367. Sra 3: *Tu dich mo beschitze vens'ta must in die Plantoorsch* 367. Sra 3: **Protect yourself when you have to go to the plantation**
368. Sra 4: *kam'ma lange Orme* 368. Sra 4: **one can (wear) long sleeves**
369. Sra 3: *ija awer ich soon, weistu* 369. Sra 3: **yes but I'm saying you know**
370. Mayara: *hot Dea je immer in Plantoorsch geschafft?* 370. Mayara: **did you always work in the plantation?**
371. Sílvia: *ja, acht unn verzig Johr* 371. Sílvia: **yes, forty-eight years**
372. Mayara: *Dea sieht net aus* 372. Mayara: **You(form) don't look like**

373. Sílvia: <i>von zehn Johre (.1) vierte Klasse hab'ich nur gemacht.</i>	373. Sílvia: from ten years (.1) I only did the fourth class
374. Claire: <i>unh hunh</i>	374. Claire: unh hunh
375. Sílvia: <i>uff die Kolonie voor's sonscht nix unn die Elder honn uns net fortgehn geloss.(.1) voor nure ganz in de gros Stadt gressre Schule e e daí (.1) Ich voor kei[kaI] ellef Jahr alt (.1) und dort acht un fenifzig Jahr in tralalhei in Fels in de Plantoorsch geschafft</i>	375. Sílvia: on the Kolonie there wasn't anything else and the parents didn't let us go out (.1) (there) was only in the big City the bigger schools and from there (.1) I wasn't even eleven years old (.1) and there fifty-eight years in the field I worked worked in the plantation
376. Claire: <i>ah jedde Tooch in de selvige</i>	376. Claire: every day in the same
377. Sra: <i>=não era es voor net wie jetzt mit Maschin mit Maschin</i>	377. Sra: =it wasn't it was not like now with machine with machine
378. Sra2: <i>fange mit de Hack</i>	378. Sra2: start with the hoe
379. Mayara: <i>Wieviel Jahr seid Dea jetzt?</i>	379. Mayara: How old are you now?
380. Sílvia: <i>vier unn sechsig</i>	380. Sílvia: sixty-four
381. Mayara: <i>Dea seid noch scheen</i>	381. Mayara: you(form) are still pretty
382. Sílvia: <i>todo mundo diz isso ma:s</i>	382. Sílvia: everyone says this bu:t
383. Mayara: <i>das</i>	383. Mayara: that
384. Sílvia: <i>eu como muito verdura e muita fruta</i>	384. Sílvia: I eat a lot of vegetables and a lot of fruit
385. Mayara: [<i>das</i>	385. Mayara: [das
386. Mayara: <i>=das sieht'ma net on, das Dea immer im Plantoorsch geschafft hat</i>	386. Mayara: =one doesn't see that you always worked in the plantation
387. Sílvia: <i>Isto aqui mostra. Tá tudo enrugado</i>	387. Sílvia: this here shows (it). This part is all wrinkled
388. Mayara: [<i>Ewe hat noch gesoot</i>]	388. Mayara: [Ewe still said]
389. Sílvia: [<i>essa parte</i>]	389. Sílvia: [this part]

390. Mayara: <i>Ewe hat mir noch gesoot uh</i>	390. Mayara: Ewe still said to me uh
391. Sílvia: <i>e aqui também tem uma parte também</i>	391. Sílvia: here there is also a part also
392. Sílvia: <i>e aqui também tem uma parte wo de Soon abkriet hat</i>	392. Sílvia: here there is also a part where the sun got to it
393. Claire: <i>awer alle Leit honn das</i>	393. Claire: but everyone has that
394. Mayara: <i>ija, alle Leit</i>	394. Mayara: yes everyone
395. Sílvia: = <i>wege'm See, wege'm See tun die in die Soon legt (.1) eu não nie Zeit von de Seefahrt</i>	395. Sílvia: = because of the sea, because of the sea they lie in sun (.1) I didn't never time for ocean trips
396. Claire: <i>aah</i>	396. Claire: aah
397. Sílvia: <i>não tinha . . . hat kei Maschin fa die Kih se milke</i>	397. Sílvia: never had . . . had no machine to milk the cows
398. < >	398. < >
399. <i>Handwerk</i>	399. hand work
400. Sílva: <i>ah sim</i>	400. Sílvia: ah yes
401. Sra: <i>do wooren die Leit lang verheiratet, die honn</i>	401. Sra: the people had been married a while, they
402. <i>Deutschland Amerika zugeschafft hat</i>	402. zugeschafft < > Germany America
403. Sra: <i>das is de Pau</i>	403. Sra 1: that is the Pau
404. <i>geschafft hat</i>	404. worked
405. <i>Wo bist du?</i>	405. Where are you?
406. <i>ewe</i>	406. Ewe
407. <i>von Morro Reuter</i>	407. from Morro Reuter
408. <i>Walachai me</i>	408. Walachai me
409. <i>beim Wolaf < ></i>	409. Near Wolaf < >

