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16 *Picnick and Sauerkraut*: German–English intra-writer variation in script and language (1867–1900)

ABSTRACT

Intra-writer variation is a wide-spread phenomenon that nevertheless has received only limited research attention so far. Different addressees, bi- and multilingualism, or changing life phases are among the factors that contribute to such variation. In a study of diary entries by one writer covering three decades (1867–1900), this chapter investigates patterns of intra-writer variation between German and English (language and script) in nineteenth-century Canada, with a special focus on single word borrowings, person reference and place names. The long-term perspective provides a unique insight into the dynamics of a bilingual writer's emerging sociolinguistic competence as reflected by the flexible yet structured use of his resources within the social space of a bilingual community.

1 Introduction

Variable use of language can lead to enregisterment (Agha 2007; Agha & Frog 2015; Anderwald & Hoekstra 2017) and hence can be employed as a strategy for positioning (Harré & Van Langenhove 1999; Beeching et al. 2018) and comparable activities to ground oneself with regard to a social group. It can be used to express membership or to distance oneself from others. Flexible language use is frequently linked to informal settings where norms are adapted, adjusted, and negotiated in interaction. Ego-documents, especially private papers, have been shown to allow for informal language production in writing; they are, therefore, particularly informative in this respect (cf. Elspaß 2012; Schiegg 2016; Van der Wal & Rutten 2013, among others).

The current chapter reports on a study investigating diaries from a nineteenth-century heritage setting in a German/English bilingual community in southern Canada. Variation in these data can be observed in two respects: (i) Changes in the forms and structures of the heritage language, German, in relation to the writer's age; and (ii) the choice of language (German/English) – and the corresponding script (German cursive script/Roman script) – over time. The writer, a German-English bilingual, started keeping a diary at age 12 and continued to do so until late in his life (cf. Stolberg 2018, 2019a), affording an extraordinarily long-term perspective on intra-writer variation. In the current chapter, the earlier diaries (1867–1900) are investigated. They cover a period marked by several changes in the writer's life and language use. While in the earliest entries, the writer is still in the process of acquiring a written register in German as well as in English, later entries exhibit skilled switches between German and English, several (though not all) of which can be linked to extra-linguistic events in the writer's life.

In his diary entries, the writer uses a low number of borrowings (partly accompanied by the appropriate switch in script), including some established loans for which independent evidence exists (e.g. in the *Berliner Journal*, a local newspaper). A noticeable feature of the diary entries is the alignment of names (place names, person reference) with the currently chosen language. This includes, for example, German and English versions of the names of his siblings (e.g. *Wilhelm/William*). Besides identifying the more general patterns of language mixing and switching in the diaries, the chapter investigates the usage patterns of proper names and different forms of person reference. It is argued that the choice of language (and script) and language-specific forms of person reference indicate social relationships and reflect the writer's increasing societal integration as he grows up and eventually establishes himself socioeconomically.

2 Research interest

Intra-writer variation is a phenomenon that has not received much research attention in the past. It can offer valuable insights into the style and register competence of individual writers and sheds light on the strategies with which writers adjust their language production to various settings and addressees (cf. Hernández-Campoy 2016). For in-depth studies of such variation, the availability of sufficient data, qualitatively and quantitatively, from a single individual is crucial. The current case study offers a rich data base in this respect, covering a total of almost 70 years of the writer's life. In addition, and crucial for the proper contextualization and understanding of the variation found, in-depth extra-linguistic information on the person and the community is available. While the diaries are not dialogic in form, they still reflect the writer's perception of social relations and adequate language choice through his choice of person reference. The study thus contributes to a better understanding of the individual, social and societal factors that interact to result in specific patterns of intra-writer variation in language use and language choice, and what functions such variation can fulfil.

From a wider perspective, this study of bilingual intra-writer variation across three decades sheds light on heritage language development (cf. Montrul 2016; Polinsky 2018) and preservation in the individual and in the community, on changes in language choice and language dominance across the lifetime, and on the flexible use of available linguistic resources to serve communicative and social needs.

