

**Peter Auer**  
**A(nother) Scenario for New Dialect Formation**  
**The German Koiné in Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)**

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# A(nother) scenario for new dialect formation

## The German koiné in Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)

By PETER AUER

### 1. Introduction: Koinés and koineization

A koiné is, according to Siegel's useful definition (2001), "a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects. This occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties". Koiné formation is thus one of the ways in which new dialects may emerge. Siegel also points out that koinés may result from various sociolinguistic situations. One of them is the immigration of speakers from diverging dialect backgrounds into an area which is either unpopulated or from which its original population has been expelled by the immigrants, such that language contact with the autochthonous language(s) plays no substantial role for the formation of the new variety.

Although a wide-spread phenomenon, overseas immigrant koinés of European languages have not been studied much in sociolinguistics or dialectology. Peter Trudgill and Paul Kerswill, who have recently looked into overseas Englishes such as New Zealand English from this perspective,<sup>1</sup> argue that koineization took place within a relatively short period there, perhaps within a maximum of three generations, after which some kind of "focussing" of the new variety had been achieved (cf. Kerswill & Trudgill in print, Trudgill 2004). While the first generation of immigrants were faced with a highly heterogeneous situation in which every immigrant spoke his or her own dialect with only rudimentary levelling, second generation speakers mixed dialects, i.e. they combined features of various dialects without respecting co-occurrence restrictions (Thelander 1976, Auer 1997). The reason for this is that they had no stable input from adult speakers but grew up in a heterogeneous environment in which they created their own individual "idiolects" (cf. Maehlum 2000 for similar findings on Spitzbergen). Finally, in the third generation of immigrants a new, homogeneous variety emerged through the loss of some features and the spread of others. The central processes in this phase were levelling and simplification.

<sup>1</sup> It has also been investigated in German dialectology with reference to the German settlements particularly in South Eastern and Eastern Europe (the so-called language islands) where the national language of the receiving society was not German but a different language. See Rosenberg (in print) for an overview.

## 2. The German settlements in Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)<sup>2</sup>

The scenario of new dialect formation through immigrant koineization in the English-speaking colonies and their successor states does not necessarily hold for other European languages, however. In the southernmost state of Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul = RS), a new German dialect emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a consequence of immigration of German settlers, whose formation seems to have followed a different scenario.<sup>3</sup> This scenario will be tentatively sketched in this contribution.

According to estimates by Altenhofen (1996) based on the public census and on questionnaire data, some 700,000–900,000 speakers of German live in the state of RS today. German immigration started in 1824 and continued over more than a century. Figure 1 summarises data published by Roche (1959) on the numbers of immigrants in the period of 1824–1914.

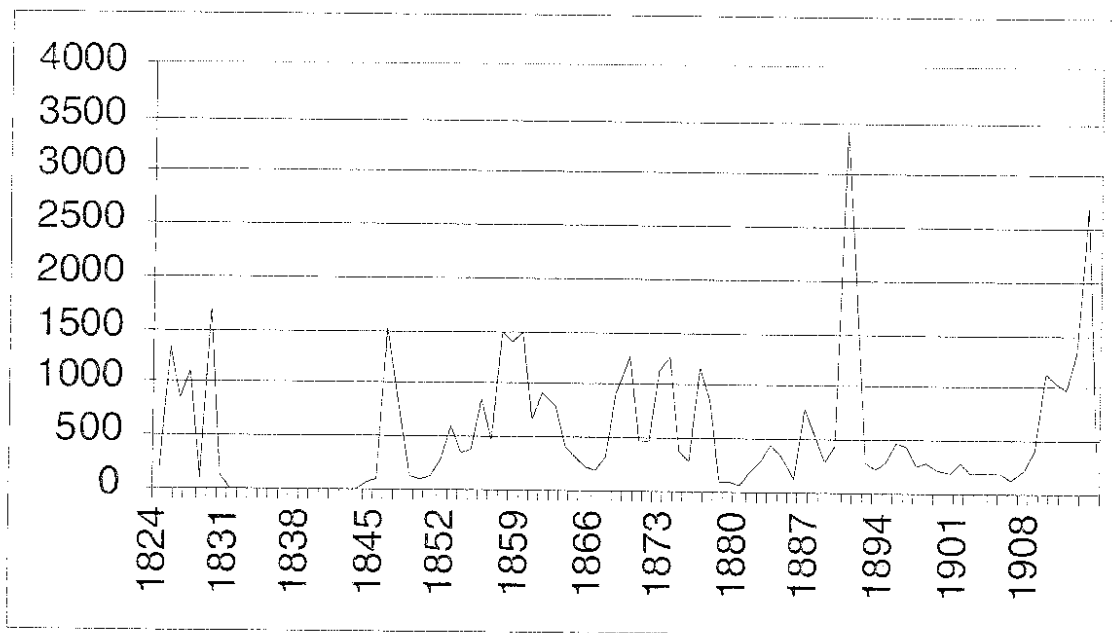


Figure 1. German immigration into Rio Grande do Sul 1824–1914.

