Neighbour languages in Europe. Language contact in border zones and multilingual cities

Globe

A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication

Guest editor: Lars Behnke

Vol. 15

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication

ISSN
2246-8838

ISBN
978-87-89383-88-0

URL
https://journals.aau.dk/index.php/globe/

Published by
Aalborg University Press
Kroghstræde 3
DK-9220 Aalborg Ø
Denmark

Managed by
CLD - Research Group for Communication, Language and Discourse

Secretariat
Lisbeth Rieshøj Amos
Department of Culture and Learning
Aalborg University
Kroghstræde 3, room 3.240
DK-9220 Aalborg Ø
Denmark

E-mail: amos@ikl.aau.dk

Table of contents

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 1-3 (2023)

Introduction

Lars Behnke, University of Copenhagen

In many parts of Europe, the years around 2020 brought the nations' existing borders into the centre of attention. About 100 years after the end of World War I, speeches and anniversaries reminded us of their volatility and raised questions about their current functions and effects. National borders usually do not coincide with borders between languages (or language varieties): They can cross dialect continua or cut multilingual zones in two. But national borders can still affect the language situation in the border zone in the way people speak and/or think about the varieties present in the area.

One of these anniversaries was held in Denmark and Germany in 2020, commemorating one hundred years of the existence of the current national border between the two countries, which came into existence after the Schleswig plebiscites in 1920. The Department of English, Germanic and Romance Studies at the University of Copenhagen seized this opportunity to hold a conference under the title "Danish and German as European neighbour languages. An international conference on language contact in border zones and multilingual cities", which took place – delayed due to the covid pandemic – in August 2021. As the title suggests, the object of the conference was not limited to national borders, but also included urban spaces where borders are less tangible. The common denominator behind the contributions was an interest in how speakers structure and/or perceive the relations towards their neighbours, both in historically multilingual linguistic transition zones and in larger cities, where new neighbours have arrived in the course of migration. One central question is, obviously, how national borders contribute to linguistic divergence, i.e. how language use and/or language attitudes become a potential marker of belonging to a nation state. Where national borders conflict with language borders, questions range between two poles: Do speakers introduce new linguistic demarcation lines where no tangible borders are present? And do speakers make existing borders more permeable through their language usage and/or language attitudes?

The contributions gathered in this volume deal with different linguistic "neighbourhoods" and approach these questions from different angles. While each of these contact situations certainly is unique to some degree, the aim of this introduction is to briefly outline some of the overarching dimensions dealt with in the descriptions of different and distant contact situations. Borders can both cross and define different kinds of concepts of linguistic space, and the term "border zone" is used here in a broad sense in order to cover different kinds of language contact situations: It designates areas close to national or language borders as well as urban contact areas that can be demarcated on the basis of language use of their inhabitants.

The first of these dimensions relates to *space*: Borders are mere lines without any geographical extension of their own, separating two adjacent areas and potentially leading to linguistic divergence. But apart from this separating effect, language use on both sides of a national border line can show signs of (sometimes cross-border) linguistic convergence and the adjacent regions can eventually become demarcated areas themselves, recognizable through some kind of specific language use that is not found outside the border zone. This geographical perspective might be particularly interesting in cases where national borders have shifted in the course of history. They can move across autochthonous populations, or it can be the population that moves and helps to redefine the linguistic space. Urban settings are an interesting field in this respect. These dynamics can lead to a rearrangement of *linguistic repertoires* on different sides of the border and change the status of the varieties involved. Roofing standard languages seem to have a tendency to confirm national borders. Substandards, that do not have a clear affiliation to the concept of nation, can follow this path and loosen their bond to a once roofing language on the other side of the border. The labelling of language

varieties (either by linguists or by speakers) can sometimes be symptomatic of the reevaluation of the varieties within the speakers' linguistic repertoire. But some of the situations presented here show that substandards can also behave differently and develop cross-border links under two different roofs. Equivalent linguistic forms and structures can correspond across borders or within newly established border zones and have the potential of becoming *indexical* of the speakers' belonging. We can see that such linguistic bonds can be manifest in many different ways: In a "monolingual mode", where traditional forms and structures are maintained across borders, or in a "multilingual mode", where innovative form-function-relations, which can be seen as compromise forms between the different language varieties involved, can become indexical. In urban youth varieties, innovative forms can acquire some kind of covert prestige, and it is intriguing to ask if a comparable border identity can be attested in border zones at national borders. Some of the innovative forms, which can be observed in the border zones described here, can be described as a mere continuation of a process of *language change* in (at least one of) the languages involved. The innovations that demarcate a linguistic area might thus be grounded historically in one of the "traditional" varieties and eventually spread to other speech communities, which blurs the demarcation in a diachronic perspective. Furthermore, linguistic forms that help to demarcate a certain linguistic area can appear in free *variation* with alternative constructions, which are not restricted to the area in question. But at some point, one of them can become salient enough to be associated with a certain prestige, and thus acquire a *normative* character, constraining the spread of innovative forms. A last dimension worth mentioning here that is covered more or less explicitly by the contributions in this volume is *age*: In some parts of the European border lands described here, it is the older speakers that keep the area unique, while in others (especially the urban ones), it is the younger ones that demarcate an area with their innovative language use, which reminds us that language situations in border zones are dynamic and subject to *demographic change*.

The papers in this volume are organized in three sections, each focusing on contact between language varieties within or between borders: 1) in the Danish-German border region and beyond, 2) in other European border regions, and 3) in European cities. The seven papers cover a wide range of methodological approaches, based on structural (phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical) and attitudinal data. None of them addresses all of the aspects described above, but the left-out aspects might, to a certain extent, still be relevant to border zones in general and provide further basis for a comparative analysis.

The articles take us on a journey through European border lands: **Elin Fredsted** starts at the Danish-German border in Schleswig, where she presents examples of syntactic convergences between border varieties (Danish, South Jutish, North Frisian, German and Low German), which bear witness to the region's long-lasting multilingualism. It is shown how the national border of 1920 has produced new contact varieties on both sides of the border, whose status is being discussed. **Lars Behnke** stays in the region and discusses an innovative morphosyntactic construction in border zone Low German, only to compare it with another innovative construction in Eastern Polish dialects in the contact zone with Eastern Slavonic varieties. It is argued that an analysis of the variation between innovative constructions and alternative unmarked constructions is necessary for our understanding of their distribution and spread, which follows a comparable path in the two distant border zones. **Rahel Beyer** introduces the second section with a report from a study on the status of German in Eastern Lorraine in France. On the basis of interviews with speakers of different age groups, Beyer examines if the local variety of German can still be seen as being roofed by Standard German, or if the border has led to a situation where it has lost this affiliation and must be considered a foreign language. **Peter Auer** takes us further south to the border zone in the Upper Rhine area between Alsace in France and Baden in Germany. Auer investigates if the permeability of the current border corresponds to a "cognitive representation" of a common dialect, or if the national separation is reflected in different repertoire types and language attitudes on both sides of the border. The

description is supplemented by an analysis of how a perceived closer bond between Baden and Alsatian dialects might be reflected in phonology. **Silvia Dal Negro** reports from the Romance-German language border in northeastern Italy, where Standard German, Italian, Tyrolean dialects, Trentino and Ladin form different types of multilingual linguistic repertoires. It is shown that the relations between these language varieties are asymmetrical, and the linguistic repertoires hierarchically structured with regard to different contact situations. These asymmetries are reflected in different kinds and extents of contact phenomena (such as borrowing and code-switching). **Anita Berit Hansen** opens the last section, which leads us to different European urban areas. We start out in Paris, where new allophonic variants of plosives occur in a traditional working-class area of the city that has also attracted migrants with different language backgrounds (the "croissant"). This raises the question of whether the innovative pronunciation is a continuation of *français populaire* or the result of language contact or a combination of both. Hansen investigates if and how the phenomenon crosses borders and spreads into other areas with a different social structure to see if it is reallocated to mark new indexical functions not limited to the "croissant". Last but not least, our journey ends in the Netherlands, where **Kristel Doreleijers**, **Khalid Mourigh** and **Jos Swanenberg** take us to two different urban areas with two different youth varieties: Moroccan Dutch in the city of Gouda and urban Brabantish in the city of Eindhoven. Both varieties are marked for deviant adnominal gender marking, albeit not of the same kind since the variety to deviate from is not the same (Standard Dutch in Gouda and the local Brabantish in Eindhoven). The study discusses the normative character of these deviations and the question of their indexicality on the basis of stylized on- and offline conversation.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank my fellow colleagues Anita Berit Hansen, Erling Strudsholm and Kim Ebensgaard Jensen for their support, advice, and optimism in organizing the conference in Copenhagen together with me in August 2021, after it had to be postponed several times. On behalf of the organizing team, I also wish to thank the A.P. Møller og Hustru Chastine McKinney-Møllers Fond til Almene Formaal and the Department of English, Germanic and Romance Studies of the University of Copenhagen for their generous support.

Lars Behnke, Copenhagen, October 2023.

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 4-21 (2023)

Schleswig – a region of longitudinal language contact

Elin Fredsted, Europa-Universität Flensburg

Abstract: The topic of this article is the structural similarity of neighbouring language varieties belonging to two different branches of the Germanic languages. The German-Danish border region (Schleswig/Sønderjylland) is characterized by longitudinal language contact between West and North Germanic varieties, which have developed common features not to be found in other varieties of these languages spoken outside the contact area. These shared features are the results of regional multilingualism, language contact, and/or of language shift(s). This paper focuses on syntactical convergences. Examples of different aspects of convergences are presented, covering mainly convergences from the North Germanic regional language of South Jutish to West Germanic varieties (Low German, North Frisian, and Standard German regiolect), and from Standard German to the Standard Danish variety spoken by members of the Danish minority on the German side of the border since 1920.

1. Introduction

For centuries, Schleswig/Sønderjylland was an area of language contact between varieties of five typologically and genetically closely related Germanic languages: South Jutish, North-Frisian, Low German, Standard German (Hochdeutsch), and Standard Danish (Rigsdansk, predominantly as written language until 1920). After a short historical overview, chapter 3 will focus on those linguistic features where South Jutish substrata influenced the spoken regional West German varieties: *und/än*-constructions, prepositions in front of infinitive, stranded prepositions, progressive and durative constructions, and finally inchoative constructions. The hypothesis suggested is that these features are the results of a linguistic situation characterised by widespread (productive and/or receptive) bi- and multilingualism and language shift(s). In chapter 4, the linguistic situation before 1920 will be compared with the development after the division of Schleswig in 1920 which is characterised by an increasing dominance of the standard varieties of German and Danish at the expense of the traditional regional vernaculars, the emergence of a non-focused contact variety based on Standard Danish (Sydslesvigdansk), and a gradual decrease of regional bi- and multilingualism during the last three generations.

2. The historical background – a very short overview

Today Schleswig/Sønderjylland[1] is a divided region situated on both sides of the borderline between Germany and Denmark. From 1232 until 1864, Schleswig was a relatively autonomous duchy – after 1460 closely connected to Holstein. In 1460, the king of Denmark was announced duke of Schleswig and Holstein and this construction (named "a personal union" with the Danish crown) lasted until 1864. In 1848, an independence movement rebelled against the union with the Danish crown, fighting for a free constitution for Schleswig-Holstein. In the following civil war (1848-1850), the insurgents were defeated. During the years 1851-1864, Schleswig came under Danish control. In 1864, a national war between the German Federations (Prussia-Austria) and Denmark resulted in an ultimate defeat

[1] 'Sønderjylland' and 'Slesvig' (German: 'Schleswig') are two names for the same geographical area located between the rivers Kongeå (to the north) and Eider (to the south). Its particular history began in 1232 when the region became a duchy named 'Jutiae', later 'Suder Jutia'. In 1386, the Danish Queen Regent Margrethe I officially renamed the duchy 'Schleswig' which was the official name for more than five centuries, but the inhabitants used both names haphazardly (Buch 2005:8). When nationalism arose in the middle of the 19th century, the Danes began to prefer the name 'Sønderjylland'. After the division in 1920, the German part was called 'Schleswig' ('Landesteil Schleswig'), the northern Danish part officially 'De sønderjyske Landsdele', from 1970 'Sønderjyllands Amt'. Nowadays the Danish inhabitants of the northern part use the names 'Sønderjylland' and/or 'Nordslesvig' (North Schleswig), the German minority and the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein use the name 'Nordschleswig'. Due to centralisation in Denmark, 'Sønderjyllands Amt' was incorporated into the 'Region Syd' in 2007.

of Denmark. In the following war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, Austria was defeated and lost its influence in Holstein. Accordingly, Schleswig and Holstein became Prussian provinces in 1867. In 1871, Schleswig was incorporated into the German Empire, and after 1880, a strict policy of cultural and linguistic Germanization began. After World War I, a referendum took place in the northern and middle parts of Schleswig where the local population could vote on belonging to either Denmark or to Germany. As a result of this referendum, Schleswig became divided in 1920, and the northern part was incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark. Now the national "re-education" turned around, and the population of North Schleswig had to adapt to Danish norms and standards with respect to economy, infrastructure, culture, and language. Standard Danish substituted Standard German in public institutions such as administration, judiciary, and education. The borderline of 1920 also resulted in historical-national minorities on both side of the border – a German one on the Danish side, and a Danish one on the German side.

Today, the German part of Schleswig is called "Landesteil Schleswig" as the northern region of the Federal Land of Schleswig-Holstein. On the Danish side, however, Sønderjylland ceased to exist as administrative and political region in 2007, but there are still some distinct features of linguistic and cultural differences to be observed compared to the "old" parts of Denmark.

3. South Jutish substrata in spoken regional West German varieties

3.1 The linguistic situation – seen from a historical point of view

For many centuries, Schleswig has been a region of linguistic and cultural contact with several languages and widespread multilingualism. Already in the Viking Age, east-west-bound and north-south-bound trade routes crossed in the trading place Haithabu (Hedeby), situated at the fjord of Schlei. Roughly speaking, the inhabitants of the area belonged to three main groups: the Low German speaking people in the southern part, the North Frisians in the west, and the Angliter and Jutes speaking South Jutish in the eastern, middle, and northern part of Schleswig. But there were other language communities who settled in Schleswig, too: Sephardic Jews (early17th century), French Huguenots (late 17th century), and in the 18th century, also groups of High German speaking colonists from southern Germany and the pietist community of Herrnhuter from the east of Germany (Oberlausitz) settled here.

In the late Medieval Ages, the language of administration was Latin, but due to the dominance of the Hansa, the Lübeck variety of Low German took over this function in the early 15th century. After the Lutheran Reformation (1526-1539), High German (later standardized as Standard German) gradually became the language of administration and culture. In the northern parts, where South Jutish was the oral variety, Danish (in writing) became the language of church and of public schools (after 1814). So, we end up with five languages – all of them including dialects or spoken regiolects: the three regional languages Low German, North Frisian and South Jutish on the one hand, and two languages from outside the region: High German (from the middle of the 16th century) and Danish on the other hand; viz. for Danish from the 16th century as written language, after 1920 also as spoken variety to the north. Many inhabitants were (and still are) multilingual, some with a productive command in more than one language whereas others are at least receptive multilinguals.

3.2 The linguistic situation – seen from a contact linguistic point of view

As already mentioned, Schleswig has been an area of longitudinal language contact but is it also a *linguistic (convergence) area* (a *Sprachbund*)? Sarah Thomason has claimed that shared structural features of *linguistic areas* must be a result of contact rather than a result of accident or inheritance from a common ancestor (cf. Thomason 2001: 99). In studies on linguistic areas there seems to be a common ground based on (at least) the three criteria (also mentioned by Roman Jakobson (1931)):

1) a common geographical area/geographical neighbourhood/common space or (more abstract) some kind of a common *locus*
2) a certain amount of not inherited common traits/structural similarities/shared structural features, and
3) minimal or no genetical relationship or typological closeness of the languages involved (cf. Fredsted 2013).

The area described here does **not** constitute a *linguistic convergence area* (*Sprachbund*) in the traditional sense of the term since the languages spoken here do not meet the third criterion of the definition above: Although belonging to different subgroups within the Germanic languages, the languages spoken in Schleswig are typologically closely related, and the lexical and structural similarities through inheritance and long-term borrowing are numerous. All five of them are Germanic languages, the West Germanic languages: Standard German (*Hochdeutsch*), Low German (*Niederdeutsch*), and North Frisian on the one hand, and the North Germanic languages Standard Danish (*rigsdansk*) and South Jutish (*sønderjysk*) on the other hand, the latter showing, however, lexical and structural features of both, e.g., a consequent V2-finite syntax as in the Nordic languages but preposed (and no enclitic) marking of definiteness as this is the case for the West Germanic languages.

Nevertheless, spoken varieties of this region share features which are **not** or **seldom** found in other varieties of these languages spoken outside this area, viz. in Low German in the neighbouring areas of Holstein or in Standard German regiolects in other regions of Germany. Moreover, the traditional South Jutish dialects spoken before 1920 show several features of language contact, especially lexical and phonological loans from Low German and Standard German. At least until some decades ago, bi- and multilingualism was a wide-spread phenomenon, and the bilingual speakers are, of course, the driving force of this process, not the area or region itself.

Until 1920 the town of Flensburg was the geographical and commercial centre of Schleswig, inhabited by people speaking a regional variety of Northern Standard German, Low German and South Jutish (in the northern and western outskirts). Furthermore, the Standard German regiolect of Flensburg is characterised by substratal influence of two language shifts during the past centuries: (A) from South Jutish to Low German and, eventually, (B) to Standard German. In the middle of the 17th century, the language situation in Flensburg could be described as a patchwork of languages with a diastratic and diglossic distribution of the so-called high and low varieties: Standard German had become the new and prestigious language of the administration, church, and culture, although only spoken by the upper class and intelligentsia (Caspar Danckwert (ca. 1650) in Bock 1933: 260). Low German was the language of trade and handicraft, whereas the servants in town and the farmers from the surrounding areas spoke South Jutish. Written sources from the 16th and 17th century report, however, that the languages spoken in Flensburg were "mixtures"; e.g., the later famous Danish botanist Ole/Oluf Borch in 1675:

> Nostri Flensburgenses inter Danicam & Germanicam lingvam ambicunt, neutri propemodum similes, qvia utriqve. Qvod & ad omnia Nationum diversarum confinia solenne. (Borch 1675)
> ('Our citizens of Flensburg switch between the Danish and German language: none of them similar to one of them, because to both of them, which is usual for all borders of different nations.') (Translation EF)

Since the end of the 19th century the special town idiom of Flensburg has been called "Petuh". This variety has Standard German as its base language with substrata from Low German and South Jutish.

North Frisian is spoken by inhabitants of the coastal area of the Wadden Sea and it is still used

on the islands of Föhr and Amrum. Varieties of North Frisian have, of course, locally participated in the general language contact with Low German and South Jutish. Volkert Faltings (Föhr) characterises the contact of North Frisian with its neighbouring languages in the following way:

> Die kleinräumige Verwendung des Nordfriesischen führt nicht in die sprachliche Isolation, sondern zwingt ihre Sprecher nolens volens in eine bi-, tri- oder multilinguale Situation, und das wohl von Anfang an. (Faltings p.c. 07.08.2013)
> ('The geographically limited use of the North Frisian language did not lead to linguistic isolation but forced its users nolens volens into a bi-, tri- or multilingual situation, and this probably from the very beginning onwards.') (Translation EF)

Until the beginning of the 19th century, South Jutish was the common vernacular in the rural areas in the north, east and central parts of Schleswig, down to a line marked by the towns Schleswig and Husum. Nowadays South Jutish is almost extinct south of the 1920-border (Fredsted 2009a). On the Danish side of the border, South Jutish is influenced by regional dialect levelling. The inter-generational transmission of the language is rather week in the towns and towards the north but the use of the South-Jutish vernacular as a language of proximity is still common.

This very complex linguistic situation can be summarized in the following characteristics:

1) a longitudinal language contact situation
2) bi- and multilingualism and second language acquisition (these two phenomena can, however, not be regarded separate from each other – especially not in recent time)
3) individual and regional language shifts
4) regional linguistic features with language varieties sharing common features which are not or seldom found in varieties of these languages spoken outside this area.

For centuries, close contact of related language varieties has resulted in several language contact phenomena which have been recognized and mentioned in literature since the beginning of the 16th century (e.g., by Christiern Pedersen in 1531). Bi-directional code-copying has resulted in shared lexical units, collocations, phrases, and proverbs but also in shared morpho-syntactic structures. The following part of this paper is an attempt to give some examples of constructions in Low German, the colloquial Standard German (SG) regiolect and in North Frisian which have been influenced by southern varieties of South Jutish (SJ). Thus, these constructions represent a substratum of lost varieties of South Jutish, which do no longer exist in the German part of Schleswig.

3.3 The data

The following examples are based on historical and recent data sets comprising the period from the middle of the 19th century up to 2015. The sources referred to are diaries, letters, and oral data.[2] The North Frisian examples are based on the research of Nils Århammar, Karin Ebert and Jarich Hoekstra. The Low German data from Angeln are collected by Karl Nielsen Bock (1933), the Low German data from Flensburg by Eike Ketelsen (1959), the German regiolect examples are also due to Eike Ketelsen (1959) and are compared to more recent data published by Robert Langhanke (2015). Own notes covering the latest 20 years in Flensburg will be taken into consideration as well. Data sets from two recent research projects financed by the German Research Foundation, DFG, will be used in the 4th chapter of this paper that deals with minority varieties and the linguistic development after 1920.

[2] Cf. the list of data at the end of the paper.

3.4 Contact induced converging constructions

In the following sections (3.4.1-3.4.5), I will present constructions which can, on the one hand, be characterised linguistically as converging constructions and, on the other hand, geographically as contact induced regionalisms showing substratal influence from the (predominantly) North Germanic variety of South Jutish on West Germanic varieties. Some of these phenomena (e.g., when they add structures to the receiving variety) can be considered a consequence of structural attraction resulting in additive linguistic structures in the receiving language(s) (according to Johanson 1999). Moreover, language contact may also seem to have the opposite effect, namely of reducing or simplifying the structures of the imposed language, e.g., through imperfect learning or due to linguistic economy.

3.4.1 Constructions with *und*, illustrating substratal influence

A common regional trait covering all the traditional oral varieties of the region is the use of verbal constructions consisting of V_{finite} + $V_{infinitive}$ coordinated with *und* ('and') where Standard German would expect a syntactically subordinated infinitive construction with (*um) zu* ('[in order] to'). Low German in the southern part of Schleswig (south of a line from Schleswig to Husum) and in Holstein would accordingly demand a subordinated infinitive construction with *to*. The regional origin of this coordinating construction is undoubtedly South Jutish, where both 'and' and 'to' are pronounced alike as [ɔ]. Serial congruent verb constructions with coordinating *og* ('and') are frequent in Danish (and other Scandinavian languages), both in oral and written varieties. Some congruent constructions with coordinating *og* (pronounced [ʌ] in Standard Danish) may alternate with subordinated infinitive constructions with the infinitive marker *at* (also [ʌ]) and/or be reinterpretations of syntactically subordinated constructions with the infinitive marker *at* (cf. Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1000-1009). In any case, these constructions function as pseudo-coordination substituting syntactic subordination when they are transferred to West German varieties.[3] The phenomenon is well documented in Low German in the regions of Central Schleswig and Angeln where the dominant vernacular was South Jutish until the beginning of the 19th century.

Low German

(1a) Ig hef lusd un lobm vex. (Bock 1933: 97, Niederdt. Husby)
'I have lust and [to] run away.' (I want and [to] run away.)

(1b) Dad nydsd nix un kloŋ. (Bock 1933: 97, Niederdt. Husby)
'It is no use and [to] complain.'

Similarly, in the Low German variety spoken in the town of Flensburg this construction was still used in the 20th century:

Low German

(2) Denn güng man bi un buen de Toosbüystraat. (Ketelsen 1959: 14)
'Then went one by and build the Toosbüystreet.'
(Then they started and [to] build the Toosbüystreet.)

Coordinated infinitives are found not only in Low German as far south as to the line Schleswig Husum but also in North Frisian varieties (*än/en*):

North Frisian

(3) Hat es ek sa lecht en liir deensk. (Århammar 2001: 317)
'It is not so easy and [to] learn Danish.'

[3] Cf. the Swedish term: Pseudosamordning av verb.

(cf. SJ: De e it så let å læe dansk.)

Walker (2020: 117) remarks that this *än/en*-construction is very popular among the "new speakers" of North Frisian who suppose that this construction sounds typically "Frisian", despite its North Germanic substratal origin.

In the middle of the 19th century, this construction also appears in informal written communication in Standard German regiolect. Here are some examples from private letters from the merchant Christian Christiansen, Flensburg:

Standard German regiolect

(4) Nun sollte ich aber aus und kaufen (Christian Christiansen, 15.1.1854)
'Now I must out and [to] buy [object missing]'
(cf. Standard German: Nun sollte ich aber hinaus, um [O] zu kaufen)

(5) Gestern war ich in der Fahrt um und kaufen Buchweitzen. (Christian Christiansen, 17.2.1854)
'Yesterday I was busy to and [to] buy buckwheat.'
(cf. SJ*:* for å køøf)

Example (5) is interesting because the coordinating *und*-construction governs the word order of the sentence (with a postposed object: $V_{infinite}O$). At the syntactic level, the word order pattern from South Jutish neutralizes the syntactical difference between coordination and subordination in German: If there is no formal hierarchical structure, the $OV_{infinite}$ word order can switch back to $V_{infinite}O$. Standard German would have *(um) zu* with a subordinated infinitive construction and obligatory final position of the non-finite verb ($OV_{infinite}$): *um Buchweizen zu kaufen.* The use of *und* instead of *zu* (Low German *to*) and a North Germanic sentence structure and word order correlate. In the middle of the 19th century, the use of *und*-constructions seems to be unmarked and used habitually by speakers and writers in Flensburg such as the merchant Christian Christiansen. But a parallel analysis of letters written by an educated upper-class woman (Auguste von Bentzen 1842-1899) from the same period and the same town shows no examples of *und*-constructions. We might thus conclude that the use of these constructions – at least in written communication – might have been regarded as non-standard, but nevertheless became conventionalized by speakers and writers up to a certain degree of formal education (Fredsted 2003).

The use of coordinating *und*-constructions has not disappeared in current local varieties, but nowadays the use of this construction is surely considered as a feature of a local colloquial regiolect. Even though it is possible to follow the traces back to the middle of the 19th century in my data corpora, I am not able to give any date of first the occurrence or any estimation concerning their frequency. The following examples merely show that it is still possible to come across this construction used by (presumably) monolingual speakers in Flensburg today.

(6) Es ist nämlich so einfach und stecken die Karte in den Automaten. (Assistant at an eye hospital, April 2012; own notes)
'It is, of course, so easy and [to] put the card into the card reader.'

This construction has certainly been "nativized" and is regarded as an indicator of localness. However, *und* + infinitive constructions are probably not to be found in written communication anymore.

3.4.2 Preposition in front of a complement clause or infinitive

One of the syntactical differences between the West Germanic languages on the European continent and the North Germanic languages is that continental West Germanic languages do not allow

prepositions in front of subordinated complements or infinitive clauses. In Danish, prepositions bound to a noun, an adjective or a verb as their head are obligatory in front of complement sentential or infinitive clauses. In Danish varieties, preposition plus subordinate clause or preposition plus infinitive clause build a prepositional phase as a constituent of the main clause: South Jutish: *Han vinte o å få en plads o æ sychhus* or Standard Danish *Han venter på at få en plads på sygehuset*. ('He is waiting for a free bed at the hospital.') (cf. Standard German: Er wartet darauf, einen Platz im Krankenhaus zu bekommen.)

Preposition + *än/un/und* + infinitive

North Frisian

(7) Anke langd jiter än käm wäch fouan e Halie. (Århammar 2001: 318)
'Anke was longing (for) and [to] get away from the holm.'
(cf. SG: Anke sehnte sich danach, von der Hallig wegzukommen)

Low German

(8) ick kumm nuch to un hollen in Gesell meer öwe somme. (Bock 1933: 97)
'I suppose that I will have and [to] hire a journeyman more over the summer.'
(cf. SG: [lit.] ich komme noch dazu, über den Sommer einen Gesellen mehr zu halten.)

German regiolect

(9) Jetzt sind wir bei und lassen eine Einrichtung machen. (Chr. Christiansen, Flensburg 3.11.1854)
'Now we are about and [to] build a construction.'

In Standard German, a preposition can only indirectly be connected to a complementary clause or an infinitive. It is not possible to maintain the preposition in front of a complement clause or an infinitive: Either you skip the preposition or change it into an adverb, a so-called pronominal adverb (*wir sind dabei, eine Einrichtung machen zu lassen*)[4] which is a deictic correlate of the complement clause or the infinitive clause in the main clause. The syntactic results of this are different constructional patterns in West and North Germanic varieties. However, the empirical data for Low German allows us to conclude that preposition + infinitive clause has been very common in the variety of Low German spoken on the peninsula of Angeln in the first half of the 20th century. Bock (1933: 97) writes in his commentary:

> §312 Infinitive with *un* appears … 7. As part of a prepositional phrase (prep + *un* + inf.): this prepositional infinitive is a characteristic feature which our vernacular has in common with the modern North Germanic languages, almost all prepositions can govern a subsequent infinitive. (Translation EF).

Here is just one more of the numerous examples from Bock's data (1933: 97-98):

(10) hə ha xrof hild mid un kom afsdé. (Bock 1933: 98)
'he is very busy with and [to] get away.'
(cf. SJ: 'han ha grov traflt me å komm aste' and SG: 'er hat es sehr eilig, wegzukommen')

There is no doubt that this is a feature of language contact with North Germanic constructions.

[4] An exception from this is *ohne* ('without') + infinitive clause.

Example (10) is a relexification of a South Jutish construction, which may be interpreted as a substratum effect due to the language shift from South Jutish to Low German on the peninsula of Angeln in the early 19th century.

3.4.3 Preposition stranding

In the colloquial German regiolect and the regional Low German variety we also find stranded prepositions which are normally not to be found in German varieties in other areas:

(11) … und deshalb höher taxieren zu lassen deucht mir ist nich wert, das man das haben soll und sprechen über. (Chr.Christiansen, Flensburg 27.09.1856)
'… and it does not seem worthwhile to me to valuate it higher, that one should have that and [to] talk about.'

(12) Na, was soll das zu? (Ketelsen 1959: 65)
'What's that supposed to be?'
(cf. SJ: hva ska de te for?)

Or the typical Flensburger collocation about tray-baked cakes:

(13) Es ist gut und haben was und schneiden von.
'It is good and [to] have something and [to] cut off.'
(cf. SJ: 'det er godt å ha nowe å skæe a')

In Bock's Low German data from Angeln, numerous examples of preposition stranding can be found as well:

(14) hə is nix xūd un kōm torexd mid. (Bock 1933: 97)
'it is not easy to reach an agreement with him.'
(cf. SJ: 'han e it goj å komm te ret mæ.' and SG: 'es ist nicht leicht, sich mit ihm zu verständigen.')

3.4.4 Progressive and durative aspect

Generally, varieties of German focus more on perfective/terminative than on progressive and durative – not only compared to English, but also compared to Danish varieties. E.g., South Jutish (and modern Standard Danish) has three different ways of expressing progressive and durative with periphrastic verbal constructions:

Progressive:

(A) Hun sidde å strikke æ heel daw.
'She sits and knits all day.' (She is knitting all day long)

The construction (A) is a serial congruent verbal construction with two coordinated finite verbs, the first of which indicates the agentive physical or locative position, the second verb the act itself (cf. section 3.4.1).

(B) Hun é ve å maal æ hus
'She is by to paint the house.' (She is painting the house.)

In case (B), the auxiliary (*é*) [is] is followed by a preposition (*ve*) and an infinite verb with the infinitive marker *å* [ɔ] ('to').

Durative:

(C) Det bliwe ve mæ å regn.
'It gets on to rain.' (It keeps on raining.)

The construction (C) consists of an auxiliary (*bliwe* 'get on/go on') as finite verb followed by a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition (*ve mæ*) and an infinitive with the infinitive marker *å* [ɔ].

The variety of German in and around Flensburg has copied progressive expression (B) and durative (C) from South Jutish, but only Low German (in Angeln) has copied the serial verb construction of the first example (A) – as far as I have been able to determine from the historical and recent corpora:

(15) He lixd un slöbd. (cf. A) (Bock 1933: 99)
'He lies and sleeps.' (He is sleeping)
(cf. South Jutish: Han ligge å søve.)