3 Socio-historical setting

Starting in the late eighteenth century, (Pennsylvania) German-speaking Mennonites migrated from Pennsylvania to Ontario and established settlements in the area of modern-day Kitchener in southern Ontario (Bloomfield et al. 1993; Hayes 1999). The county was named Waterloo

County, and in 1833, the town of Berlin was officially founded. The population consisted to a large part of Mennonites and of immigrants from the German-speaking parts of Europe (immigrated directly or via the USA). The use of German, side by side with English, was widespread and well established (cf. Lorenzkowski 2008, 2010). Around 1870, more than 50 % of the residents were of ethnic German origin, and German was reported as the dominant language of the area (Bloomfield et al. 1993).¹

During the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, several families of German origin played an important role in the economic and political life of Waterloo County and, in particular, in the town of Berlin/Kitchener. Archival materials show that German was preserved over several generations in (some of) these families.² German was used as a family and a church language. It was also important in business and in education, and there were schools with German as the language of instruction, at least until the end of the nineteenth century (Grenke 2018; Lorenzkowski 2008; McKegney 1970). Coschi (2014: 315) points out that even ‘despite dwindling enrolment in German classes, the 1901 census reported that nearly 90 % of Berlin’s residents of German origin claimed German as their mother tongue, suggesting that many learned German in the home as opposed to the formal setting of the classroom’.

- 1 With World War I, British patriotism and anti-German sentiments came to the fore, and Berlin was renamed Kitchener in 1916. The community-level shift from German to English, already well underway, was reinforced by the political climate, so that the public use of German became strongly disfavoured and was reduced considerably (Coschi 2014; Schulze & Heffner 2004).
- 2 These materials are held by the Dana Porter Library of the University of Waterloo that hosts several collections of private and business papers from a number of families from the Kitchener/Waterloo area (<<https://uwaterloo.ca/library/special-collections-archives/>> accessed 8 June 2022). The material discussed in the current chapter stems from the Breithaupt-Hewetson-Clark collection. I am very grateful to the staff of Special Collections & Archives at the Dana Porter Library for guiding me through the materials and making available the documents I was interested in.

4 Data base and methods

4.1 The data base

Louis Jacob Breithaupt (henceforth LJB), the writer whose language use is analysed here, belonged to one of the most influential German-origin families in Berlin. He was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1855, as the eldest of ten siblings. His maternal and paternal grandparents were first generation immigrants from German-speaking Europe, his father having immigrated as an adolescent.³ The family moved to Berlin, Ontario, in 1861 where LJB grew up and was rooted throughout his life. He died in 1939. Being the owner of a tannery and a successful businessman, he was actively involved in politics and in the local church community, held various high-level positions (e.g. mayor of Berlin, 1888–89), and played a decision-making role in his hometown.

LJB kept a diary from childhood until a few years before his death. The preserved diaries cover a total of 66 years, from 1867 to 1933. LJB presents himself in the diaries as bilingual (German and English), biscriptal (German cursive script and Roman script) and biliterate (attending school in German and English). The early diaries, starting when LJB turned twelve, show a childlike handwriting with uneven letter sizes and spacing. Over time, not only the handwriting matures but also the written language use changes in ways that can be attributed to language development and an increasing competence in the written registers of German and English. In terms of content, LJB reports on everyday occurrences like school, household chores, social interactions with relatives, friends and neighbours, later also on his higher education (college), business matters, business and private trips, and family matters.

The data base for the current study consists of LJB's handwritten diaries from 1867 to 1900. The earliest diaries (1867–71) contain an entry for every

3 His father and paternal grandparents (Breithaupt) were from Hesse, his maternal grandparents (Hailer) came from Baden and the Alsace.

day. For subsequent years, there are smaller and larger gaps, with only few years, however, for which no entries exist.⁴

4.2 *Methods*

For all available diaries between 1867 and 1900, overall language choice (German, English) and script choice (German cursive script, Roman script) was determined. German cursive and Roman script are two different ways of writing the letters of the Latin alphabet. While they differ in many letters, there is also some overlap. A word is considered to be in German cursive whenever the differing letters are written in this script. A word containing no letters in German cursive is considered to be in Roman script.

The data analyses included the identification and categorization of borrowings, person reference (names and forms of address) and place names. Qualitative analyses were carried out for the completely transcribed diaries of the first five years (1867–71). In addition, selected diary entries from 1872, 1875, 1880, 1888 and 1900 were transcribed and analysed in detail.⁵ The analysed sections cover a total of 54,000 words (graphic units), of which c. 24,000 units are in English and 30,000 units in German.