<sup>2</sup> The following description is based on extensive fieldwork in four *municípios* (communes) of RS in 2000–2002. Two of them (Nova Petrópolis and Imigrante) are located in the so-called old colonies which were founded by settlers most of whom directly came from Germany, the other two (São Paulo das Missões and Panambi) are located in the so-called new colonies which were founded by settlers most of whom came from the old colonies, with some additional influx from Germany. I wish to thank Jacinta Arnhold, Clarice Engelsing and Cintia Bueno Aniola who participated in this research. A substantial grant by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft is gratefully acknowledged. For ethnographic details, see Auer, Arnhold & Bueno Aniola (in print).

<sup>3</sup> Through internal migration, there are German-speaking Brazilians in other states of Brazil as well today, and this inner-Brazilian migration is continuing. I will restrict myself to the Teuto-Brazilian community in RS in the following discussion.

The annual arrivals rarely exceeded 1,500 persons, but immigration continued steadily over the whole period. All in all a total of somewhat less than 50,000 settlers came to RS in this period. Since the birth rate was high, this relatively small number of immigrants led to a relatively large community of “Teuto-Brazilians” (as they call themselves today).

The linguistic situation in the German settlement areas today is summarized in Figure 2. With the exception of Low German dialect speakers most of which continue to speak their Pommeranian or Westfalian dialect, all other Teuto-Brazilians use a relatively uniform variety of German today for which they themselves have coined the term *Hunsrückisch*. The term refers to a geographical area in Germany from which many of the early immigrants came. I will use the more neutral term S(outhern)B(razilian)G(erman)K(oiné) here.

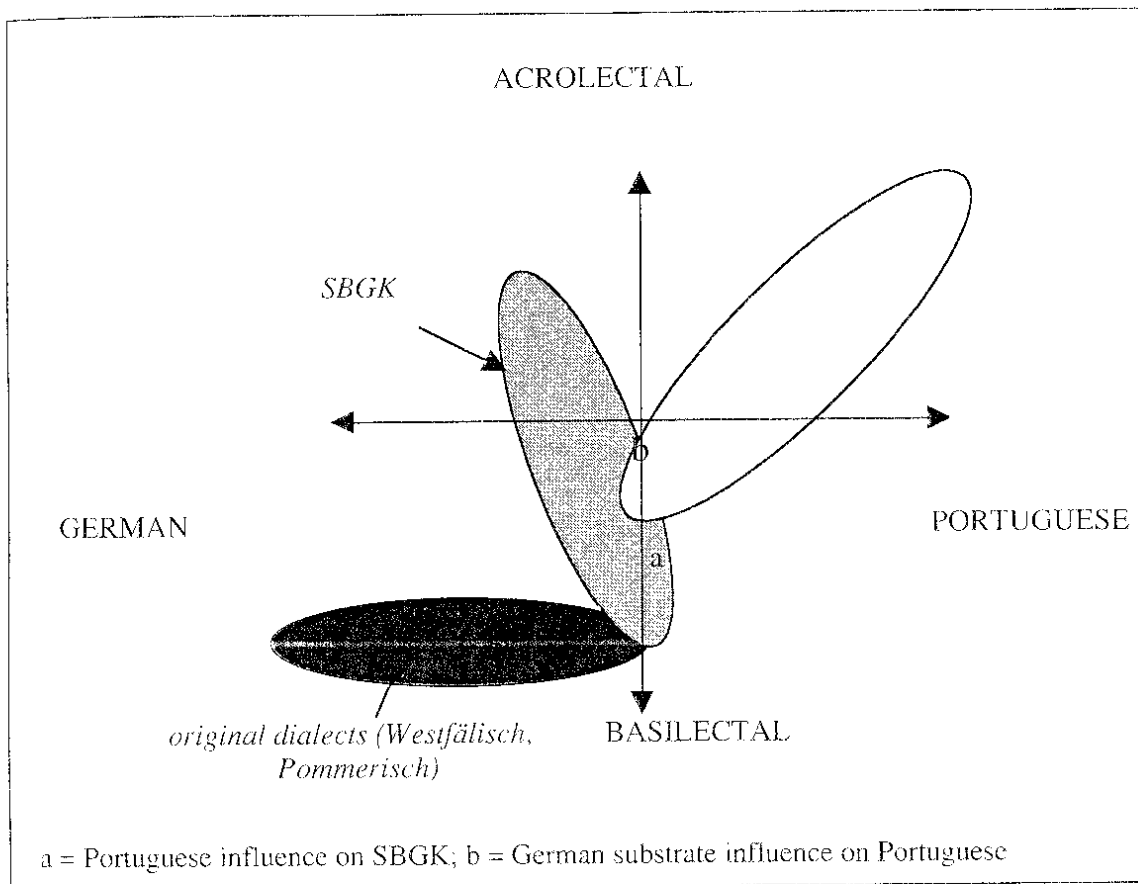


Figure 2. The linguistic repertoire in the German *colônias* in RS.