However, I was surprised to come across the construction in Standard German regiolect in the town of Schleswig (located near Angeln) in the summer of 2021:

(16) Ich konnte den ganzen Tag stehen und schreien. (Own notes, Schleswig-Holm, July 2021)
'I could stand and cry all day.' (I was crying all day)

The regiolect of Standard German, however, prefers type (B) (*é ve å*):

(17) Ich bin erst bei und backen die Brötchen auf. (Own notes, shop assistant, Flensburg bakery, 2012)
'I am just by and [to] crisp the rolls up.' (I have just started crisping up the rolls.)

The durative (C) with *beibleiben* or *bei bleiben*, however, is a very frequent durative construction in my Flensburg data from the 19th and 20th century:

(18) Der Winter scheint vorläufig noch beibleiben. (Gregersen, 22.01.1940)
'The winter seems to continue for the present.'

Recently, I had to convince a colleague (from the German minority in North Schleswig) that she did not speak correct "Standard" German, when she used the following expression to her child:

(19) Du bleibst jetzt bei zu nerven! (Anonymous, German minority)
'You keep on getting on my nerves!'

Also, in North Frisian we find similar durative constructions:

(20) hat bleew bi tu snaakin. (Ebert & Hoekstra 1996: 81-82)
'She went on talking.'

We hardly find the more usual Standard German durative expression with *am* + nominalized infinitive (*ich bin am Stricken*) neither in historical, nor in recent corpora in this region (cf. Langhanke 2015). It should be pointed out, however, that the durative aspect with *bei bleiben* is a feature of imposition from South Jutish with a twofold origin. In Flensburg colloquial German, it seems to be a result of substratum influence seen from a diachronic perspective (two language shifts) but in the German variety spoken by the German minority on the Danish side of the border, it is a synchronic imposition from the L1 (South Jutish) to the L2 (North Schleswig German, cf. section 4.3). This indicates that the durative aspect with *bei bleiben* has some kind of "attractiveness" (Johanson 2000, 2002): It is salient, semantically transparent, and relatively simple.

3.4.5 Inchoative constructions

A former colleague and I used to say good-bye in the following way when we met on the stairs of the university building in the early evening:

(21) Wir sollen mal sehen und kommen nach Hause. (Own notes, 2000)
'We shall see and come home.'

Also, a hypothetic variety with a modal verb in preterit subjunctive would be possible:

(22) Wir sollten mal sehen und kommen nach Hause.
'We should see and come home.'

This collocation (and other similar serial verb constructions with a finite V_1 and two coordinated infinite verbs) has been copied from South Jutish: *Vi ska/sku se å komm jæm* ('We shall/should see and [to] get home', i.e. 'It is time to go home'). This construction consists of three verbs: V_1 is a modal verb in present tense or in preterit followed by two coordinated infinite verbs: a semantically weakened verb (*se/sehen*) ('to see') and a verb of movement or action (*komm/kommen* ('to come'). The semantics of the construction is an invitation to 'get finished' and go home: It is an inchoative construction of South Jutish which has found its way into German varieties of the region. As a collocation it has a constant first part, semantically indicating 'to get started'. Only the last, third verb of the construction (verb of movement or action) is interchangeable, as e.g., *Wir sollen mal sehen und legen los.* ('We shall see and get started', i.e. 'It is time to start'). While this serial inchoative verb construction is very productive in South Jutish (where it is considerably shorter and more "economic": *ska se å*), it seems that only a limited number of phrases have found their way into German varieties, where they have been taken over as fixed collocations, but not been able to gain ground as productive inchoative constructions.

3.5 Summary

Let me summarize the observations of convergent constructions rooted in South Jutish presented above: In all examples it is possible to detect where a particular construction comes from and to which varieties it has spread, but it is not possible to draw a "road map" and display *how* and *when* or *how often* a specific language contact phenomenon occurs and which way it took. "Areal processes of code-copying may be very complex and difficult to analyze" (Johanson1999: 57). Indeed, they are! Widespread bi- and multilingualism, substratum effects due to language shifts and varying dominance relations due to historical and political changes are responsible for several complications and a broad variety of scenarios. Just to mention a few of the difficulties:

1) It is difficult to explain which historical or social scenario has resulted in a certain linguistic contact feature. Probably very different scenarios might have led to similar or even identical results: Traits of language contact in colloquial Flensburg German (the so-called Flensburg "Petuh") show similarities with the variety of German spoken by the German minority in North Schleswig. The languages involved in North Schleswig are South Jutish and Standard German, whereas Low German (which was the dominant vernacular in Flensburg until the middle of the 20th century) hardly played any role as a colloquial spoken variety in North Schleswig.
2) Some contact features spread into the variety of monolingual language users and thus became a kind of "covert" bilingualism (e.g., the above mentioned *und*-constructions), others did not (e.g., other serial verb constructions). It is not possible to give any explanation based on structural factors alone in terms of which elements will be copied, and which of these copied elements will spread into the language use of monolingual speakers as well and which will eventually become productive. Some linguistic elements might have been attractive for speakers because of their saliency or linguistic economy.
3) In all the cases analysed above, the origin of a certain feature is clear, but it is not clear whether this construction has the same origin in Flensburg as on the peninsula of Angeln, where substratal influence in connection with a rapid language shift seems to be the most plausible explanation. In Flensburg the feature might have survived due to South Jutish speaking newcomers from the north in the 19th century, it might have entered the Flensburg regiolect mediated through Low German, or there might rather have been a third source of origin. It is not possible to reconstruct all possible scenarios.
4) All participating languages seem to borrow constructions from each other. The circumstances for these processes may depend on a special historical period or on the social-political prestige of the language in a specific historical or local situation. Thus, regions with a rapid language shift seem to develop more substratum influence, which is the case for the peninsula of Angeln whose inhabitants went through two language shifts within less than one and a half century (first from South Jutish to Low German 1800–1830 and then from Low German to Standard German after World War II).

4. The language situation after 1920

One of the consequences of the national and political border of 1920 was that a national (bi- or even trilingual) minority arose on both sides of the border, whereas the traditional regional and local language contact diminished. As a result, the two national minorities, the German minority in the Danish border region and the Danish minority in Schleswig, Germany, have become the main *locus* of language contact since 1920. After the establishment of a controlled border in 1920, the possibility of face-to-face communication with persons from the other side of the border decreased. Accordingly, we can assume that the regional language contact almost stopped at this time.[5] Nevertheless, German TV-programs were popular north of the borderline during the 1960s and 1970s which may have prolonged a common receptive competence of Standard German in North Schleswig for some decades.

4.1 Two national minorities

Due to the limited space here, I will only give an abridged survey of the linguistic development of the two minorities. Instead, I would like to draw attention to two dissertations with detailed analysis of the structural and pragmatic features of the Standard Danish variety of the minority in Germany,

[5] The Danish-German border was nearly hermetically closed until 1947 (and, again, for several months on the Danish side from April 2020) (cf. Rasmussen & Schulz Hansen 2022).

known as Sydslesvigdansk (Kühl 2008), and a corresponding analysis of the linguistic development of the German minority in Denmark (Westergaard 2008), respectively. The data used in the following section come from two DFG-projects "Diverging language use among bilingual adolescents" (2004-2006) and "Multilingualism at the interface between oral and written language use" (2010-2014). These projects are part of a longitudinal study of overt and covert linguistic contact phenomena of the two minorities. In both projects the multilingual practice of school children and young people of the Danish minority in Schleswig-Holstein and the German minority on the Danish side of the border, respectively, has been analysed.

4.2 Sydslesvigdansk

After 1920, the Danish minority established itself in the German part of Schleswig and founded its own educational, cultural, and social institutions. Their activities were based exclusively on Standard Danish. In the course of time, however, a new variety emerged among the (at least officially) Standard Danish speaking national minority. But it is important to emphasize that a congruent correspondence between the nationality and the language did not traditionally exist in Schleswig: Before the rise of nationalism in the middle of the 19th century, language choice was predominantly an issue of communication and not one of indicating a person's national identity. Today, the official language of the Danish minority is a variety of Standard Danish; the dominant informal language of many members of the Danish minority is northern Standard German regiolect. Members of the German minority in North Schleswig (Denmark) are mostly trilingual, speaking South Jutish, Standard German, and Standard Danish regiolect. Typical of both minorities are habitual code switching and instances of linguistic convergence. As far as Sydslesvigdansk and Nordschleswigdeutsch are concerned (both minorities include L2-speakers to a large extent), it is indeed difficult to differentiate systematically between (a) idiosyncratic interlanguages, (b) learner or L2-varieties and (c) more widespread or long-lasting language contact phenomena, respectively.

Sydslesvigdansk can be considered a non-focused contact variety within a linguistically inhomogeneous community, consisting of white-collar employees and teachers from Denmark with Danish as their L1, local persons with an affinity to Danish language and culture, and persons who have different kinds of affiliation to Denmark. In the latter two groups we find mostly L2-speakers who have learned Danish at the local kindergarten and later at school (or even persons who do not make the effort to learn Danish at all!); they speak Standard German at home, at work and in their leisure time (Fredsted 2020a). Due to the lack of internal consistency, it might not even be correct to label Sydslesvigdansk as a variety of Danish in the strict sense of the term. Indeed, it might be more appropriate to define this kind of language use as idiosyncratic. You find a broad variation reaching from correct Standard Danish (with a tendency to hyper-correctness) to mixed varieties in the most literal sense of the word: often convergences of German syntax and Danish lexicon supplied with *ad hoc* borrowings or code-switches based on German (cf. Fredsted 2020a). The following examples from pupils (aged 12) in a Danish minority school are quite typical: A Standard Danish matrix sentence with an inserted German verb stem (*probier-*) as an *ad hoc* translation into Danish which received the Danish infinitive inflexion *-e*:

(23) så ville jeg *prober-e* at hente den ud
'then I would try to get it out'

Pupil (aged 12) from the Danish minority with German as L1 and Danish as L2:

(24) mig$_{1;SG;DAT}$ fejler$_{V;PRS}$ tre$_{NUM}$ opgaver$_{N;OBJ}$ (no case marker possible)
lit.: 'me lack three exercises.'
(cf. SG: mir fehlen drei Aufgaben)

The characteristic convergent feature in (24) is the use of syntactic subcategorization of the correspondent cognate German experiencer verb *fehlen* (demanding a dative supplement) which is, however, no longer possible in modern Danish.

Other characteristic features in our data are:

a) The lack of inflectional forms that do not exist in German (e.g., agreement inflection of predicate adjectives (e.g., *de fleste kan allerede drikke sig fuld et andet sted* ('most of you can already get drunk somewhere else') (Online data 2010, student, aged 18). Standard Danish morpho-syntax demands a congruent plural marking: *fuld**e*** ('drunk').
b) The use of the perfect tense instead of the preterit in narratives on past events: *Vi har boet på et hotel (...) og så har vi set pyramider* ('We stayed in a hotel (…) and then we saw the pyramids') (Kühl 2008: 178) instead of preterit *boede* and *så*.
c) The lack of differentiation between atelic and telic use of motion verbs: *Jeg 'går til bussen.* ('I walk towards the bus') instead of: *Jeg går 'hen til bussen* ('I go to the bus').

4.3. Nordschleswigdeutsch and Nordschleswigsønderjysk

The variety of Standard German spoken by the German minority in Denmark shares features with the neighbouring regiolects of Standard German in, e.g., Flensburg. However, habitual code-switching to South Jutish (which is the L1 of many members of the German minority) and well-established borrowed collocations give this variety its linguistic imprint:

(25) Das kannst du nicht bekannt sein.
'That is not nice.'
(cf. SJ: De ka do it væ bekeen., SG: Das ist nicht nett von dir.)
(26) Das gie ich nicht.
'I am not keen on that.'
(cf. SJ: De gie æ it., SG: Dazu habe ich keine Lust.)

Members of the German minority explain their language choice in this way: "We talk South Jutish when we sit down, but German when we stand up". In this way, both languages are accepted: South Jutish, however, predominantly as a variety for informal communication, whereas German is the official language of the minority. Members of the German minority are generally considered as the best speakers of South Jutish, because their dialects have not been under strong pressure from Standard Danish (cf. the next section). Nevertheless, the minority variety of South Jutish is also characterised by frequent code-switching to German. This is, however, not a new phenomenon: Insertions of lexemes from Low and Standard German were rather common in traditional South Jutish spoken before 1920, especially in the transition zones between Low German and South Jutish in Central Schleswig. But German insertions and lexical borrowings into South Jutish were also common among speakers in North Schleswig who had attended school in the years between 1888 and 1920 when the school language was Standard German only.

One of the most puzzling results of our first study in 2004-2006 of school children (aged 11-13) is a considerable divergence between the two minorities concerning their use of language contact phenomena: *Classic code-switching* (mainly found as insertions of a single lexical stem from the embedded language into the matrix language) is very frequent in North Schleswig, where the German minority students produce insertions every 48 seconds (on average). This number refers to both oral languages of the students (German and South Jutish), and there is no significant difference of distribution between the two matrix languages or the directions of the code-switching (Westergaard 2008). The Danish minority speakers, however, do not code-switch quite that often. They produce a clause internal code-switch every 120 seconds (on average); most of the code-switches are inserted

lexical stems from the embedded language, but they mainly use these insertions to compensate for lexical gaps in their L2 (Danish).

In the data from North Schleswig, we found 503 items of *convergences* (involving collocations and/or morpho-syntactic structures); many of these are, however, a received part of a local contact variety of German (cf. examples 25 and 26). A spontaneous *ad hoc* convergence occurs every 342 seconds. In comparison to that, the speakers of the Danish minority are frequent users of convergent constructions: In the data from schools with Danish as school language, there are 775 items of convergence, viz. one convergence every 162 seconds on average (Kühl 2008).

	Code-switching	Convergence
Danish minority pupils	every 120 seconds	every 162 seconds
German minority pupils	every 48 seconds	every 342 seconds

To summarize: The students of the German minority use code-switching quite frequently, the speakers of the Danish minority, however, are frequent users of convergent constructions in Danish (cf. example 24). Code-switching seems generally to be more accepted in the German minority. Of course, the constellation of three languages in North Schleswig (South Jutish, German and Standard Danish) compared to two languages (German and Danish) by the Danish minority might play a decisive role. Another issue might be that the pressure laid on school children or students to *only* use the official minority language prevails in the schools of the Danish minority (cf. Fredsted 2020c). It seems that the Danish minority speakers tend to "cover" the German influence, whereas the German minority speakers do not mind code-switching marking their multilingualism overtly.

4.4 South Jutish in the majority population after 1920

After 1920, Danish school authorities did "everything they could to substitute South Jutish through Standard Danish", according to historian Jørn Buch (2005: 152). Not only schools but also media and the administration were strongly committed to suppressing South Jutish, which one of my teachers in the 1960s referred to as some sort of a "half German language used by uneducated peasants". Even today, where South Jutish generally is on its retreat, some school authorities forbid their teachers to speak South Jutish to their pupils (p.c. with teachers). Nonetheless, South Jutish still represents a living language community, but as far as the north and the towns are concerned the intergenerational transmission of the language is endangered (cf. Fredsted 2020b).

During the last two decades, more interest to preserve this language seems to have emerged among its speakers. This development also comprises the use of written South Jutish in the social media on the internet (cf. Westergaard 2014; Fredsted 2018). Other dialects in Denmark have almost disappeared during the 20th century. Thus, it might seem surprising that exactly the most oppressed regional language is still alive. The traditional explanation says that Copenhagen Standard Danish had not been so dominant in the region for such a long period. Another explanation might be that the strong pressure to assimilate linguistically along with the centralizing policy of the Danish administration has caused a bottom-up resistance among citizens of Sønderjylland/Nordslesvig. At least, this was one of the chief motivations for founding an association in order to preserve the South Jutish language and culture in 2000 ("Æ synnejysk Forening" that has more than 2000 members today).

4.5 The decline of regional multilingualism

Finally, I would like to note some statistical data from two surveys which have been conducted in the

village of Achtrup (Kreis Nordfriesland, ca. 15 km to the south of the 1920-borderline) in the years 1973 (Ryge Petersen 1975) and 2006 (Nissen 2007). The languages spoken in Achtrup are: Standard German, Low German, South Jutish, North Frisian, and Standard Danish. The data have been gathered in questionnaires in order to display the status of the productive and receptive competence in the languages mentioned above in the same geographical area in 1973 and 2006, respectively. The general tendency is not surprising: Standard German was, of course, understood and spoken by 100% of the population both in 1973 and 2006. The use of North Frisian by only a couple of speakers has remained unchanged. South Jutish and Low German have decreased dramatically: in 1973, 62% of the persons interviewed said that they were able to speak Low German; in 2006, this number had decreased to 28.5%. In 1973, 23.5% stated that they were able to speak South Jutish; in 2006, the number was only 7.5%. Standard Danish (taught as a foreign language in public schools and as L1/L2 in the minority school) has an increasing number of speakers among younger people and rose from almost 10% in 1973 to 20% in 2006. The clear tendency to be seen is that the number of speakers of the regional languages is decreasing, whereas the number of speakers of one (or two) of the standard languages taught at school has increased. But there is another interesting tendency in the data showing a loss of multilingualism: Significant is, e.g., the decrease of trilingual speakers of Standard German, Low German and South Jutish from 18% in 1973 to 2% in 2007. Accordingly, we see a clear tendency towards monolingualism. Among young speakers there is an even greater decrease in the number of speakers identifying themselves as speakers of Low German or South Jutish:

Speakers of Low German:
1973: 62%
2006: 28%. (Persons aged 0 – 30: 3.7%)

Speakers of South Jutish:
1973: 23.5%
2006: 7.5%. (Persons aged 0 - 30: 3.7%)

The present situation can be summarized as follows:

1) The dominance of both standard varieties is overwhelming at the expense of the regional languages Low German, South Jutish and North Frisian. Standard Danish and Standard German dominate in all educational institutions (day care, schools, etc.).
2) Regional bi- and multilingualism has decreased over the last three decades. Two surveys conducted in the village of Achtrup (Kreis Nordfriesland) 1973 (Ryge Petersen 1975) and 2006 (Nissen 2007) tell this story in a rather clear way.

5. Conclusion

The linguistic situation in Schleswig before 1920 can be characterised in the following way: Schleswig was a region without distinct borders between the three autochthone languages North Frisian, Low German and South Jutish. Widespread productive and receptive multilingualism, language shifts and longitudinal language contact over centuries (including Standard German after ca. 1550) caused intensive lexical borrowing and the development of convergent linguistic features. Especially Low German and South Jutish are characterised by several lexical and morpho-syntactic similarities. They built bridges of understanding and extended the linguistic repertoire of the population. Since the period of the Hansa, Low German can be characterised as a kind of mediating language and was used as a lingua franca, also by the Frisians. In the first part of this paper (chapter 3), the focus has been on the syntactic influence of South Jutish on the neighbouring West Germanic languages, Low German, Standard German, and North Frisian.

After the division of Schleswig in 1920, the linguistic situation changed. Primarily, the school

systems of the two national minorities (the German in Denmark and the Danish minority in Schleswig-Holstein) maintain bi- and multilingualism in the two standard varieties. The minorities have become the *locus* of continued language contact between North and West Germanic varieties. South of the border South Jutish is almost extinct nowadays, whereas Standard Danish is taught as a non-compulsory foreign language in public schools and, of course, strongly supported by the schools of the Danish minority. In North Schleswig, Standard German is taught as a compulsory foreign language, but due to decreasing interest in Denmark for German as a foreign language, knowledge of the neighbouring language is no longer a matter of course. Not taking the three minorities (the German one in Denmark, the Danish one in Schleswig-Holstein, and the Frisian community) into consideration, regional multilingualism is on retreat among the majority populations. Thus, we can conclude that the national-political border has developed into a linguistic border in the course of three generations.

A common feature of both parts of Schleswig is the decline of the autochthonous languages, of which North Frisian has the lowest number of speakers. Low German and (to a limited degree) North Frisian are taught as subjects in some schools in Schleswig-Holstein to revitalize these languages among younger people and encourage "new speakers". In Denmark, no official or institutional support exists to preserve or encourage the use of South Jutish, although the intergenerational transmission in some areas is rather weak and generally in decline. Nevertheless, the language is still alive as a language of everyday communication in North Schleswig, but only a bottom-up revival might prevent its extinction.

Historical data corpora

Bentzen, Auguste von (1842–1899). 'Briefe der Familien von Bentzen, Rübner, Mechlenburg'. In *Archive of the Dansk Centralbibliotek Flensborg*. 180-1.

Callsens Beiträge zum Wenker-Atlas 1880, Nachlass J.J. Callsen.

Christiansen, Christian (1846–1857). 'Briefe an Asmus Fromm aus den Jahren 1846–1857'. In *Archive of the Dansk Centralbibliotek Flensborg*, Asmus Fromms arkiv. 402.

Gregersen, Julius (1940–1941). 'Tagebücher aus den Jahren 1940–41'. In *Archive of the Dansk Centralbibliotek Flensborg*. 521.

Ketelsen, Eike (1959). *Die besondere Gestalt der deutschen Umgangssprache in Flensburg in den letzten hundert Jahren*. Unpublizierte Examensarbeit an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Flensburg.

SSF's Foreningsarkiv. *Archive of the Dansk Centralbibliotek*, F 118-2 Kobbermølle (Vereinsarchiv der Sydslesvigs Forening).

Recent data corpora

Two data corpora have been audio recorded and transcribed in connection with two DFG-funded research projects:

Divergierender Sprachgebrauch bei bilingualen Jugendlichen: DFG 2004–2006. Corpus 2004: Bi- and trilingual pupils at the age of 12–14 years (76 informants). Primarily oral data (interviews, informal peer group conversations), school essays and grammatical tests.

Mehrsprachigkeit im Spannungsfeld zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit: DFG 01.11.2009–31.01.2014. Corpus 2010: Bi- and multilingual adolescents and adults; oral and written data from 56 informants (partly the same informants as in 2004) in different registers.

References

Århammar, Nils (2001). 'Das Nordfriesische im Sprachkontakt'. In Horst Haider Munske & Nils Århammar (eds.), *Handbuch des Friesischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 313-353.

Bock, Karl Nielsen (1933). *Niederdeutsch auf dänischem Substrat.* Kopenhagen: Verlag Levin & Munksgaard.

Borch, Ole (Oluf) (1675). *Dissertatio de causis diversitatis lingvarum.* Hafniae: Paullus.

Buch, Jørn (2005). *Synnejysk historie.* Tønder: Æ synnejysk Forening.

Ebert, Karen & Jarich Hoekstra (1996). 'The progressive in West Frisian and North Frisian: Similarities and areal differences'. *NOWELE*, 28/29: 81-101. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/nowele.28-29.08ebe

Fredsted, Elin (2003). 'Language contact and bilingualism in Flensburg in the middle of the 19th century'. In Kurt Braunmüller & Gisella Ferraresi (eds.), *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 35-60. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/hsm.2.03fre

Fredsted, Elin (2009a). 'Sprachen und Kulturen in Kontakt – deutsche und dänische Minderheiten in Sønderjylland/Schleswig'. In Christel Stolz (ed.), *Neben Deutsch. Die autochthonen Minderheiten- und Regionalsprachen Deutschlands.* Bochum: Brockmeyer. 1-23.

Fredsted, Elin (2013). 'Multilingualism and longitudinal contact in the German-Danish border region'. *Language Typology and Universals. STUF*, 66 (4): 331-353. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1524/stuf.2013.0017

Fredsted, Elin (2018). 'Wie Jugendliche sprechen und im Internet schreiben'. In Thorsten Burkard & Markus Hundt (eds.), *Sprachmischung – Mischsprachen.* Berlin: Peter Lang. 63-82.

Fredsted, Elin (2020a). 'Sydslesvigdansk er noget helt for sig selv'. In Ulla Weinreich & Michael Bach Ipsen (eds.), *Sprog på grænsen, Grenzsprachen*. København: Modersmål-Selskabet. 35-51/39-57.

Fredsted, Elin (2020b). 'Vi ka' æ sproch – inno da!'. In Ulla Weinreich & Michael Bach Ipsen (eds.), *Sprog på grænsen, Grenzsprachen*. København: Modersmål-Selskabet. 129-147/151-171.

Fredsted, Elin (2020c). 'Sprachwissenschaft von einem sprachlichen Grenzraum aus betrachtet'. In Helga Andresen, Elin Fredsted & Franz Januschek (eds.), *Regionale Sprachenvielfalt. Standardisierung – Didaktisierung – Ästhetisierung.* Hildesheim: Olms Verlag. 11-36.

Hansen, Erik & Lars Heltoft (2011). *Grammatik over det danske sprog. Bd I–III.* København: Det danske sprog- og litteraturselskab.

Jakobson, Roman (1931) (reprinted in 1971). 'Über die phonologischen Sprachbünde'. Reprinted in: *Selected Writings*, 1. The Hague: Mouton. 137-143.

Johanson, Lars (1999). 'The dynamics of code-copying in language encounters'. In Bernt Brendemoen, Elizabeth Lanza & Else Ryen (eds.), *Language Encounters across Time and Space. Studies in Language Contact*. Oslo: Novus. 37-62.

Johanson, Lars (2002). 'Contact-induced change in code-copying framework'. In Mari C. Jones & Edith Esch (eds.), *Language change.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 285-313.

Ketelsen, Eike (1959). *Die besondere Gestalt der deutschen Umgangssprache in Flensburg in den letzten hundert Jahren.* Examensarbeit, Pädagogische Hochschule Flensburg, unpublished thesis.

Kühl, Karoline (2008*). Bilingualer Sprachgebrauch bei Jugendlichen im deutsch-dänischen Grenzland*. Hamburg: Kovač.

Langhanke, Robert (2015). 'Regiolektsyntax'. In Elin Fredsted, Robert Langhanke & Astrid Westergaard (eds.), *Modernisierung in kleinen und regionalen Sprachen.* Hildesheim: Olms. 85-124.

Nissen, Uwe (2007). *Dansk eller tysk? – En aktualiseret undersøgelse af sprogforholdene i en flersproget sydslesvigsk kommune i 2006/2007.* Staatsexamensarbeit, Dänisches Seminar, Universität Flensburg, unpublished.

Rasmussen, Carsten Porskrog & Hans Schulz Hansen (2022). *Sønderjylland – en særlig historie*.

Aabenraa: Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland.
Ryge Petersen, Søren (1975). *Dansk eller tysk?*. Flensborg: Dansk Centralbibliotek.
Thomason, Sarah G. (2001). *Language contact. An introduction.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Walker, Alastair (2020). 'Die Friesen und das Friesische in Nordfriesland'. In Rahel Beyer & Albrecht Plewnia (eds.), *Handbuch der Sprachminderheiten in Deutschland.* Tübingen: Narr. 65-138.
Westergaard, Astrid (2008). *Strukturelle und pragmatische Verwendungsmuster im bilingualen Sprachgebrauch bei Jugendlichen.* Hamburg: Kovač.
Westergaard, Astrid (2014). 'Om sammenhængen mellem sprogvalg og kommunikativ rækkevidde på Facebook'. *NyS*, 46: 65-101. DOI: https://doi.org/10.7146/nys.v46i46.17528

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 22-49 (2023)

Morphosyntactic innovations in linguistic border zones: Evidence from Northern Germany and Eastern Poland

Lars Behnke, University of Copenhagen

Abstract: Border zone varieties are sometimes known for peculiar uses of morphosyntactic constructions involving function words. This paper focuses on two such constructions from two distant border zones: a) the innovative use of the preposition *dla* 'for' in Eastern Polish dialects in the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian-Ukrainian border zone, where these constructions appear in dative contexts that are reserved to the dative only outside the border zone, and b) the innovative use of the conjunction *un* 'and' in Low German varieties in the Danish-German border zone, where it combines with the infinitive in many functional settings. While the literature describes the origin of these innovative constructions as a result of the contact situation, not much is known about the distribution of these innovative constructions, especially their relation to functionally equivalent, but "unmarked" constructions that are not restricted to the border zone. This paper is a comparative corpus study of the variation between unmarked and innovative constructions in two distant border zones, based exclusively on dialect material. It argues that the restrictions, emergence and expansion of the innovations show a comparable pattern when measured against the distribution of their unmarked counterparts. The paper shows that the introduction of a new, innovative alternative to preexisting unmarked ones is a way to deal with the multiplied relations between functionally equivalent constructions in a plurilingual border zone.

1. Introduction: Innovative morphosyntactic constructions in two distant linguistic border zones

Linguistic border zones can be more stable than the (national) borders that cross their territory and that help to define them. One frequent common factor is that their inhabitants are usually plurilingual to some degree, i.e. they possess a repertoire of linguistic resources coming from "different" languages, although the implicit or explicit rules and conventions for when to use which language can certainly shift as national borders can. While the linguistic elements that a plurilingual speaker possesses might lead the linguist to trace them back to their origins in different language systems, they might be more appropriately described as parts of a "diasystem", as e.g. Höder (2012a, 2018) suggests (cf. also Weinreich 1954, cited efter Höder (2012a: 245)), which contains and relates elements, that are shared between the languages involved, as well as elements that are specific only to some languages (at least one) and used according to different communicative situations.

Another stability factor can be that the border zone diasystem can contain (or produce) constructions, i.e. combinations of form and function that are unique to it and that do not have an equivalent outside the territory. Thus, while individual plurilingualism makes it hard to draw geographical borders between linguistic areas (cf. Auer 2013: 7-8), these innovative constructions have a potential of being indexical for the border zone and thus of reestablishing the relation between language and space, the border zone as a 'third space', to use Auer's (2013: 25) term.

In this paper I wish to discuss two such innovative morphosyntactic constructions from two different border zones, one found in the "Schleswig Low German" dialect in the Danish-(Low) German-Frisian border zone in the northernmost parts of Germany (henceforth: NLGer), the other from Polish dialect varieties on both sides of the present Eastern Polish border, where Polish contacts with Ukrainian, Belarusian, Russian and Lithuanian varieties (henceforth: EPol).

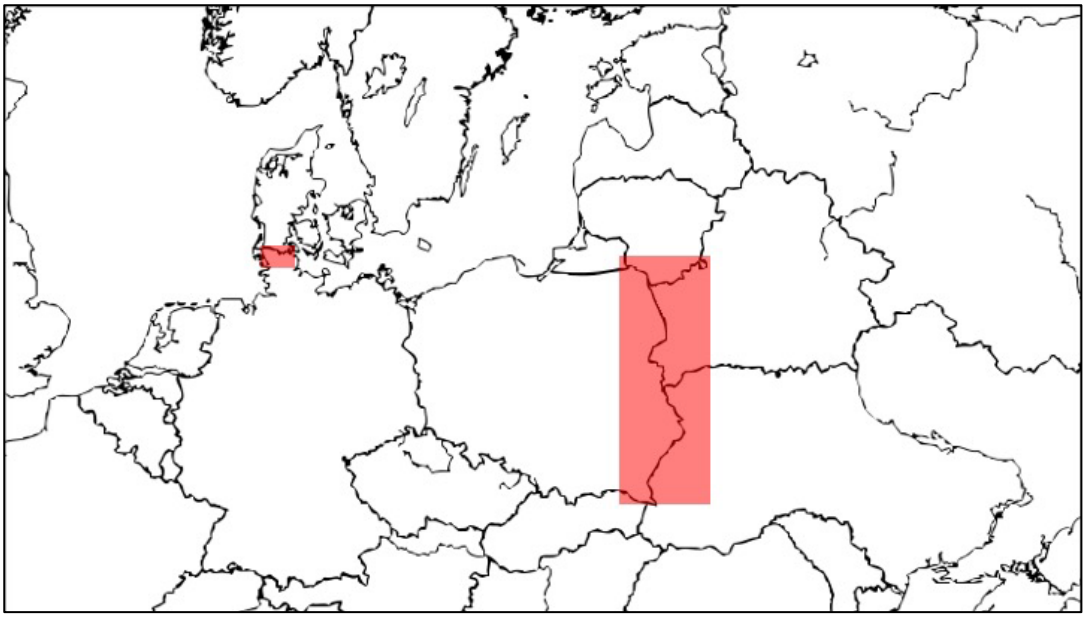

Fig. 1: Two linguistic border zones investigated for this study – between Germany and Denmark and between Poland and Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine.

If we define the concept of border zone by a relative proximity to the actual national border, then these two border zones are of a remarkable size, at least in a historical perspective, since political borders shifted on several occasions in the course of history[1], so that individuals in autochthonous language communities could find themselves on different sides of the border during a lifetime. The westward movement of the Eastern Polish border after the end of World War II and the southward movement of the Northern German border after the plebiscite of Schleswig in 1920 eventually resulted in the present borders.

