Dialect Change

Dialects are constantly changing, and due to increased mobility in recent years, European dialects have ‘levelled’, making it difficult to distinguish a native of Reading from a native of London, or a native of Bonn from a native of Cologne. This comprehensive study brings together a team of leading scholars to explore all aspects of recent dialect change, in particular dialect convergence and divergence. Drawing on examples from a wide range of European countries – as well as areas where European languages have been transplanted – they examine a range of issues relating to dialect contact and isolation, and show how sociolinguistic conditions differ hugely between and within European countries. Each specially commissioned chapter is based on original research, giving an overview of current work on that particular area and presenting case studies to illustrate the issues discussed. The first ever book devoted to the position of dialects in Europe, *Dialect Change* will be welcomed by all those interested in sociolinguistics, dialectology, and European languages.
Dialect Change

Convergence and Divergence in European Languages

Edited by

Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens, and Paul Kerswill
Contents

List of maps ................................ II
List of figures ................................ III
List of contributors ........................... x
Preface .......................................... xiii
Map ............................................. xv

1 The study of dialect convergence and divergence: conceptual and methodological considerations 1
F. HINSKENS, P. AUER, AND P. KERSWILL

Part 1 Convergence, Divergence and Linguistic Structure

2 Internal and external factors in phonological convergence: the case of English /t/ lenition 51
J. KALLEN

3 Dialect/standard convergence, mixing, and models of language contact: the case of Italy 81
G. BERRUTO

4 Convergence and divergence in grammar 96
L. CORNIPS AND K. CORRIGAN

5 Phonology, grammar, and discourse in dialect convergence 135
J. CHESHIRE, P. KERSWILL, AND A. WILLIAMS

Part 2 Macrosociolinguistic Motivations of Convergence and Divergence

6 Processes of standardisation in Scandinavia 171
IL. PEDERSEN

7 The birth of new dialects 196
P. KERSWILL AND P. TRUDGILL
Contents

8 Dialect convergence in the German language islands (Sprachinseln) 221
   P. ROSENBERG

9 Political borders and dialect divergence/convergence in Europe 236
   C. WOOLHISER

10 The influence of urban centres on the spatial diffusion of dialect phenomena 263
    J. TAELEDEMAN

Part 3 Microsociolinguistic Motivations

11 Subjective factors in dialect convergence and divergence 287
    T. KRISTIANSEN AND J. JØRGENSEN

12 How similar are people who speak alike? An interpretive way of using social networks in social dialectology research 303
    JA. VILLENA-PONSODA

13 The role of interpersonal accommodation in a theory of language change 335
    P. AUER AND F. HINSKENS

References 358
Index 409
Maps

European countries discussed in this book

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1 H-dropping I</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2 H-dropping II</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3 Main dialect areas in Dutch-speaking Belgium</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4 The East Flemish dialect area</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5 Re-insertion of intervocalic -γ- in the Ghent dialect</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6 Old intervocalic *-sk- (Verstegen 1942)</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7 Polarisation: lowering of short vowels</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8 Historical diffusion pattern of south Brabantine [y,]</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt; Middle Dutch) to/in east Flanders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures

2.1 Optimality Theory and voicing contrasts in English and Russian (following Pulleyblank 1997) page 54
2.2 Lenition as the loss of elements (following Harris 1990) 57
2.3 /h/ lenition and deletion as the outcome of constraint violations 77
4.1 Distribution of the instrumental, adjunct, and impersonal middles in 1885 119
4.2 Converging dialects in Limburg 1885–1994 121
4.3 Converging Rhineland dialects and the Standard language, 1885 and 1994 122
5.1 Nonstandard variants of three consonantal variables (interview data) (from Cheshire et al. 1999) 146
5.2 Percentage use of [h] in lexical words, working-class speakers (interview data) (from Cheshire et al. 1999) 147
7.1 Correlation of 4-year-old children’s and caregivers’ (ou) indices 212
7.2 Correlation of (ou) indices for 8- and 12-year-olds and caregivers 213
8.1 Case system in Pennsylvania German personal pronouns 230
8.2 Case system in Danish personal pronouns 231
8.3 Case system in Old English personal pronouns 232
8.4 Case system in French ‘pronoms personnels conjoints’ 233
9.1 Dubašno/Chilmony and Jalowo (Poland: first two columns) and Racičy and Malaja Berastavica (Belarus: second two columns): occurrence of incomplete akanne ([o] (-stress)/#) 253
9.2 Dubašno/Chilmony and Jalowo (Poland: first two columns) and Racičy and Malaja Berastavica (Belarus: second two columns): Retention of velar alternations in the prepositional and dative sg. of Decl. II nouns (e.g. ruká ‘hand’ – u ruccey ‘in the hand’ vs. Rus. Ruká – v ruké) 255
List of figures ix

9.3 Dubański/Chilmony and Jalowo (Poland: first two columns)
Racięcy and Malaja Berastavica (Belarus: second two columns).
Retention of Decl. I masc. stressed nom. pl. in -é 256

10.1 City-hopping: innovations spreading by leaps 264
10.2 Gradual expansion and urban centres 266

11.1 Conscious and subconscious evaluation of local, old standard,
and young standard varieties by Næstved adolescents 294
11.2 Language use and attitudes across socioeconomic status 296
11.3 Language use and attitudes across geographic affiliation 297
11.4 Language use and attitudes across school affiliation 298
11.5 Language use and attitudes across gender 300

12.1 Graph of a social network of low density and multiplexity and
matrix of relations 308
12.2 Graph of a social network of high density and multiplexity and
matrix of relations 310
12.3 Phonemic consonant system of northern-standard Spanish and
nonstandard Andalusian Spanish 318