410. Claire: <i>Sinn sinn Dea ooch hier gebor?</i>	410. Claire: Were you also born here?
411. Sra 3: <i>mm?</i>	411. Sra 3: mm?
412. Claire: <i>Sinn Dea ooch hier gebor in Dois Irmãos?</i>	412. Claire: Were you also born here in Dois Irmãos?
413. Sra 3: <i>in die verzich Johr</i>	413. Sra 3: in the forties
414. Claire: <i>ah, in die verzich Johr</i>	414. Claire: ah, in the forties
415. Sílvia: <i>na, is net hier gebor</i>	415. Sílvia: no (she) was not born here
416. Sílvia: <i>die is in Santa Maria do Herval</i>	416. Sílvia: she was in Santa Maria do Herval
417. Claire: <i>awer</i>	417. Claire: but
418. Sílvia: [<i>in Teewald</i>]	418. Sílvia: [in Teewald]
419. Sra 3: <i>val ich sinn schon acht unn siebzig</i>	419. Sra 3: because I am already seventy-eight
420. Sílvia: <i>mea sinn Prima. Unser Vater voore Geschwister</i>	420. Sílvia: we are cousins. Our fathers were siblings
421. Claire: <i>aha</i>	421. Claire: aha
422. Sra 3: <i>Wenn'ma mo achtzig [kriege?] gibt, dann geht'ma kaputt, heest'mo so</i>	422. Sra 3: When one is eighty, then one goes kaput, it is said
423. Claire: <i>aha</i>	423. Claire: aha
424. Claire: <i>honn Dea ooch immer in Plantoorsch geschafft</i>	424. Claire: did you also always work in the plantation
425. Sra 3: <i>hier jaus net</i>	425. Sra 3: out here no
426. Sílvia: <i>ela tem problema seria de de de pele</i>	426. Sílvia: she has a serious problem of of skin
427. Sílvia: <i>Olha as perna dela uma vez.</i>	427. Sílvia: Look at her legs
428. Sra 3: <i>< > sinn jetz</i>	428. Sra 3: < > are now

429. Sílvia: *Die hot so schro Probleme, wenn'se bissie in die Soon geht, gibt's schon Bloose* 429. Sílvia: **She has problems so bad, when she goes for a bit in the sun, there are already blisters**
430. Sra 3: *=Bloose an, ija* 430. Sra 3: **=blisters on, yes**
431. Sílvia: *Die deft goo net ringehn* 431. Sílvia: **she shouldn't go in at all**
432. Sra 3: *[honn meh Doktor jetzt* 432. Sra 3: **[(I) have doctor now**
433. Sílvia: *um dia een Tooch kann komme das nimme kann cureere* 433. Sílvia: **one day one day can come that no more can cure**
434. Mayara: *schro* 434. Mayara: **tough**
435. Claire: *Was honn Dea geplanzt immer?* 435. Claire: **What did you plant always?**
436. Sílvia: *Kartoffel* 436. Sílvia: **potatoes**
437. Claire: *Kartoffel, immer* 437. Claire: **always potatoes**
438. Mayara: *Dort is viel Kartoffelpflanze, ne?* 438. Mayara: **There there are many potato crops, ne?**
439. Sílvia: *Kartoffel, Zwiebel, hier im Morro dos Reis. Im Keenichs Berrich wie ich geheirat honn, honn'ich dot gewohnt (.1) Gemi:se honn mea in de Stadt gefohr* 439. Sílvia: **Potatoes, onions, here in Morro dos Reis. In Kenichs Berrich when I got married, I lived there (.1)Ve:getables we drove into the City**
440. *unn Novo Hamburgo, Neu Hamburg...is ooch enn Neu Hamburg in Deutschland* 440. **and Novo Hamburgo, Neu Hamburg . . . (there) is also in Neu Hamburg in Germany**
441. Sra 3: *Mea honn viel Thueck gepflanzt* 441. Sra 3: **We planted a lot of tobacco**
442. Sra 4: *meia ooch* 442. Sra 4: **us too**
443. Sra 3: *sechs hunnert kila* 443. Sra 3: **six hundred kilos**
444. Mayara: *alles mit Hand* 444. Mayara: **everything by hand**
445. Sra 3: *alles mit Hand, alles gevickelt* 445. Sra 3: **everything by hand, everything raised**