The two constructions in question both involve a specific and innovative use of function words: the Low German conjunction *un* 'and' and the Polish preposition *dla* 'for', often in its reduced form *l'a* (with an Eastern Slavonic palatalized [l']), as exemplified here:

(1) NLGer[2] He is bi *un* *arbeiden*
he is at AND work:INF
'He is working' (lit.: 'He is at and work)' (example from Höder 2012b: 188)

(2) EPol ja łamałam *dla* *jej* płot
I damaged FOR[3] she:GEN fence
'I damaged her fence' (lit.: 'I damaged for her the fence)' (corpus example[4] from

[1] For historical overviews of the political shifts and their implications for the linguistic situation see Moser (2002), Kurzowa (1993), Karaś (2001), Dzięgiel (2009) for the Eastern Polish border zone, and Fredsted (this volume) or Höder (2021) for the Danish-German border zone.

[2] To designate different language varieties, the following abbreviations are used: Belar = Belarusian; Dan = Danish; EPol = Eastern Polish Dialects; LGer = Low German; Lith = Lithuanian; NFris = North Frisian; NLGer = Schleswig Low German varieties, Pol = Polish; Russ = Russian; SJut = Southern Jutish; Ukr = Ukrainian

[3] Abbreviations in capitals used throughout this paper: AGR = agreeing verb form; AND = Low German *un* and Danish *og*; DAT = dative case; FOR = Polish *dla* and Easten Slavonic *dlja* and Lithuanian *del;* GEN = genitive case; INF = infinitive; TO = Low German *to*, Danish *at*, Petuh *szu.*

[4] If not otherwise stated, the EPol examples come from the corpus gathered for the large scale analysis in Behnke (2014). For references, see Behnke (2014: 147-148).

Wędziagoła[5] (Lithuania))

In both examples, morphological material known from Low German or Polish is used in innovative ways that are restricted to the border zone, i.e. the usage is innovative in the sense that the function words are used in constructions, where none of the varieties outside the border zone show them. In (1) the conjunction *un* ‘and’ connects two verb forms, which can be said to form a complex verb with an aspectual (here: durative) meaning. Low German *un*, which is known as a coordinating conjunction outside the border zone, appears here with a following infinitive, typical for subordination, where Low German has only *to* and Standard German *zu* (both: ‘to’). In (2) the preposition *dla* ‘for’ plus genitive is innovative in the sense that it is used in a context, where Polish outside the border zone allows the pure dative case only. In (2) the innovative character of the construction becomes particularly clear, since the construction marks the “external possessor”, and not, as would be the case in Standard Polish, the beneficiary of the state of affairs.

Restricting the investigation of these phenomena to Low German or Polish varieties is somewhat arbitrary, because equally innovative constructions can also be found in other varieties within the border zone that genetically belong to other languages, which suggests that we are dealing with an areal phenomenon (cf. also Höder 2021). The *un*-infinitive is noted in South Jutish, North Frisian and “Petuh”[6], a mixed Danish-Low German-Standard German variety, mainly associated with the city of Flensburg (cf. Fredsted 1983, 2013):

(3) SJut Hun pust lidt aw ó gik et Vaehn /
She breathed little and went a turn(?)
Hen *ó* *se* ue a e Vinne
AND see:INF out from the window
‘She drew her breath and went to take a look out of the window’ (lit.: ‘went and see out of the window’) (song text by Karsten Thomsen; example from Fredsted 2013: 341)

(4) NFris Ett Waar baigennd *enn* *keem* epp oon ä Tünne
the water began AND come:INF up in the gardens
‘The water began to come up in the gardens’ (example from Hoekstra 2009: 262)

(5) Petuh wenn ich hier beicheh *un* *putzen* ein büschen die Fenstern?
if I here begin AND clean:INF a little the windows
‘if I begin to clean the windows?’ (example from Molzen 1976)

And an innovative *dla*-construction in a dative context (here the recipient) is noted for the following varieties within the border zone, all of them dialectal:

(6) Lith dã·vẹ šiẽnọ *dẹl* *gi.vulũ*
gave hay FOR cattle:GEN;PL
‘gave hay to the cattle/’ (example from Tuomienė 2006: 433)

(7) Belar ale davaj *dl’a* *joho* hrošy
but give FOR him:GEN money
‘but give him money’ (example from Sehen’ 2001: 125)

[5] Throughout the paper, geographical names are given in their Standard German or Standard Polish form.

[6] The designation comes from *partout* which refers to a season ticket on a steamboat on the Flensburg Firth, apparently a popular place for Petuh speakers to meet.

(8) Russ *dlja menja* v gorode rasskazyvali
FOR me:GEN in town told
'they told me in town' (Beispiele aus Grek-Pabisowa & Maryniakowa 1980: 57)

(9) Ukr daj *dla tel'-iet-a*
give FOR calves:GEN
'give [it] to the calves' (example from Czyżewski 2000: 61)

It is interesting to note, however, that these innovative constructions seem to be absent from the corresponding roofing standard languages within the areas, which is why this analysis is restricted to non-standard varieties.

Both phenomena have been widely discussed in the literature.[7] These discussions usually focus on finding explanations of how the emergence of the innovative constructions can be explained as the result of a merger between forms and structures of the different contact languages within the area. The trigger for NLGer *un* as an infinitive marker is assumed to lie outside Low German and is seen in the phonetic merger of the corresponding Danish infinitive marker *at* 'to' and the coordinating conjunction *og* 'and' in [ɔ] (cf. Fredsted 2013: 341-343, who emphasizes the special role of Southern Jutish here, the closest neighbor to the (Low) German language territory).

(10) Dan Begynd *at*[ɔ] *synge* / *og*[ɔ] *syng* nu!
begin TO sing:INF / AND sing:AGR now
'Begin to sing now!' (example from Herslund 2007: 67)

Innovative NLGer *un* is explained as the result of an identification of *un* with this merged form [ɔ], which in NLGer can then appear both with agreeing verb forms (just as its Danish equivalent *og* [ɔ]) and with a subordinated infinitive (just as its Danish equivalent *at* [ɔ]).

As regards innovative EPol *dla*, researchers also seem to agree that its origin must be sought in one of the contact varieties of Polish (cf. Dzięgiel 2009). In Behnke (2014) it was proposed that the construction goes back to cases of external possessor marking, where Eastern Slavonic languages (i.e. Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian) have two alternative coding strategies (the pure dative case and a prepositional construction involving the preposition *u* 'at'):

(11a) Belar jon *mne* ruku razrėzaŭ
he I:DAT arm cut
'He cut my arm' (lit.: 'He cut me the arm') (example from Avanesav 1968: 274)

(11b) Chto ukraŭ *u Ani* hrošy?
who stole at Anya:GEN money
'Who stole Anya's money?' (lit.: 'Who stole at Anya money?') (example from Sehen' 2001: 159)

The Eastern Slavonic (here Belarusian) construction pair provides the structural pattern for the EPol *dla*-construction (as in example (2) above). Polish has *dla*-dative-variation in other structural positions (see below) and EPol extends this variative pattern to external possessor contexts, with the innovative *dla*-construction matching the Eastern Slavonic prepositional construction structurally. The dative is the necessary bridging element, being one of the alternative constructions in all cases. This extension is further facilitated by the potential homophony between another Belarusian

[7] NLGer *un*: Bock (1933), Fleischer & Vikner (2022), Fredsted (2013, this volume), Höder (2021, 2012b), Laur (1975); EPol *dla*: Behnke (2014), Breza (1993), Dzięgiel (2009), Dubicka-Dwilewicz (1996), Kurzowa (1993), Masojć (2001), Saniewska (1980), Wróblewska (1978).

preposition *lja* ‘at’ which formally coincides with *(d)l’a* in its reduced form and overlaps semantically with *u* ‘at’ in its local sense, while it does not seem to share the latter’s use in possessive constructions.

(12) Belar Staljarnja [...] stajala na ŭkrajku lesu, *lja vozera*.
shed stood at edge forest at lake:GEN
‘The shed stood at the edge of the woods, at the lake’ (example from Jaŭnevič 1977: 163)

In the following sections, the two innovative constructions described above will be compared, the assumption behind such a comparison obviously being that they share something that makes them comparable. The two scenarios outlined above give explanations for the origins of the corresponding innovative constructions, and as such it would seem arbitrary to discuss them together or even compare them. But while the literature on these innovative constructions focuses on their emergence, not much attention is being paid to their distribution, and/or potential restrictions of their use. It will be argued that this can be better understood if we analyse the relations of these innovative constructions to other constructions that alternate freely with the innovative ones (cf. Trubetzkoy’s concept of “free variation” (Trubetzkoy 1939)). It is assumed that knowledge about the relation between innovative and alternating unmarked constructions is part of the knowledge determining the choice of constructions from the diasystematic repertoire of the potentially plurilingual speaker in border zones. It will be argued that the mechanisms influencing this choice share common traits in both (and possibly other) border zones.

2. Variation between alternating constructions

In the following sections, instances of variation between alternative constructions as expressions of the same function will be discussed: first, variation between innovative and unmarked constructions within each of the two border zones (2.1.); second, intralinguistic variation between unmarked constructions (2.2.). The term unmarked will be used here to designate constructions whose occurrence is not limited to the border zone.

2.1. Variation between innovative and unmarked morphosyntactic constructions in two distant linguistic border zones

The two innovative constructions described above are not obligatory for the expression of a given function. In both border zones we can see that alternative, but functionally equivalent constructions are in use.

In EPol dialects, for example, we can find innovative *dla*-constructions as well as unmarked alternative constructions with the preposition *u* plus genitive, denoting the external possessor of a state of affairs. Note, that the *u*-construction is itself a “calque” (Kurzowa 1993: 300) from Russian, since Standard Polish *u*-constructions are restricted to local senses (cf. Dąbrowska 1997: 133). However, it must still be regarded as unmarked, since its use as a marker of external possessors is attested in all Eastern Slavonic varieties outside the EPol border zone.

(13a) EPol i *dla pannej młodej* zdejmowali buty też
and FOR bride:GEN took.off shoes also
‘and they also took the bride’s shoes off’ (lit.: took for the bride the shoes off) (corpus example from Ełk, Northeastern Poland)

(13b) skradziono *u mnie* płaszcz
stolen at I:GEN coat
‘My coat was stolen’ (lit.: stolen at me the coat’) (example from the Wilno region, Lithuania, taken from Kurzowa 1993: 300)

But *u*-constructions are not the only alternative for innovative *dla*. Here is an example where it alternates with the unmarked pure dative case as a marker of the addressee of a verbal transfer, which is a possible marker in all varieties in- and outside the border zone.

(14a) EPol a co ten esesowiec powiedział *dla tej staruszki*
and what this SS-man said FOR this:GEN old.woman:GEN
'and what did this SS-man say to the old woman' (corpus example from Komaje, Belarus)

(14b) ja *siostrze* mówię, ty spróbuj
I sister:DAT say you try
'I say to my sister: You try' (corpus example from Kabiszki, Lithuania)

An equivalent scenario holds for NLGer dialects: Innovative *un*-infinitive constructions can appear as well as unmarked infinitive constructions with the particle *to* (the Low German equivalent to Standard German *zu* 'to'), here as expressions for a state of affairs denoting existence (with the typical (Standard and Low) German existential predicate *geven* ('give')):

(15a) NLGer Dat geev twee Orten *un speelen* Bliestück
It give:PST two kinds and play:INF Bliestück
'There were two ways to play Bliestück (a game)' (Simonsen 2007: 25)

(15b) Vun disse Seemannsfamilie gifft dat veel *to vertellen*
Of this sailor.family give:PRS it much TO tell:INF
'There is a lot to tell about this sailor family' (Simonsen 2007: 93)

But, again, unmarked *to*-infinitives are not the only alternative for innovative *un*-infinitives. Another unmarked alternative can be a construction where *un* functions as a coordinating conjunction followed by a sentence with an agreeing verb form, as in (16), where the *un*-construction appears in a durative verb construction with *sein* 'be' and the adverb *bi* 'at' (cf. Mensing 1927-35: I, 331)

(16a) NLGer un Mudder weer grade bi *un böten* de Backaaben *an*
and mother was just at AND heat:INF the oven
'and mother was just about to heat the oven' (Simonsen 2007: 97)

(16b) De Knech is al bi *un spannt* dat Peerd *af*
the groom is just at AND unhitch:AGR the horse
'the groom was just about to unhitch the horse' (Simonsen 2007: 59)

2.2. Unmarked intralinguistic variation between alternative constructions

2.2.1. Constructions involving dative and prepositional constructions in Slavonic languages

Now, variation between two alternative coding strategies as expressions of a given function is not unknown in the varieties outside the border zone, the only difference being that the innovative variant is not an option there. Instead, instances of variation between unmarked constructions are reported for each of the languages involved here, without any reference to any kind of contact between them, i.e. they are examples of intralinguistic variation. Often this variation is interpreted as a synchronic symptom of an ongoing diachronic change within each separate language, where one of the alternates gradually substitutes the other (cf. Hentschel 2001a). The possibility of two alternatives to encode a certain function, therefore, does not mean that both are evenly distributed in language use.

For example, all Slavonic languages involved here show variation between *dla*- and dative constructions in specific contexts, e.g. for the encoding of the experiencer of a state of affairs. Here is an example from Polish:

(17) Pol niezrozumiały *komu* / *dla* *kogo*
incomprehensible who:DAT / FOR who:GEN
both: ‘incomprehensible to whom’ (example from Buttler 1976: 168f.)

Another context of unmarked variation between Polish *dla* (or its Eastern Slavonic etymological and functional equivalent *dlja*) and dative is the beneficiary, illustrated here with an example from Ukrainian:

(18) Ukr Syn kupyv *materi* / *dlja* *materi* knyhu.
son bought mother:DAT / FOR mother:GEN book
‘The son bought a book for his mother.’ (example from Gorodenskaya & Buniyatova 1995: 146)

Research has identified effects of the animacy hierarchy on the choice of the morphosyntactic marker here where the prepositional option is slowly climbing up the hierarchy (cf. Bartels 2005; Hentschel 2001b). Furthermore, Hentschel (2001b) identifies the syntactic status of the (adjectival) predicate as another factor steering the choice of the marker for experiencers, with nominalized adjectives turning out to be the *dla*-friendliest ones.

As noted before (see examples in (11)), there is also unmarked variation between *u*-constructions and dative ones for marking the external possessor. Here is another example from Russian:

(19a) Russ *Emu* otnjali nogu
he:DAT took.off leg
‘They took his leg off.’ (lit.: ‘Him took they off the leg.’)
(19b) Vdrug *u* *Judina* otnimut ruki
suddenly at Judin:GEN will.take.off hands
‘Suddenly they will take off Judin’s hands’ (lit.: ‘suddenly at Judin they will take off the hands’)
(both examples from Hentschel & Menzel 2002: 332)

Hentschel & Menzel (2002: 342) observe (for Russian) that the two alternatives are not evenly distributed: In ditransitive constructions, denoting an ablative transfer a prepositional marking of the possessor is more frequent than the dative marking.

2.2.2. Co- and subordinating constructions involving infinitives and agreeing verb forms in Low German and Danish

Turning to the languages involved in the German-Danish border zone, Herslund (2007) reports that as for Danish, coordinate constructions involving *og* ‘and’ plus agreeing verb seem to be gradually replacing subordinate constructions in cases where the two verb forms denote a single state of affairs. The shift from a subordinating construction with *at* ‘to’ plus infinitive towards a coordinating construction with *og* ‘and’ plus agreeing verb is facilitated if the forms involved are homonymous. As we have already seen, *og* and *at* are merged phonetically to [ɔ], so that the functional load to differentiate between an agreeing verb form and an infinitive lies solely on the verb form following [ɔ]. However, there are instances where these two verb forms are homonymous as well, at least potentially in spoken language, as can be seen in the following example:

(20) Dan Prøv *at [ɔ]* *åbne* / *og [ɔ]* *åbn* døren!
try TO open:INF/ AND open:AGR the.door
both: 'Open the door!' (lit.: 'Try to/and open the door!') (example from Herslund 2007: 67)

Cases like these are particularly suitable for a reanalysis from subordinate to coordinate constructions (cf. Herslund 2007: 66-67).

The coordinative construction spreads to cases where there is no formal merger between agreeing and infinitive verb form, and eventually leads to constructions which are not acceptable for all:

(21) Dan De plejer jo *[ɔ]* *kan* nå det
they use AND can:AGR make it
'They use to make it' (example from DR,1 28.3.07, taken from Herslund 2007: 67 and adapted)

Here the infinitive form would be *kunne* instead of *kan*.

Because of the potential phonetic merger between the two coding strategies, it is interesting to look at how the tendency might be manifest in writing. Fenyvesi (2021) has analyzed transcriptions of utterances from a corpus of spoken Danish in the context of verb forms of *prøve* 'try' in constructions where it governs a second verb form. In contrast to English (or German), Danish *prøve* has a variant that has grammaticalized into an imperative marker (see example (20)) and is frequent in spoken language. She observes that transcribers choose to write [ɔ] as <at> in the vast majority of cases, unless *prøve* appears in the imperative as *prøv*, where the percentage of <og>-spellings is slightly higher. Assuming that phenomena of language change need more time until they find expression in written language, Fenyvesi's observations neatly fit in the overall picture. In this context, it is interesting to note that there are instances where the spread of <og>-spellings seems to have gone much further, e.g. in constructions like

(22) Dan Vi har været ude *og* *lege*.
we have been out AND play:INF
'We have been outside to play' (example from Brandt 1995: 54)

(23) Vi gik ud *og* *lege*.
we went out AND play:INF
'We went out to play' (example from Brandt 1995: 54)

Brandt (1995: 52-54) calls constructions like these "adverbial purposives", owing to the fact that they need a (static (22) or directional (23)) local adverbial, which denotes the place where the purposive action is to take place. According to him, the preferred written form for the infinitive marker here is <*og*> 'and', but "grammatical formalists frown upon the practice" (Brandt 1995: 53) and would consequently prefer <at> (?*Vi har været ude at*$_{\text{TO}}$ *lege*$_{\text{INF}}$). The example differs from (20) and (21) in that the first predicate is not encoded verbally, but in the adverbial. Interestingly, the preference for <og>-spellings, which are usually associated with agreeing verb forms, seems strongest where the agreement between the two verb forms is secondary. The choice of an agreeing verb form following <og> (*Vi gik ud og legede* 'We went out and played') would probably indicate an unintended conceptual separation within "going" and "playing", so the purposive relation would become unclear. This example indicates that the attested tendency towards *og*-marked coordinative constructions in Danish is stronger than a tendency to preserve *at*-constructions. The *og*-construction in adverbial purposives might be a way to solve the ambiguity between *at* and *og* caused by their phonetic merger.

The dominance of *og*-constructions does not mean, however, that *at*-constructions have completely disappeared from purposive constructions. They are rather reintroduced in combination with a preposition (*for* 'for, in order'), which expresses the purposive relation more explicitly. Brandt (1995: 54) sees the "orthographic puzzle" between <og>- and <at>-spellings as one of the contributing factors for the "modern preference" for prepositional purposive constructions with *at* such as: *Vi har været ude for at lege.* The result of this development would then be that the alternation between *og* and *at* is replaced by an alternation between *og* and the more explicit *for at*. Other prepositions can also govern the infinitive with *at*, denoting other semantic relations, and Brandt (1995: 59) identifies 17 Danish prepositions that can govern the infinitive with *at*, so that one could assume an alternation between *og*- and PREP *at*-constructions.

Turning to Low German, a similar alternation is frequently described in the literature. In his *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch*, Mensing (1927-35: V. 228), for example, observes a preference for coordinative constructions in colloquial speech ("Volkssprache") (as in 24a)[8], where the written language ("Schriftsprache") prefers subordination (as in 24b), for example with the verb *bigahn* 'begin', which marks an ingressive aktionsart:

(24a) LGer nu gah man bi *un* *ęt* wat
now go just AND eat:AGR something
(24b) nu gah man bi wat *to* *ęten*
now go just something TO eat:INF
both: 'Now you go and eat something' (examples from Mensing 1927-35: I. 347)

Examples (24a/b) indicate that the difference between *un* 'and' and *to* 'to' correlates with a difference in word order, with VO-order in the sentence following *un*:

(25) he is so driest *un* *deit* dat
he is so cheeky AND do:AGR that
'He is so cheeky to do that' (example from Mensing 1927-35: V. 228)

As we have seen for Danish, the formal difference disappears with growing homonymy between the forms involved: For example, the agreeing and infinitive verb forms in the second verb merge if the first verb is an infinitive, or a verb form that is homonymous with the infinitive itself, for example:

(26) LGer wo kann he so verrückt sien *un* *glöben* dat
how can he so crazy be:INF AND believe:INF/AGR that
'How can he be so crazy to believe that?' (example from Mensing 1927-35: V. 228)

Note, that the word order of the sentence following *un* follows the one with the finite verb in (25): instead of the typical German verb-final position, the verb precedes the object, while the infinitive appears in final position in the sentence preceding *un* (cf. also Fuckel 1912; Teuchert 1921; Appel 2007: 154). Although the VO order corresponds to Danish word order, these authors give no indication of Danish influence here.

2.3. Shared or separate constructions in a diasystem with multiplied form-function relations

The knowledge about the relations between alternating coding strategies in given functional contexts should be thought of as being a part of the plurilingual repertoire in a given border zone. It seems

[8] The preference for coordinating constructions is frequently reported in the literature on Low German, cf. for example, Dost (1975: 135), Appel (2007: 124).

plausible to assume that the multiplied relations and tendencies between alternative constructions with both formal and/or structural overlap make it more complex to differentiate between shared and not-shared elements in the border zone than in any of the separate languages for themselves. In the next section (3), an attempt based on corpus material is being made to show how this complexity is being dealt with, and how the introduction of innovative structures can be seen as a possible solution to reduce complexity within the border zone.

After a brief presentation of the corpus material (3.1.), we will first turn to "restrictions" for the emergence of innovative constructions, i.e. types of constructions where no (or almost no) alternative innovative construction could be attested (3.2.). Next, we will turn to instances where three alternative options are attested, and discuss in what sense these could have served as "bridges" to help the innovation come about (3.3.). Finally, we will turn to instances where the innovation has "expanded", i.e. where the innovative construction reaches its highest frequency (3.4.).

3. A corpus-linguistic investigation of the variation between alternative constructions involving function words in two distant border zones

3.1. Corpus analysis

3.1.1. Corpus design and method

To investigate the distribution of innovative constructions and their functional alternatives, two different corpus analyses were carried out: EPol dialects were analyzed in a relatively large-scale corpus analysis of dialect texts from four different subareas within the zone on both sides of the present eastern Polish border (cf. Behnke 2014). These texts are available as transcriptions of spoken data from 221 locations west and east of the current Eastern Polish border. They were gathered by numerous Polish dialectologists between 1952 and 2002 (with 85% of the utterances gathered between 1982 and 2002) and published in various different publications (see Behnke 2014: ch. 4.2 for a complete list of references). The average age of the informants was about 72 years at the time their speech was recorded. From running text, the first 3,200 instances with either dative or *(d)l'a*-constructions (both innovative and unmarked) were extracted and annotated according to both formal and structural (semantic and syntactic) properties. The amount of utterances was evenly distributed across the four subterritories, which differed according to their contact situations: 1) territories within Poland (with Standard Polish as a roof language), 2) Wilno-region (which was part of the Polish state until WW II and shows significant Belarusian influence), 3) Kowno-region (with only historical influence of Belarusian and dominant contact to Lithuanian), 4) Ukraine (with substantial influence from Ukrainian). Only *dla-* and dative constructions were part of the quantitative analysis, while *u-*constructions were only regarded qualitatively.

The NLGer corpus material used here is of a very different character. Due to a lack of access to large-scale authentic Low German spoken text corpora from the Schleswig area, the analysis is based on written literary texts: Fritz Simonsen (*1900 in Süderbrarup between Schleswig and Kappeln, around 30 km southeast of Flensburg, † 1987 in Plön), whose autobiographical hand-written notes were first published in 2006 under the title *Ut mien Kinnerjohrn* ('From my childhood'), and Klaus Peter Asmussen's (*1946 in Handewitt near Flensburg) collection of translations of fairy tales *De smuckste Deern vun'e Welt* ('The prettiest girls in the world'). Both texts are written in dialect varieties of the Schleswig region and show innovative *un* plus infinitive-constructions.[9] From running

[9] The use of literary dialect texts can, of course, raise doubts about the authenticity of the dialect features that it contains since their use might have a dramaturgical purpose. Especially in the case of salient features, the author might use them with a higher (exaggerated) frequency than in spoken language and thus "stylize" the speakers. We will follow Wilcken (2015: 191-192), whose description of the mixed Low German – Standard German variety "Missingsch" is also based on literary texts: She argues that there are limits as to how much a literary version can deviate from its authentic counterpart since the intended readers, who often come from the border zone themselves, must still be able to recognize the language use as an example of their dialect.

text, the first instances of all three potentially alternating variants (a. innovative *un* plus infinitive; b. unmarked *un* plus agreeing verb form and c. unmarked *to* plus infinitive) were selected and again annotated according to syntactic and semantic criteria, altogether 807 tokens. Ambiguous cases like *de sünd bi un*$_{\text{AND}}$ *fahr'n*$_{\text{INF?/AGR?}}$ *Koorn in* (Asmussen 2019: 55) ('they are about to bring in the corn'), where it is not clear if the verb form following *un* is an infinitive or the homonymous agreeing third person plural, were marked separately.

The analysis of the NLGer-corpus was supplemented by data from Petuh, the above-mentioned mixed variety which is associated with the city of Flensburg. In total, 217 tokens of all three construction types were taken from two literarized Petuh texts: Renate Delfs' (*1925 in Flensburg; †2018 Flensburg) *Ohaueha, was'n Aggewars* (1995) and Gerty Molzen's (*1906 in Flensburg; †1990 in Glücksburg) *Petuhfahrt nach Glücksburg* (around 1966). Petuh differs from Schleswig Low German in that both Danish and Standard German elements (both in lexicon and grammar) are much more prominent, but like Schleswig Low German, Petuh is marked by *un* plus infinitive-constructions. Fleischer & Vikner (2022) subsume both varieties under the term "slesvigtysk" ('Schleswig German') in their analysis of whether it represents an example of an SOV- or SVO-language. But since Petuh *un*-infinitives appear to behave quite differently from Schleswig Low German in other aspects[10], they were analyzed separately and not consistently here.

3.1.2. Overall distributions

The overall distribution between dative- and *dla*-constructions, both unmarked and innovative ones in the four subareas of the EPol border zone can be seen in figure 2. This distribution will serve as a reference point for comparisons with the distribution in more specific contexts.

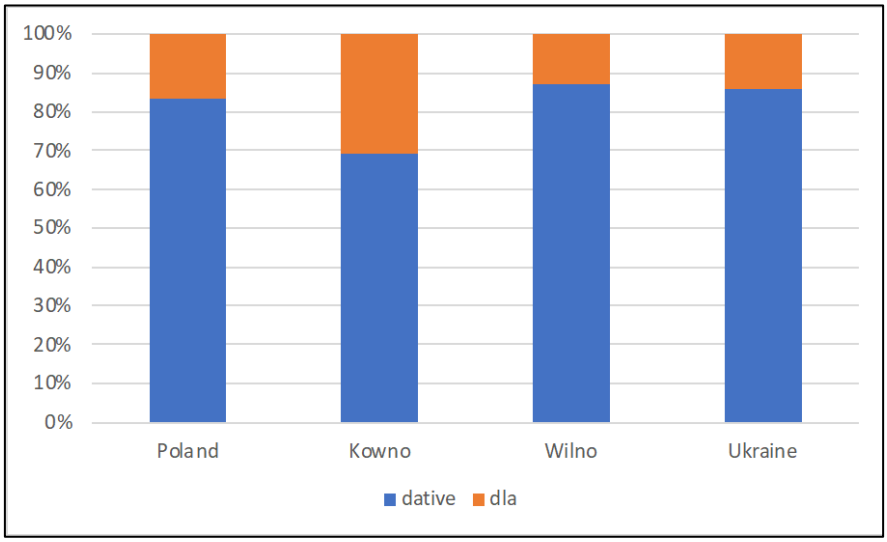

Fig. 2: Distribution of dative- and *dla*-constructions in four EPol subareas, *n*=3200 (4 x 800).

As can be seen, the dative is still in the majority in all areas. The Kowno-region sticks out as being particularly *dla*-friendly and, as we shall see later, this is also true for innovative *dla*-constructions. Here, innovative *dla*-constructions marking an external possessor can already be found in texts dating

[10] One example would be that the construction *das war ja kein Wetter un*$_{\text{AND}}$ *jagen*$_{\text{INF}}$ *ein Hund aus in* 'lit.: that was no weather to chase a dog out in' (Delfs 1995: 11) with a postposed preposition *in* was not attested in the Schleswig Low German data. Another example is the frequent Petuh construction with *szehen* 'see' plus *un*-infinitive *Bei diesze Hitze laß uns man szehn un*$_{\text{AND}}$ *chriegen*$_{\text{INF}}$ *ein Szelter* 'In this heat let us go (lit.: see) and get some water' (Molzen 1976: 13), which could not be attested in the Schleswig Low German data. Both constructions show that Petuh draws much more heavily on Danish surface syntax than Schleswig Low German.

back to the late 19th century (cf. Dowojna-Sylwestrowicz 2006 [1887]). Since Standard Polish does not show *dla*-constructions for external possessors and since contact to the developments in Standard Polish in the Kowno-region was the least intense after World War I, it is assumed that Standard Polish had a negative effect on the spread of innovative *dla* and that it is the Kowno-region, where it can still be observed relatively undisturbed (cf. Behnke 2014: 109-114).

There is nothing innovative in the form of the innovative *dla*-construction as compared to unmarked ones, but its innovative character is only revealed when it is used to encode specific semantic roles, as for example the external possessor. But the situation is a little different in the case of NLGer. Here it is the form of the *un*-infinitive itself that is innovative. As a point of departure, we will therefore compare the distribution of innovative *un*-constructions differently, i.e. a) as an alternative for unmarked *un*-constructions (i.e. with agreeing second verbs) and b) as an alternative for unmarked *to*-infinitives. In cases where both an interpretation as agreeing and as infinitive verb form was possible, the instances were marked "ambiguous". The overall distribution in Low German and Petuh can be seen here:

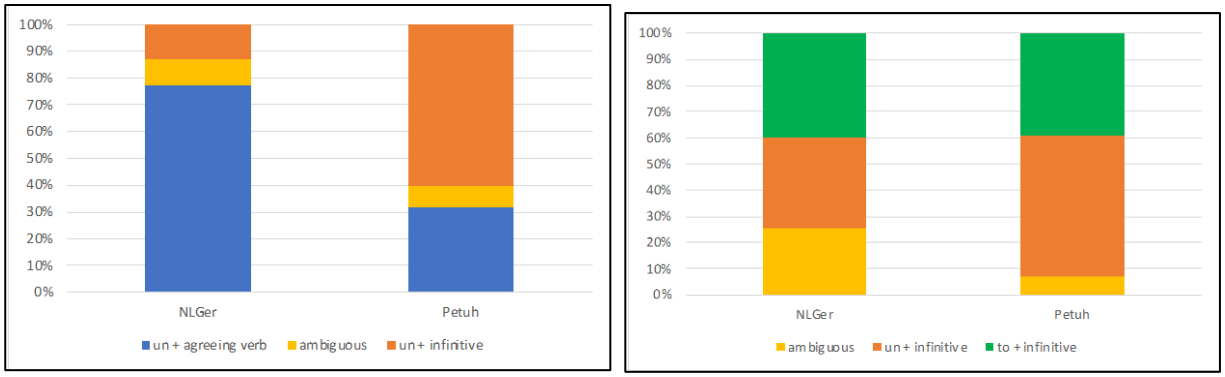

Fig. 3: Distribution of innovative *un*-constructions compared to different unmarked constructions in two varieties (NLGer: *n*=746; Petuh: *n*=182).

As can be seen, innovative *un*-constructions are much more frequent in Petuh than in Low German, which could be a result of their indexical character that was deliberately and thus more frequently used by the authors wishing to mark their protagonists as Petuh-speakers. Note also that the share of unmarked *to*-infinitives as opposed to innovative (and ambiguous) ones is constant in both varieties.

3.2. Restrictions for the use of innovative constructions in border zones

The investigation of the distribution of innovative constructions begins with contexts where they do not occur as alternatives for other unmarked constructions, although these unmarked constructions are known to be alternatives to innovative constructions in other contexts.