5 Findings

The data exhibit intra-writer variation which, broadly speaking, falls into two types: developmentally determined variation, and age-independent variation, the latter often motivated by extra-linguistic factors.

4 There are no diaries preserved for the years 1877, 1882, and 1886.

5 The selection was based on the availability of contemporary data from other family members, viz. LJB's mother, wife and daughter, in order to contextualize LJB's written language use within the family and the community (cf. Stolberg 2019a).

Among the developmentally determined features, we found variation in handwriting, in spelling (to a limited degree), in sentence length, in vocabulary size, in style or register use (including features of orality), and in pragmatic competence, reflected in variable forms of self-reference.

Variation in language choice (German or English), on the other hand, is not linked to age or development. It seems often determined by extralinguistic factors. Language choice can depend on the topic (e.g. reporting on a family member's death, in German), on the current geographic and language environment (e.g. travels in Europe, in German), or on a changed social position within the community (e.g. starting to work after finishing school; attending college, in English).

For the two scripts LJB uses, functions are clearly divided in general: Overall, LJB uses German cursive when writing German, and Roman script when writing English. A script change can occur when other-language items are used, as in the case of (*nonce*) borrowings.⁶ In this way, script choice indicates sensitivity for the language affiliation of a lexical item.⁷

In this chapter we focus on variation in handwriting as a developmentally determined feature, and on language choice, script choice and borrowing as examples of age-independent variation. Person reference, in addition, shows variation in relation to age and social development as well as in terms of language choice (independent of age). The following sections serve to illustrate the different phenomena.

5.1 *Variation in language choice*

Across the diaries, LJB changes between German and English as the predominant language at different points in his life. Sometimes, the reason is easily conceivable, while in other cases, it remains hidden. The overall

6 Cf. Sankoff et al. (1990) on *nonce borrowings* and Section 5.3 on terminological alternatives.

7 This form of script variation coincides with practices attested in German-speaking/writing Europe since the period of humanism (cf. Schiegg & Sowada 2019: 775). It is derived from the written distinction of Latin by using Roman script, in contrast to using German cursive for the German vernacular (cf. Spitzmüller & Bunčić 2016).

distribution of German and English in LJB's earlier diaries is listed in Table 16.1.

The first overall shift from German to English, aside from single-word switches or (nonce) borrowings, occurs with the beginning of February 1870, after LJB had been keeping his diary in German for almost three years (cf. (1) & Figure 16.1). The reason is not mentioned explicitly but LJB reports in mid-January 1870 that he has started working in his father's leather store and no longer attends school. It is conceivable that this change triggers his decision to switch languages (and scripts) in his diary.⁸

- (1) Montag 31^{ten} Jan [1870]
 Vater war heute fort mit „*Lady*“ um „Lumber“ zu kaufen⁹
Tuesday Feby 1st/70
 Hr *Mr Clemens* + *another gentleman are here*¹⁰
 [Monday 31st Jan
 Father was away with „*Lady*“ today to buy „Lumber“]

5.2 Variation in script

Script varies in the diaries along two axes: for developmental reasons (maturation), that is, over time, and for pragmatic reasons, that is, corresponding to language choice and/or highlighting names and other-language items. Variation for developmental reasons affects the size and

- 8 In the transliterations/translations, italics indicate Roman script and regular font indicates German cursive. All transliterations follow the original by the letter and are not modified with respect to spelling or punctuation. Original line breaks are not preserved.
- 9 LJB uses English numbers throughout (1 and 7 differ in German and English) and tends to use English punctuation (such as upper quotation marks, e.g. in ‘Lumber’). These choices can be assumed to be a reflection of his school training. In punctuation, there is some (non-systematic) variation, though, as can be seen in ‘Lady’.
- 10 The self-correction from German (*Hr*) to English (*Mr*) at the beginning of this entry may be due to German having been LJB's diary language up to now, so he may have started in German out of habit. However, the correction also showcases his conscious decision to switch to English from this day onward. See also Section 5.4.