The local repertoire has a two-dimensional structure, with Portuguese and German providing one dimension, and more and less prestigious forms of Portuguese and German respectively the other.

Variation within present-day SBGK is only rarely due to the various traditional dialects the settlers brought along from Germany (horizontal variation). Rather, SBGK shows a strong acrolectal/basilectal variability, i.e. some forms are more prestigious than others. The latter happen to be closer to Standard

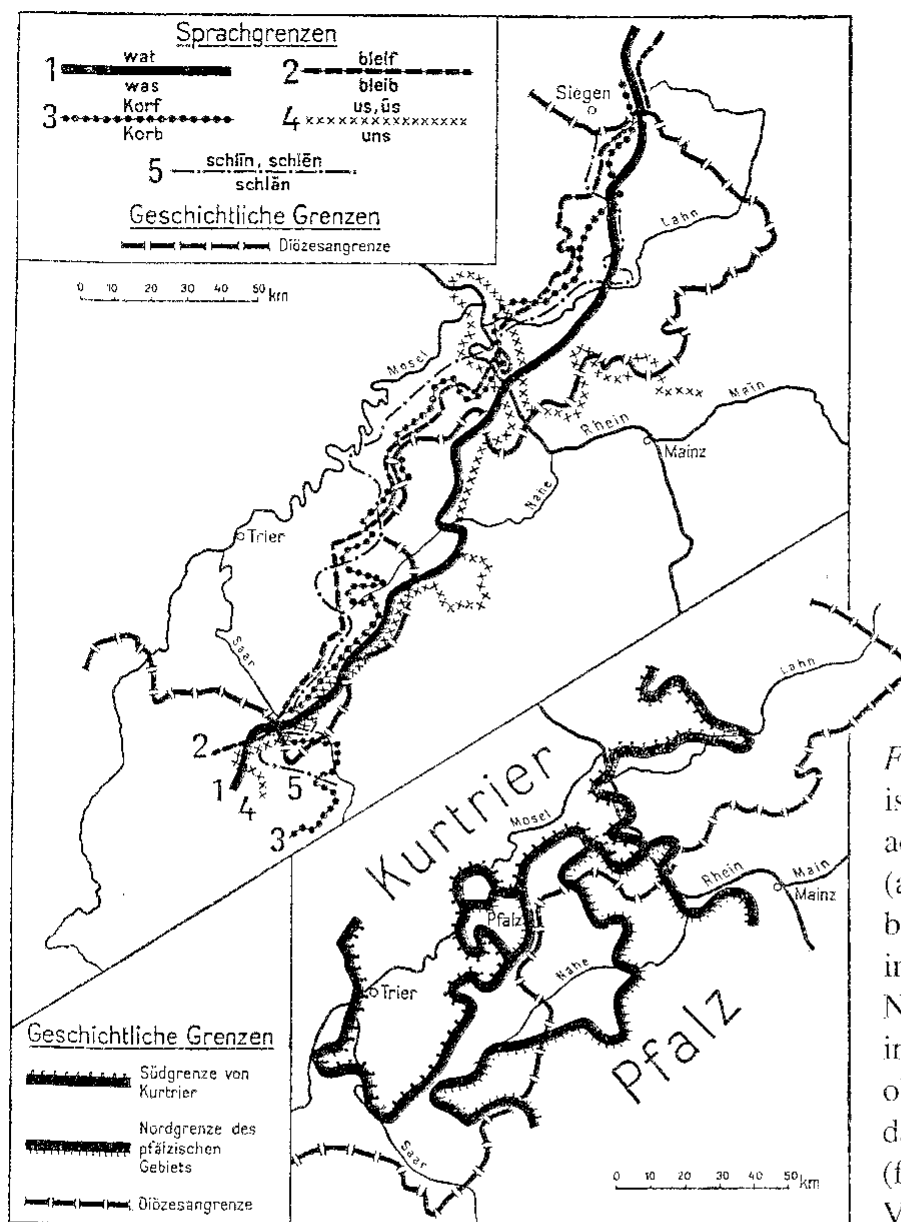


Figure 3. Some isoglosses running across the Hunsrück (a mountain area between the Moselle in the North and the Nahe in the South) in Germany and the old territorial boundaries in the area (from Frings 1956, Vol. I, p. 113).