3.2.1. Eastern Polish dialects (EPol)

As was shown above, innovative *dla*-constructions can appear in the EPol border zone as alternatives for another prepositional construction with *u* 'at' plus genitive to mark an external possessor (see examples (13a/b)). However, other construction types present in the border zone and involving *u* plus genitive do not seem to be exchangeable with *dla*. This is the case, where the *u*-construction does not mark a possessor, but a participant which is the source of a verbal request. A prepositional construction with *u* is not usual in Standard Polish to encode this role, but it is typical in Eastern Slavonic languages. Here are two examples from Ukrainian and Belarusian:

(27) Ukr Vin zapytav *u chvorych*, jak tut u hospitali
he asked at patients:GEN how here at hospital
'He asked the patients (lit.: at the patients), what it is like at this hospital' (Buttke 1977: 662)

(28) Belar paprasic' *u nastaŭnika*
ask at teachter:GEN
'to ask a teacher' (lit.: 'at a teacher') (Šuba 1971: 152)

When meanings like these are expressed, EPol show either the Standard Polish accusative or the Eastern Polish variant, but no innovative *dla*-construction. Since *u*-constructions were not analyzed in the EPol-corpus analysis, here is an example from the literature:

(29) EPol prosić *u rodziców* 10, 20 rub. na swe wydatki
ask at parents:GEN 10, 20 rubles for their expenses
'ask the parents for 10, 20 for your expenses' (Mędelska 1993: 159)

This restriction is illuminating for a better understanding of the factors that allow the alternative innovative *dla*-can to appear and factors that block them: It seems to be the case that the variation between unmarked datives and unmarked *u*-constructions is the condition for an innovative *dla*-construction to appear, so there is no innovative *dla*-construction without a dative as an alternative. One could say that it is not the *dla*-construction in itself that is innovative, but that it is an innovative alternation between datives and *dla*-alternatives that is characteristic for EPol. This can be seen as a compromise solution: It combines an alternation between dative and a prepositional pattern, known from Eastern Slavonic, with a formal alternation between dative and the form *dla*, which is known from other functional contexts (see (18) and (19)) from all the Slavonic languages involved, including Polish. At this stage, one variation is substituted by another. Where *u*-constructions do not alternate with dative ones (as in examples (27)-(29)), no innovative *dla* can appear. As we shall see later, at a later stage of the development the condition of a *u*-dative-alternation will be dropped for other innovative *dla*-constructions to appear (see 3.4.).

There is no instance where the dative alone can appear in EPol without having an innovative *dla*-alternative, so that we can say that no dative context blocks the possibility of using an innovative or unmarked alternative *dla*-construction, although the distribution of both marking strategies is not equal in different contexts.

3.2.2. Schleswig Low German (NLGer)

Innovative *un*-infinitives appear to be excluded where the two sentences combined by *un* are in an "additive" relation. Under this label, all instances were annotated where the two verb phrases combined were interchangeable. This semantic relation can exclusively be expressed through a construction with *un* plus agreeing verb form of the verb following *un*, as in

(30) NLGer De Lehrer weer noch jung *un heeter* Bänsch
the teacher was still young AND was.called:AGR Bänsch
'The teacher was still young and his name was Bänsch' (Simonsen 2007: 71).

Other instances were also classified as additive, although no interchangeability is possible. This is the case where the relation is merely temporal, as in

(31) Do smitt he ehr t'rügg in't Water *un fangt*
there throws he it back into.the water AND chatch:AGR

würklich en grote Barg Fisch
really a big bunch fish
'Then he throws it back into the water and really catches a big bunch of fish'
(Asmussen 2019: 24)

Almost 54% of all Low German corpus utterances fall into this additive category. Although it might seem obvious, it is important to note that additive contexts such as these do not only exclude innovative *un*-infinitives, but also unmarked *to*-infinitives.

A reverse scenario is also attested. The corpus contains a few types of constructions, which seem to be reserved to unmarked *to*-infinitives, and neither innovative *un*-infinitives nor *un*-constructions with agreeing verbs occur, as in

(32) NLGer Jeder Morgen, wenn wi wat *to schrieven* harrn,
each morning when we something TO write:INF have,
stunn he achter uns
stood he behind us
'Each morning, when we had to write something, he stood behind us' (Simonsen 2007: 72)

(33) Dat heff ik *to bestimmen*
that have I TO decide:INF
'I have to decide that.' (Asmussen 2019: 72)

(34) Bi de Praat keemen se uk up Westerland
during the conversation came they also about Westerland
to schnacken
TO talk:INF
'During the conversation they also got to talk about Westerland' (Simonsen 2007: 64)

(35) Wenn de Speler sein Bliestück ünner de anner *to liggen* keem
if the player his Bliestück under the other TO lie:INF came
'If the player's Bliestück [a toy, LB] happened to lie under the other' (Simonsen 2007: 25)

(36) Am meisten kreegen wi *to hörn* von Hopa
mostly got we TO hear:INF about Grandpa
'We got to hear mostly about Grandpa.' (Simonsen 2007: 35)

(37) Kort na de Hochtied kriggt de morsgrimmige Süster *to weten*,
shortly after the marriage gets the ugly sister TO know:INF
wat passeert is
what happened has
'Shortly after the marriage the ugly sister got to know what had happened'
(Asmussen 2019: 34)

(38) sein schöne Kopp is man so eben *to sehn*
his beautiful head is just so just TO see:INF
'His beautiful head could just be seen' (Simonsen 2007: 56)

(39) weil 'n nich *to bruken* weer
because it not to use was
'because it was of no use' (Simonsen 2007: 61)

In all these cases, the verb governing the *to*-infinitive is a kind of auxiliary: *hebben* 'have' in (32) and (33) adds a modal meaning of "necessity" to the sentence, *kamen* 'come' in (34) and (35) marks the state of affairs as accidental, *kreegen* 'get' in (36) and (37) adds a "passive-transferential" or

"experiential" meaning, as Lenz (2009: 68-69) puts it, and finally *sien* 'be' expresses a passive modal meaning. As we shall see in 3.3., auxiliary status alone does not prevent an innovative *un*-infinitive from occurring, but here it is interesting to note that all these *to*-constructions do not have an unmarked alternative construction with *un* plus agreeing verb, in spite of the latter's tendency to expand. As with examples (27)-(29) from EPol, lack of variation between unmarked constructions seems to be a restricting factor for the occurrence of innovative *un*-infinitives. Where only one of the unmarked constructions is possible for the expression of a certain function, there is apparently no basis for the introduction of an innovative *un*-infinitive as an alternative. Variation between innovative and unmarked constructions in border zones seems to imply variation between unmarked constructions in some of the languages involved.

3.3. Bridging contexts – The introduction of innovative constructions in border zones

In the following cases, innovative constructions are attested to some extent as alternatives to one of the two other unmarked constructions (or to both). What is specific about these examples is that they show some kind of ambiguity and are thus prone to reanalysis which in turn paves the way for the innovative construction to enter the scene.

3.3.1. Eastern Polish Dialects (EPol)

As we have seen above (sentence (2)), innovative *dla*-constructions occur as a marker of the external possessor in EPol in ditransitive sentences, next to a) *u*-constructions (both requiring the genitive case) and b) pure dative cases (as in examples in (11a/b)), where the state of affairs is a kind of ablative transfer, i.e. a transfer where something is taken away from the possessor. It is argued here that the possibility of variation between the two unmarked variants is a precondition for the emergence of innovative *dla*-constructions. But the question is how *dla*-constructions, which are known from Polish, came about to extend their functional spectrum to include the marking of external possessors in the border zone repertoire.

One possible candidate for a basis of such an extension are sentences that encode a specific kind of transfer, namely one of attaching something to a person. As we already know (see 2.2.1.), *dla*-constructions and dative ones are common in Polish as a marker of the beneficiary of a state of affairs, i.e. of a kind of adlative transfer. What is special about the following examples is that the *dla*-referent can both be interpreted as a beneficiary and as a possessor, since what is established by the transfer is what comes closest to a (new) possessive relation in the narrow sense, because the place of attachment is the referent's clothes or body parts, which is usually referred to as "inalienable possession".

(40a) EPol i kokardkę przyszpilają *dla* *młodego*
and ribbon they.attach FOR bridegroom:GEN
'and they attached a ribbon on the bridegroom' (example from Żegowicze, Lithuania)

(40b) *chłopcom* przyczepiali mirt z taką wstążką
boys:DAT they.attached myrtle with such ribbon
'they attached a myrtle with such a ribbon on the boys' (example from Kiemieliszki, Lithuania)

The recipient/beeneficiary encoded in these adlative transfers can be conceptually reanalyzed (or additionally analyzed) as an external possessor, which would be the domain, where *u*-constructions would be a third coding-possibility.[11]

[11] Cf. the possibility to encode the possessor in a non-ablative transfer with the verb *celovat'* 'kiss' in Russian, e.g. *celovat'*

Although this type is not frequent and dative- or *dla*-construction almost only attested in the Kowno-region in a sufficient number (13 x), it is still interesting to look at the distribution of the two constructions here:

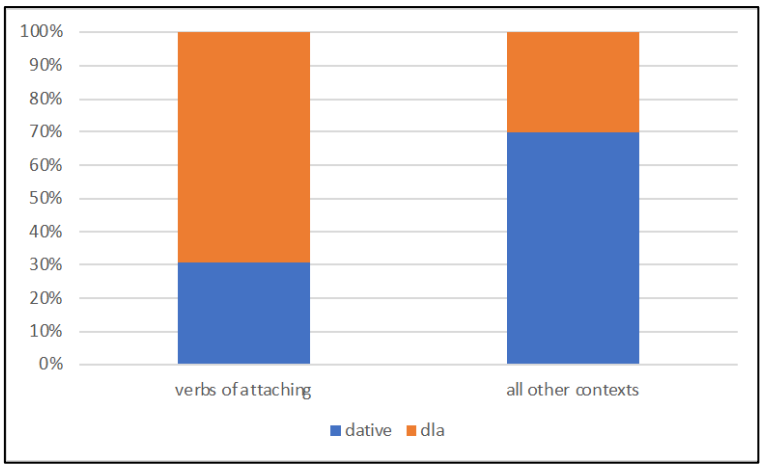

Fig. 4: Distribution of dative- and *dla*-constructions with verbs of attaching in the Kowno-region (verbs of attaching: *n*=13; all other contexts: *n*=787).

The data show that verbs of attaching are a particularly attractive context for innovative *dla*-constructions to appear, where they encode a beneficiary of an adlative transfer but, at the same time, encode the possessor in a newly established possessive relation.

If one compares these data with the ones for external possessors, where the *dla*-construction is clearly innovative, we can see that the distribution roughly matches the overall distribution, with a slight increase of innovative *dla* in the particularly *dla*-friendly Kowno-region.

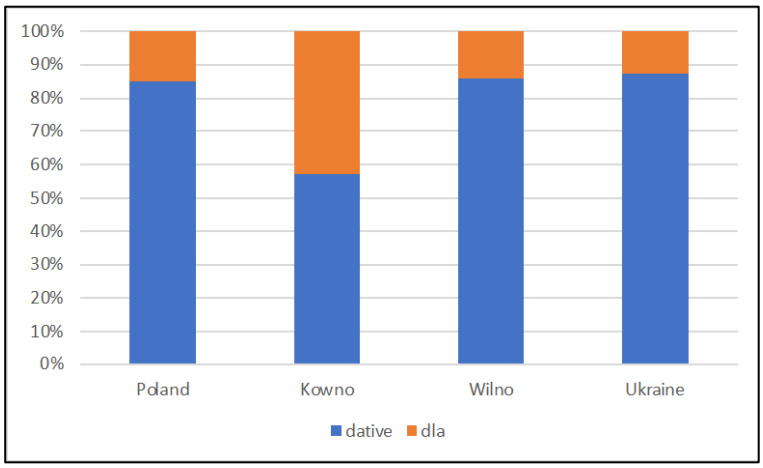

Fig. 5: Distribution of dative- and innovative *dla*-construction in external possessor contexts in ditransitive sentences, *n*=98 (PL: 46 – KO:14 – WI: 14 – UK: 24).

The argument suggested here is that the marking of the beneficiary in ditransitive sentences with verbs of attaching, whereby a possessive relation is established, provides a basis for reanalysis of the *dla*-construction as a marker for the external possessor in ditransitive ablative sentences. The

ruku babuške$_{\text{DAT}}$ / *dlja*$_{\text{DLA}}$ *babuški*$_{\text{GEN}}$ (both: 'to kiss grandmother's hand') (example from Glovinskaja 1996: 242).

association of *dla*-constructions with external possessors makes them a possible option in non-adlative contexts where they must be regarded as innovations.

3.3.2. Schleswig Low German (NLGer)

When we observe the occurrences of innovative *un*-infinitives in NLGer, one can identify a few contexts where they appear as a third possibility with a relatively low frequency, without replacing the other alternatives. These instances have in common that there is a stronger degree of semantic integration between the two verb forms connected by *un* or *to* than there is with additive relations discussed in 3.2.2. These constructions differ from additive ones in that they rather denote one single state of affairs (or different aspects of it) and cannot be mutually exchanged. In a sense, they behave like serial verb constructions, although the term is reserved for cases without an "overt marker of coordination" (cf. Aikhenvald 2006, but cf. Herslund 2007, who applies the term to Danish coordinating constructions).

Innovative *un*-constructions appear, for example, in cases, where the first verb marks a specific aktionsart, e.g. ingressives, as in

(41a) NLGer Do fung he an *to lachen*
there began he PREFIX TO laugh:INF
'Then he began to laugh' (Simonsen 2007: 69)

(41b) Aver bald fungen de Lütten an *un weenern*
but soon began the little.ones PREFIX and cried:AGR
'But soon the children began to cry' (Simonsen 2007: 28)

(41c) Vadder hett öft […] vertellt, dat he fröh anfungen harr *un schmöken*
father has often told that he early begun has and smoke:INF
'Father has often said that he began to smoke early' (Simonsen 2007: 19)

There are other ingressive verbs than *anfangen* 'begin' (the most frequent being *beigehen* with the same meaning.) and there seems to be a slightly stronger tendency to *to*-constructions if the ingressive verb is *anfangen*, which can be used both in Low and Standard German, than with *beigehen*, which is typical for Low German.

Here is another example, with verbs denoting a durative aktionsart, here with the verb *bisien* 'be in progress' (see also Thies 2018), with (16b) repeated as (42b):

(42a) NLGer Mal is he bi *to fischen*
once is he DURATIVE TO fish:INF
'One time he was fishing' (Asmussen 2019: 24)

(42b) De Knech is al bi *un spannt* dat Peerd af
the groom is just at AND unhitch:AGR the horse
'the groom was just about to unhitch the horse' (Simonsen 2007: 59)

(42c) He weer de ganse Namiddag bi *un marsen*
he was the whole afternoon DURATIVE AND toil:INF
in'e Kantüffeln
in.the potatoes
'He has been toiling in the potatoes the whole afternoon' (Simonsen 2007: 71)

Again, other verbs were also classified as durative markers, including positional verbs such as *sitten* 'sit' or *liggen* 'lie', which can have a durative function in Low German (cf. Thies 2018).

Apart from these two larger groups of verbs there were smaller groups of "serial construction verbs", where innovative *un*-constructions occurred with only one of the two other variants, e.g.

conative verbs:

(43a) Mudder versöchter, ehr *to beruhigen*
mother tried her to calm.down
'Mother tried to calm her down' (Simonsen 2007: 98)

(43b) He versöchter *un schuven* de Schneer över de Häk
he tried AND push:INF the sling over the hedge
'He tried to push the sling over the hedge' (Simonsen 2007: 41)

Taken together, the distribution of *un*- and *to*-constructions in these three verb groups looks like this:

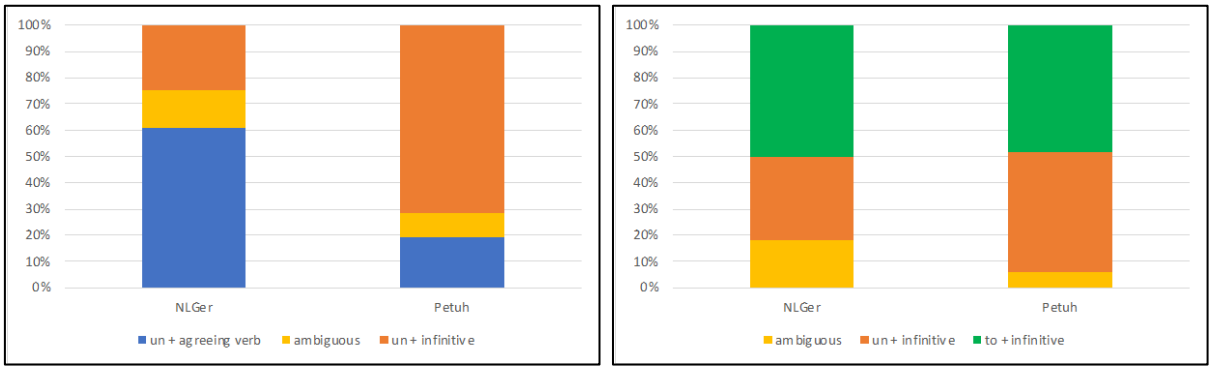

Fig. 6: Distribution of *un*-infinitives compared to a) *un*-constructions with agreeing verbs and (NLGer: *n*=649; Petuh: *n*=126), b) *to*-infinitives in constructions with ingressive, durative and conative functions (NLGer: *n*=243; Petuh: *n*=142).

We can see that the percentage of innovative *un*-infinitives is slightly higher than in the overall distribution in figure 3 above, both in NLGer and in Petuh. (We can also see, that innovative *un*-infinitives are considerably more frequent in Petuh than in NLGer.)

Another group of sentences was categorized as "purposive", where the state of affairs in the second sentence could be interpreted as intended by the subject of the first sentence. One would probably not go as far as to say that the two verbs denote a single event as in the "serial" cases above, but still there is a stronger semantic integration. Purposive constructions are also open to all three marking strategies:

(44a) NLGer Ik bliev hier in't Holt *to freten*
I stay here in.the wood TO eat:INF
'I'll stay here in the woods in order to eat' (Asmussen 2019: 64)

(44b) Do geiht he na de Preester *un vertellt* em de heele Saak
there goes he to the priest AND tell:AGR him the whole thing
'Then he goes to the priest to tell him the whole thing' (Asmussen 2019: 48)

(44c) De lütte König Hanni freut sik düchtig un marscheert munter
the little king Hanni was.glad much and marches happily
afste' för *un kamen* t'rügg na sin Vadder un Mudder
away for AND come:INF back to his father and mother
'The little king Hanni is very glad and marches happily off to see his father and mother' (Asmussen 2019: 42)

Here the distribution of constructions showed roughly the same amount of *un*-infinitives in relation

to *un*-constructions with agreeing verb, but a more diffuse picture with *to*-infinitives, which were slightly less frequent than in the overall distribution in NLGer, but more frequent in Petuh. Still, also here, all three construction types were attested.

Sometimes sentences like the ones discussed in this section (i.e. ingressive, durative, conative and purposive) are used in constructions where the first verb appears as an infinitive, e.g., if it is required by a modal verb. The form of the second verb is then ambiguous as to the interpretation as an agreeing or an infinitive form since this difference is formally neutralized. Sentences like these therefore provide a basis for reanalysis leading to an infinitive interpretation, which would be plausible because the structure is semantically subordinate and alternates with an analogous *to*-construction where subordination is not in doubt. Two examples can be found here:

(45) NLGer un he kunn versöken *un* *blacken* een *af*
and he could try AND knock:AGR?/INF? one off
'and he could try to knock one of them off' (Simonsen 2007: 26)

(46) dar kunn een kamen *un* ehr *weghalen*
there could one come AND her take.away:AGR?/INF?
'Someone could come and take her away.' (Asmussen 2019: 41)

With *un*-constructions being ambiguous, it is still worth noting that the percentage of *to*-infinitives decreases significantly, as figure 7 shows, so that there is reason to believe that modal embeddings of ingressive, durative, conative and purposive constructions support *un*-infinitives and provide a point of entry for the innovation:

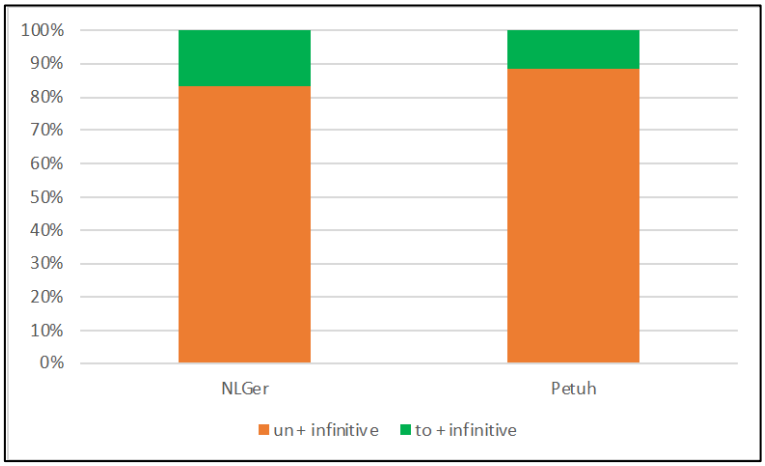

Fig. 7: Distribution of *un*-infinitives compared to *to*-infinitives in constructions with ingressive, durative and conative functions, embedded in modal constructions (NLGer: *n*=18; Petuh: *n*=26).

Another facilitating factor for a reanalysis of *un*-constructions with agreeing verb forms as innovative *un*-infinitives is word order. Generally, there is a strong correlation between the three construction types and the linear order of the second verb and its object, with *to*-infinitives showing OV-order and unmarked *un*-constructions (with agreeing verbs) showing VO-order.

Another case of formal ambiguity involving word order is when the first verb form is in the first or third person plural, as in:

(47) NLGer Denn gahn se bi *un* *spelen*
then begin they AND play:INF
'Then they begin to play' (Asmussen 2019: 10)

(48) Se holen gar nich up *un swögen* vun
they stop at.all not AND rave:AGR?/INF? of
dat Glück vun se's Fründin
the luck of their friend
'They do not stop ravelling about their friend's luck' (Asmussen 2019: 19)

Equivalent constructions in Danish always show VO-order in the infinitive, and since in Low German unmarked *un*-constructions are associated with VO-order, too, because of the preference for paratactic sentence organization with main verbs in second position (see 2.2.2.), this order is taken over by *un*-infinitives as well. Together with the semantic subordination of the second verb, an interpretation of the verb form as a non-agreeing infinitive seems justified.[12]

3.4. Expansive innovative constructions

The analysis of the border zone material so far has shown that the two innovative constructions can occur as a third alternative to two unmarked constructions in contexts where these unmarked constructions are known to be alternative coding strategies, i.e. examples of intralinguistic variation, in at least one of the languages involved in the contact situation. Specific circumstances facilitate a reanalysis of the surface structure and thus help the innovation to enter the scene. We have also seen that innovative constructions seem to be blocked if the precondition of intralinguistic variation is not met.

This last section will now focus on contexts that are particularly innovation-friendly, i.e., where their frequency is highest. These high frequencies will be interpreted as symptomatic for the direction of an expansion of the innovative constructions. The corpus material shows that these are contexts, where no variation between two alternating constructions is known from the participating languages outside the border zone. So why are innovative constructions not blocked as in the "conservative" instances described in 3.2.? The reason proposed here is that these innovation-friendly contexts share some structural properties with contexts that are "friendly" to one of two unmarked alternatives known from intralinguistic variation (see 3.2.). The preference for a given innovative construction within the border zone repertoire would be symptomatic of the same structural factors that regulate intralinguistic variation outside the border zone in at least one of the languages involved. As a consequence, innovative constructions no longer appear as a third alternative to two unmarked alternates, but as an alternative to the one unmarked construction only, which is the preferred option to the other unmarked one. This could be a way to reduce the complexity caused by the multiplied relations between alternative constructions in the border zone repertoire.

3.4.1. Eastern Polish dialects (EPol)

The most preferred context for innovative *dla*-constructions are ditransitive constructions, where the *dla*-construction marks the third argument role, either a recipient, beneficiary or – as we have seen in 3.3. – the external possessor. In all the standard languages involved here, the ditransitive category includes verbs where only the dative is allowed without any alternative, most typically as a marker of the recipient role of the verb *give.* Other verbs require either the dative or another prepositional construction, but not *dla* (e.g. verbs of saying where the addressee can be encoded with the pure dative or with the preposition *do* 'to' plus genitive in Polish as in examples (14a/b) above, cf. Hentschel & Chachulska 2007). Here are two other examples from the corpus with innovative *dla* and unmarked dative:

[12] The correlation between *to* and *un* and word order is weaker in sentences where the first verb form is embedded by a modal verb (see also 2.2.2.), where both OV- and VO-orders occur.

(49a) EPol Ona to wszystko *dla* *świni* dawała
she it all FOR pigs:GEN gave
'She gave it all to the pigs' (example from Stare Szpaki, Eastern Poland)
(49b) ale dał ksiądz *organiście* gołębia
but gave priest organist:DAT dove
'But the priest gave a dove to the organist' (example from Radoryż Kościelny, Eastern Poland)
(50a) i przysłali *dla* *mnie* sukienkę i welon
and sent FOR I:gen dress and veil
'and they sent me a dress and a veil' (example from Puńsk, Eastern Poland)
(50b) właśnie *mnie* przysłał sweter niedawno
just I:DAT sent sweater recently
'He just sent me a sweater recently' (example from Bujwidze, Lithuania)

As mentioned in section 2.2.1., Hentschel & Menzel (2002: 342) have found out that there is a preference for prepositional marking (with the preposition *u* 'at') of the external possessor if the "possessed" appears as the object of the sentence, resulting in a ditransitive construction. It is less frequent if it appears as the subject, resulting in an intransitive construction.

The distribution of *dla*-constructions (including innovative ones) in this corpus shows a significant preference for ditransitive constructions as in (49a/b) and (50a/b) as opposed to intransitive constructions as in

(51a) EPol tam nie puchnieje *dla* *mnie* nic
there not swells FOR I:GEN nothing
'Nothing swells on me' (example from Puńsk, Eastern Poland)
(51b) zachorował *mi* mąż
fell.ill I:DAT husband
'My husband fell ill' (example from Bzów, Eastern Poland)

The preference of *dla*-constructions for ditransitive constructions in external possessor-contexts is more or less paralleled by a more general preference for ditransitive constructions in the border zone, including innovative ones, as an alternative for the dative, see figure 8.

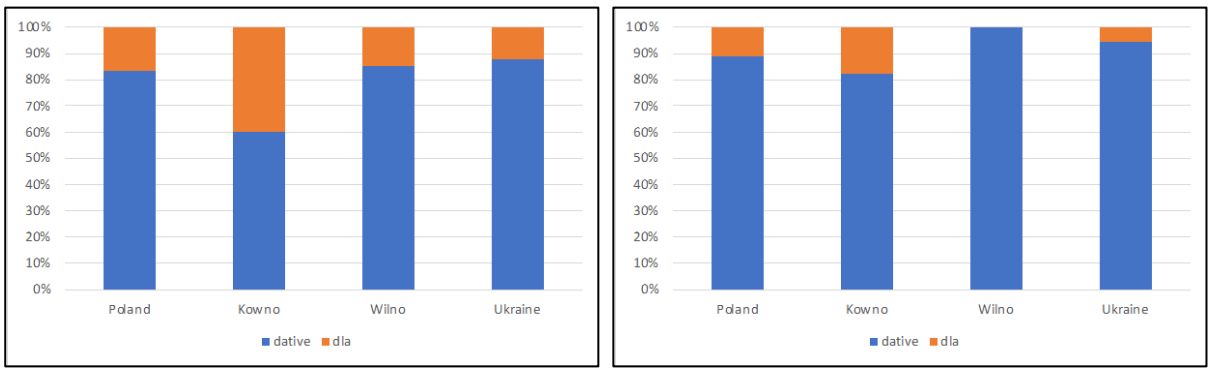

Fig. 8: Distribution of *dla*-constructions and alternative dative constructions in a) ditransitive sentences (*n*=1691) and b) intransitive sentences (*n*=147).

While the alternation between *u*-constructions and datives was still necessary for innovative *dla*-constructions to occur in possessor contexts, this is no longer needed once the innovative construction

has been associated with ditransitivity (including the dative). Here it can occur as an innovative alternative for the "conservative" dative alone. It thereby also follows another tendency where *dla*-constructions are on the rise, namely as a marker of the beneficiary (cf. Hentschel 2001b), which can also occur in ditransitive constructions.

3.4.2. Schleswig Low German (NLGer)

The friendliest context for innovative *un*-infinitives are constructions which were labelled "non-verbal" constructions here, because the *un*-infinitive either adds information to a noun or an adjective contained in the first sentence. Examples of this category were given in (15a/b), where the *un*-infinitive and the alternative *to*-infinitive add information to the object of *geven* 'give' in an existential sentence (*dat geev twee Orten un*$_{\text{AND}}$ *spielen*$_{\text{INF}}$ *Bliestück* 'there were two kinds to play Bliestück' and *Vun disse Seemannsfamilie gift dat veel to*$_{\text{TO}}$ *vertellen*$_{\text{INF}}$ 'There is a lot to tell about this sailor family'). Here are examples of the most frequent construction types within this diverse category. (Where only the innovative construction is presented, no alternating unmarked construction could be found in the corpus):

a) constructions of the type *hebben* 'have' + noun + *to/un*-infinitive

(52a) NLGer Wenn he mitünner mal Lust harr *un* *schmöken*
when he sometimes desire has AND smoke:INF
'when he felt like smoking' (Simonsen 2007: 44)

(52b) En arme Deern, de […] geern wat *to eten* habben will
a poor girl who gladly something TO eat:INF have wants
'a poor girl, who would like to have something to eat' (Asmussen 2019: 35)

b) constructions of the type *sien* 'be' + noun + *to/un*-infinitive

(53) Ehr eerste Arbeit weer nu *un* *braden* mi mien Fisch
her first work was now AND fry:INF me my fish
'Her first task was to fry me a fish' (Simonsen 2007: 42)

c) constructions of the type *sien* 'be' + adjective + *to/un*-infinitive

(54a) Nu is dat verbaden *un* *hebben* bi Nacht Licht in'e Stallen
now is it forbidden AND have:INF by night light in.the stable
'now it is forbidden to have lights on in the stable by night' (Asmussen 2019: 61)

(54b) Petuh das war nicht leicht *szu* *hausen* bei mich die letzte Szeit
it was not easy TO live:INF at me the past time
'it has not been easy living with me lately' (Molzen 1976: 9)

d) constructions with pronominal adverbs + *to/un*-infinitive

(55) NLGer As de Mann dar mit sin Deerns oever snackt
when the man PRON.ADV with his girls about talks
un *heiraden* Hannes Grimmbass
AND marry:INF H.G.
'When the man talks to his daughters about marrying Hannes Grimmbass'
(Asmussen 2019: 50)

e) other constructions of the type verb + noun + *to/un*-infinitive

(56a) Do kriggt he Lust *un* *heiraten* dar een vun
there gets he desire AND marry:INF them one of
'He felt like marrying one of them.' (Asmussen 2019: 49)

(56b) de eene na de anner […] haler wat *to spelen*
the one after the other fetches something TO play:INF
'one after the other fetches something to play with' (Simonsen 2007: 104)

The corpus shows the following distribution between *un*-infinitives and *to*-infinitives in "non-verbal" contexts:

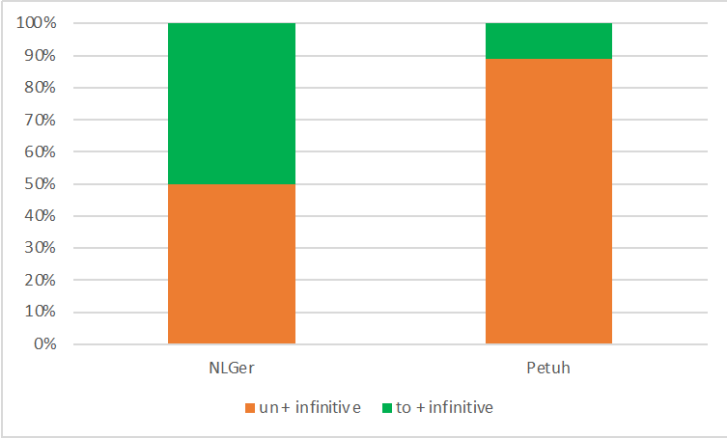

Fig. 9: Distribution of innovative *un*-infinitives and unmarked *to*-infinitives in "non-verbal" contexts, *n*=124 (NLGer: *n* = 70; Petuh: *n* = 54).

Un-infinitives, which emerge in contexts where unmarked *to*-infinitives and unmarked *un*-constructions with agreeing verbs alternate (see 3.3.2.), give up the link to the latter and spread further through the diasystem as alternates to *to*-infinitives in "non-verbal" contexts, where they reach their highest frequency. In 3.2.2., we have seen cases where *un*-infinitives were blocked because they were reserved to *to*-infinitives (e.g. in the context of the verbs *kamen, kreegen* or modal *hebben* or *sien*). The reason why *un*-infinitives appear as alternatives to *to*-infinitives as the most preferred option here is that they follow the same path of expansive unmarked *un*-constructions attested in- and outside the border zone, substituting the other unmarked alternative with *to*.