Table 16.1. Language choice, 1867–1900

Diary year	Language choice
1867	German
1868	German
1869	German
1870	German (Jan.) English (Feb.–Dec.)
1871	English
1872	English
1873	German
1874	German
1875	German
1876	German/English
1877	–
1878	German
1879	German
1880	German (Jul.–Dec.) English (Jan.–June)
1881	German
1882	–
1883	English
1884	English
1885	English
1886	–
1887	English
1888	some German English
1889	English
1890	English
1891	German/English
1892	German/English
1893	German/English
1894	German/English

(Continued)

Table 16.1. Continued

Diary year	Language choice	
1895	some German	English
1896	Rare quotes or names in German	English
1897		
1898		
1899		
1900		

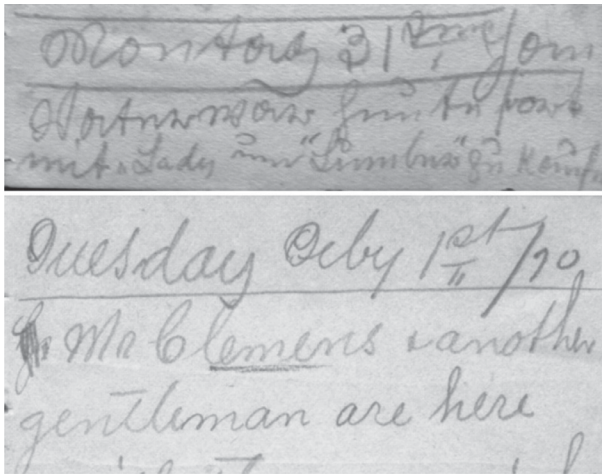


Figure 16.1. Language and script switch (31 January to 1 February 1870).

formal regularity of letters and includes spelling and punctuation (to a moderate degree). Variation with respect to pragmatic function relates to the parallel use of the German cursive and the Roman script and does not show a correlation with time or the writer's age. Rather, the most obvious connection of script variation is with language choice: German cursive is associated with German, and Roman script with English, in accordance with the practice commonly found in Europe (cf. Footnote 5) as well as in the contemporary local community (cf. Stolberg 2019a, 2019b). In

the majority of cases, this distinction is also carried through with other-language items, such as (nonce) borrowings or proper names. In addition, Roman script can be used within German sections to highlight names, especially at first mention.

5.2.1 Developmental variation in handwriting

Over the first decade, the diaries document LJB developing a trained and skilled handwriting, as a comparison of Figures 16.1 and 16.2 with Figure 16.3 illustrates.

With the increasing dominance of English over time, LJB's use of German cursive in his diaries becomes rare. Even in the later diaries, however, there is evidence for his using both scripts. In 1888, for example, he includes a short paragraph in German within an otherwise predominantly English diary (see Figure 16.3), attesting to his continued fluency in German cursive.

5.2.2 Script choice

Already in the earliest diaries, LJB has mastered both scripts and employs them according to the language he uses. The first example of the division of work among them is found in his very first diary entry, of 4 March 1867 (cf. 2), when he lists the presents he received on his twelfth birthday the day before. Here, he switches to Roman script for the English part (*marbles*) of the hybrid compound *glas marbles* (Figure 16.2, line 2).

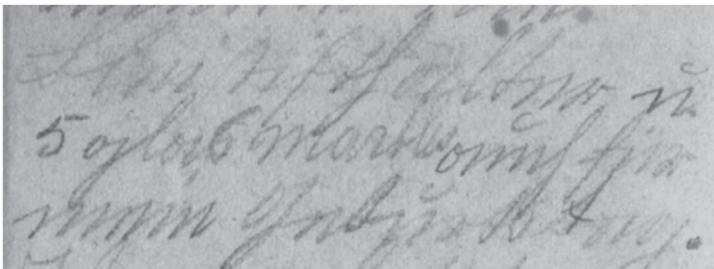


Figure 16.2. Hybrid compound *glas marbles* (4 March 1867).

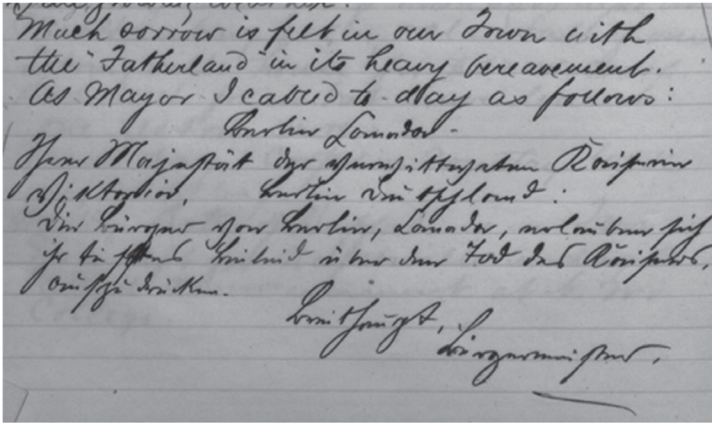


Figure 16.3. Letter of condolence (16 June 1888).