German (a variety which is hardly present in the community today). SBGK has integrated a good deal of lexical material from Portuguese. In basilectal SBGK, the impact of Brazilian Portuguese goes beyond this lexical borrowing, with code-mixing as a wide-spread speaking style. The three varieties in the repertoire – Low German, SBGK and Brazilian Portuguese – are considered to be of different, ascending prestige, in this order.

From the point of view of dialect koineization, three aspects are noteworthy.

1) In phonology and morphology, almost all of the features of the SBGK 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 south-west/northeast direction, a fact which has led traditional dialectologists to

speak of a “Hunsrück barrier” separating northern Moselle-Franconian from southern Rhine-Franconian (cf. Figure 3).

The isoglosses are still relevant today, and they must have been of equal if not greater importance for the settlers who grew up in this area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. 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.

(2) Middle and High German dialect speakers who came from other areas of Germany have given up their dialects without leaving substantial (direct) traces in the SBGK.

(3) Some Low German settlements today are in the process of language shift, either towards SBGK or towards Portuguese. The relative resistance of Low German to the SBGK can perhaps be explained by structural distance; the Low German dialects are unintelligible to most SBGK speakers. (Siegel’s definition requires mutual intelligibility for levelling to set in.)

### 3. The structure of the Southern Brazilian German Koiné (SBGK)

In order to show that what the Teuto-Brazilians call *Hunsrückisch* is indeed a koiné, it is necessary to compare it with the settlers’ original village dialects. Fortunately, this is easy to do since the relevant area in Germany has been well-investigated by the Middle Rhine Dialect Atlas (MRhSA).<sup>4</sup> Here are some examples:

(1) The 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular present tense of the verb ‘to be’ (*sein*) is realised in the Middle Rhine area partly with a final alveolar stop (which is also the standard German form: (*du*) *bist*), partly without this stop ([bɪf, bɪs], cf. MRhSA map 491). In SBGK, only the form closer to the standard language is found today (*du bischt*).

(2) The std. word *Schuh* ‘shoe’ is realised in most parts of the German Hunsrück and Rhineland differently in the plural and in the singular. The plural may have a final /n/ which the singular doesn’t have, or inversely the singular may have a final /x/ which the plural doesn’t have, etc. Only in about a third of the

<sup>4</sup> The data this atlas is based on date from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and it certainly does not represent the dialects as they were brought into Brazil. However, it is unlikely that these were less distinct from each other than the dialects are today. There are some well-known innovations in the area such as the palatalisation of /ç/ which of course cannot be included in our comparison.

region covered by the MRhSA does the singular not differ formally from the plural (*der schuh, die schuh*; cf. MRhSA 551). The latter paradigm is arguably the simplest one. It is the only one we find in the SBGK today, although it is not the most frequent one in the area of origin. It is closer but not identical to the standard in which the plural is marked by the suffix */-e/*, and is also the prevalent form in other Middle and High German dialects.

(3) Adjectival modifiers within the noun phrase agree with the head noun in case, number and gender in standard German (*die klein+en Kind+er* vs. *das klein+e Kind+Ø* ‘the small children/the small child’, etc.). German dialects variably have an older system of zero marking, however (*die klein Kinder/das klein Kind*). In the Middle Rhine area the isogloss between (northern) zero marking and southern agreement for the plural runs right across the region from which the settlers came (cf. MRhSA 576). In the Brazilian koiné, however, only the standard form is found today: *di kleene kinna*.<sup>5</sup> Here, the “winning” form is more complex than the receding form, but is supported by the standard variety.

(4) In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular indicative present tense of the verb *brauchen* ‘need’ (std. *er braucht*), the dominant Middle Rhine form is one in which the final alveolar stop has been dropped. The t-form is used in the standard and is also typical of the south-western part of the area covered by the MRhSA, an area from which fewer settlers emigrated into Brazil (cf. MRhSA 523). In the SBGK, only the t-form is used. In this case, the prestige of the standard as well as the morphological transparency of the t-form may have supported this development.

(5) Most dialects of German preserve the Middle High German gender distinctions on the numeral ‘two’, e.g. */tsve:/* (m.) ~ */tsvai/* (n.) ~ */tsvo:/* (f.). The standard language has collapsed these forms into the neuter form *zwei* (*/tsvai/*). The northern Middle Rhine area (including the Hunsrück) continues to have a tripartite system, while the southeastern area has switched to the gender-neutral system (sometimes there is formal variation between the old gender forms but the gender difference is lost; cf. MRhSA 627). The SBGK has adopted the simplified southern/standard system (*/tsvoi/*) throughout.