As was shown in section 2.2.2., Low German *un* 'and' (as its Danish equivalent *og*) is often the preferred option over *to* because there is a tendency towards coordination instead of subordination, so *un* has an expansive potential. It correlates with agreement between verb forms and, in the case of parataxis, usually with VO word order in the sentence following it.[13] As we have seen, the expansive potential of *un* in NLGer was particularly clear when the two verb forms denote one single event (e.g., durative, ingressive meanings), where *to*-infinitives would be an alternative. In these cases *un*-infinitives are a kind of compromise construction between subordinating *to*-infinitives and coordinating *un*-constructions with agreeing verbs. Innovative *un* loses its association with verb agreement, but it still correlates with VO-order. The gradual loss of the correlation between *un* and verb agreement is least restricted in contexts such as (52)-(56), where the *un*-construction adds information to a non-verbal and not a verbal element, which might be the reason why this turns out to be the most *un*-infinitive-friendly structure.

As was shown for Danish purposive construction (see 2.2.2.), there are signs of a rearrangement of the relation between *at*-infinitives and *og*-constructions with agreeing verbs, with *to*-infinitives giving place to *og*-constructions, eventually leading to written *og*-infinitives as in adverbial purposive constructions (*Han var ude og*$_{\text{AND}}$ *lege*$_{\text{INF}}$ 'He was outside to play'). *At*-infinitives only reenter the scene as part of a larger construction with an initial preposition (*for at, til at, med at* etc.), which are semantically more specific than the more general *og*-alternative. NGer *un*-infinitives might ally with this expansive tendency of their Danish equivalents, especially in contexts where agreement is irrelevant.

[13] In our corpus there are only rare instances where the verb-second position is filled by an auxiliary, with the main verb moving to final position.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to identify possible common patterns for the distribution of innovative morphosyntactic markers in two distant border zones. The analysis is an attempt to describe their distribution as a reaction to intra- and interlinguistic variation patterns between closely related unmarked constructions, which are not specific to the border zone, but which are multiplied in the border zone repertoire as a consequence of the contact situation between the language varieties involved. The corpus data suggest that one can distinguish different stages in the expansion of innovative constructions, from contexts where they are excluded, via contexts where they emerge as a third alternative to two unmarked ones, to contexts where they expand at the expense of one of the unmarked alternatives. These scenarios are not language-specific. Figure 10 is an attempt to summarize the results:

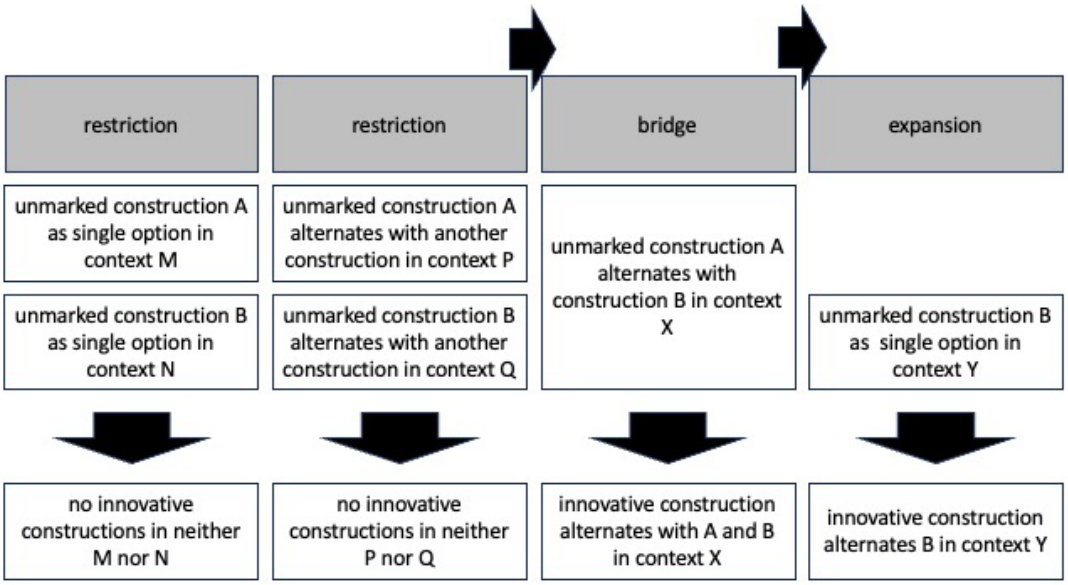

Fig. 10: Scheme of the distribution of innovative morphosyntactic constructions and their alternatives in diasystematic border zones repertoires.

The arrows pointing right on top of the scheme signify that the scenario left of the arrow is the precondition for the scenario right of the arrow for the innovative construction to appear. The arrows pointing downwards signify that the innovative construction appears as a reaction of the behavior of unmarked constructions. Although the innovative constructions may seem idiosyncratic for each border zone, the results of this corpus study suggest that they actually share a mechanism of how the innovation comes about, which might be of relevance for the investigation of innovative morphosyntactic constructions in other border zones.

It must be added that the corpus material gathered here represents language usage from the past. None of the informants, be they speakers from Eastern Poland or writers from Northern Germany, are representatives of the younger generation. But the intention of this study is to find typologically relevant explanations for the distribution of alternative marking strategies in border zone areas, independent of time and space.

As we have seen, both innovative constructions can be seen as compromise solutions between other competing constructions so one could see them as examples of linguistic convergence. This is perhaps remarkable in the light of many other cases, where it is reported that a national border rather has the opposite effect and leads to divergence phenomena of the border varieties involved (see Auer

2013: 19 for an overview).

It is interesting to see that speakers in border zone varieties extend the use of variation patterns, i.e. patterns, where at least two forms have the same function, to contexts where the contacting languages know 1:1-relations between form and function. In monolingual approaches, intralinguistic variation seems to be a sign of instability because an unambiguous 1:1-relation between form and function is regarded as cognitively optimal from an intralinguistic perspective and a symptom of language change. But in the plurilingual border zone repertoire where alternatives to express one and the same function are multiplied, variation between two constructions seems to have a stabilizing effect.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2006). 'Serial verb constructions in typological perspective'. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions. A cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press. 1-68.

Appel, Heinz-Wilfried (2007). *Untersuchungen zur Syntax niederdeutscher Dialekte. Forschungsüberblick, Methodik und Ergebnisse einer Korpusanalyse*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.

Asmussen, Klaus-Peter (2019). *De smuckste Deern vun'e Welt un anner Märkens*. Books on Demand.

Auer, Peter (2013). 'The Geography of Language. Steps toward a new approach'. *Freiburger Arbeitspapiere zur germanistischen Linguistik*, 16. https://www.sdd.uni-freiburg.de/fragl/2013.16 (retrieved: 27 April 2023)

Avanesav, R.I. (1968). *Linhvistyčna heahrafija i hrupoŭka belaruskich havorak*. Minsk: Navuka i tėchnika.

Bartels, Hauke (2005). *Dativ oder Präposition? Zur Markierungsvariation im Kontext adjektivischer Prädikate im Deutschen, Russischen und Polnischen*. Oldenburg: BIS.

Behnke, Lars (2014). *Zur Variation zwischen reinem Dativ und präpositionaler Markierung mit dla 'für' in ostpolnischen Dialekten*. Oldenburg: BIS.

Bock, Karl N. (1933). *Niederdeutsch auf dänischem Substrat. Studien zur Dialektgeographie Südostschleswigs*. Kopenhagen, Marburg: Levin & Munksgaard, Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung

Brandt, Søren (1995). *Infinitive Control in Danish*. København: Munksgaard.

Breza, Edward (1993). 'Polszczyzna Polaków współczesnej Grodzieńszczyzny.' *Język Polski*, LXXIII/3: 161-166.

Buttke, Kurt (1977). 'Zur Verwendung der Konstruktion *u* (*v*) + Genitiv im modernen Ukrainischen'. *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 22: 657-663. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1524/slaw.1977.22.1.657

Buttler, Danuta (1976). *Innowacje składniowe współczesnej polszczyzny*. Warszawa: PWN.

Czyżewski, Feliks (2000). 'Uwagi o fleksji rzeczowników w gwarach ukraińskich południowego Podlasia (na przykładzie gwary wsi Horodyszcze w b. woj. bialskopodlaskim).' In Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska & Wanda Szulowska (eds.), *Kontakty językowe polszczyzny na pograniczu wschodnim. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Riegerowi*. Warszawa: Semper. 53-62.

Dąbrowska, Ewa (1997). *Cognitive semantics and the Polish dative*. Berlin: de Gruyter. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110814781

Delfs, Renate (2016[9]). *Ohaueha, was'n Aggewars*. Husum: Husum.

Dost, Wolfgang (1975). *Untersuchungen zu den sprachlichen Existenzformen Mundart und Umgangssprache im Raum Wittstock unter Einschluß eines nördlichen Vorlandes*. Dissertation Universtät Rostock.

Dowojna-Sylwestrowicz, Mieczysław (2006 [1887]). 'Teksty szlachty żmudzkiej'. In Janusz Rieger (ed.), *Język polski dawnych Kresów Wschodnich*. T. III. Warszawa: Semper. 57-72.

Dubicka-Dwilewicz, Barbara (1996). 'O niektórych konstrukcjach składniowych polskiej gwary wsi

Bujwidze na Litwie'. In Bogusław Dunaj & Jerzy Reichan (eds.), *Studia Dialektologiczne I*. Kraków: IJP. 223-228.

Dzięgiel, Ewa (2009). 'Zakres alternacji celownika i konstrukcji przyimkowej z *dla* we wspólczesnej polszczyźnie południowokresowej.' In Ewa Dzięgiel & Anna Zielińska (eds.), *Polszczyzna za granicą jako język mniejszości i języki mniejszościowe w Polsce*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UKSW. 95-121.

Fenyvesi, Katalin (2021). 'Prøv at se her! – grammatikalisering af verbet *prøve* i dansk'. *Ny forskning i grammatik*, 28: 47-65. DOI: https://doi.org/10.7146/nfg.vi28.128783

Fleischer, Jürg & Sten Vikner (2022). 'Findes der OV-sprog som også tillader VO? Om *og*-infinitiver i Sydslesvig.' *Ny forskning i grammatik*, 29: 28-49. DOI: https://doi.org/10.7146/nfg.v1i29.132898

Fredsted, Elin (1983). 'Spiser man mon børn i Flensborg? Szünde, aber da kann ich nichts für'. *Mål og mæle*, 1: 27-31.

Fredsted, Elin (2013). 'Multilingualism and longitudinal language contact in the German-Danish border region'. *STUF*, 66: 331-353. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1524/stuf.2013.0017

Fredsted, Elin (this volume). 'Schleswig – a region of longitudinal language contact'.

Fuckel, A. (1912). 'Ein Beitrag zur niederdeutschen Satzstellung'. *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, 38: 164-168.

Glovinskaja, Marija Ja (1996). 'Aktivnye processy v grammatike (na materiale innovacij i massovych jazykovych ošibok)'. In E.A. Zemskaja (ed.), *Russkij jazyk konca XX stoletija (1985-1995)*. Moskva: Jazyki russkoj kul'tury. 237-304.

Gorodenskaya, Katherina & Isabella Buniyatova (1995). 'The development of analytical trends in modern literary Ukrainian'. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, 30: 145-153.

Grek-Pabisowa, Iryda & Irena Maryniakowa (1980). *Słownik gwary starowierców mieszkających w Polsce*. Wroclaw etc.: Ossolineum.

Hentschel, Gerd (2001a). 'On defining 'variable marking' or 'marking variation' with nominal groups'. In Winfried Boeder & Gerd Hentschel (eds.), *Variierende Markierung von Nominalgruppen in Sprachen unterschiedlichen Typs*. Oldenburg: BIS. 15-28.

Hentschel, Gerd (2001b). 'Dative or prepositional marking of noun phrases in the context of Russian adjectival experiencer predicates'. In Winfried Boeder & Gerd Hentschel (eds.), *Variierende Markierung von Nominalgruppen in Sprachen unterschiedlichen Typs*. Oldenburg: BIS. 171-213.

Hentschel, Gerd & Beata Chachulska (2007). 'On the morphosyntactic marking of the addressee with the Polish verba dicendi *mówic* and *powiedzieć*. Lexical meaning, syntactic meaning, variation'. *Studies in Polish Linguistics*, 3: 127-146.

Hentschel, Gerd & Thomas Menzel (2002). 'Zum Dativ des unveräußerlichen Besitzes im Russischen: Dativische oder präpositionale Markierung des Possessors'. In Wolfram Bublitz, Manfred von Roncador & Heinz Vater (eds.), *Philologie, Typologie und Sprachstruktur. Festschrift für Winfried Boeder zum 65. Geburtstag*. Frankfurt a. M. etc.: Peter Lang. 323-346.

Herslund, Michael (2007). 'Modalverbernes infinitiv eller 'Det er nødvendigt [å] kan ordentlig dansk''. In Margrethe H. Andersen, Jørgen Nørby Jensen, Marianne Rathje & Jørgen Schack (eds.), *Ved lejlighed. Festskrift til Niels Davidsen-Nielsen i anledning af 70-års-dagen*. København: Dansk Sprognævn. 63-70.

Höder, Steffen (2012a). 'Multilingual constructions. A diasystematic approach to common structures'. In Kurt Braunmüller & Christoph Gabriel (eds.), *Multilingual individuals and multilingual societies*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. 241-257. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/hsm.13.17hod

Höder, Steffen (2012b). 'Der is wieder bei und malt Karten. Niederdeutsche Syntax aus nordeuropäischer Sicht'. In Robert Langhanke, Kristian Berg, Michael Elmentaler & Jörg

Peters (eds.), *Niederdeutsche Syntax*. Hildesheim etc.: Olms. 181-201.
Höder, Steffen (2018). 'Grammar is community-specific. Background and basic concepts of Diasystematic Construction Grammar'. In Hans C. Boas & Steffen Höder (eds.), *Constructions in Contact. Constructional Perspectives on Contact Phenomena in Germanic* Languages. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. 37-70. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.24.02hod
Höder, Steffen (2021). 'Grammatical arealisms across the Danish-German border from a constructional perspective'. In Christian Zimmer (ed.), *German(ic) in Language Contact. Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Dynamics*. Berlin: Language Science Press. 11-42. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4954475
Hoekstra, Jarich (2009). 'The AND + Infinitive Construction in the North Frisian-Low German-Danish Language Contact Area'. In Alexandra N. Lenz, Charlotte Gooskens & Siemon Reker (eds.), *Low Saxon Dialects across Borders - Niedersächsische Dialekte über Grenzen hinweg*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 245-72.
Jaŭnevič, M. S. (1977). *Sintaksičnaja sinanimika ŭ sučasnaj belaruskaj litaraturnaj move. Prynazoŭnikava-sklonavyja kanstrukcyi z prastoravym značėnnem*. Minsk: Wyd. BDU.
Karaś, Halina (ed.) (2001). *Język polski na Kowieńszczyźnie. Historia, sytuacja socjolingwistyczna, cechy językowe, teksty*. Warszawa, Wilno: Elipsa.
Kurzowa, Zofia (1993). *Język polski Wileńszczyzny i kresów północno-wschodnich XVI-XX w*. Warszawa, Kraków: PWN.
Laur, Wolfgang (1975). 'Der Infinitiv mit >und< statt >zu< im Schleswigschen'. *Muttersprache*, 85: 299-309.
Lenz, Alexandra (2009). 'Zur Syntax und Semantik von *kriegen* im Niederdeutschen in Syn- und Diachronie'. In Alexandra N. Lenz, Charlotte Gooskens & Siemon Reker (eds.), *Low Saxon Dialects across Border – Niedersächsische Dialekte über Grenzen hinweg*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 61-87.
Masojć, Irena (2001). *Regionalne cechy systemu gramatycznego współczesnej polszczyzny kulturalnej na Wileńszczyźnie*. Warszawa: Elipsa.
Mędelska, Jolanta (1993). *Język polski na Litwie w dziewiątym dziesięcioleciu XX wieku*. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane WSP.
Mensing, Otto (1927-35). *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch*. Bd. I-V. Neumünster: Wachholtz.
Molzen, Gerty (1976 [ca. 1966]). 'Petuhfahrt nach Glücksburg'. In Gerty Molzen, *Das Gerty-Molzen-Buch*. Flensburg: Skandia. 5-23.
Moser, Michael (2002). 'Zur Polszczyzna Kresowa in Weissrussland und der Ukraine'. *Die Welt der Slaven*, XLVII: 31-56.
Saniewska, Halina (1980). 'O niektórych konstrukcjach składniowych w mowie potocznej Białegostoku'. *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, XIII: 73-84.
Sehen', Bazyl' (2001). *Prynazoŭnik u sistėme adnoj uschodneslavjanskaj havorki belastoččyny*. Belastok: Wyd. Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku.
Simonsen, Fritz (2007). *Ut mien Kinnerjohrn. Eine Kindheit in Angeln*. Reimer Simonsen (ed.). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
Šuba, P.P. (1971). *Prynazoŭnik u belaruskaj move*. Minsk: BDU.
Teuchert, Hermann (1921). 'Zur Wortstellung des Niederdeutschen'. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten*, 1921: 76-77.
Thies, Heinrich (2018). *Sass Plattdeutsche Grammatik*. https://sass-platt.de/plattdeutsche-grammatik/ (retrieved: 25 March 2023)
Trubetzkoy, Nikolaj S. (1939). *Grundzüge der Phonologie*. Prag.
Tuomienė, Nijolė (2006) 'Dėl prielinksninių konstrukcijų plitimo periferinėse varanavo šnektose'. *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 30: 427-438.
Weinreich, Uriel (1954). 'Is a structural dialectology possible?'. *Word*, 10: 388-400. DOI:

https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1954.11659535
Wilcken, Viola (2015). 'Literarische Texte als Quelle? Eine sprachhistorische Untersuchung zum Missingsch'. In Markus Hundt & Alexander Lasch (eds.), *Deutsch im Norden*. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter. 185-203. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/jbgsg-2015-0013
Wróblewska, T. (1978). 'Przyimek *dla* z dopełniaczem w języku polskim mieszkańców Białegostoku'. In *Język Polski*, LVIII1: 52-56.

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 50-63 (2023)

German in East Lorraine? Reflections on the status of the autochthonous varieties in Northeast France based on the character of near-standard speech

Rahel Beyer, SIL Cameroon

Abstract: Sometimes a change of a language border is linked to a change in language status of a group of diatopic varieties. The assessment of language status relates, among other things, to the existence of a common norm (standard variety) and the language community members' adherence to it. For the germanophone varieties in East Lorraine (France), the status is unclear. Structurally, these varieties belong to the West Middle German dialect continuum. However, since the Second World War, the political and identificatory relations to the German language have been difficult. This article examines whether dialect proficient speakers from East Lorraine can (still) speak Standard German and, if so, how it can be characterised. The study is based on recorded interviews. Interviewees were asked to speak (Standard) German. The analysis of the speech data reveals demerging from the German language. Although being competent in the local dialect, only a minority belonging to the older generation can speak a variety that can be considered endoglossic and near-standard. One third speaks clearly regionally bound varieties, approximately 50% speak German just like a language learner (on various levels of proficiency). Interpreted within the framework of macrosynchronisation (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011), the classification of East Lorraine as belonging to the German-speaking area appears even more uncertain as the Lorrain people no longer align themselves with the common norm of the German-speaking area.

1. Introduction

A look at history shows that language borders are anything but rigid. The ways in which borders of (contiguous) language areas can change are essentially threefold. Firstly – and in the past mostly – as a result of migratory movements: In the case where speakers of a particular language find new settlements and succeed in establishing their language, there is an expansion of the language area. Through abandonment of the settlements (voluntary or forced), it gets confined. Secondly, through language shift: If in contexts of language contact speakers do not speak their heritage language[1] any longer, but shift for example to the state's dominant language, the latter gains territory whereas the other loses a part. Thirdly, through change of status of varieties: dialects can be "upgraded" to a language (which implies reduction of the territory of the language to which they formerly belonged); and vice versa, languages can be "downgraded" to dialects and possibly incorporated into another language (area). Even today we witness such changes in language borders. While the migratory movements of entire ethnolinguistic groups within Europe are indeed long gone, the other two processes still provide dynamics regarding the language borders.

It is against this background that the status of the autochthonous variety system of East Lorraine (in the northeast of France) will be discussed in this article. Since 1945, its speakers have constituted a border minority. The question now arises to what extent this categorisation is still applying to the community. As there are already a number of studies on the aspect of language shift to the national majority language French (see e.g. Rupp 1999; Stroh 1993), this article will investigate whether East Lorraine still belongs to the German-speaking area status wise, or if it is to be considered an independent language community. To this end, the form of the (near-) Standard German speech realised by dialect proficient speakers from East Lorraine will be analysed. The main questions are: What is its character and where on the continuum between dialect and the standard variety of German can it be located? Or does the analysis provide evidence that the varieties have actually demerged from the German language?

[1] Heritage language is here to be understood as "the language that has been used in the home for multiple generations" (Decker & Grummitt 2012: 10).

The empirical data stems from a project that documents and analyses the (socio)linguistic situation in German-speaking Lorraine comprehensively. Besides other data types (cf. Beyer 2020), interviews on language biographies and language attitudes were conducted by a speaker of Standard German. This format was chosen to elicit the informants' "best German" (in actual use).

In the following, the criteria for status assessment of varieties are discussed (Section 2) and the (socio-)linguistic situation of East Lorraine will be presented (Section 3). In section 4, the data and the method of the analysis are described in more detail, before turning to the results (section 5). Section 6 delivers an interpretation of the results in the framework of synchronisation (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011). The article is rounded off with a conclusion.

2. Language borders and status of languages

The location of a language border depends, amongst other things, on which dialect areas one (still) counts as belonging to a certain language area. In almost every European country and for almost every language in Europe, there is ongoing discussion regarding the status of particular varieties (e.g., for Kashubian as being a dialect group of Polish, and for Corsican as being a dialect group of Italian, or both being languages in their own rights). The question of which dialects are grouped together as one language or whether a dialect (group) d_x belongs to a language S_a (or S_b) requires thorough investigation, taking into account a number of aspects.

The group of aspects most relevant to the present study are of a sociolinguistic nature (potentially intertwined with political matters). They include mainly writing/standardisation, *Ausbau* (development), 'roofing', and link to a state, which especially gained importance through the emergence of writing and the nation concept, respectively. During the standardisation process, a written language norm first develops. It is writing that in popular Western thinking "makes lects into *bone fide* languages" (Kamusella 2016: 169). A written language is ultimately only potent, i.e. usable for further communicative reach, if it is *largely* uniform and widely accepted. Thus, the first phase of standardisation is the selection "of some kind of model" (Haugen 1966: 932). This model can be either an existing vernacular or a newly constructed variety combining individually selected variants from various dialects. The resulting written language is the reference point for all varieties close to it, their "highest instance" (Barbour & Stevenson 1998: 13) and the variety of choice in asynchronous communication between members of the language community (especially between different dialect areas) – typically in written texts. At a later stage, this variety gains "plurivalence", i.e. it "extends into spontaneous oral speech, particularly in formal, out-group interaction" (Auer 2005: 16). Some authors claim this to be the crucial step for a variety to become a standard language (cf. Besch 2003). In the course of this, a standard-dialect structure emerges, the components (varieties) of which cover the entire range of functions of a language (expansion), whereby the standard is the least and the dialects are the most situationally constrained. With each additional function that a language can fulfil, it takes a step towards independence (*Ausbausprache*). The concept of 'roofing' (Kloss 1952: 20-22) serves to capture the hierarchical relations in the system of varieties. The "linguistically assigned cultural language" used as a written language, e.g. as an official or school language, forms the roof on which the predominantly spoken dialects are structurally dependent (and which protects them from foreign language influences). In roofing situations, "language" can be defined as precisely that complex system of varieties consisting of standard/written language and dialects. Standardisation is also closely linked to nation-states (and state-nations) in that a particular norm applies to the territory of a certain autonomous state (and an ethnolinguistic type of nationalism of this state exclusively), and is implemented through its system of public education and administration. This "normative isomorphism" (Kamusella 2009: 29) of language, nation, and state is typically reflected in the homonymy of state/country, people and language (Barbour & Stevenson 1998: 9). If a part of the state or language area then gains independence, it is possible for it to develop a separate language norm that serves as reference variety for the dialects spoken in this new state (as well as a new system

of varieties). Thereby a new language, including a new language border, evolves.[2] Generally speaking, when a language area is crossed by a state border (established in whatever way), this state border can become a structural border, i.e. split a language (into two). Political borders can also have the opposite effect if they enclose and integrate several varieties. Then structurally (more or less) distinct other varieties can be functionally downgraded to dialects of the dominant language in the state. Just like dialects, they are restricted to the private domain and have only limited prestige.[3] The political centralisation of states, social restructuring, population shifts and the expansion of the sphere of action have an effect on communicative needs in such a way that the general or supra-regional intelligibility of the language becomes increasingly important. This development leads to the restructuring of the variety system, specifically to the reduction of dialects and increased use of standard varieties. In these situations, "language" can refer more to a single variety (i.e. the standard language) than to a set of related language forms (Coulmas 1985: 18). Lastly, but definitely not least, there are the subjective criteria like attitudes and identity, i.e. questions like "what do the speakers (in- and out-group) think what language or dialect they speak" and "what do they identify with" – which in democratic times can play a major role.

3. Introducing East Lorraine

In the previous section, the importance of political framework conditions and of (the course of) state borders for the status of a language clearly emerged. Accordingly, cases where language and state borders are not congruent are of particular interest. In Europe, this applies in particular to German. German is found in the so-called German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland). It is also present as a border minority in neighbouring states with (at least) one other (national) language (Denmark, Belgium, France, Italy, Czech Republic). Of the border minorities, East Lorraine appears to be particularly interesting; firstly, because the so-called Franco-German hereditary enmity suggests a special dynamic also on the linguistic level, and secondly, because it has been poorly studied so far (in contrast to Alsace).

Lorraine is a region in Northeast France, bordering Alsace, Germany, Luxembourg and Belgium. The Eastern part of the Lorraine region – or, to be more precise, of the department of Moselle – can, on the language-historical level, be assigned to the German-speaking area (border in red in fig. 1) or, in terms of dialect geography, to the West Middle German dialect region (marked in pink).

[2] Cf. the emergence of Luxembourgish as a new national language (Gilles 2019).

[3] This is what happened, for example, to Low German from the 17th century onwards. Today, it is an officially recognized language by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, but still its status as a language is not entirely clear. The results of a recent survey, for example, have shown that the majority of the North Germans (59.2 %) think that Low German is a dialect (Adler et al. 2016: 28-29).

Figure 1: Location of East Lorraine/East Moselle (Source: IDS/Cußler-Volz).

There is no robust data concerning the number of speakers, just estimations. According to these estimations, there are currently between 45,000 and 500,000 speakers.

East Lorraine (including some neighbouring French parts) has experienced four changes in political affiliation over the course of the last 150 years as it was the bone of contention between Germany and France. It first became part of France in 1766. From 1871 to 1918, it was part of the German Empire. Subsequently it was under French rule. Since 1766, and especially in the period after 1789 as well as after 1918, there were efforts to impose French among the population. However, they showed only minor effects. From 1940 to 1945, Lorraine was occupied by the Nazi regime. Since 1945, the German varieties constitute a minority in France again. Since then, however, the conditions for existence have been more difficult than ever.

After the Second World War, the German dialect was widely stigmatised as the language of the enemy, Standard German as the Nazi language and French as the modern language of the future. The administration knew only the "language of the republic", and in public life German was suppressed. The dialect (also called *Platt*) was outlawed and strictly prohibited in schools, which led many parents to give up their dialect at home in order not to hinder the social advancement of their children. There was a clear decrease in the intergenerational transmission of the heritage language. After all, the inhabitants distanced themselves from anything that could suggest a closeness to Germany and German culture.

In the 1970s, regionalist movements were launched in large parts of France, starting from the civil rights movement and the anti-nuclear movement of the late 1960s. They were often accompanied by a cultural renaissance of minority languages – as in Lorraine. However, stigmatisation of the local dialects based on their genetic relationship to German continued to be a problem in the region in question. In order to overcome this and make the dialects acceptable, some of the activists began to propagate the independence of the dialects in East Lorraine from the German language. Through the activities of language maintenance associations, not only the use of the dialects, but also the idea of a distinct language was promoted. According to their concept, the group of West Middle German dialects is one independent, autonomous language in the big family of Germanic languages. Consequently, they have nothing to do with German (especially the standard language) – at least not more than any other Germanic language. This concept allows for identification with the dialects and thus their use while maintaining a distance from German and Germany (Beyer & Fehlen 2019: 144).

Probably, knowing that a proper individual language has its own name, they labelled the group

of dialects: "Franconian". The name is derived from the names of the subgroups of West Middle German. There is no agreement within traditional dialectology as to the exact subdivision. Most of the authors, however, assume a Moselle Franconian and a Rhine Franconian dialect group (as being subgroups of West Middle German), whose territories extend to Lorraine. Lorraine's activists further specify one part of Moselle Franconian as Luxembourgish (Franconian). As all three groups have "Franconian" in their name, this "Franconian" – in French *Francique* – became, without further ado, the generic, summary designation of all dialects in Lorraine in the sense of a glottonym.[4] Besides this and, traditionally, the term *Platt* is used.

Legally speaking, the Germanic varieties have gradually been gaining some recognition in recent decades – albeit in ambivalent rules and regulations particularly with regard to the relationship between local dialects and standard German. Most regulations are found in the area of school education. In 1991, under the name *Voie spécifique mosellane* ('Special path of the Moselle Department'), the possibility was introduced to learn the German language from nursery school to the fourth grade of primary school via the dialect. Here, the dialects are seen as a "natural springboard" (Académie de Nancy-Metz 1990: 81) to "German" (presumably „Standard German" is meant). At the same time, i.e., also in 1991, an optional subject "regional language and culture" was introduced at the Lycée, including the possibility of a voluntary additional examination in the Baccalauréat.[5] This subject was offered for three different variants (Luxembourgish Franconian, Moselle Franconian and Rhine Franconian). In 1997, a bilingual (German and French) primary school opened as a result of an initiative of parents (ABCM) in Sarreguemines/Saargeminn/Saargemünd. In the annex to a 2007 decree on the teaching of regional languages in primary schools, the regional language is explicitly described (for Alsace and) for the departement of Moselle. It states that there are two forms: on the one hand the (German) dialects, and on the other hand the German standard language. In a *convention cadre pour une vision stratégique commune de développement des politiques éducatives en faveur du plurilinguisme et du transfrontalier* ("Framework convention for a common strategic vision for the development of education policies in favour of plurilingualism and border crossing") for the territory of the former Lorraine from 2019, German (which is not further differentiated) figures as the language of the neighbour, i.e. it is exogenised. Currently, there are several ("bicultural") schools with increased (Standard) German lessons (3, 6 or 9 per week) as well as three Lycées offering the Abibac (combined final school exam for France and Germany).

Regarding language use, French is the language which has taken over the functions of standard, written, school and official language (Pitz 2003: 136). All official situations (e.g., with authorities) are handled in French nowadays. In private domains (or in the case of customer contact also in the professional sector), individual factors become relevant for the language choice, above all the (presumed) linguistic profile of the interlocutor (cf. Hughes 2005: 147). Many people from East Moselle watch German television and listen to German radio. There are no national or local TV or radio stations exclusively in (Standard) German or Platt and only very limited airtime for shows in Platt on regional stations. Additionally, the proximity to the border and digitalisation makes it possible to receive German channels, which many of the residents indeed consume. (Standard) German is orally only used on certain occasions (when shopping in Saarbrücken or in conversations with Standard German speakers).

[4] Note that there is another dialect area in Germany (in the northern part of the federal state of Bavaria) which amongst German lay people is referred to as Franconian. This fact is apparently unknown to the Lorraine activists.

[5] In the examination, according to a teacher of the subject, an aspect of regional culture had to be presented in French, (Standard) German, Luxembourgish or a Lorraine dialect, according to personal preference. Since 2008, the optional subject is limited to language and has a literary focus. The language of the examination is now mandatorily dialect. There is neither teacher training for the subject nor teaching materials. The (only) qualification required of teachers is dialect competence. The preparation of lessons and examinations is left solely to the teachers (P. Buisson, personal communication, November 5, 2017). So it seems that the subject – and thus the language – is not really taken seriously.