- (2) Bleistifthalter u. 5 glas *marbles* auch für mein Geburtstag. [4 March 1867]
[pencil holder and 5 glass *marbles* too for my birthday.]

The entry of 16 June 1888, as a late example within the investigated material, not only attests to LJB's continued use of German (including an appropriate register choice) but provides an example of a self-quotation accompanied by a switch in language and script (cf. (3) & Figure 16.3).

- (3) *Much sorrow is felt in our Town with the "Fatherland" in its heavy bereavement. As Mayor I cabled to-day as follows:*
Berlin Canada – Ihrer Majestät der verwittweten Kaiserin Viktoria. Berlin Deutschland: Die Bürger von Berlin, Canada, erlauben sich ihr tiefstes Beileid über den Tod des Kaisers, auszudrücken. Breithaupt, Bürgermeister. [16 June 1888]
[Berlin, Canada – To her Majesty the widowed Empress Viktoria. Berlin, Germany: The citizens of Berlin, Canada, permit themselves to express their deeply felt condolences regarding the death of the Emperor. Breithaupt, Mayor]

5.3 Borrowings

The diaries contain various instances of single words from the respective other language. This is quite common in bilingual language use, and such elements have been variably referred to as nonce borrowings (e.g.

Sankoff et al. 1990), single word insertions (e.g. Myers-Scotton 2002), or lone other-language items (Poplack 2012 and earlier; Stammers/Deuchar 2012). It is notoriously difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish nonce borrowings from single word code-switches, be it in written or spoken language (for a short discussion, see Poplack 2012). In this chapter, other-language items are referred to as borrowings. They are distinguished, if possible, from established loans which are used regularly by the writer or can be shown to be in (established) use in other contemporary sources as well. In the latter case, it is assumed that they constitute an established part of the local variety of German or English. Scriptal integration can signal establishedness (at least at the idiolectal level), similar to the function of phonological integration in speech.

Other-language items are English items within the German text, and rarely vice versa. We suggest that this imbalance is a reflection of the dominant function of English in LJB's bilingual environment.

(4) illustrates the use of two hybrid compounds, *Lederstohr* ('leather store') and *Graṁar Schule* 'grammar school'. Both are written in German cursive, implying that LJB considers them as German. It should be noted that *Lederstohr* is also attested in a local German newspaper of the time (in the spelling *Leder-store*),¹¹ providing evidence that it is an established (partial) loan in the German speaking community.

- (4) Die Graṁar Schule fing heute an Ich gehe nicht mehr hinein sondern helfe in dem Lederstohr. [10 Jan 1870]
[Grammar School started today. I do not go there anymore but help out in the leather store.]

The following examples show ways of handling (nonce) borrowings in terms of script. (5)–(7), and Figure 16.4, exhibit English items in Roman script within a German environment (*Tiles*, *Steam gauge*, *Picnick*). In (5) and (6) (*Tiles*, *Steam gauge*), the English words appear in Roman script but are not marked otherwise.¹² In (6), the English item, *Steam*

¹¹ In the *Berliner Journal*, for example, in 1862 (Uttley 1975: 100).

¹² The capitalization of these borrowings can be taken to be a concession to German as the orthographic matrix language.

gauge, follows the corresponding German item *Dampfmaß* (in German cursive), demonstrating LJB's bilingual competence.¹³