446. Sra 3: *gedreht unn ringeschmiss (.1) jede Tooch moints mitoochs unn omts (.1) Die Kinner in die Schul gang unn mea zwoi Elde honn fum gewickelt, moints, mitoochs unn omts (.1) Soon raus komm misse mea alle raus getron (.1) ich honn getreht unn in de bura geschmiss (.1) gedreht* 446. Sra 3: **turned and threw in (.1) every day mornings, afternoons, and evenings (.1) the kids gone to school and we two parents raised tobacco, mornings, afternoons, and evenings (.1) Sun came out we all had to get out on it (.1) I turned (it) and threw it in the burro² (.1) turned**
447. *other* Sra: *Dea hot in de bura geschmiss* 447. **other** Sra: **You threw it in the burro**
448. Sra: *mitsamme* 448. Sra: **together**
449. Mayara: *was? wie set'ma? Burra geschmiss?* 449. Mayara: **what? how does one say it? "Burra geschmiss?"**
450. Sra 3: *Do voor de Fum drin* 450. Sra 3: **the tobacco was in there**
451. Mayara: *ah* 451. Mayara: **ah**
452. Sra 3: *Wenn's mo Reen gesihn hot, must'man fix all rin ton, dann is no'mo die Sun rauskomm, dann no'mo al raus getron. (.1) Kinner sinn in die Schul gang unn mea zwoi Elde honn de ganz Fum geplanzt* 452. Sra 3: **When one saw rain, one had to get them all in, then the sun came out again, then again take all out (.1) kids went to school and we two parents planted all the tobacco**
453. Sra: *nicht allein* 453. Sra: **not alone**
454. Sra 3: *ija (.1) sechs hunnert kila enn Johr* 454. Sra 3: **yes (.1) six hundred kilos a year**
455. Mayara: *Wu hot dea gewohnt* 455. Mayara: **Where did you live**
456. Sra 3: *Kinne sinn in de Schul gang* 456. Sra 3: **kids went to school**
457. *huh?* 457. **huh?**
458. Sílvia: *Wo seid Dea gebor?* 458. Sílvia: **Where were you(form) born?**
459. Sra 3: < > 459. Sra 3: < >

² *Burros* are the piles, or bulks, in which cigar tobacco is fermented. This is a Spanish term that I found in web explanations about how to grow tobacco for cuban cigars.

460. Mayara: <i>de Fum hot dort ooch gepflanzt?</i>	460. Mayara: the tobacco (you) also planted there
461. Sra 3: <i>De Fum honn mea im Walachai gemach</i>	461. Sra 3: we did the tobacco in Walachai
462. Mayara: <i>Ich wust net das do Fum gepflanzt gebb ooch in Walachai</i>	462. Mayara: I didn't know that tobacco was planted also in Walachai
463. Sra 3: <i>Im Walachai ho'mea 15 Johre gewohnt.</i>	463. Sra 3: we lived in Walachai 15 years
464. Sra 3: <i>Ich hera oorich schlecht, enn Seid goo nix meh</i>	464. Sra 3: I hear very badly, one side not at all anymore
465. Mayara: <i>aahh</i>	465. Mayara: aahh
466. Sra 3: <i>Hot enn oorich entsindun im Ohr. Jetz her'ich. Wees net was die heit gesprooch honn ich fastehn goo nix <> Ich wees net wann de pique nic is.</i>	466. Sra 3: (I) have a terrible inflammation in the ear. Now I hear. Don't know what they said today I understood absolutely nothing <> I don't know when the picnic is . . .
467. Sílvia: <i>zwettere Oostertooch</i>	467. Sílvia: second Easter day
468. Sra 1: <i>zweite Oostertooch</i>	468. Sra 1: [repairing grammar] second Easter day
469. Sra: <i>Montoochs no de Oster</i>	469. Sra: Monday after Easter
470. other Sra: <i>Suntoochs is die Oster unn Montoochs Kinda tanze gehn</i>	470. other Sra: Sunday is Easter and Monday the kids go dancing
471. Sílvia: <i>não, is kee Tanz, ne das is unne in Sete Amigos</i>	471. Sílvia: no, there is no dance, no that is down in Sete Amigos
472. Sra: <i>unne am Berlitz Plinis</i>	472. Sra: down at Berlitz Plinis
473. Sra: <i>unne wo mea schon hingefoohr woore</i>	473. Sra: down where we already drove to
474. <i>io vorrich Jahr an die Weihnachte</i>	474. yes last year at Christmas
475. Sra: <i>ich muss die Schuss frooe, die muss mea alles ausleia</i>	475. Sra: I have to ask Schuss . . . she has to lend me everything