4. Research questions, data, and method of the study

4.1. Theoretical background and research questions

In this chapter, an empirical study will be presented. In this study, the actual language use by dialect proficient speakers will be looked at – in its oral realisation. Specifically, the focus will be on the form of their "best language", which usually is the standard variety. The affiliation of dialects to a certain language (and thus to its language area) depends not least on whether the standard variety of this language is accepted as the reference variety. In this case, this means that the dialects develop structurally under the influence of the standard language and that the speakers – if the (speech) situation requires it – use their "individual concept" (Lameli 2010: 391) of this standard language. In cases where the affiliation to a language is at issue, it is therefore justified to deal with the actually observable standard language. As described in the previous chapters, for Lorraine the language status is indeed worthy of discussion.

The actual investigation should first be preceded by a few remarks on our understanding of standard language. In many dialect-standard constellations with an endoglossic standard variety, this standard variety can be defined, structurally speaking, as a bundle of co-occurring features that is not tied to a specific region; that is, as the oral realisation of the written language. In its codified form, this leads to a variation-free and norm-claiming stipulation. This initially results in "a regionally differentiated multilingual configuration that has been interpreted as diglossic" (Lameli 2010: 386, my translation). Typically, several varieties with varying degrees of regionalism, i.e. between the two poles of the basic dialect and the standard language, emerge over time (diaglossia/continuum of colloquial speech, see fig. 2). This is very much the situation in the Middle and Upper German area.

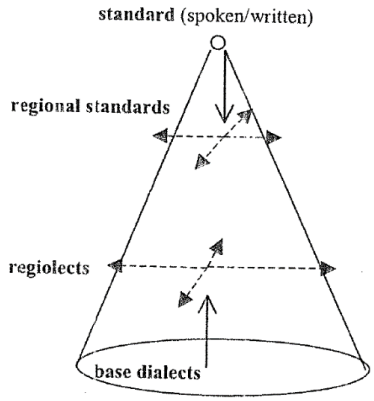

Figure 2: Varieties on the continuum of colloquial speech (Auer 2005: 22).

In formal contexts, speakers typically aim at a higher variety. However, the highest form is not always achieved (intentionally or not); instead, often varieties are used that contain regional variants to a smaller (regional standards) or greater extent (regiolects). But, again, this shifting is only possible for speakers of the particular language – especially for German since the standard language is the result of large-scale dialect-levelling, as are the varieties on the continuum.

Speakers of other languages, on the other hand, cannot gradually shift towards and away from the standard language. The structural distance of their language(s) is just too big. Instead, more features typical of foreign language acquisition appear. This means that the speakers start practically from scratch and approach the target language/variety via various developmental sequences, gradually building up more complex and more grammatical structures, becoming more fluent and successively discarding interference from their mother tongue.

The question for the East-Lorraine minority is now how they approach the standard pole: Viewed from a normative-based understanding of a standard language, it seems almost obvious that

speakers will not achieve the ultimate codified standard form. However, the interview provided data on their nearest approximation to it (spoken in the image of the continuum). While we are furthermore in a language contact scenario in which language mixing is to be expected in any case, what I am concerned with here are not individual instances of borrowing and interferences, but whether certain tendencies can be recognised in the basic character of the speech data, that is in the overall coinage.

The following questions will be discussed:

1. Can speakers of the East Lorraine dialects speak Standard German at all? Or are their competences in the field of Germanic varieties limited to the L-variety?
2. If they do speak a form of Standard German, how can it be characterised? What coinage does it have?
   a. Is it possible to identify it as a form of dialect levelling[6] in which standard advergence can be detected? Is the (structural) relationship to German strong enough to carry out internal linguistic accommodation? Is there, then, a shifting on the continuum of colloquial speech where standard deviant features can be identified as dialect interference (as it is found across the border in the Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate)?
   b. Or is it more like a learner language of a foreign language learner, in this case a French speaker? In other words, are there characteristics of incomplete language acquisition, including a foreign accent?
3. What about intergenerational differences: are there any and, if so, what kind?

The hypothesis for the study is:
When realising their "best form of German", speakers of the older generation tend to stay on the continuum of colloquial speech (of German) and also reach higher speech levels – even if they have hardly had any school instruction in German, whereas younger speakers show instances of a learner language.

Note that in each case the speakers are proficient in the dialect. Differences are assumed regarding Standard German. A verification of the hypothesis would mirror the temporal development of the drifting apart of the East Lorraine dialects and Standard German or the ideological shift, respectively, in a kind of an apparent time method to study language change.

4.2. Data and Method

The aforementioned questions are to be answered on the basis of a collection of oral texts. These texts constitute a part of a bigger project that seeks to document and analyse the sociolinguistic situation in German-speaking Lorraine. As mentioned in section 3, there was a strong decrease in intra-family transmission of the heritage language after the Second World War; but still there are speakers – which are well worthy of consideration. For this purpose, extensive collections of audio data were carried out between 2017 and 2020 by the *Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (Leibniz Institute for the German Language) in Mannheim. The recording design follows current approaches of the New Dialectology (cf. Elmentaler et al. 2006). One of the tasks was to read aloud in Standard German "the wind and the sun" – an adaptation of a fable by Aesop (Boreas and the Sun). Also, informants were asked to orally translate the so-called Wenker's phrases into the local dialect.[7] The latter were

[6] Dialect levelling can be understood as reduction of forms that are "unusual or in a minority" (Trudgill 1986: 98) amongst the totality of areal varieties in favour of form with wider geographical reach.

[7] The sentences originate from a linguistic atlas project in the German Empire directed by Georg Wenker in the 1880s. They were composed in such a way that the typical phonetic and grammatical features of the respective dialects had to appear in the translation. In relation to the totality of these dialectal features, Wenker had assumed that the individual linguistic landscapes could be distinguished from each other.

collected taking into account the fact that there is a complex areallinguistic situation in German-speaking Lorraine. With the help of Wenker's sentences, the linguistic differences can be documented and preserved. In general, the data from this task are easy to compare between informants (e.g., also a comparison between generations), as the same sentences are always used. These two tasks focused on the more controlled way of speaking. All the informants' attention was directed to the language, more precisely to its form. Furthermore, guideline-based interviews were conducted by a Standard German-speaking researcher coming from Germany, i.e. from outside the Lorraine region. This setting was designed to elicit Standard German speech in free, functional interaction, i.e. in actual use. In case the targeted variety was not clear to a participant, the use of Standard German was explicitly asked for. Topics of the interview were the informants' language biographies, their current management of their linguistic repertoire as well as attitudes towards the different languages and varieties in their repertoire and measures of language maintenance. Finally, the parts of the survey with the freest design and the largest degree of naturalness were table conversations. They were held in the absence of the researcher with friends and/or family members who also spoke the local dialect. Thematically, no guidelines were given.

This broad range of recording contexts allows for different analyses: while all situations capture the intra-linguistic variation of the spoken language spectrum in German, the table conversations additionally provide insights into the coexistence of Lorraine Platt and French. The interview can be used in two ways: on the one hand, it provides evidence of the informants' nearest approximation to standard speech (his or her "best German"); on the other hand, descriptions of their own language experiences and language attitudes as well as lay linguistic knowledge.

Recordings were made with a total of 80 speakers. This resulted in audio material amounting to about 125 hours. The informants came from 36 different places. The oldest informant was a woman born in 1921; the youngest was a man born in 2000. 46 male and 33 female informants participated in the recordings.

	M	**F**	**SUM**
***1921-1954**	28	17	45
***1955-2000**	20	15	35
SUM	48	32	80

Table 1: demographic composition of the informants.

Some of the informants have – self-reportedly – only rudimentary or passive competences in German. According to Grinevald (2003), they can be considered terminal speakers, that is "speakers of the dominant language who may know some phrases, or simply words of the endangered language" (Grinevald 2003: 66). Since they are connected to the autochthonous language of Lorraine through their family history, they were included as well in the documentation project. After all, such terminal speakers or even 'rememberers' are also part of the picture of the overall sociolinguistic situation.

The following analyses are based on the language used in the interviews, namely its structure.[8]

[8] On content-related aspects, see Beyer (fc.) and Beyer & Dück (ms.) amongst others. Content analysis regarding the language status has shown that answering the question of language or dialect represents a particular challenge for the speakers. On the one hand, it is evident in their terminology used to describe the dialects in Lorraine. The informants provide inconsistent labels when it comes to naming these dialects. Their statements exhibit terminological ambiguities, showcasing a significant lack of agreement not only among themselves but even within the same speaker's remarks. On the other hand, the described difficulty is also noticeable in the underlying concepts. The concepts that can be deduced from the speakers' statements exhibit considerable conceptual vagueness regarding the nature of "Franconian" itself and its relationship with German, including neighbouring dialects, Standard German, and the German language as a whole. The speakers' utterances are characterised by ambiguities, disagreement as well as inter- and intraindividual contradictions (see Beyer & Plewnia 2021).

The speech of 71 informants was analysed regarding its realisation. Some of the 76 interviewees[9] had to be excluded for different reasons. One informant explicitly refused to speak (Standard) German. There was insufficient material from two informants (short interview, only very short answers, bad articulation, etc.). Three informants had a clear and primarily French socialisation. Thus they did not have a solid basis for the development of dialect competence. Their prerequisites for speaking (Standard) German are therefore not comparable with the other speakers.

For the 71 informants mentioned, the basic character of the (near-) Standard German was analysed. No statistical evaluation was carried out, but the general auditory impression conveyed by the realisations was assessed. At the same time, it is well possible to name a few features that gave some indication when listening to the speech. These include the following:

- Prosody: placement of word stress
- Phonetic/Phonology: presence of vowel reduction in non-stressed syllables, tension of vowel (in German lax vowels [ɪ], [ʏ] and [ʊ], in French only tense vowels), realisation of palatal/uvular fricative ([ç/χ]), glottal fricative ([h]) & glottal stop (absence speaks for French coinage)
- Morphosyntax: apocope of *-n* (omission of inflectional final element; typical of dialects, atypical for learner varieties of German), obligatory verb second order (leading to a shift of the subject when adverbs are topicalised), tense forms, sentence complexity
- Lexis: different variants of 'speak' (*schwätzen*, *reden*, *sprechen*), of 'not' (dialectal *net* vs. standard *nicht*), etc.
- Hesitations/slowed flow of words
- Creation of new words: e.g., "da hatten wir Probleme [..] für jemand zu haben, der, die sie ööhm.. **aufbewacht**" ('We had problems finding someone to **upguard** her') (KG-w2) instead of *betreut* ('take care')
- Difficulties in word formation and inflection: e.g., the ungrammatical formation of the past participle of *bleiben* ('remain') as "ge**bleib**en" (SB-m1) instead of the canonical form *ge**blieb**en.*

5. Results

Firstly, it can be observed that there are indeed two different coinages of the way the informants speak when they are in a situation that requires their highest variety of German: one that can be described as shifting on a continuum of colloquial speech (between dialect and standard) and one where German appears rather as a learner language. Of the 71 persons analysed, 38 informants show a shift on the dialect-standard continuum, and 33 are – more or less obviously – speakers of German as a foreign language. In relation to each other, the distribution is virtually almost 50/50. Interestingly, there is a correlation with age: the first group has an average age of 70.2 years (median age 71); the second of 57.4 years (median age 60). This correlation is highly significant as $p = .00006$ (Mann-Whitney U Test).

[9] For different reasons not everybody participated in the interview.

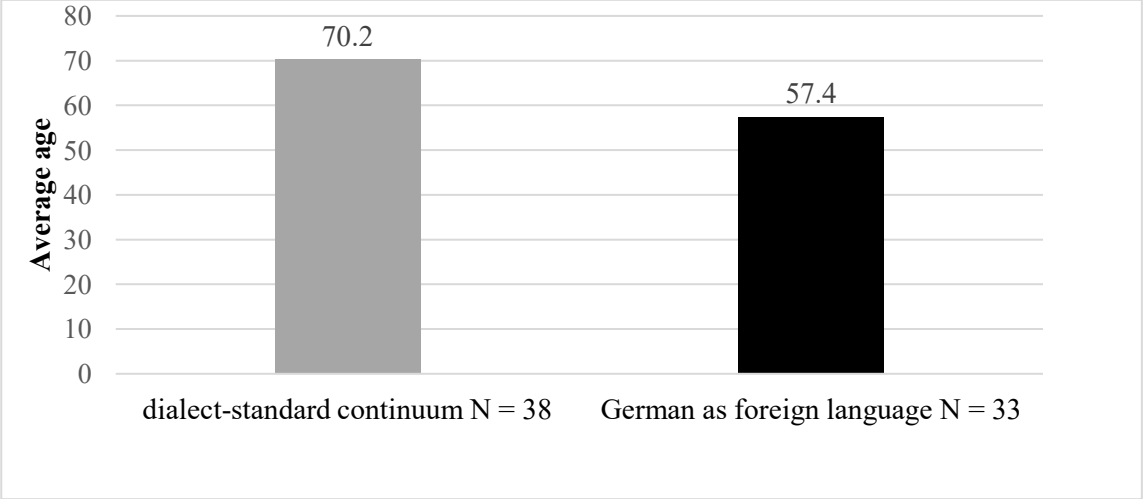

Figure 3: Results of the standard speech analysis.

These results are underpinned by the fact that the two oldest female speakers as well as the oldest male are in the dialect-standard group (group 1). Moreover, the two youngest participants are in the other group – however, with very different levels of competence. In both groups, however, there are statistical outliers. Thus, in the first group there are two speakers whose age is well below the average of the others. Both were 42 at the time of data collection (whereas the average age is 70.2). One of them (NL-w2) is married to a German from bordering state Saarland and works in a German hospital. The other (BL-m11) lives in a very rural area and has strong dialectal interferences in his speech. He is married to a French speaking woman, but has decided to pass on the Lorraine dialect to his children. Conversely, in the group of speakers whose German resembles the speech of foreign language learners, there are two speakers whose age is well above the average of the others. Both were 80 at the time of data collection (whereas the average age is 57.4). What stands out in the biography of one of them is the fact that she had French speaking grandparents. The other worked as a railway employee in Metz for many years. These biographical factors might have had the pivotal impact on the character of their Standard German. When we further compare the socio-biographical conditions of the informants in the two groups, especially their language biographies, we can see that the parental language of the members of the first group was almost 100% autochthonous dialect exclusively, and the languages spoken with their own children encompass French and autochthonous dialect. The parents of the members of the second group, in contrast, also spoke French during the informants' childhood; the language spoken with their own children is to a relatively larger extent French. Lastly, all informants from the area south of Luxembourg (border triangle) are to be found in the second group.

So far, we have only looked at the two groups without further differentiation of levels of competences. Assignment to the first group, for example, only means that this person is somewhere on the continuum of colloquial speech, but not exactly where. But as already mentioned for BL-m11, the form of German varies also within a group. Speaking with a foreigner, a researcher coming from another corner from the German-speaking area, would usually trigger the use of a variety on the aforementioned continuum of colloquial speech with less regionally bound features – to an extent that the informant is able to. However, indeed, approx. 60% from group 1 do not get beyond the regiolect (see fig. 4), and here we find no significant differences concerning the age of the informant: the average in both groups is approximately the same (70.4 and 72.3). Furthermore, of those who speak recognisably intended standard (the shaded part of the left bar), most show French interference – sometimes more, sometimes less - whereas regiolect and dialect speakers (the lower part of the left

bar) have less French influence. Turning to the second group (coinage of German as a foreign language), it can be stated that approximately 60% of them have a very good level of German (middle bar). Another finding is that almost 70% of this group (so again of all 33 speakers of the second group) also have dialect features when speaking German.[10]

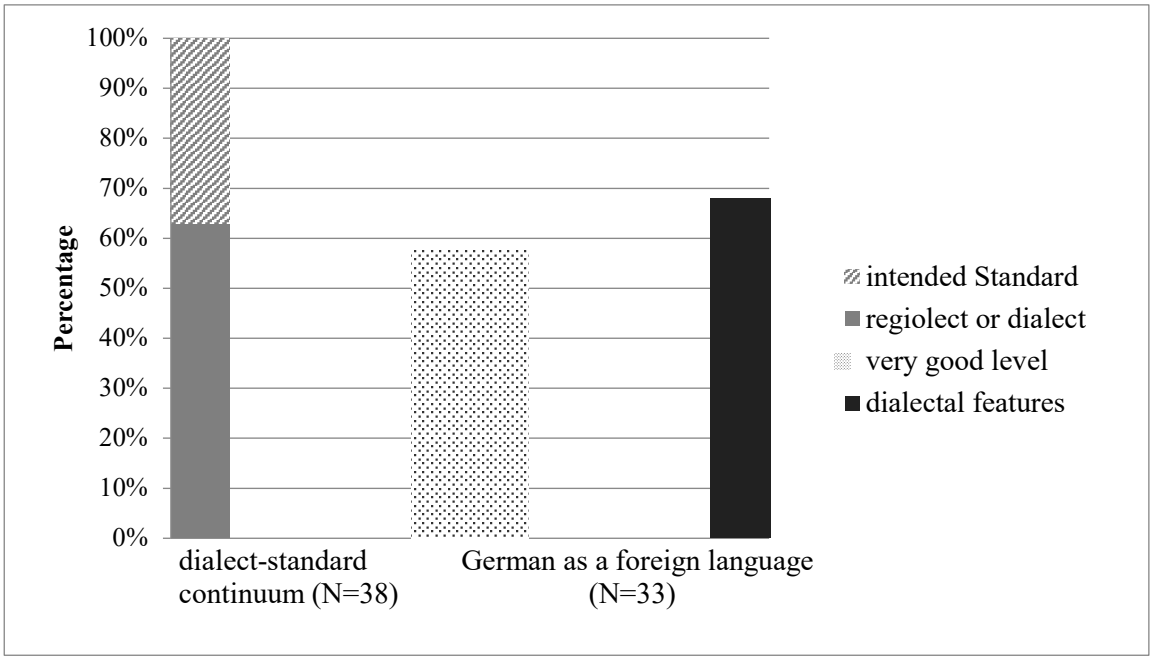

Figure 4: Levels of competences.

Considering all 71 informants together, it can be stated that most of them do speak some form of (Standard) German. However, it seems that they nevertheless fall into three different groups:

- Only 20% (of all 71 informants) speak German as a form of dialect levelling with clear standard advergence.
- 34% speak only regionally bound varieties or the L-variety, respectively.
- Approximately 50% (of all 71 informants) speak it as a foreign language.

6. Interpretation

The different realisations of (Standard) German might be partly due to the changes in school, the language of instruction and also in media. In the current context, what is of greater interest are the implications of the results regarding the question of dialect or language. This question can be further discussed on the basis of Schmidt & Herrgen's (2011) framework of language dynamic, and more precisely of synchronisation. According to the authors, synchronisation is to be understood as the alignment of one's own speech with that of the communication partner(s). In an act of synchronisation, that is when faced with another person's speech, speakers stabilise existing commonalities of individual linguistic knowledge and, at the same time, modify their individual linguistic knowledge in the face of existing differences. There are different levels of synchronisation acts. For the linguistic status of varieties, it is not the microlevel, i.e. the encounter with one or few individuals, that is decisive, but the meso- and especially macrosynchronisations.

[10] This result, in particular, seems to underpin a typical Lorraine attitude. This attitude is well summarised in an informant's quote: 'Platt probably helped as a student to learn German, already the words, also grammar'. ("*Platt hat wahrscheinlich geholfen als Schüler, Deutsch zu lernen, schon die Wörter, auch Grammatik*") (DE-m2).

Macrosynchronisations are acts of synchronisation with which members of a whole linguistic community align themselves with a common norm. The overall norm is in many cases the standard language. Macrosynchronisation tends to be carried out by all members of a linguistic community or members of large groups, between whom personal contact is not required. Viewed from another perspective, the limits of common macro-synchronisations define the limits of an *Einzelsprache* (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011). In the case of Lorraine, we have seen, then, that only a minority of the informants analysed (belonging to the older generation) can speak a variety that can be considered endoglossic and near-standard. Generally speaking, the speakers of the autochthonous heritage language (considered as a whole) do not align themselves with the norm of the German standard language (anymore). That means they no longer take part in the macrosynchronisation of (Standard) German. From this perspective, they can be viewed as not being members of the German language community (anymore).

7. Conclusion

This article has dealt with the overarching question of whether East Lorraine, or more precisely the eastern part of the department of Moselle, still belongs to the German-speaking area – or not. Generally, whether a group of diatopic varieties belongs to a given language depends (among other things) on whether the standard variety of this language is accepted as reference point. Therefore, an empirical study of audio data from East Lorraine was carried out, analysing the form of speech in a situation that (typically) requires Standard German.

The results point towards demerging from the German language. Despite being competent in the local dialect, only a minority belonging to the older generation can speak a variety that can be considered endoglossic and near-standard. One third speaks only regionally bound varieties, approximately 50% speak it as a foreign language (on various levels). Viewed from the concept of macrosynchronisation (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011), the people of Lorraine cannot be viewed as members of the German language community (anymore) as they no longer align themselves with the common norm of the German-speaking area.

However, there are many other factors to look at in relation to a status question. An unequivocal answer cannot be given on the basis of only one perspective. Rather, all of the various factors and the interplay between them need to be considered. Therefore, further research is necessary to assess the status of Lorrain's varieties, and sometimes there is just no clear answer as has been shown regarding the subjective evaluation by the speakers themselves (Beyer & Plewnia 2021). But it is precisely then that research has its place in being able to systematically break down unclear situations into individual components and thus make such complex situations more accessible.

Bibliography:

Académie de Nancy-Metz (1990). *Circulaire rectorale langue et culture regionales: voie spécifique mosellane*. Nancy.

Adler, Astrid, Christine Ehlers, Reinhard Goltz, Andrea Kleene & Albrecht Plewnia (2016). *Status und Gebrauch des Niederdeutschen 2016. Erste Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Erhebung*. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Auer, Peter (2005). 'Europe's sociolinguistic unity, or: A typology of European dialect/standard constellations'. In Delbecque, Nicole, Johan van der Auwera & Dirk Geeraerts (eds.), *Perspectives on variation: sociolinguistic, historical, comparative*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 7-42. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110909579.7

Barbour, Stephen & Patrick Stevenson (1998). *Variation im Deutschen*: *soziolinguistische Perspektiven*. Berlin [u.a.]: de Gruyter. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110804751

Besch, Werner (2003). 'Die Entstehung und Ausformung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache/Standardsprache'. In Besch, Werner, Anne Betten, Oskar Reichmann & Stefan

Sonderegger (eds.), *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung – vol. N: 3* (2nd ed.). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 2252-2296. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110158830.3.15.2252

Beyer, Rahel (forthcoming). 'Zur Weitergabe germanophoner Varietäten in Ost-Lothringen (Frankreich): Sprachliche Lebensläufe und Spracheinstellungen im Fokus'. In Geyer, Klaus, Svetlana Kraeva & Ekaterina Krasnopeyeva (eds), *Linguistic Variation and Diversity | Sprachliche Variation und Vielfalt: Selected Papers of the 53rd Linguistics Colloquium in Odense, 2018 | Ausgewählte Beiträge des 53. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Odense 2018. Tübingen:* Peter Lang.

Beyer, Rahel (2020). 'Le bilinguisme en Moselle-Est. Un projet de documentation linguistique de la situation actuelle'. *Land un Sproch. Les Cahiers du Bilinguisme* 215: 24-25.

Beyer, Rahel & Katharina Dück (ms.). *Wer sind wir, und was sprechen wir? Soziolinguistische Aspekte zweier deutscher Sprachminderheiten in Europa*.

Beyer, Rahel & Fernand Fernand (2019). 'Der germanophone Teil Lothringens'. In Beyer, Rahel & Albrecht Plewnia (eds.), *Handbuch des Deutschen in West- und Mitteleuropa. Sprachminderheiten und Mehrsprachigkeitskonstellationen*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto. 105-154.

Beyer, Rahel & Albrecht Plewnia (2021). 'German or not German: That is the question! On the status of the autochthonous dialects in East Lorraine (France)'. *Languages*, 6(1), 48. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3390/languages6010048

Coulmas, Florian (1985). *Sprache und Staat. Studien zur Sprachplanung*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110852752

Decker, Ken & John Grummitt (2012). *Understanding language choices. A guide to sociolinguistic assessment*. Dallas: SIL International.

Elmentaler, Michael, Joachim Gessinger, Jürgen Macha, Peter Rosenberg, Ingrid Schröder & Jan Wirrer (2006). 'Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland. Ein Projekt zur Analyse des sprachlichen Wandels in Norddeutschland'. In Voeste, Anja & Joachim Gessinger (eds.), *Dialekt im Wandel. Perspektiven einer neuen Dialektologie*. Duisburg: Universitätsverlag Rhein-Ruhr. 159–178.

Gilles, Peter (2019). 'Komplexe Überdachung II: Luxemburg. Die Genese einer neuen Nationalsprache'. In Herrgen, Joachim & Jürgen-Erich Schmidt (eds.), *Language and Space – An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation – vol*. 4 Deutsch. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 1039-1060. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110261295-039

Grinevald, Colete (2003). 'Speakers and documentation of endangered languages'. In Austin, Peter K. (ed.), *Language documentation and description – vol. 1*. London: SOAS. 52–72.

Haugen, Einar (1966). 'Dialect, nation, language'. *American Anthropologist*, 68(4): 922–935. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1966.68.4.02a00040

Hughes, Stephanie (2005). 'Bilingualism in North-East France with specific reference to Rhenish Franconian spoken by Moselle Cross-border (or frontier) workers'. In Preisler, Bent, Anne Fabricius, Hartmut Haberland, Sussanne Kjærbeck & Karen Risager (eds.), *The Consequences of Mobility*. Roskilde: Roskilde University. 135-153.

Kamusella, Tomasz (2016). 'The history of the normative opposition of 'language versus dialect': From its Graeco-Latin origin to Central Europe's ethnolinguistic nation-states'. *Colloquia Humanistica*, 5 (2016): 164-187. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11649/ch.2016.011

Kamusella, Tomasz (2009). *The politics of language and nationalism in modern Central Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230583474

Kloss, Heinz (1952). *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800-1950*. München.

Lameli, Alfred (2010). 'Deutsch in Deutschland: Standard, regionale und dialektale Variation'. In Krumm, Hans-Jürgen, Christian Fandrych, Britta Hufeisen & Claudia Riemer (eds.), *Handbuch*

Deutsch als Fremd- und Zweitsprache (*Neubearbeitung*). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 385-398.

Pitz, Martina (2003). 'Mei Sprooch és en klän Insel. Zur identitätsstiftenden Funktion des Dialekts im östlichen Lothringen und im Saarland'. In Schmeling, Manfred & Sandra Duhem (eds.), *Sprache und Identität in frankophonen Kulturen*. Opladen: Leske-Budrich. 127-148. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-663-11462-8_7

Rupp, Beatrix (1999). *Die Vitalität des Lothringischen: Untersuchung des Sprachwechselverhaltens in der Gemeinde Mittersheim*. Diploma thesis: University of Vienna.

Schmidt, Jürgen Erich & Joachim Herrgen (2011). *Sprachdynamik: Eine Einführung in die moderne Regionalsprachenforschung*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Stroh, Cornelia (1993). *Sprachkontakt und Sprachbewusstsein. Eine soziolinguistische Studie am Beispiel Ost–Lothringens*. Tübingen: Günther Narr.

Trudgill, Peter (1986). *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 64-79 (2023)

Dialect divergence at the state border: the case of Alsatian and German Alemannic*

Peter Auer, Germanistische Linguistik, Universität Freiburg

Abstract: This paper summarizes recent research on the German/French border in the Upper Rhine Region, where the state border cuts across a traditional Alemannic dialect area. It is argued that the present-day divergence of the dialects is due to different repertoire types and different language ideologies in France and Germany, which counteract the positive effects of border permeability. Despite this general tendency for the dialects to diverge at the state border, it is also shown that traditional regional affiliations with and orientations to Alsace continue to impact the speed of dialect levelling on the German side.

1. Introduction

When nationally defined standard language spaces overlay and cross-cut an older dialect continuum (as they do in the case of the western borders of Germany with the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France[1]), these language spaces compete - a competition that can take on different shapes and can be resolved in different ways. The crucial question is: Do speakers construct the state border as more relevant, hence following the standard language model of the modern European nation state, or do they give more weight to the trans-national dialect space? Under the regiment of the modern European nation state, the first (allegiance to the national language) seems unavoidable, but it is less clear whether the older dialect spaces still have (or even regain) relevance today.

Looking back at the last 50 years, it can certainly be observed that the inner-European state borders have become more and more permeable, and indeed next to invisible in the Schengen treaty zone; at the same time, there has been strong political and economic support for the creation of transnational regions. These developments might have led to a reevaluation of transnational dialect zones as indexes of trans-border regional identities, and, on the structural level, one might even hypothesize that the dialects on both sides of the border converge as a consequence of increasing trans-border contacts. However, as will be shown in this article, the reality is different: the national borders increasingly become linguistic borders, i.e. the former continuum of dialect is broken up and the dialects diverge. The impact of the border is due to the fact that the national standard languages exert their power even more today than in the heydays of national ideology and that they entail a sharp division of repertoires and language ideologies.

In this contribution, I will discuss this process with reference to past and on-going research in the *Forschungsstelle Sprachvariation in Südwestdeutschland* (http://portal.uni-freiburg.de/sdd/fsbw) of the University of Freiburg. The object of this research is the French-German border in the Upper Rhine area, which today coincides with the river Rhine. The Rhine separates the French region Alsace (nowadays politically fused into the *région Grand Est*) and the German region Baden (part of the former Grand Duchy of Baden, since 1952 fused with Württemberg into the *Land Baden-Württemberg*).

The political and linguistic history of the region west of the Rhine in particular is complex (see

* This article draws on various research projects carried out in the *Forschungsstelle Sprachvariation in Baden-Württemberg* and directed by the present author, above all to research under a joint grant to the author and Dominique Huck from the *Agence Nationale de la Recherche* (ANR-11-FRAL-0002) and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG-AU-72/23-1). Members of the project team were (in addition to the author) Martin Pfeiffer, Julia Breuninger and Pascale Erhart. An abridged version of this article was published as Auer (2022).

[1] Cf. Auer (2013) for further references. The southern borders with Austria and Switzerland represent a different situation as the standard language is German on both sides of the border. For the northern Danish/German border, see Fredsted (2016) and Höder (2019).

Huck 2015). Alsace has always been located at the linguistic divide between the Romance and the Germanic-speaking part of Europe, but until the 17th century, it was clearly located on the German-speaking side; indeed, it was one of the centers of Old and Middle High German text production. From the Thirty Years' War onward, however, France increasingly gained control through various successful military campaigns, and integrated Alsace more and more into the French absolutistic state. This led to increasing bilingualism among the educated classes which was enhanced by the French revolution. Nevertheless, the language spoken by the lower classes remained the (mostly Alemannic) Alsatian dialect, which must have been very similar to the dialects spoken on the eastern side of the Rhine over the centuries.[2] After the defeat of France in the Franco-German war of 1870/71, Alsace (and Lorraine) became German, and (particularly written) standard German started to play a more important role again, without replacing French in official contexts. It can be assumed that written standard German also spread to the lower classes during this time, due to compulsory schooling in German. From 1918 onward, Alsace has been under French sovereignty (with the exception of the years under German occupation from 1940-1944). While French was brutally sanctioned during the German occupation, the pendulum swung into the opposite direction after 1945. In the post-war years, the French government followed a harsh anti-German language policy which led to the almost total elimination of standard German from public life, and in the long run, from the linguistic repertoires of the Alsatians. Today, German is taught in schools as a second language, but the only official language is French, while the dialects (*Elsässischditsch)* are considered one of the regional languages of France.

2. Dialect developments

The dialects on both sides of the Rhine are well-documented. For the pre-war situation, two indirect surveys are available; Wenker's *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs*, for which data in the area were collected around 1895, and a similar questionnaire-based and largely unpublished survey conducted by Friedrich Maurer in 1941-2 in Baden and Alsace. The dialects of conservative speakers were again surveyed directly in the 1950s-70s in the framework of two regional dialect atlas projects (the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de l'Alsace* (ALA) and the *Südwestdeutsche Sprachatlas* (SSA)). In 2012-14, a further study was conducted with socially stratified samples of 6-8 speakers per location in 43 villages and small towns on both sides of the Alsatian (French)/German border (see Auer, Breuninger & Pfeiffer 2015, 2017). This study included elicited data (questionnaire answers) as well as spontaneous interview speech. The interviews were conducted in Alsatian and French in Alsace and in regional German in Germany. Interviewees were recruited among (self-declared) speakers of the dialect, born and raised in the location where the interview took place; in Alsace, this excluded French speakers of the 'interior' as well as inhabitants of Alsatian family background in which Alsatian was no longer spoken. On the German side, no competence in the 'traditional' dialects was required to participate in the study, but that any kind of dialect would do.