(6) The favouring of southern and eastern forms which has emerged from some of the previous examples is further supported by the negative pronoun, std. *nichts* ‘nothing’, which is realised without the palatal fricative in the syllable coda in the northern and western part of the area, including most of the Hunsrück. However, the koiné has made the southern form obligatory, which is also the one used in the colloquial standard in Germany (*nix*, cf. MRhSA 414).

Since the winning form in these cases is closer or identical to the standard,

<sup>5</sup> The matter becomes much more complex when the other number/gender forms are considered.

the koineization had the effect of bringing this new variety closer to the prestige variety than any of the settlers' original dialects. This is frequently the case, but there are also many counterexamples. One is

(7) the participle of the verb *denken* 'to think', *gedacht* in std. German. Here, the stem vowel varies between /a/ in the north including the Hunsrück area (and standard German) and /e/ in the south (cf. MRhSA 532). The koiné has chosen the southern form ([gædeŋ ~ gædeŋt]) although it substantially diverges from the standard. Since the southern dialects of German mostly have /e/ as well one could think of a supporting effect from the speakers of these areas.

(8) Exactly in the area from which most of the migrants came, but neither in the south nor in the north of it, the traditional dialects have a complex rule of n-apokope in the verbal system; for instance, verbal forms ending in /-en/ lose their final /n/ (cf. MRhSA 440; cf. *wir schreiben* 'we write'). In the Brazilian koiné, this /n/ is always dropped in the appropriate morphological environments.

In sum, with very few exceptions, the SBGK features can be traced back to a form spoken in the Middle Rhineland. Obviously, many of the dialect features have a larger reach and are also found outside this region. On the other hand, the forms that are used today in Brazil cannot be traced back to any *one* location in the Middle Rhine area. Often, the eastern part of the Hunsrück wins over the western part, but sometimes more southern (Palatian) forms dominate over the Hunsrück forms. In some cases, the winning form simplifies the morphological system as compared to that of the dialects (as it ought to in koiné formation), and in many cases, the forms closer to the standard have been selected. A high degree of levelling between the immigrants' dialects has taken place.

#### 4. How did the koiné emerge?

Why does the koiné have these features? In order to answer the question, one may consider the numbers of immigrants from the various regions of Germany into southern Brazil. There are no reliable sources on this for the whole of southern Brazil, but for some settlement areas we do have sufficient information. For instance, the following data for São Leopoldo for the period of 1824–1937 show that in this colony (one of the first to be founded) almost two thirds of the settlers came from the Middle Rhineland and the adjoining West Middle German areas. (See Figure 4.)

The numerical dominance of the settlers from the West Middle German area suggests that in the early settlements, their dialects were heard and spoken



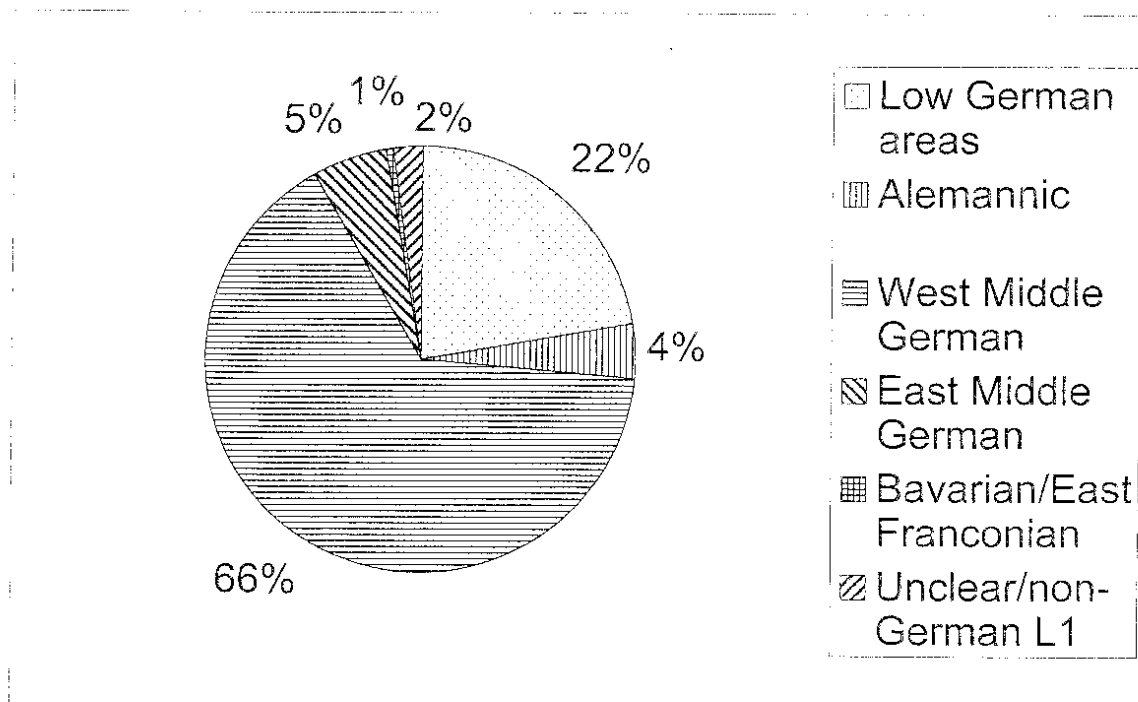


Figure 4. Dialect of origin for German immigrants to São Leopoldo (1824–1937) (total: 3393). Adapted from Faller 1974.<sup>6</sup>