476. *other* Sra: *Wea?* 476. Sra 1: **Who?**
477. Sra: *Die Schuss mein Nachbar* 477. Sra: **Schuss my neighbor**
478. Sra1: *a tá tá tá* 478. Sra1: **ah ok ok ok**
479. *as metz Hingelche* 479. **the chick butcher**
480. Mayara: h h. *as metz Hingelche* 480. Mayara: h h. **the chick butcher**
481. *other* Sra: *Mas eles falaram antes* 481. *other* Sra: But they used to say that
482. Mayara: *io honn net dron gedenkt* 482. Mayara: **yes (I) didn't think about it**
483. *other* Sra: *é um velho ditado* 483. *other* Sra: (it) is an old saying
484. Mayara: h h 484. Mayara: h h
485. Mayara: *War Dea noch net bei de Doktor gang wege dem Ohr?* 485. Mayara: **Have you not yet been to the doctor about that ear?**
486. Sra 3: *ijo. De hot mich in Hamburgig geschickt. ich honn dot Exame gemoch un alles.* 486. Sra 3: **yes. He sent me to Hamburgig. I did the exam there and everything**
487. Mayara: *net besser gebb?* 487. Mayara: **isn't better?**
488. Sra: *ja das hera kommt doch nimmeh. De hot gesoot were di Elde, unn an Erapfehle. De papai hot ijo ooch schlecht geheiat. Das do Ohr wo die Entzündung drin hot, do voor'ich drei mo beim Docktor, das kommt nimmeh. Her'ich nix meh.* 488. Sra: **yes the hearing won't ever come back. He said it would be the parents and a hereditary defect. My father also heard poorly. This ear here that has the inflammation, here/there I was at the doctor's three times, that won't ever come back. I won't hear anything more.**
489. Sra 4: *wie alt seid dea? in die achtzig?* 489. Sra 4: **how old are you? in the eighties?**
490. Sra 3: *né ich were bis August 80 alt iets August* 490. Sra 3: **no I would be by August 80 old this August**
- [cough] [cough]
491. Claire: *honn Dea gesehn Til Tabes,* 491. Claire: **have you seen Til Tabes, the**

teaterstick

theater piece

492. Sílvia: *Wie voor das?*

492. Sílvia: **What was that?**

493. Claire: *honn Dea geseehn Til Tabes, das teaterstick*

493. Claire: **have you seen Til Tabes, the theater piece**

494. Sílvia: *ob wir schon geseehn haben?*

494. Sílvia: **if we[Std. German] have already seen (it)?**

495. Claire: *unn was honn Dea gemeent?*

495. Claire: **and what did you think?**

496. Sílvia: *was fa lache, né*

496. Sílvia: **something for laughing, né**

497. Mayara: *net verstan was du soost*

497. Mayara: **didn't understand what you said**

Traduzindo a história. Plantação de Fumo:

Desde pag 10 → Eldera Sra: Nós plantamos muito fumo, tudo a mão, enrolamos e jogamos pra dentro, todos os dias, de manhã de tarde e de noite, nós dois (pai e mãe), e os filhos iam na escola. Quando o tempo estava pra chover, recolhíamos tudo, e quando o sol saía, levávamos novamente tudo pra fora. Plantamos fumo no Walachai, onde moramos por 15 anos: Aí ela diz:

Eu escuto muito pouco, num lado (num ouvido) nada. Tive uma grande inflamação no ouvido. Agora escuto. Não sei o que eles falaram hoje. Não entendo nada. Eu não sei quando vai ser o pique nique. Segue os outros. Sra 1 explicando.

Ela diz depois: Vou perguntar por Schuss, minha vizinha.

Ai eu pergunto: Nunco foi no médico por causa desse ouvido?

Sim fui pra Novo Huamburgo, mas a audição não volta mais. O médico disse que é a idade, (unn enn erap fehle) e é hereditário. o meu pai também escutava pouco... pois é mais uma vítima do fumo.

Fiquei com pena da vó. Mas ela me parecia bem conformada com essa situação.

Translating the story. Tobacco Plantation

From p. 10.

older lady: we planted a lot of tobacco, everything by hand, we rolled (it) and threw (it) in, every day, from morning to afternoon and night, we two (father and Mother) [hoje quem não estuda só não quer—little coverless pp. Armindo Schneider], and the children went to school. When the season turned to rain, we harvested everything, and when the sun came out, we took everything again outside. We planted tobacco in Walachai, where we lived for 15 years. Then she said, I hear very little, in one side (of the ear) nothing. I had a big inflammation in the ear. Now I hear. I don't know what they said today. I don't understand anything. I don't know when the picnic is going to be. The others talk. Sra 1 explains.

She says after: I'm going to ask Schuss, my neighbor

Then I ask: You never went to the doctor because of that ear?

Yes I went to Novo Hamburgo, but the audition won't return. The doctor said that (it) is age (and a hereditary defect) and (it) is hereditary. My father also didn't hear much. . . so (she) is another victim of tobacco.

I felt bad for the old lady. But she seems to be well adjusted to this situation.

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