The dialectological developments are easily summarized. In pre-war times no or very little dialect levelling seems to have occurred among the Alemannic dialects on either side of the Rhine, let alone across the Rhine. The repertoires were diglossic, with German (east of the Rhine) and French and German (west of the Rhine) as the H-varieties and Alemannic as the L-variety.

The dynamics that had produced the then valid dialect patterns in space were two-fold. On the one hand, northern innovations had over a long period moved south; their southern extension is today visible in the numerous isoglosses running in east-west direction as they are shown in the dialect atlases. As Alsace was the more innovative region over centuries (particularly with its cultural and economic center Strasbourg), the innovations often spread further south west of the Rhine than in the

[2] In a small northern part of Alsace, Franconian dialects are spoken, just as in the corresponding German dialect areas across the state border.

east. In some regions this made the Rhine coincide with the isoglosses. On the other hand, there were some innovations originating from Alsace which moved eastward. These innovations crossed the Rhine but did not proceed far. (Examples for both types of patterning will be discussed below.) Both dynamics led to the general view held in pre-war German dialectology that the Rhine at this time was not a linguistic border (cf. Maurer 1942; Ochs 1939). Only in very exceptional cases did the Rhine divide the area linguistically.[3] The recent survey shows that the Alsatian dialects have undergone very little (phonological[4]) changes in post-war times. Some linguistic homogenization seems to have taken place due to the loss of geographically isolated, very narrow-reach features and the spread of the corresponding more wide-spread forms. Since standard German has no place in the repertoire of the speakers, levelling toward the German standard was obviously excluded.[5] While the Alsatian dialects can therefore be said to be very conservative, there is an on-going process of language shift from Alsatian to French. Even in the border villages investigated, it was not always possible to recruit Alsatian-speaking interviewees in the age group 35 and younger. Hence, Alsatian has by and large remained unchanged but might become obsolescent soon.

On the German side things are quite different. The Alemannic dialects have been subject to massive dialect levelling. As everywhere in southern Germany, the traditional diglossic situation between dialect and standard has become diaglossic, i.e. there is a continuum of forms between dialect and standard (cf. Auer 2005). The dialects are alive, but speakers hardly opt for the traditional forms on this continuum, but resort to regional dialectal or even regional standard ways of speaking; non-regionalized standard German is also mostly avoided. For all the phonological variables investigated in the survey, the questionnaire data documented a more traditional dialect than the spontaneous speech data, which means that, often, the older dialectal forms are still well-known, but much less used. Older speakers are more conservative than younger speakers. All these observations point in the same direction: The dialects are changing, converging towards the (local) standard or at least a regional dialect, which in most cases is closer to the standard than the traditional dialect.

As a consequence, the dialects diverge massively at the state border today. The divergence is due to the conservatism of the Alsatian dialects and the huge influence of standard and standardised (or regiolectal) forms on the dialects on the German side. There is little reason to believe that the process is purely a local one, in which linguistic oppositions are built up at the border that might reflect or symbolize social or political oppositions. Rather, the villages on the German side take part in the general developments typical of the German south, while the entirety of Alsace (not only the border villages) does not.

3. Cognitive representations of the Alemannic dialects/of Alsatian

On the basis of the interviews, it is possible to reconstruct the cognitive representations of the dialects and their role within the repertoires on both sides of the border. They become explicit when the interviewees talk about their perception of the dialects and their relationship to the standards, but sometimes, and more interestingly, they only become accessible when the presupposition underlying that talk is analyzed.

It is noteworthy that despite the very short geographical distance from the state border, quite a few interviewees reported that they had only limited personal experiences with the people, let alone the dialects spoken, on the other side of the Rhine. Particularly among younger Germans, it was not

[3] An example seems to have been the vocalization of coda /r/, which has always been almost exceptionless east of the Rhine and almost completely absent in Alsace (cf. Auer et al. 2017). Of course, French has also, for a long time, been the source language of lexical borrowings into Alsatian, which have not entered the dialects on the German side.

[4] The study mainly deals with phonology, but the limited evidence on grammar suggests that the same holds true here.

[5] Bothorel-Witz & Huck (2001) mention some minor grammatical changes that might be attributed to standard German influence.

rare to meet interviewees who said they had never heard Alsatian.[6] In both groups, personal encounters with 'the Alsatians' or 'the Germans' were mostly of a perfunctory kind, often while shopping in supermarkets, less often in restaurants or leisure and entertainment spaces. Only a minority of the interviewees had regular contact with people 'from the other side', for instance because of friendship or family ties, work relations, or (sports) club partnerships.[7]

Whether based on personal experiences or not, there was general agreement among the interviewees that the dialects on each side of the border are similar but also different. The Germans usually think that the Alsatian dialects are 'stronger' than their own Alemannic dialects (which corresponds well with the facts); some also mentioned French influence and categorized Alsatian as 'half German, half French', which is clearly not the case from a linguistic point of view. While none of the Alsatian interviewees reported any difficulties understanding the dialects on the German side, the opposite is not true: Alsatian was reported to be "hard to understand" by some younger German interviewees.

But this is just what our interviewees said when explicitly asked about the dialects; more indirect approaches to the representations of the dialects in the Upper Rhine area suggest that the idea of a common Alemannic dialect spoken on both sides of the border is not shared by the speakers. This becomes clear when methods from folk dialectology are used in order to explore cognitive representations. In a large study on folk dialectological representations of dialects in southwest Germany, Stöckle (2014) asked 218 dialect speakers from 32 German locations in the southern part of the Upper Rhine area to draw a line on a map demarcating the area around their village or town in which "people speak the same". The map included many geographical details such as rivers and mountains, roads, and also the political border. Stöckle tested the results against the null hypothesis that the inhabitants of each location use geographical distance alone to judge the linguistic similarity between the dialects against his data. The null hypothesis predicts that the results should approximate a circle around the home location of the interviewees. In fact, the cognitive representations of their own dialect looked quite different. Fig. (1) shows one example, i.e. the dialect maps drawn by the informants from Breisach, a small German town directly on the border with France. The circle around the town represents the results expected according to the null hypothesis, i.e. if only geographical distance played a role, with the spatial volume of the average space drawn by the participants in the study. The actual map drawings show that the ethnodialectal orientation of the speakers is exclusively towards the east (Germany), never to the west (France). Nobody thinks that the dialect of Breisach is the same as the border dialects in Alsace.

[6] Such a lack of direct personal encounters was much less frequently reported by the Alsatian respondents, which may be due to the fact that participants in the study were required to speak Alsatian actively; this may have excluded a certain group of younger interviewees.

[7] A similar lack of interest in direct contacts was already found 25 years ago in the cities of Freiburg and Colmar by Bister-Broosen (1998).

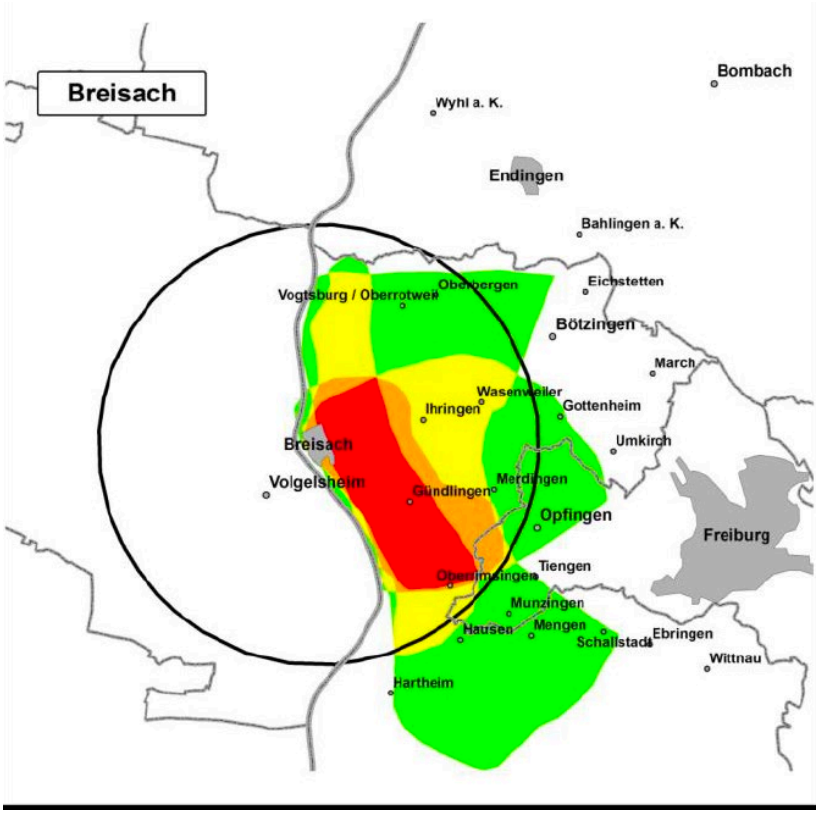

Figure 1 (from Stöckle 2014: 191): Ethnodialectological maps drawn by the interviewees from Breisach in answer to the question 'Where do people speak like in your home village/town?' (overlay for eight interviewees, red = maximal overlap, green = minimal overlap). The circle indicates the expected extension of the drawings under the null hypothesis (no other influence than geographical distance).

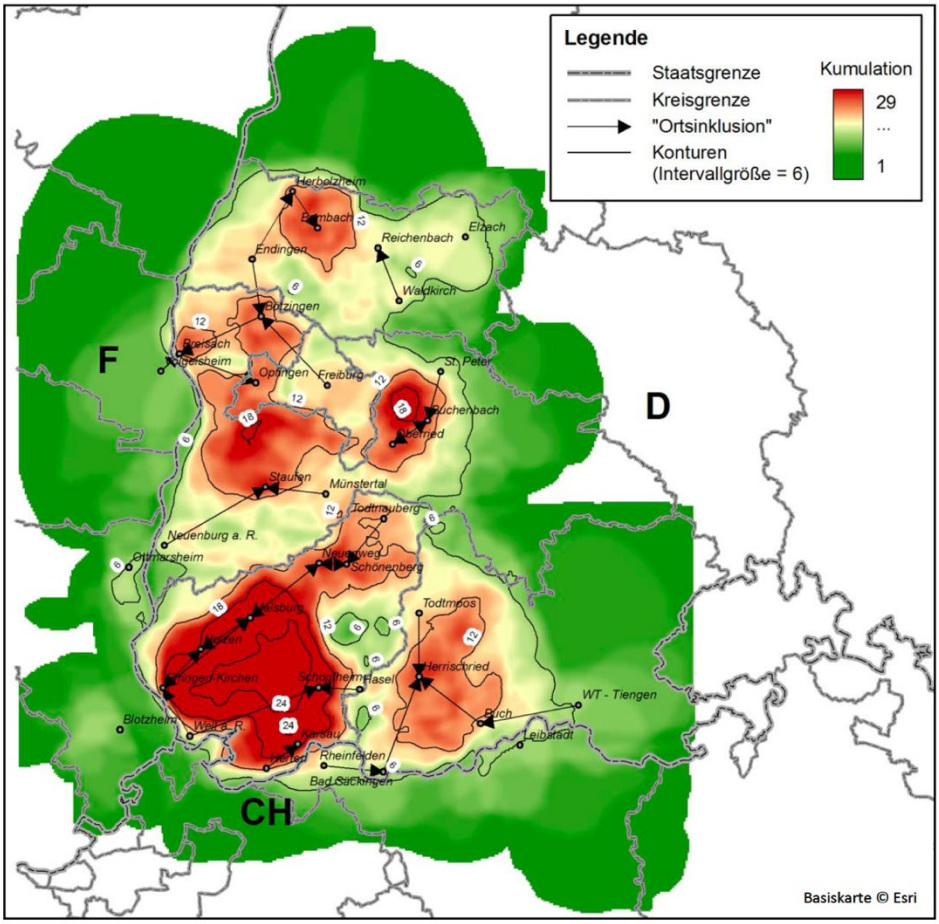

Figure 2 (from Stöckle 2014: 137): Aggregated ethnodialectological maps drawn by the interviewees from 37 locations in southwest Germany in answer to the question 'Where do people speak like in your home village/town?' (overlay for eight interviewees, red = maximal overlap, green = minimal overlap). The arrows indicate the direction in which the speakers are oriented. (An arrow from location A to location B means that at least half of the interviewees of location A included location B in their drawing.) The state border is marked by a broken line. Iso-lines indicate an overlay of six or multiples thereof.

Fig. (2) summarizes the results for all locations investigated by Stöckle. The zones of perceived similarity are skewed in overlapping directions, creating 'condensation zones' of maximal overlay (dark red). They indicate areas of convergence in which dialect speakers from various neighboring locations believe that their dialects are more or less the same. The important result for our discussion is that none of these zones transgresses the political borders with France (or Switzerland), even though some of them stop exactly before it. Hence, the German dialect speakers share among themselves an ethnodialectological representation of dialect similarity in German Alemannic that allows identifying five or six ethnodialectologial spatial clusters, but none of them extend into Alsace.[8]

Another important aspect that indirectly reveals how the political border is also a cognitive linguistic border between the dialects today only concerns Alsatian. Despite the maps they draw, the German interviewees usually said that they considered the Alsatian dialects to be 'German dialects'. This is not the case of the Alsatian speakers. For them, Alsatian is a language of its own that only resembles Alemannic in Germany. As a consequence, speaking Alsatian to them does not mean

[8] Unfortunately, similar data are not available for the Alsatian side.

speaking (some kind of) German. In the following extract from an interview, this difference can be inferred from the way in which the interviewee complains about French people from the 'interior' of France who overhear him and his family and friends speak Alsatian and think they are Germans. The interviewer's question why this is annoying for him is answered with many hesitations which indicate that the question is irritating as it taps into common background knowledge (i.e. part of the cognitive linguistic representations shared by Alsatians). Since the interviewer is also Alsatian she can be assumed to share the same language ideology, an ideology that is so firmly entrenched that nobody would think of discussing it:

Extract (1) [1571][9]

01GP: s gibt euh so euh fàscht e confusion fir mànchi litt zwische s elsässische un s ditsche
there's uhm like uhm almost a confusion for some people between Alsatian and German

02I: mm un fer dich isch s nit salwe
mhm, and for you that's not the same

03GP: ah non
oh no

04I: ja
yes ?

05GP: non non
no no

06I: wàs isch no de unterschied/ wàs sin
what's the difference/ what are

07GP: euh s isch doch euh/ <u>s isch üri sproch</u>
uhm it is after all uhm/ it is our language

08I: mm

09GP: <u>s isch s isch kenn ditsch un mir sin kenn ditsche</u>
it is it is not German and we are not Germans

10I: ((laughs))

11GP: àwwer euh
but uhm

12I: stert s dich wenn dir ebber sait euh dü redsch ditsch
does it annoy you when somebody says uhm you speak German

13GP: ja
yes

14I: ja

15GP: ja

16I: wie wàrum no/ weil s euh
and why then/ because it uhm

17GP: euh pff ich füehl mi fränzesch
uhm pff I feel I'm French

18I: mm

19GP: àwwer euh bon em elsass hänn mir euh e sproch
but uhm I mean in Alsace we have uhm a language

20I: mm

21GP: un die des isch s elsässische
and this is this is Alsatian

22I: mm

23GP: des isch/ s isch sicher/ s glicht im ditsche àwwer euh

[9] The transcription of Alsatian follows the system developed at the Département de dialectologie alsacienne et mosellane at Strasbourg University. "/" marks a prosodic (IP) break, the *accent grave* ("à") stands for /ɔ/. I is the interviewer, GP the interviewee. Since French words are an integral part of Alsatian, they are not specifically marked.

It is/ surely it is/ it is similar to German but uhm
24I: mm
25GP: àwwer mir sin kenn kenn
but we are not, no
26I: isch s nit ditsch
it isn't German
27GP: mˀm ((negating))
28I: d'accord
ok.

The interviewee's answer makes it clear that his language ideology is firmly linked to the idea of the nation state: as the Alsatians are not part of Germany, they are not Germans, and hence, their language cannot be German. Language is (de-)limited by nationhood, and nationhood by language. This is very clearly stated in lines 07/09, where the speaker equates 'our language' with 'not the German language', and then again with 'not being German'. The language/nation link is so inextricable that the speaker finds it hard to separate language and national belonging at all: in lines 21-26, he starts to argue on the level of languages and surreptitiously slips to the level of nationalities ('[Alsatian] is similar to German … but we are not …' projects 'Germans'). If somebody mistakes his Alsatian for German, he feels annoyed because 'he doesn't feel German' (line 17); there is no difference between language and nationhood but the first uniquely indexes the second.

The German interviewees, on the other hand, often project their language and dialect ideologies on Alsace, which can also lead to misunderstandings. Here, it needs to be stressed that the state border today separates not only two dialect regions, but also two repertoire types, with their own, specific sociolinguistic rules for the use of standard and dialect. In Alsace, French is the dominant and official language and occupies almost all domains; its use is obligatory everywhere apart from family and friendship networks. Alsatian is restricted to informal encounters in the family and friendship domain, but even here, it is only one of the available options and its use almost always implies code-switching into or mixing with French. The only language available for verbal exchanges with strangers and in public is French (or, in case of need and proficiency, English or standard German as school-learned foreign languages). In contrast, a continuum of more or less dialectal or standard ways of speaking is available in southwest Germany; this repertoire is much more flexibly employed. Even in formal situations, and certainly in informal situations with strangers and/or speakers of the standard language, some dialectal features can and usually are used instead of a regionally unmarked standard German. In the family or with friends, particularly of the older generation, a more dialectal way of speaking may be chosen.

The difference between these two scenarios becomes clear: when Germans transfer their own cognitive scenarios of dialect use to Alsace, this can lead to misunderstandings and even mutual resentments. For instance, one of the often reproduced stereotypes among Germans is that the Alsatians "refuse to speak dialect" in personal encounters, which makes communication impossible. Let us look at a story told by one of our German interviewees, which is produced as evidence for this attitude (see also the discussion in Pfeiffer & Auer 2019).

Extract (2): 'Tante Elsa' [1321][10]

03 GP1: also SIE het a tante ghet in ((NAME)),
well she ((=GP2)) had an aunt in ALSATIAN-LOCATION-NAME,
04 °h und da sin_ma also au mal Anegfahre,
and we once drove there,

[10] Transcription according to GAT 2 (cf. Selting et al. 2009). GP1 and GP2 are the interviewees, Ex is the interviewer.

((...))
09 Ex1: hm,
10 GP1: un no sin_ma Anegange-
and then we went there
11 no han die (.) han se halt (.) gFROUT-
then they (.) and we asked them-
12 ebe mir suche die un die person uff DITSCH,
well we are looking for that and that person, in German,
13 un im erschte moment han se nit (-) geantwortet uff DITSCH; (-)
and first they didn't (-) answer in German; (-)
14 han se also franZEsisch gsait sie verstehn nix,
and said in French that they do not understand anything,
15 es tut ihne leid es isch_sie verSTEHn nix,
they were sorry it is (.) they do not understand anything,
16 und in dEm moment kommt ihre TANte ums eck rum,
and right at this moment her aunt comes around the corner,
17 (--) °hh und äh (--) und äh no ham_mr gsait;
(--) °hh and uhm (--) and uhm we said;
19 AH da isch jo d ELsa;
ah! there is Elsa;
20 (-) und uff eimol han si DITSCH kennt und han mit uns-
(-) and all of a sudden they knew German and ((talked)) with us
21 ((general laughter, 2 Sec.))
22 GP2: sie WELle als net.
they don't want to.
23 GP1: ja kommt druff A:N;
well it depends;
24 die KENne uns halt au net;
they don't know us after all;
25 und äh man WEISS ja nit wenn_ma auf jemand so zuageht;
and uhm you don't know when you approach somebody;
26 im ERSCHte moment isch ma doch viellicht a bissl; perPLEX und denkt HALT amol- (-)
maybe in the first moment you are a little; perplexed and you think- (-)
29 was WELle die und so- (-)
what do they want and so on- (-)
30 aber es war EIgeartig;
but it was strange;
31 sie han alli (.) ELsässisch kennt nochher;
afterwards they all knew Alsatian;

The two interviewees (a couple) tell the interviewer that they once wanted to visit a distant relative (an aunt) living in Alsace. They drove to the place and asked people in the street about the address of the aunt, speaking "German". Typically, the term 'German' is ambiguous in the interviews, as it generally is among Germans: it can refer to standard German (as opposed to the dialect), but it can also refer to the architecture of the German language as a whole, including the dialects. In any case, they were not successful with this language choice: the Alsatians did not answer their question and claimed (in French) not to understand them. When the aunt happened to "turn around the corner", everything changed: "all of a sudden they knew German" (line 20). This is later paraphrased by the teller, who stated that they were able to speak "Alsatian" (line 31), which shows that in the couple's view, "Alsatian" is a hyponym of "German".

The wife explains this, in her view contradictory behavior, as a question of willingness ("they

don't want to", line 22), and, perhaps indirectly, of anti-German resentments. The way in which she presents this explanation suggests that it is part of her stereotypical knowledge about the Alsatians: it comes quickly and without hesitations. Her husband presents a more complex view (lines 23-29) and accounts for what to him is "strange" behavior (line 30) by the possible embarrassment experienced by the village people when approached by strangers in "German". Both express their bewilderment. Underlying this bewilderment is the transfer of the German scenario for dialect use to the French-Alsatian context: for the couple, the dialect can be legitimately chosen (above all in a village!) in public and to communicate with a stranger. As argued above, this is not at all compatible with the Alsatian scenario. Hence, from the Alsatian perspective, the behavior of the Alsatian villagers does not require an explanation at all.

Experiences like those reported in Extract (2) and the subsequent bewilderment to German visitors recur in our data. Some of the respondents found this behavior so irritating that they stopped crossing the border.[11]

4. Dialect change in the German Upper Rhine area: a matter of attitude?

The previous sections have shown that the state border between Germany and France not only separates the spaces under the regiment of the German and French standard languages. It also separates two repertoires in which the dialects play a very different role, with a diglossic relationship between the Alsatian dialects and standard French on the one side, and a diaglossic repertoire with standard German and Alemannic dialect as the extremes on the other side. The cognitive representations of the dialects on both sides of the river concur in the sense that most speakers share a knowledge of the traditional similarity of the dialects, and their better maintenance in Alsace. But they differ with respect to the language-ideological question of whether the dialects are roofed by standard German and also in the interviewees' view of when it is adequate to speak dialect.

The interviews allowed us to reconstruct the interviewees' opinions on whether and how 'those on the other side' differ from one's own culture and character, and they allow us to evaluate the speakers' knowledge and general orientation towards the other side of the border. Some know more about it and/or have a more positive attitudes than others. This raises the question of whether these opinions and attitudes and the general orientation towards the people and culture on the other side are correlated with the maintenance of the dialect. The question can be asked most fruitfully on the German side where we find a huge amount of dialect levelling. Here, the question is whether the way in which Alsace and its inhabitants are perceived has an impact on levelling. Do Germans with a better knowledge of and a more positive attitude toward Alsace maintain their dialect better, perhaps in order to express a joint, trans-border identity based on the traditionally closely related Alemannic dialects spoken on both sides of the border in the Upper Rhine valley?

Interestingly, the various regions of Germany bordering Alsace in the Upper Rhine area differ with respect to their orientation towards Alsace, which is partly due to historical reasons. Based on a content analysis of the interviews, Pfeiffer (submitted) developed an index of orientation toward Alsace which allows grouping of the survey locations on the German side. The index made use of three dimensions: the interviewees' reports of how well they understand Alsatian, the interviewees' reports on whether they used their own dialect when visiting Alsace, and the interviewees' opinions on how similar Alsatians and Badeners are in terms of culture and character. He was able to identify four sub-regions among the survey locations on the German side of the border; a fifth group of locations was made up of the towns further away from it (cf. Fig. 3).

[11] On the representation of the border from the Alsatian interviewees' perspective see Erhart (2019).

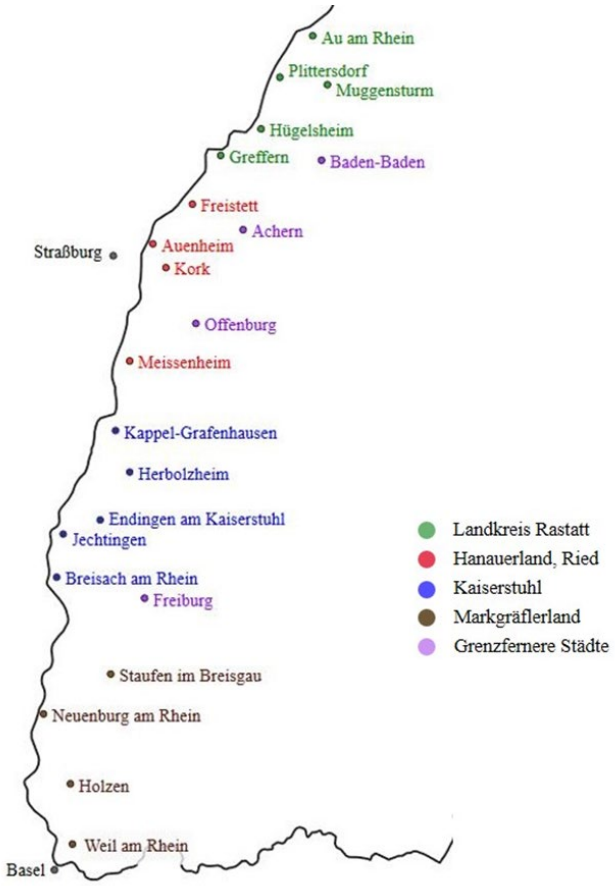

Figure 3 (from Pfeiffer 2019): Subregions according to orientation to Alsace in the German Upper Rhein area.

The index values for each sub-region are summarized in Fig. (4), separately for older (65 and older) and younger (35 or younger) interviewees. The results show, first of all, that age plays a major role: younger speakers are generally less oriented toward Alsace. This correlates well with the observation that younger speakers use less dialect, which means that the linguistic distance between them and the Alsatians (particularly the younger ones) is larger than in the older speakers. However, the sub-regions make a difference as well. The strongest (positive) orientation toward Alsace is found in the *Kaiserstuhl* area (blue) and the *Hanauerland* (red). The people in the *Markgräflerland* (brown) and in the towns away from the border are much more indifferent and/or have a less positive orientation towards Alsace on an average. *Landkreis Rastatt* is in between.

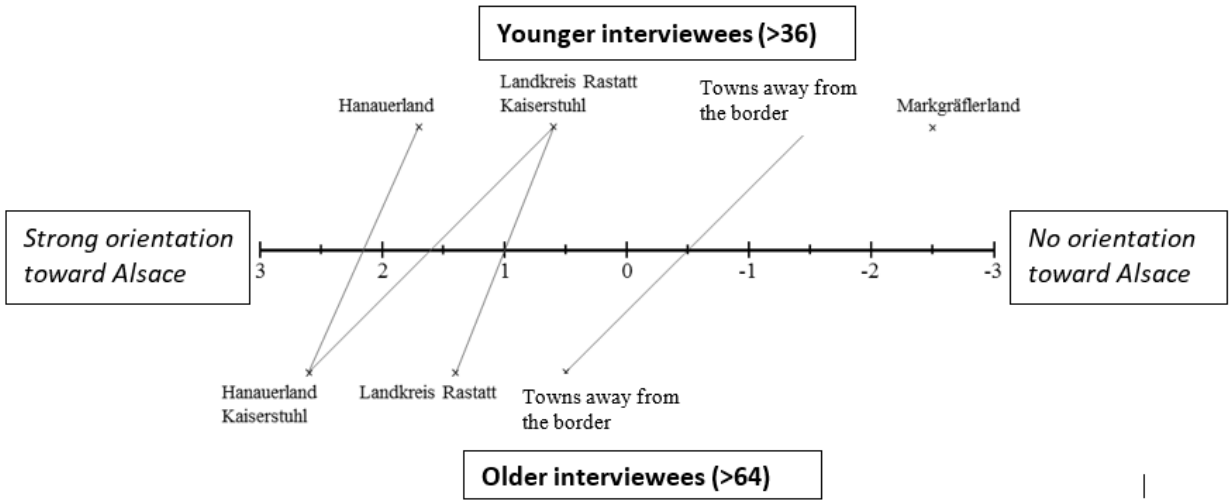

Figure 4 (from Pfeiffer, accepted): Orientation toward Alsace in four German subregions of the Upper Rhine area and in the towns away from the border (no data available for older speakers from *Markgräflerland*).

Does this difference correlate with the linguistic behavior of the speakers? Let us look at one pair of phonological variables which is well suited for investigating this question. In the northern part of the Upper Rhine area, we find two similar processes of lenition. One is the weakening of intervocalic /g/, which is reduced to the fricative /j/ or approximant /w/ or deleted entirely (as in StdG *sagen* 'to say', realized as [sajən], [sauə], [sawə] or [sa:n]); the other is the lenition (spirantization) of intervocalic /b/ as in StdG *Nebel* 'fog', realized as [ne:vl]. The lenition of /g/ is traditionally found in the northern part of the Upper Rhine valley, down to and including Meissenheim in Germany and Colmar on the French side. The lenition of /b/ traditionally affects the dialects on the German side in the north and down to the *Kaiserstuhl* (including Jechtingen). In Alsace, it reaches southward to Mulhouse (see Breuninger 2016 for details). The traditional isoglosses for the border area are shown in Fig. (5).

Figure 5: Intervocalic lenition of /b/ (blue) and /g/ (red) in the traditional dialects (sources: SSA and ALA).

The two processes, although phonologically comparable, do not show the same geographical dynamics. While the lenition of /g/ is a typical Alsatian (western) feature that crosses the border into German Alemannic only in some parts of the Upper Rhine area and never spreads far into Germany, the lenition of /b/ is a general north-to-south process not associated with Alsace. Both features occur in the sub-regions *Hanauerland* and *Landkreis Rastatt*. According to Pfeiffer's study, the speakers in the *Hanauerland* are more Alsace-oriented than those in the *Landkreis Rastatt* (see Fig. 3). If the way in which Alsace is perceived and evaluated is relevant at all, this western orientation should impact on the lenition of /g/, but not on the lenition of /b/, as only the first is associated with Alsace and its dialects. A quantitative analysis[12] suggests that this is indeed the case. Fig. (6) shows the results for the lenition of intervocalic /b/. The average lenition across all speakers interviewed in the more

[12] A more elaborate statistical treatment as well as two further examples of the impact of different attitudes and orientations taken from the southern part of Alsace can be found in Auer, Pfeiffer, Kaufmann & Breuninger (accepted).

Alsace-oriented *Hanauerland* and the less Alsace-oriented *Landkreis Rastatt* is almost the same, both in spontaneous speech and in the questionnaire answers.[13] None of the differences are statistically significant.

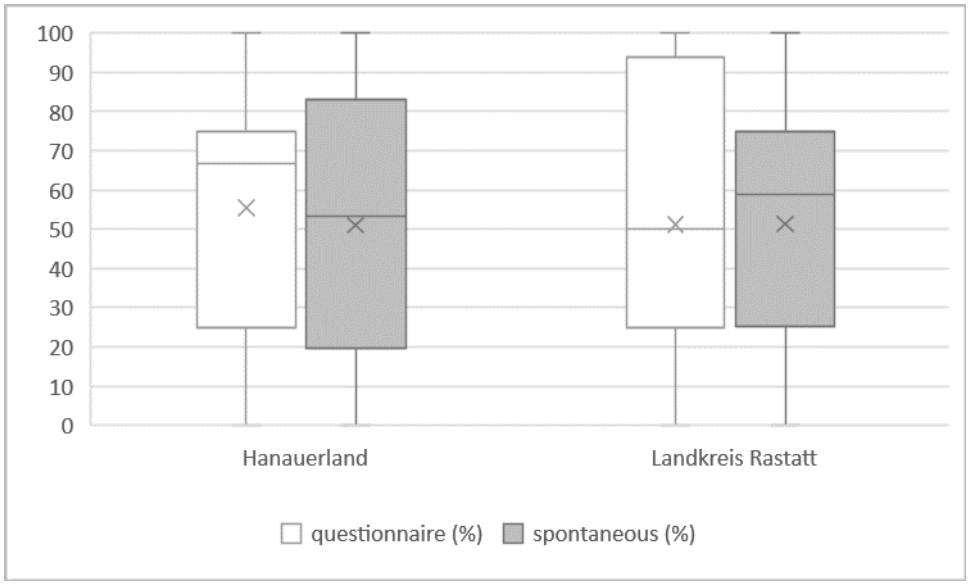

Fig. (6): Lenition of intervocalic /b/ in *Hanauerland* and *Landkreis Rastatt* according to questionnaire answers and in spontaneous speech (percentages averaged over speakers, boxplots with x = average).