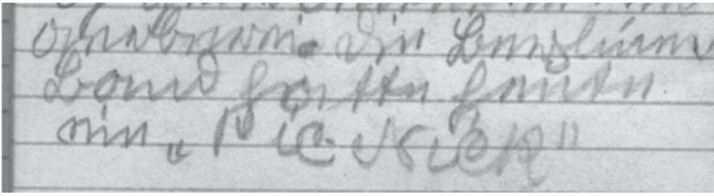
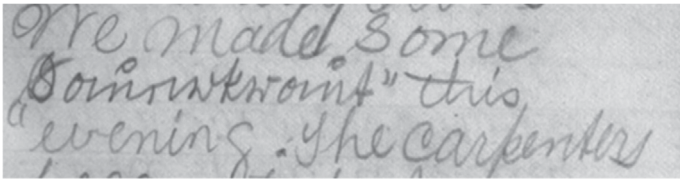
- (5) Heute Abend kam die Großmutter wieder von New York zurück. Wir legen Tiles in dem Feld beim Riegelweg. [10 October 1867]
 [This evening, Grandmother came back from New York. We are laying tiles in the field near the railway.]¹⁴
- (6) Philip kam wieder zurück von Park Hill heute. Der Dampfmaß oder *Steam gauge* für die Mascine kam heute von Toronto hierher. [11 October 1867]
 [Philip came back again from Park Hill today. The steam gauge or *Steam gauge* for the machine arrived here from Toronto today.]

In (7) and (8), marking goes beyond a simple switch of script. The borrowings are additionally highlighted by double quotes, flagging their 'outsider status', and *Picnick* (Figure 16.4, bottom line & (7)), furthermore, is hyphenated (as if being a compound) and printed in larger letters that cross the writing line which LJB otherwise observes carefully. This expressive marking suggests that the word, and possibly the concept, is unfamiliar (at least in writing) to LJB at this time; here, scriptal marking serves the pragmatic function of emphasizing (in an emblematic way) that the item is considered irregular.

Figure 16.5 & (8) shows the rare case of a German item (in German cursive) within an English section (*Sauerkraut*, in line 2). Note that there is a self-correction in the first letter of the word *Sauerkraut*: Apparently, LJB started writing a Roman script capital *S* but changed it to a German cursive capital *S*, showing his deliberate decision to align script and language.

- (7) [...] Die Berliner Band hatte heute ein „Pic-Nick“ [1 June 1868]¹⁵
 [[...] The Berlin Band had a “Picnick” today.]

- 13 Any attempts to explain LJB's providing the translation equivalent here must remain speculative. There are interesting parallels, however, in spoken bilingual interaction (cf. e.g. Lattey & Tracy 2005: 377).
- 14 *Riegelweg* (also in the spelling *riggelweg*) is the Pennsylvania German word for railway. LJB's use of this item is coherent with the historically strong presence of Mennonites from Pennsylvania in the Berlin region, see Section 3.
- 15 Note that the English item *Band* [a group of musicians] is written in German cursive, implying that LJB considers it a German item. He also uses it in English contexts (with the same meaning) where it is written in Roman script (e.g. in May 1871 and July 1880).

Figure 16.4. *Picnick* (1 June 1868).Figure 16.5. *Sauerkraut* (25 October 1870).

(8) *We made some „Sauerkraut“ this evening. [...] [25 October 1870]*

The examples show that it is not one specific script that carries pragmatic meaning but the switch in script in itself, similar as to what has been observed for oral code-switching in communication (e.g. Lattey & Tracy 2005). The switched item is set apart visually. While in the cases discussed here, this visibility coincides with a congruent script choice (matching language and script), in later diaries further patterns emerge, utilizing the visibility of a script switch to highlight new information and changing to the script of the predominant language for given information, as is illustrated for the place name *Paris* in (9) (in German cursive) and (10) (in Roman script). In such cases, the script switch fulfils the pragmatic function of indicating newness of an information.¹⁶

16 There has been limited research on the pragmatics of script in a setting like the current one where script is not a matter of language politics but is looked at through the lens of individual variation. See, for example, Spitzmüller and Bunčić (2016) on German biscriptality, Schiegg and Sowada (2019) and Choksi (2019) for a pragmatics

- (9) Wir kamen 5 Uhr Nachmittags in *Paris* an u. sind im “*Hotel de Manchester*” einquartirt. [26 June 1878]
[We arrived in *Paris* at 5 in the afternoon and are staying in the “*Hotel de Manchester*”.]
- (10) [...] auf der *Champs Elysées* welche nahe unserer Logis ist. Dieses ist, denke ich, eine der schönsten Straßen von Paris. [28 June 1878]
[[...] on *Champs Elysées* which is close to our lodging. This is, I think, one of the most beautiful streets of Paris.]