12.4 Individual probabilities of sibilant and nonsibilant pronunciation
of /θ/ among speakers from Capuchinos (Málaga). Source: Avila
(1994) 328

13.1 Selected scores for the variable (t) in Trudgill’s Norwich study
(data reanalysed by author, 1986: 8) 340
13.2 Shaded area: expected accommodation as a function of the
distance of the three out-group contact varieties (from Hinskens
1992: section 11.3.2) 346

13.3 Standard (i.e. non-Luxembourg city) realisations of the variables
(i) and (u) in high-scoring dialect speakers from the east (O1 and
O2) and the north (N1) (= nonstandard speakers) in intra- and
interdialectal condition (from Gilles 1999: 153) 349

13.4 Standard (i.e. Luxembourg city) realisations of the variable (ei)
in high-scoring dialect speakers from the east (O1) and the north
(N1, N4, N3) in intra- and interdialectal condition, and the
scores of their interlocutors (from Gilles 1999: 183) 349

13.5 Standard (Luxembourg city) realisation of the variable (a:) in
high-scoring vernacular speakers and their partners from the
centre area in intra- and interdialectal contexts (from
Gilles 1999: 106) 350

13.6 Degree of loss of the Upper Saxon Vernacular features lowering
of /e/, unrounding of /y/, and monophthongal realisation of /ou/
in the word auch according to network types 355
13.7 Degree of loss of the Upper Saxon Vernacular features
unrounding of /ø/ onset and coronalisation of /x/ according
to network types 355
Contributors

PETER J.C. AUER, Professor of German Linguistics, University of Freiburg
GAETANO BERRUTO, Professor of General Linguistics and Sociolinguistics, University of Turin
LEONIE CORNIPS, Senior Research Fellow, Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam
KAREN CORRIGAN, Reader in Linguistics, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne
JENNY CHERHIRE, Professor of Linguistics, Queen Mary, University of London
FRANS LMP. HINSKENS, Head of the Department of Linguistics, Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam, and Professor of Language Variation and Change, Vrije Universiteat, Amsterdam
JENS NORMANN JØRGENSEN, Professor, Department of Nordic Studies, University of Copenhagen
JEFFREY L. KALLEN, Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and Phonetics, University of Dublin, Trinity College
PAUL E. KERSWILL, Professor of Linguistics, Department of Linguistics and English Language, University of Lancaster
TORE KRISTIANSEN, Lecturer, Institute for Danish Dialect Research, University of Copenhagen
INGE LISE PEDERSEN, Director of the Institute for Danish Dialect Research, University of Copenhagen
PETER ROSENBERG, Lecturer, European University, Viadrina
JOHAN TAELEMAN, Chair of Dutch Linguistics, University of Ghent
PETER TRUDGILL FBA, Professor of English Linguistics, University of Fribourg

© Cambridge University Press
www.cambridge.org
List of contributors

Juan Andres Villena-Ponsoda, Chair of General Linguistics, Universidad de Málaga

Ann Williams, Department of Linguistics, University of Wales, Bangor

Curt F. Woolhiser, Preceptor in Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University
Between 1995 and 1998, the European Science Foundation funded an international research Network on social dialectology with the title ‘The Convergence and Divergence of Dialects in a Changing Europe’. The Network was founded and chaired by Peter Auer (Universities of Hamburg and later Freiburg, Germany, and Frans Hinskens (University of Nijmegen, at the time). Eleven European countries were officially represented by a scientific committee, which had as its members (in addition to the chairpersons):

4 Wolfgang Dressler (Vienna)
4 Walter Haas (Fribourg, Switzerland)
4 Toon Hagen (Nijmegen)
4 Jeffrey Kallen (Dublin)
4 Paul Kerswill (Reading)
4 Klaus Mattheier (Heidelberg)
4 Inge Lise Pedersen (Copenhagen)
4 Alberto Sobrero (Lecce)
4 Johan Taeldeman (Ghent)
4 Mats Thelander (Uppsala)
4 Juan Villena Ponsoda (Málaga).

As part of the activities of the Network, three workshops (in Nijmegen, Ghent, and Heidelberg) and an open conference (in Reading) were held. The Network also organised a summer school for Ph.D. students (in Málaga). A series of publications relating to the theme of the Network has already appeared: a special issue of Sociolinguistica (10, 1996) edited by Auer, Hinskens, and Mattheier; a special issue of Folia Linguistica (22/1–2) edited by Auer in 1998; the volume Dialect and Migration in a Changing Europe edited by Mattheier (Frankfurt, etc.: Lang, 2000) and a special issue of the International Journal of the Sociology of Language edited by Kallen, Hinskens, and Taeldeman (145, 2000).

Following an extensive introduction by the editors, the present volume is divided into three parts which together contain thirteen chapters, the embryonic versions of several of which are based on presentations at the Reading conference; the remaining chapters were specially commissioned. Although
this volume is thus the youngest of the offspring of the ESF Network, it definitely stands on its own feet as the outcome of much fruitful cross-fertilisation of ideas both during and after the formal period of the Network. It distils the essence of this new research area with a coherence that would not have been possible without the Network and the many cross-national links it fostered.

As the editors, we would like to thank Dr Antonio Lamarra of the European Science Foundation, which, apart from funding the activities of the research Network, also financially supported part of the production and publication of the present volume. We would also like to thank Dr Aniek IJbema for her assistance in compiling the index.

Freiburg, Amsterdam, and Reading
March 2004
European countries discussed in this book.