more often than any others. But explaining the features of the SBGK by reference to the numbers of the immigrant speakers from the various dialect areas brings along a number of very strong presuppositions. Above all, it presupposes that the immigrants from the various regions of origin in Germany settled with equal probability in all of the *colônias* and *linhas*. This, however, was clearly not the case.

In Nova Petrópolis for instance, a town situated to the north of São Leopoldo and established some 20 years later (in 1845), the settlement pattern was very different for the various *linhas* (cf. Beitrag... 1988 p. 43). While West Middle German dialect speakers settled above all in the south-eastern part of the *colônia*, Low German speakers (Pommeranians) settled in the north-western part and the rest was populated by immigrants from parts of Bohemia (then part of the Austrian empire) and adjoining Silesia. The villages (*linhas*) were ethnically quite homogeneous, and the gravestones in their cemeteries still bear witness of this. In Linha Imperial, for instance, family names such as Oppitz,

<sup>6</sup> Data quoted in Altenhofen (1996 p. 57). I have made an attempt to summarise Faller's somewhat inconsistent classification according to regions and states (*Bundesländer*) into a dialectological classification. In this sense, "Low German" includes (according to his categories) Brandenburg, Niedersachsen, Mecklenburg, Ostfriesland, Ostpreußen, Pommern, Posen-Westpreußen, Schleswig-Holstein, Westfalen; West Middle German includes Hessen, Rheinland, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland and Luxemburg; East Middle German includes Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Schlesien, Thüringen; Alemannic includes Baden, Württemberg and Switzerland; "unclear" includes Denmark, England, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Africa. The data are taken from the parish registers of São Leopoldo.

Kickow, Waclovsky and Watzlawick prove the “Bohemian” composition of the village. Most of the inhabitants of the village must have spoken an East Middle German, presumably Silesian, dialect when they came to Brazil. However, there is no single speaker of Silesian left in the whole of the *município* today. SBGK is spoken in Linha Imperial, in the same way and just as exclusively as in those parts of the *município* in which people from the Rhineland settled. This also applies to the oldest recordings we have which were done in the 70s of the last century with second or third generation Teuto-Brazilians with a “Bohemian” background, i.e. with people born around the turning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

From this we can conclude that some 50 years after the foundation of the *colônia* of Nova Petrópolis, an SBGK must already have existed and that it must have been strong enough to make speakers of other dialects shift towards this variety although they formed the majority of the speakers in their village. Since we have no documents of this language shift, it is hard to reconstruct it, however.

We are in a much more fortunate position in one of the new colonies, which has a somewhat exceptional history. This is the *município* of Panambi, founded as the *colônia* Neu-Württemberg in 1899. As in all other new colonies, the first settlers of Neu-Württemberg came from the old colonies. But 20 years later, a group of 178 Swabian immigrant families with a total of 650 persons reached the *colônia* directly, most of them from the same small area in Swabia (Amt Urach). For a colony which in 1914 only had some 2,000 inhabitants, these 650 additional settlers were a relatively large group. What happened to their Swabian dialect?

Today, third generation immigrants with a Swabian family background in Panambi know as little Swabian as the descendents of the Silesians in Nova Petrópolis know Silesian. Some second generation immigrants are still alive, however. They were born in Germany or shortly after their parents’ arrival in Brazil. In interviews with us, these speakers agreed that in their childhood, only Swabian was spoken in the newcomers’ families. But our informants also said that outside the family and the *linha* a different language was required, which they called *nach der Schrift sprechen* ‘speaking according to the written language’ – this means, of course: speaking the standard language, and not the new dialect koiné.

Today, we found the following patterns of language use in their behaviour.

Pattern I: Some of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers – particularly the oldest ones born in Germany – spoke standard-like German and told us that they had not used Swabian for a long time. Consider, for instance, the following typical utterance of a 87 year old gentleman:

Extract 1. (Dettingen born speaker, age 87; about a Swabian form of pasta.)