Spitzmüller and Bunčić (2016: 289, 300) relate the function of the Roman script (within German cursive texts) as marking ‘foreignisms’ (among other functions). While this was certainly true for (German-speaking) Europe, in the current case the concept of ‘foreignism’ cannot be applied in a straightforward manner. Both German and English are part of the German-Canadian identity of the community and its members (cf. e.g. Lorenzkowski 2008), and English is not perceived as foreign. Rather, the association is between the German language and German cursive, and between non-German language(s) and Roman script – not only for English but also, for example, for French names such as *Champs Elysées* in (10).

5.4 *Script, person reference and place names*

5.4.1 Script and person reference

While LJB is largely consistent in using German cursive for German and Roman script for English, there are ‘borderliners’, and they behave in specific ways. Besides (nonce) borrowings, these are person reference, place names, and horses’ (and dogs’) names. As a category by themselves, LJB’s siblings’ names appear as doublets, that is, they are not only adjusted in script but their form is varied depending on language context: *Wilhelm/*

perspective on script choice and script switching, Sebba (2009) and Unseth (2005) for sociolinguistic perspectives on script choice, and Androutsopoulos (2020) on Greek/English trans-scripting. On the social and interactional meaning of written code-switching see, for example, Sebba et al. (2012) and Schiegg and Foldenauer (2021).

William, Johann/John and *Esra/Ezra*.¹⁷ Person reference can thus shift with the language environment (within the diary). Thus, these items can and do appear in different forms: either integrated into the surrounding language and script, or marked as different by using the other language.

As person reference is language specific in LJB's diaries, it is therefore also subject to choice. The first diary entry after LJB switched to English in his diary in 1870 demonstrates his attention to the language specificity of address forms and his decision to match form of address, language and script. It is noticeable in the self-correction at the beginning of the first line (see Figure 16.1 & (1)).

A later example shows, however, that person reference can also occur in the other language and script. In (11), two persons bearing the same last name are introduced, distinguished by different forms of address. The overall entry is in German (language and script); the first instance of person reference (*Rev. Mr Hoare*) is in English and in Roman script, the second (*Hrn. [= Herrn] Hoare*) is in German and German cursive. The contextual information does not resolve this difference: LJB reports that he had visited Rev. Mr Hoare in a small town near Paris, France, and adds that he is the father of Mr Hoare, an acquaintance from his hometown, Berlin, Canada. The latter information, as well as the English last name, seems to favour the use of an English address form and of Roman script for both referents. This expectation is not met by the data. A potential parallel is the script variation with *Paris* in (9) and (10). We argued that pragmatic reasons could explain the variation, distinguishing between new and given information. In the current case, it seems conceivable that the English form signals less familiarity with the referent than the German form and can thus indicate a difference in personal relationship between LJB and the persons mentioned. On a more abstract level, then, familiarity (also in the

17 Especially LJB's brothers Wilhelm (William) and Johann (John) are close in age to him and feature frequently in his early diaries, for example, regarding school, household chores, running errands or getting together with friends. Siblings who are much younger than LJB are not mentioned in the (earlier) German diary contexts; and some of the names do not have different written forms in German and English (e.g. *Albert, Daniel* or *Melvina*).

sense of something already being known, i.e. given information) emerges as a relevant factor for pragmatically motivated language/script choice.¹⁸

- (11) Ich brachte den Vormittag mit Geschäften zu und war Nachmittags in *Lec*, einem kleinen Ort außerhalb der Stadt u. besuchte *Rev. M^r Hoare*, Vater des Hrn. Hoare (von der Merchants Bank) in Berlin¹⁹. [24 June 1878]
 [I spent the morning doing business and in the afternoon, I was in *Lec*, a small town outside of the city, and visited *Rev. Mr. Hoare*, father of Mr. Hoare (of the Merchants Bank) in Berlin.]

5.4.2 Script and place names

Place names tend to be written in German cursive in the early diaries, but occur more often in Roman script in later diaries. This is particularly noticeable in the German entries covering LJB's journey to Europe in 1878 (e.g. (9)).

During the earlier period LJB seems to be more committed to creating homogeneous texts with regard to language and script choice. One strategy to achieve visual homogeneity is illustrated in (5) and (6), with English names written in German cursive (*Park Hill, New York, Toronto*). While in (5) it can be argued that the local place, Park Hill, is considered part of the German sphere by LJB, this explanation seems less likely for New York and Toronto (6).

Considering the overall evidence for treating other-language items, two conflicting priorities can be recognized: to achieve overall homogeneity in

18 Hr. Hoare is a citizen of Berlin, Canada, that is, belonging to the place associated with German (as opposed to Paris, France), which means that LJB will perhaps often have referred to him by *Herr Hoare* when talking German, for example, in his family. So this might be less a case of abstract 'familiarity' or 'new/given information' as a factor in language choice, but a more tangible matter of how this person has been referred to in the past. [Thanks to Judith Huber for pointing this out to me!] While this may be true, we also find LJB using both the English and German names of his siblings in his diaries, implying that it is not necessarily the habituality of a form that guides LJB's choices in writing.

19 Note that LJB is referring to his hometown, Berlin, Ontario (Canada), not to Berlin in Germany.

script (accepting a ‘mismatch’ between language and script, e.g. in (5) and (6)), and, in contrast, to aim at congruence between language and script (accepting a visual difference, e.g. with *Paris* and *Hotel de Manchester* in (9) and *Champs Elysées* in (10)). The ranking of these two factors can change and appears to depend on the immediate textual and conceptual context, with additional factors, such as distinguishing new from given information or expressing distance/familiarity, adding to the range of options.

6 Discussion

The analyses of the data, with a special consideration of person reference and place names, showed that there is no period when one language is used to the exclusion of the other. There are English items in the (early) near-monolingual German sections, and German names or short phrases in the (later) near-monolingual English sections. Usually, there is one dominant language in the entries, with the other language playing a subordinate role, only surfacing in (inserted) borrowings or language specific items, such as names. Further, we observed back-and-forth shifts between German and English over the three decades (see Table 16.1), the successive steps of language choice reflecting the individual process of LJB’s language (dominance) shift.

LJB’s shift to English when he started to work in the leather store (in January 1870) suggests that English, notwithstanding the strong German mark of the community during the later nineteenth century, was felt to be the language of public communication and adult business life, from the perspective of an adolescent growing up in this community. The step from being a school boy to becoming an active member of the business community may have made it seem appropriate for him to stop using the family or private language also in his diaries as an indication to himself that he now belonged to the adult world. It also implies that German was understood to be a private, family and home language to some degree.

The analyses have shown that not only language choice but also script choice is highly relevant in these handwritten data (cf. Schiegg & Sowada

2019 for similar results on handwritten data from the same period). Two different patterns could be identified: (a) the use of German cursive with English items and Roman script with German items, which we propose to refer to as *script crossing*; and (b) a congruent script choice, matching language with script. Script crossing leads to the erasure of visual distinction by matching an other-language item visually with its scriptal environment (e.g. *Park Hill* in (6) and *Paris* in (10)), similar to the acoustic effect of phonetically integrating a borrowed item in speech. Congruence between script and language, in contrast, heightens the visibility of other-language items, sometimes additionally reinforced by quotation marks or larger-size letters (in (7) and (8)). For person reference within the bilingual and the formal/informal space of variation, patterns of indicating familiarity/immediacy vs. distance emerged and were expressed by different forms of address.

Variation between the German and the English form of LJB's siblings' names (e.g. Wilhelm/William, Johann/John, cf. Section 5.4) indicates that also his family, just as the local community at large, employs both languages in their everyday lives. In his early diaries, LJB positions himself as German-writing, with only occasional insertions from English. German may not be his (only) dominant language, but it is the dominant language of these diaries. Over the next decade, this balance shifts to a (quantitatively) more even relationship between the two languages, in that some parts of the diaries are in German and others are in English. The data reflect LJB's high versatility in using script choice to highlight names and language switches and his ability to employ his script repertoire for pragmatic functions. Towards the end of the investigated period, English is the language predominantly used, with German playing no more than a marginal role in the diaries. Since LJB is largely consistent in aligning script with language, this shift in language use results in an ever-decreasing use of the German cursive script over time.

This study examined intra-writer variation with a focus on the role of developmental factors and pragmatic functions in language choice and script choice, discussing the nexus between script and language in terms of information structure and social relations. The results highlight the relevance of linguistic and scribal strategies for societal self-positioning within the larger context of a bilingual community.

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