[maɪnəmotəʁhatˈdɪgantsfaɪngəmaxtˈ - vi: - sʌʔ - dakəmtɔdædɑrɔaʊf

aʊfʰsɑ̃brɛt - ɔndɑnhɑtsɛrmitɔmmɛsɛk - so: - abgɛʃa:bdʒabɛk  
gants fain - ɪnshaisɛmskɔxɛndɔvasɛkrainɑʊfɪ̃ʔɔ:fɪ̃]

meine Mutter hat die ganz fein gemacht - wie - so - da kommt der Teig auf'n auf  
son Brett und dann hat sie'n mit 'em Messer so - abgeschabt, aber ganz fein, ins  
heiße - ins kochende Wasser rein auf 'n Ofen

'my mother did them very fine - like - like - you put the dough on a on a kind of  
board and then she 'scaped' it off with a knife, but very fine, into hot - into boil-  
ing water on the stove'

Apart from one unstressed /-er/ syllable in which the /r/ is realised as an ap-  
proximant (standard German fully vocalises the /r/ to low schwa), the speaker  
is hard to classify either as a speaker of Swabian or a speaker of the SBGK. (In  
other parts of the interview, he showed slight traces of this koiné.)

Pattern II: Other second generation speakers also said that they would not use  
Swabian any longer, and used a very acrolectal variety of the SBGK instead,  
at least in formal situations with (us) outsiders. However, when talking to  
friends or relatives of the same age group and with a Swabian background, they  
switched into a dialectal variety which they considered to be pure Swabian. As  
an example, consider the following extract from an interview with a lady aged  
65, born in Brazil. In the interview with a researcher of Teuto-Brazilian but  
non-Swabian background, she says:

Extract 2a.

[hiɛkʷɪtʃaisjaɔasflaiʃʔimɛnɔɔasflaiʃɪsɔdas  
ʔɛstɔʔimɛnɔʔabɛʔɪkɔxse:ɛftɪlgɛmɪ:sənɔ]

hier wird ja ist ja das Fleisch immer ne? das Fleisch ist ja das erste immer ne?  
aber ich koch sehr viel Gemüse ne?

'here of course - is of course the meat always you know? the meat always comes  
first you know? but I make a lot of vegetables'

While this utterance is close to the standard, it shows at least one segmental  
feature of the Brazilian koiné, i.e. the unrounding of /y: → i:/ (*Gemüse*) which  
is also a feature of Swabian. The prosody (not marked here) is typical of the  
SBGK.

In interaction with a friend of Swabian background, however, the same  
speaker behaves quite differently:

Extract 2b.

[ɪçsɑ̃maibrʉ:dɛk - dɛvɦɔtskrɛt - pɔrke dɛvɦɔtɛnnamɛnnɔ -  
mɛdɔvɔxɛdʉvɛ:ɪgɛsɔ:ɛbɛs[ɔrɛɪdɛnɔ]

ich sag mein Bruder, der hat's Recht - weil der hat den Namen ne? man tut doch  
nicht wegen so etwas streiten, ne?

'I say my brother, he has the right - because he has the name see? one doesn't  
quarrel because of something like this, right?'

In this extract, we observe features of the SBGK, particularly the Middle German fricative *ich sach*, but also a high number of Swabian features, such as the diphthong in *Recht* and in *duad*, the negator *ed* and the pronoun *äbes* 'something', or the raised onglide of the diphthong in the verb *streiten* 'quarrel'. Also note the Portuguese conjunction *porque* which indicates that for this speaker Portuguese is an important language in addition to *Hunsrückisch*. There are also standard forms (*Namen, ich*) where Swabian or SBGK features could have been used. These speakers then, do not only switch between Swabian and an acrolectal variety of the SBGK, they also speak in a mixed way.

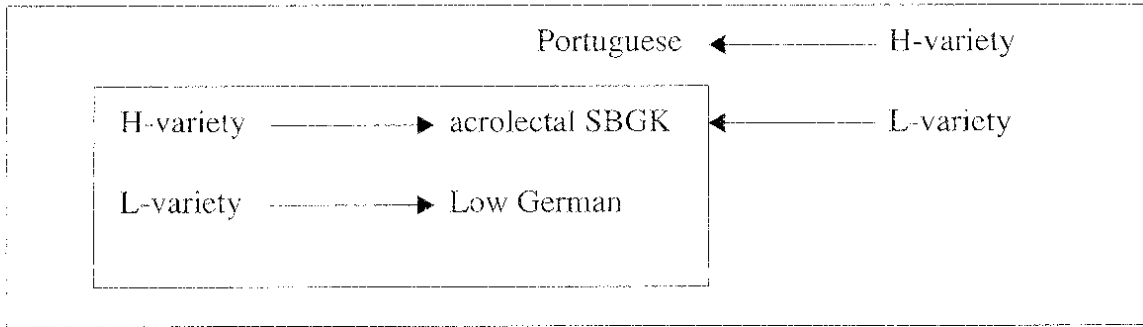
Pattern III: Finally, in the younger speakers, the use of Swabian diminishes and the use of a more basilectal version of the SBGK increases.

This means that for immigrants with a Swabian dialect background, the issue was not one of replacing their own native dialect by the Brazilian-German koiné, but rather one of acquiring standard German as a means of communication with the Germans who already lived in Brazil.<sup>7</sup> Compared to standard German, the local Swabian dialect had no prestige, which conforms to our informants' reports. How did the Brazilian-German koiné find its place in this diglossic constellation of a Swabian village dialect and standard German? An important cue is the fact that levelling in koiné formation often led to the abandonment of the most marked local features and to an approximation of the standard language. In fact, the koiné behaved very much like a regional dialect in Germany in this respect. Compared to their own Swabian, it must have appeared as relatively close to the standard to the Swabian immigrants. The koiné and the standard were perceived as being structurally similar.

When in the 30s of the last century, the German school system broke down, standard German lost its most important institutional support and gradually disappeared from the scene. This led to a gradual destandardisation of the standard variety towards an acrolectal koiné. Also, the ethnically bounded settlement patterns dissolved and second generation Swabians may have felt the need for a more informal (non-standard) variety when interacting with non-Swabians. This hypothesis of a language shift via the standard variety is supported by the fact that the SBGK in Panambi continues to be more acrolectal than in the other places in which the non-Franconian dialect speakers had been integrated into the koiné speaking community some generations earlier. High numbers of immigrants from Germany did not mean bringing in new dialect features/speakers but increased the use of standard German. It is further supported by the fact that the only non-koiné dialect speakers left today, the

<sup>7</sup> That the acquisition of standard German was indeed successful in the second generation is not very surprising. The Teuto-Brazileiros had a well-functioning German-only school system until the 30s of the 20th century. Also, the protestant church played an important role in promoting standard German literacy.

Low Germans, too, look upon the acrolectal part of the SBGK as a prestige variety (*Daitisch*), in a kind of double or embedded diglossia:



## 5. Summary and conclusion

In sum, my reconstruction suggests the following scenario for the development and spread of the Southern Brazilian German Koiné:

1. A new dialect emerged as the consequence of levelling between the dialects brought into Brazil, based on the language of the immigrants from the middle Rhineland area. This koiné formation presumably took place quite early, perhaps before 1850, and roughly followed the lines described by Peter Trudgill for New Zealand. The new dialect of German must have originated in those settlements in which the West German settlers were dominant in numbers, such as in São Leopoldo.
2. As a consequence of this koineization, a number of the dialect features most divergent from the standard disappeared. Exposure to schooling and the educational activities of the churches may have enhanced this standardisation process.
3. Immigrants from other dialect areas did not participate in the koineization process. Compared to the levelled koiné, their own village dialect had little prestige. They therefore turned to standard German as a prestige variety.
4. The borderline between standard German and acrolectal forms of the SBGK became blurred, however, when the standard lost ground due to the abolishment of the German schools and the diminishing influence of the churches (particularly the Lutheran protestant church). Standard German destandardized into an acrolectal form of the koiné. According to this scenario, the shift from the immigrants' own dialect such as Silesian, Bavarian or Swabian (nowadays Pommerian, Westfalian) to the German koiné therefore was not direct, but was mediated by the standard language.
5. In this way, the koiné lost its affiliation with the Middle Rhine area. Today,

it is considered to be simply *daitsch*, not a dialect of a certain group.<sup>8</sup> It offers to the Teuto-Brazileiros a symbol of their ethnic identity within Brazil, a context in which the internal division of Germany according to dialect areas plays no role.

From other overseas immigration contexts, the koiné formation process among the German settlers in RS differs in at least two respects: (a) In the koineisation process, the standard language played an important role, and (b) immigration took place over a prolonged period, but with small annual numbers of immigrants. This gave a large momentum to the first settlers and their linguistic choices. Population growth rate was high, not because of the new arrivals, but because of a high birth rate. In sociolinguistic terms: the 500 to 1,000 new arrivals who came to Brazil every year directly from Germany and brought along whatever dialect they spoke, were a small number compared to the German-speaking settlers who already lived in the German settlements and used the koiné. From a certain time onward, it is highly unlikely that they could have had a linguistic impact on the emerging koiné; rather, they were absorbed into the existing speech communities. Although their numbers were substantial, their non-Franconian dialects had no direct influence on the koiné.

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<sup>8</sup> There is no loyalty to the region in Germany from which the settlers came; in fact, to most Teuto-Brazileiros, it is unknown. Teuto-Brazileiros who do not speak the home dialect any longer are no longer called “Swabians”, “Bohemians”, “Pommerians”, but just “Daitsche”.

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