The lenition of intervocalic /g/ shows a very different picture. In the questionnaire, the process can only be analyzed in one item (the realization of the verb *sagen* 'to say'); here, 73% of the respondents in the *Hanauerland* fricativized or deleted the intervocalic /g/, while only 42% of the respondents in the *Landkreis Rastatt* did. In spontaneous speech, the average lenition values are much lower, but the difference is equally substantial and highly significant: 19.3% vs. 4.9% (t-test 2.56 df 55, F-test 7.45, $p<0.001$). We can conclude that the *Hanauerland* sticks significantly more to the traditional pronunciation which is marginal in Germany, but widespread and typical of the Alsatian dialects, while the lenition of /b/, which is not associated with Alsace, shows no such effect. This supports the assumption that a cognitive-attitudinal (positive) orientation toward Alsace correlates with the maintenance of a more traditional dialect if it is backed up by the Alsatian 'hinterland'.

5. Conclusions

The results of the various studies reported here support the claim that the nation states continue to have a strong effect on the languages at the borders in Europe. Crossing such a border today rarely means passing border controls and toll bars (since these often do not exist); rather, it means entering the realm of another standard language. Nevertheless, the effect takes place with the same immediacy and abruptness. No longer are there transition zones which soften the transition from one language into the other, as it was the case when traditional trans-border dialects shaded continuously into each other.

Yet the impact of standard French and standard German on the Alemannic dialects has of course been different. While the German standard language is structurally close enough to the Alemannic

[13] Questionnaire answers were based on the items *bleiben* 'to stay', *sieben* 'seven', *geschrieben* 'written' and *Leber* 'liver'. In the analysis of spontaneous speech, the high-frequency word *aber* 'but' was omitted because it frequently shows phonetic reduction and may be considered an allegro speech phenomena. Based on transcriptions by Julia Breuninger.

dialects to allow compromise forms (i.e. a diaglossic repertoire with many options between standard and dialect), the French standard language does not affect the phonology and grammar of Alsatian in the same way. Rather, it primarily marginalizes this lect by conquering more and more of its domains in an ongoing process of language shift. On the dialect level, these developments lead to linguistic divergence, due to the changes on the German-Alemannic side. These changes are driven by the cognitive representations speakers have of the varieties and languages on both sides of the border, while at the same time, experiences of divergent usage patterns feed the cognitive models according to which dialects and repertoires are delimited by the state border.

References

Auer, Peter (2005). 'Europe's sociolinguistic unity, or: a typology of European dialect / standard constellations'. In Delbecque, Nicole, Johan van der Auwera & Dirk Geeraerts (eds.), *Perspectives on Variation* (Trends in Linguistics: 163). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 7-42.

Auer, Peter (2013). 'State borders and language change: the (non-)effects of political border permeability on language'. In Gilles, Peter, Harlan Koff, Carmen Maganda & Christian Schulz (eds.), *Theorizing Borders Through Analyses of Power Relationships*. Brussels: Peter Lang. 227-248.

Auer, Peter, Julia Breuninger & Martin Pfeiffer (2015). 'Auswirkungen der Staatsgrenze auf die Sprachsituation im Oberrheingebiet (Frontière linguistique au Rhin Supérieur, FLARS)'. In Kehrein, Roland, Alfred Lameli & Stefan Rabanus (eds.), *Regionale Variation des Deutschen*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 323-348. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110363449-015

Auer, Peter, Julia Breuninger & Martin Pfeiffer (2017). 'Entwicklungen des Alemannischen an der französisch-deutschen Sprachgrenze im Oberrheingebiet'. In Christen, Helen, Peter Gilles & Christoph Purschke (eds.), *Räume, Grenzen, Übergänge. Akten des 5. Kongresses der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Dialektologie des Deutschen (IGDD). ZDL Beihefte*. Stuttgart: Steiner. 27-44.

Auer, Peter (2022). 'Dialect Divergence at the State Border: A Cognitive Sociolinguistic Approach'. In G. Kristiansen et al. (eds.), *Cognitive Sociolinguistics Revisited*. Berlin etc.: de Gruyter Mouton. 295-309. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110733945-024

Auer, Peter, Martin Pfeiffer, Göz Kaufmann & Julia Breuninger (accepted). Dialektabbau im grenznahen Alemannischen in Deutschland: die Rolle des elsässischen Hinterlands. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik.*

Bister-Broosen, Helga (1998). Sprachkontakte und Sprachattitüden Jugendlicher im Elsaß und in Baden. Vergleichende soziolinguistische Untersuchungen in Colmar (Frankreich) und in Freiburg und Müllheim (Deutschland). Frankfurt: Lang.

Bothorel-Witz, Arlette & Dominique Huck (2001). 'L'allemand en Alsace: Mythe et réalités'. In Hartweg, Frederic & Maryse Staiber (eds.), *Frontières – Mémoires en hommage à Adrien Finck*. Straßburg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg. 117-140.

Breuninger, Julia (2016). 'Die Frikativierung von intervokalisch -b- im Oberrheingebiet'. In Ahner, Helen & Hubert Klausmann (eds.), *Dialekt und Öffentlichkeit. Beiträge zur 18. Arbeitstagung zur alemannischen Dialektologie*. Tübingen. https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/handle/10900/57077. Retrieved on May 22, 2023.

Erhart, Pascale (2019). 'Von Staatsgrenze zu Dialektgrenze. Wird der Rhein als „Grenze" im alemannischen Sprachraum am Oberrhein wahrgenommen?'. *Linguistik Online*, 98: 307-328. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.98.5942

Fredsted, Elin (2016). 'Language contact in the German-Danish border area in the twenty-first century'. *STUF - Language Typology and Universals*, 69(3): 437-465. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/stuf-2016-0018.

Höder, Steffen (2019). 'Die deutsch-dänische Grenze von 1920 als Zäsur'. In Palliwoda, Nicole,

Verena Sauer & Stephanie Sauermilch (eds.), *Politische Grenzen – Sprachliche Grenzen? Dialektgeographische und wahrnehmungsdialektologische Perspektiven im deutschsprachigen Raum* (Linguistik – Impulse & Tendenzen: 83). Berlin: de Gruyter. 55-76. DOI : https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110571110-004

Huck, Dominique (2015). *Une histoire des langues de l'Alsace*. Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue.

Maurer, Friedrich (1942). 'Zur Sprachgeschichte des deutschen Südwestens'. In Maurer, Friedrich, *Oberrheiner, Schwaben, Südalemannen. Räume und Kräfte im geschichtlichen Aufbau des deutschen Südwestens.* Strassburg: Hönenburg. 167-336.

Ochs, Ernst (1939). 'Die Mundart des Kaiserstühlers'. In Rest, J. (ed.), *Der Kaiserstuhl: Landschaft und Volkstum*. Freiburg: Troemers Universitätsbuchhandlung. 171-181.

Pfeiffer, Martin (2019). 'Grenzüberschreitende Identitäten im badischen Oberrheingebiet. Unterschiede in der Konstruktion sprachlicher und regionaler Verbundenheit mit dem Elsass'. *Linguistik Online*, 98: 329-361. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.98.5943

Pfeiffer, Martin (accepted). *Identität und Alterität an der französisch-deutschen Grenze im badischen Oberrheingebiet: Der Einfluss von Grenzentfernung, Wohnregion und Alter auf die wahrgenommene Verbundenheit mit dem Elsass*.

Pfeiffer, Martin & Peter Auer (2019). 'Erfahrung und Stereotyp an der elsässisch-badischen Grenze: Repräsentationen der Anderen und ihre narrative Verarbeitung'. In Palliwoda, Nicole, Verena Sauer & Stephanie Sauermilch (eds.), *Politische Grenzen – Sprachliche Grenzen? Dialektgeographische und wahrnehmungsdialektologische Perspektiven im deutschsprachigen Raum.* Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 143-178. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110571110-008

Selting, Margret et al. (2009). 'Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2 (GAT 2)'. *Gesprächsforschung*, 10: 353-402.

Stöckle, Philipp (2014). *Subjektive Dialekträume im alemannischen Dreiländereck* (Deutsche Dialektgeographie: 112). Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms.

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 80-92 (2023)

German and Romance varieties in contact in northeastern Italy

Silvia Dal Negro, Free University of Bozen-Bolzano

Abstract: Northeastern Italy offers several sites where a variety of German is in contact with Italian, Italo-Romance, or Rhaeto-Romance: All of these contact situations vary according to sociolinguistic and extralinguistic factors, such as the composition of the speech community, structure of linguistic repertoires, language status, standardization, and demography. These factors combine into more or less coherent speech community types that, in turn, constrain the typology of contact linguistic phenomena that can be observed. In this contribution, based on the trilingual region of South Tyrol, a few emblematic case studies will be discussed focusing on insertional mechanisms that occur in speech. Based on the outcomes of a larger research project and drawing on various corpora of conversational data, quantitative and qualitative aspects of this contact situation will be explored in more detail.

1. Introduction

The fact that political and administrative, as well as physical, borders do not always correspond with language borders causes wider overlapping areas in which more than one language is used according to different patterns that depend on the sociolinguistic structure of the speech communities that are involved. This usually results in asymmetrical relations between communities and, consequently, between languages and language varieties; this is expected and particularly marked in the case of linguistic enclaves and, more generally, of minority languages, but it is less expected in the case of larger contact areas where standard languages are also involved. For this reason, the careful study of linguistic repertoires, i.e., the set of languages available to speech communities and their hierarchization and organization according to the domains of use and identity choices of speakers, constitutes a useful window through which one can observe social groups and thus systematically account for diversities and similarities between speech communities.[1]

Because of the multiple crossings of different language groups and of language varieties characterized by different sociolinguistic statuses, northeastern Italy is a good field test to explore variation in language contact within a relatively small area. This paper focuses, in particular, on the Romance-Germanic language border and, more specifically, on the intersection between Italo-Romance (Trentino and Italian), German (Standard German and Tyrolean dialects), and Rhaeto-Romance (Ladin varieties) in the Alpine region of South Tyrol, a region that became part of Italy in 1919, after World War I, as a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles.

There has been a long-lasting debate in the field of anthropology (particularly stimulating as regards Alpine anthropology; cf. the classical Cole & Wolf 1974) about the notions (and the corresponding linguistic labels) of "border", "boundary", and "frontier" (Viazzo & Fassio 2012) that cannot be resumed here except for the distinction between border (or boundary), meaning the line neatly dividing two areas, and frontier, meaning the area crossed by boundaries where two (or more) communities, cultures, societies come into contact. As the Italian anthropologist Ugo Fabietti puts it, the notion of a frontier is paradoxical because it implies a line (real or imaginary) that separates and unites at the same time (Fabietti 1998: 105). In this sense, we can speak for the phenomena dealt with here as originating from a linguistic "frontier" (rather than from a linguistic border) where different languages are interwoven in diverse ways and come in contact exactly there where a separation line

[1] I thank the organizers and the participants of the workshop "Danish and German as European neighbour languages. An international conference on language contact in border zones and multilingual cities" held in Copenhagen on 24-25 August, 2021, as well as an anonymous reviewer for helpful and competent comments to an early version of this paper.

keeps them apart.

2. Speech communities and language contact: Italian and German in South Tyrol

South Tyrol, corresponding to the autonomous province of Bolzano[2], is considered a paradigmatic case of *de jure* institutional bilingualism where both Italian and German enjoy co-official status and are used in all public contexts (also reflected in the top-down linguistic landscape; cf. Dal Negro 2009).[3] In addition, parallel school systems ensure education in the first language (German or Italian) and the teaching of the second language throughout the entire school career. *De facto*, however, what is guaranteed is the right to use one's own language (and this applies particularly to German, which is a minority language at the national level) in all administrative, public, cultural, and educational contexts, while bilingualism itself has never been particularly encouraged; as a result, these two main speech communities live side by side rather than forming a composite multilingual unity.

In addition, these two speech communities are sociolinguistically quite different. On the one hand, the German-speaking community is traditionally diglossic, and Standard German coexists, functionally separated, with a range of Tyrolean dialects that constitute the actual we-code for the local population and that are still vital because of the natural and cultural organization of the territory. On the other hand, the local Italian-speaking community is mostly the result of a massive Italianization process that took place especially in the (few) urban centers during the fascist time and of successive migration waves in the second half of the 20th century: Its dialectological composite nature has very quickly led to the abandonment of home dialects and to a language shift toward a regional variety of Italian characterized by koineization features (Vietti 2017). Fig. 1 graphically represents the combination of the two main linguistic repertoires of South Tyrol.

Fig. 1: Linguistic repertoires in South Tyrol.

Partly because of the societal organization (most social, institutional, and cultural activities are separately organized for each community) and partly because of the diglossic structure of the German speech community, the local Italian community has very limited possibilities to interact in German on a daily basis: Italian speakers have virtually no access to Tyrolean dialects since Standard German only is taught at school as a second language; on the other hand, Standard German is not used in informal communication by local Tyroleans. Conversely, the German-speaking population can easily come into contact with Italian, especially in urban centers, because Italian is the main language of communication for the Italian community, both written and oral, formal and informal, and it is the language taught at school as a second language. From the point of view of language contact, this creates a clear case of asymmetry because code-switching is more likely to take place when Tyrolean German is the main language of interaction rather than vice versa; as a result, the direction of contact goes from Italian to Tyrolean German and not the other way round. This may appear quite paradoxical if one thinks that the German speech community outnumbers the Italian one at a rate of 6:2 (ASTAT

[2] Actually, the official name would be Bolzano/Bozen. However, for the sake of brevity, only Italian names will be used for all toponyms that are referred to in the rest of this text.

[3] The special status of the third official language in the region, Ladin, is not considered in this section, but cf. Iannàccaro et al. (2020) and § 4.

2012), although this ratio is geographically much differentiated. This situation leads to another asymmetry in the relationship between the two communities: German speakers usually bear the "burden" of bilingualism much more than Italian native speakers do, and in the case of outgroup communication, the switch to Italian is usually the unmarked choice.

This general picture is only partly confirmed by the empirical research conducted by Vietti (2008) based on an experimental investigation of anonymous requests for street directions in Italian and German elicited by local and nonlocal investigators in the towns of Bolzano and Bressanone. Apparently, both languages have a similar likelihood of being employed in such neutral situations, all other factors being equal; more specifically, passers-by tend to accommodate the language of their requestors (be it German or Italian). On the other hand, local varieties (especially local German varieties) partly disfavor linguistic accommodation on the side of casual respondents because the latter take for granted that (German speaking) interlocutors are bilingual precisely because they sound local. However, a correct interpretation of these results needs to be verified by a thorough analysis of single interactions to detect conversational and accommodation strategies, as the author (Vietti 2008) also suggests. For instance, if we consider the interaction in (1), a series of linguistic indices present in A's request, the most obvious of which being the dialectal rendering of [st] as [ʃt] or [ʃ] must have led interlocutor B to infer that A is a member of the local German speech community, hence a shift to Italian (clearly her preferred language) would be sociolinguistically acceptable, since local Germans are supposed to be perfectly able to interact in Italian, whereas the reverse is not necessarily true.

(1) A: *wissen sie wo die nächschte volksbank isch?* (Bressanone 2005)
'*do you know where the nearest people's bank is?*'
B: quale banca?
'which bank?'
A: banca popolar
'people's bank'
B: devi andare qui in fondo, e dopo c'è quell'arco così, gira, ma su questo orario è già chiusa
'you have to go down here at the bottom, and after that there's that arch like this, turn, but at this time is closed already'
A: ma okay è lo stesso
'well, okay, never mind'

If we split Fig. 1 into the two separate repertoires corresponding to the Italian (Fig. 2) and the German (Fig. 3) speech communities, we can focus on patterns of language contact from the two opposite perspectives. The Italian speech community is basically monolingual, apart from a limited and superficial influence from (Standard) German with regard to topics that are related to the local German community (food, alpine culture, local traditions); in those situations in which Italo-Romance dialects are preserved, their relation to Italian is that of *dilalìa* (Berruto 1989) with possible bidirectional interferences, though limited to low and family domains. From the perspective of the German speech community, more possibilities of contact are available to speakers (Fig. 3). First, because of its wider range of language use domains, Italian may exert its influence both on Standard German (as regards formal and written domains) and on Tyrolean in oral and informal interactions. All cases mentioned thus far, related to both Fig. 2 and Fig. 3, fall within the first scenario described by Thomason & Kaufman (1988), that is, that of borrowing in a situation of language maintenance; in Fig. 3, however, a further case is represented, that of Tyrolean (or, generally, German) influence on Italian: Here, the scenario is that of interference through shift (via imperfect acquisition) since it deals with German native speakers' use of Italian.[4]

[4] As a reviewer correctly suggested, one should also consider the case of German varieties spoken by Italian native

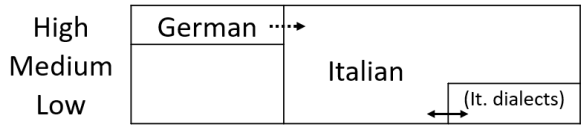

Fig. 2: Italian speech community.

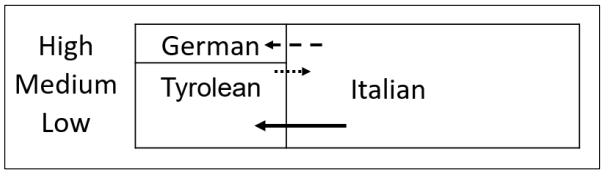

Fig. 3: German speech community.

The different structures of these linguistic repertoires have an impact on the amount and type of borrowings and insertional code mixing that occur in speech. In a corpus of semispontaneous (native) Italian elicited in Bolzano (DIA corpus, Mereu & Vietti 2021), only a few lexical borrowings (exclusively nouns) could be found (see here examples (2)-(3)): In all cases, they are cultural borrowings, either from German or from Tyrolean (as in example (2)), that are inserted in speech to denote culturally or locally connotated referents; the use of a borrowed word can also receive explicit flagging or glossing, as in (2), where an explicit reference to the German cultural world is made, regarded as distant as their (i.e., the speakers') own.

(2) no son più nel mondo tedesco poi le feste così il *kirtog* # così ma è una cosa che noi non ## non ci riguarda [DIA_01_F47]
'no, they are more in the German world, then festivities like that, like *kirtog* [i.e., church country festival], so but it is something that we, we are not involved'

(3) beh penso che durante quel periodo della ih della storia anche le scuole abbiano sofferto tantissimo se pensi alle *katakombenschulen* # e alla lingua tedesca come è stata- [DIA_03_F21]
'well, I think that during that historical period [i.e., fascism] also schools have suffered a lot, if you think of *Katakombenschulen* [i.e., secret schools organized by local parishes to keep the German language alive during fascism] and how the German language has been-'

The same DIA corpus includes a collection of interactions in Italian elicited by bilingual, German-dominant speakers: a slightly artificial situation that is, however, not totally unlikely in South Tyrol. In this subcorpus, the rate of German or Tyrolean words increases, but what is more interesting is the fact that a greater variety of lexical and functional types occurs. Specifically, the most represented category is that of discourse markers: Quite differently from the "flagged" insertions of Italian native speakers seen above, these speakers do not seem to be aware of such insertions which, in the case of *net* 'isn't it', *ja* 'yes', and *schau* 'look' seem to be rather systematic across the corpus. The excerpt in (4) is such an example:

speakers (for example shop assistants or civil servants where bilingual competencies are required). Unfortunately, this phenomenon has not been the object of systematic investigation so far.

(4) bellissimo perché butti dentro tutto lasci lì [LAUGHING] praticamente *net* l'ombrello tu- tutto quanto lasci dentro quello che ti serve per questo giro lo prendi *net* vedi ben *net* [DIA_20_F58]
'very nice because you throw everything inside [the bus] and leave everything there, *isn't it*, the umbrella, you leave everything inside and you take with you what you need for this tour, *isn't it*, you see well, *isn't it*'

Regarding lexical single-word insertions, they are not necessarily linked to specific cultural domains (as in the cases of examples (2) and (3)), but they rather fill lexical gaps or represent instances of interference between cognate words, such as the doublet *criminalità*/*Kriminalität*, 'crime' in (5). As with discourse markers, in the case of lexical insertions, there is no expressive function in resorting to the other language; in contrast, they rather attest to speakers' (momentary) difficulty in keeping the two languages apart.

(5) no no *kriminalität* zero # proprio zero [DIA_20_F58]
'no, no, zero *crime*, just zero'

Considering the same German-speaking population, but from the point of view of their (more common) interactions in Tyrolean (as attested by the corpus KONTATTO; cf. Ciccolone & Dal Negro 2021), the rate of single-word insertions increases even more, and again, the category that is attested most is that of discourse markers with a remarkable concentration on a few lexical types (*ma* 'but, well', *dai* 'come on' and *magari* 'perhaps', among the most frequent ones), including derogatory and blasphemous terms that are very frequent in low varieties Italian, such as *cazzo* 'fuck', *diocane* 'damn' and others. Content words from Italian are remarkably rare in terms of tokens and disperse in terms of types, since they depend on the actual communication context and vary accordingly. The following two examples extracted from spontaneous conversations between young South Tyroleans represent these two different phenomena: the insertion of a discourse marker in (6) and the insertion of a content word in (7). In the latter example, the noun *ragioneria* 'accounting' is inserted to specifically refer to a university exam that the speaker has just taken (most likely in Italian).[5]

(6) *dai* gia=mår an kaffe trinkn suscht wärt des haint nix [KONTATTO_03]
'*come on*, let's go and drink a coffee otherwise we won't be able to do anything today'

(7) wänn mir *ragioneria* gmåcht hobm hån i gmuant i bin im ka zet [KONTATTO_08]
'when we took *accounting* I thought I was in a concentration camp'

3. Language contact on the border

Quite a different situation from the one sketched above can be found in the area south of Bolzano, approaching the administrative (and linguistic) border with the Trentino province. Here, for historical reasons, the contact between Trentino, Italian and Tyrolean German has been longer and more intense than elsewhere, preceding the annexation of South Tyrol to Italy by about two centuries. From the sociolinguistic point of view, the historical-geographical peculiarities of this area have meant that the plurality of coexisting communities, with their respective linguistic repertoires, have had the time and conditions to come effectively in contact (and not simply "at" contact; cf. Berruto 2009: 7), thus fostering the emergence of a community of bilingual speakers proportionally greater than in the rest of the region. It is precisely on the Romance front that this area, called *Bassa Atesina* in Italian and *Unterland* in German, differs clearly from the rest of South Tyrol: Here (and only here), in fact, is

[5] Speakers recorded in (6) and (7) attend trilingual BA and MA programmes at the Free University of Bolzano, this means that each course (such as "Accounting") is held in one of the three official languages (German, Italian or English).

concentrated to this day the deep-rooted presence of an Italo-Romance dialect belonging to the Central Trentino type that forms part of the identity of the local community and that is not limited to individual families as is the case with the other dialects "imported" during the 20th century, together with the Italianization waves mentioned above.

In large villages, such as Laives or Salorno (the latter located exactly on the administrative border with Trentino), the traditional population masters four different linguistic codes (Italian, German, Trentino, and Tyrolean). Unfortunately, however, this endogenous multilingualism is deemed to dissolve soon and be substituted by more simplified repertoires (see Dal Negro & Tartarotti 2019): In particular, the Trentino dialect is less and less used by the younger generations, whereas Italian is expanding together with newcomers from Bolzano looking for cheaper housing in these peri-urban areas. Hence, paradoxically, the Trentino dialect is currently still part of the repertoire of the local speech community that culturally (and linguistically) recognizes itself in the German community (for example, attending German schools and taking part in German cultural activities), whereas the (more recent) Italian community tends toward monolingualism or to the official German-Italian bilingualism that is expected in the region. This rather complex situation is summarized by one of our informants in (8) and is sketched in Fig. 4 below.

(8) italienischen dialäkt redn aigentlich di daitschn […] dialäkt kännän aigenlich lai di richtigän *laivesotti* de urschprünglich daitsch sain […] de wos haitzutåg in laifars italienar sain, di säl sain raine italienar jå unt di säm redn italienisch [KONTATTO_48]
'the Italian dialect is actually spoken by (local) Germans […] only the proper *Laives inhabitants* know the [Italian] dialect and they are originally German […] those who nowadays are Italians in Laives, those are pure Italians, yes, and they speak Italian'

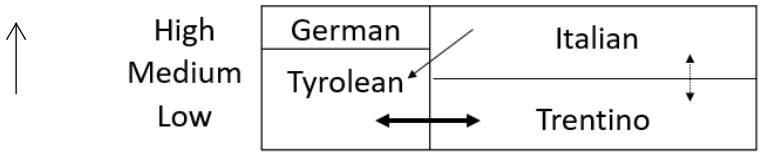

Fig. 4: Multilingualism in the *Bassa Atesina* area.

The scheme in Fig. 4 attempts to represent the reciprocal status of the four languages and dialects available to the local speech community, as well as the dynamics of language contact. Apart from the reciprocal contact between Italian and Trentino and the asymmetrical connection between Italian and Tyrolean German, what is most striking is the intense (darker line) and bidirectional contact between the two dialects. This symmetrical relationship is because both dialects are we-codes for the local community that can thus be regarded as a bilingual speech community *de facto* and not as the juxtaposition of two virtually monolingual speech communities, as is the case for the majority of the South Tyrolean population. This situation creates more opportunities for language contact, both in the form of single-word insertions and in the form of code-switching. However, since the Trentino dialect is losing ground as a language for everyday use, it is less common to find interactions in Trentino characterized by insertions from Tyrolean than the other way round. In fact, if we consider conversational data elicited in this geographical area (a subcorpus of KONTATTO; cf. Ciccolone & Dal Negro 2021), again, insertions and instances of code mixing go mostly in one direction, namely, from Italian or Trentino to Tyrolean German and much more rarely vice versa. One such example can be seen in (9), extracted from a Map Task[6] dialogue between two female friends from Laives: In this

[6] See Ciccolone & Dal Negro (2021: 36-45) for a thorough description of the KONTATTO corpus and of elicitation

case, it is the German word *Ziel* 'target', that triggers a switch from Trentino into Tyrolean German.

(9) e basta e t=arivi zo e dopo gh=è el tabachin *zil bai mir geats grod or unt bisch afn zil do bam* tabachin [KONTATTO_46B_S2]
'and stop, you arrive to the bottom and then you have the tobacconist's, *target, in my* [map] *it goes straight down and you are at the target there at the* tobacconist's'

Finally, one should not forget the effect of Tyrolean on Standard German, which, in this special context, means that Tyrolean also becomes the vehicle of Italian and Trentino insertions.

Overall, this conversational subcorpus elicited in the Bassa Atesina area is characterized by a much larger proportion of insertions and code-mixing instances than can be found in all other datasets considered thus far. In addition, regarding single-word insertions, the proportion of discourse markers is lower than in the case of Tyrolean spoken elsewhere in the region (though higher in absolute numbers). This is because a larger proportion of referential nonce borrowings occurs in speech since both Italian and Tyrolean are generally activated in discourse, and speakers may resort to either of them depending on the context or on speakers' lexical competencies or preferences, as is probably the case in (10).

(10) är håt di *magliette* übår ebay beschtellt [KONTATTO_13_S1]
'he has ordered the *t-shirts* with ebay'

In any case, a variety of formally and functionally different insertion types can be observed: discourse markers (11), where the inserted item occurs in fixed positions (here introducing an interrogative utterance), similar to what can be found in other varieties of South Tyrol, the fixed recurrence of which resembles that of loanwords; integration of nonce borrowings (in particular verbs, as in (12)) following borrowing routines (cf. Heath 1984 and Poplack 2018: 129-131); insertion of nonadapted content words that refer to items contextually mentioned in discourse, typically nouns ((13) and the already mentioned case in (10)), but also other parts of speech (14).

(11) *ma* tusch du grod aufneemän? [KONTATTO_13_S2]
'*but* are you recording now?'

(12) des foto *tschentriirt* nichts [KONTATTO_14_S2]
'that picture *has nothing to do with* it' (cf. Italian *c'entrare* 'to have to do')

(13) du gäa mål dainä *multa* zooln [KONTATTO_13_S1]
'you go and pay your *fine*'

(14) di mami unt di sabine worn *convinte* [KONTATTO_17_S2]
'Mum and Sabine were *convinced* (F.PL)'

As expected, code-switching proper is also well represented here. In these cases, the border between languages and speech communities enters the utterance and is exploited as a resource because of its communicative markedness (Auer (1999: 310) speaks of a "locally meaningful event"). By virtue of its potential to create a gap from the basic level of discourse, code-switching works to keep the different enunciative planes separate. The most emblematic case, in this sense, is reported speech and,

techniques (also cf. Dal Negro & Ciccolone 2020).

in particular, direct speech[7]: Code-switching first provides the quoting frame in the absence of other explicit markers; in addition, it contributes to creating a "polyphonic" effect in discourse where different voices, opinions, and comments can be kept separate. The example in (15) is precisely a case in point. The reported speech generalizable to "what the teachers told us in (German-speaking) high school" triggers the transition from Trentino to Tyrolean German; however, the mimicry is only partial since we assume that such comments by teachers were in Standard German and not in dialect, in addition to the fact that, clearly, it is not a matter here of *verbatim* reporting of a speech actually uttered but of synthetically resuming a widespread linguistic attitude.

(15) perché anche da noi i diseva sempre nelle *obarschuln "öh es laiferer känts nit gschait daitsch känts nit gschait italienisch"* [KONTATTO_48A_S1]
'because also by us they always said in the *highschools "oh you from Laifers, you can't speak well either German or Italian"*'

On a more abstract level, code-switching contributes to unravelling the structure of the text into informational blocks, which coincide with the macrosyntactic structure of the sentence. The case in (16) is particularly emblematic in this regard. In constructing his argument, the speaker uses a structure that is repeated (at least) twice: The hypothesis, which constitutes the background information, appears in Tyrolean German, while the logical consequence, corresponding to the foreground information, is in a mix of Trentino and Italian, as is the short parenthetic *non so* 'I do not know', inserted in the second of the two subordinates. In short, each information block corresponds to a language according to an abstract pattern, recurring in other similar examples that can be found in the corpus (see Ciccolone & Dal Negro 2021: 106-110).

(16) äh # wänn radl foorn gäasch *te compri # na bici da* # wänn # *non so* # wänn go_kart foorn gäasch *te devi comprar en go_kart* [KONTATTO_22_S1]
'eh if you go cycling *you buy a bike*, if, *I don't know*, if you want to drive a go-cart, *you have to buy a go-cart*'

Cases such as (16) are possible only in the case of bilingual linguistic repertoires that are shared within an extensive bilingual speech community. Interestingly, no flagging or glossing can be found at the switch points between the languages since no cultural or conversational meaning seems to be conveyed either by each language or by the switch itself; what emerges is rather an abstract bilingual pattern.

4. The Ladin speech community

In addition to Italians and Germans, at least a third (officially recognized) speech community belongs to the region, that is, the Ladin (though the extension of the Ladin community goes far beyond South Tyrol).[8] In comparison with German and Italian, Ladin is clearly a minority language, and members of the Ladin community have a reputation for being multilingual; as a matter of fact, in the linguistic repertoire of a Ladin speaker, the sociolinguistically weakest language might indeed be Ladin because of its profile (more restricted use domains in general terms, lower elaboration, dialectal fragmentation), despite the considerable efforts in language policy and planning to secure Ladin the status as a standard and official language (cf. Iannàccaro et al. 2020). In addition, by sketching the

[7] A well-known phenomenon in many bilingual communities. As regards the Italian context, see, for example, Alfonzetti (1998).

[8] For a wider picture of the Ladin language from a sociolinguistic point of view cf. Belardi (1991). More recently, on language contact in the Ladin valleys, cf. Fiorentini (2020).

sociolinguistic profile of the community one cannot overlook the fact that individual variation in language use and in language competences is comparatively higher here than in larger speech communities. Specifically, the fact of believing oneself to be a member of the Ladin linguistic community, and declaring this with conviction in the context of official censuses, does not mean that one actually uses the language or is a fully proficient speaker (see for instance Dell'Aquila & Iannàccaro 2006 and Verra 2007).

Fig. 5 tries to represent the complex repertoire of one of the Ladin speech communities, that of the Gardena valley, where the impact of German (and Tyrolean) is stronger than elsewhere (and stronger than that of Italian). As one can see, the notion of asymmetry is especially manifest here: Although Ladin is potentially available in all domains of the communicative space (if one considers the context of the local community only), the presence of Italian and German in high and medium domains and of Tyrolean in medium and low domains exerts a very strong influence on Ladin both in terms of language choice and as regards the interference in discourse. Remarkably, Tyrolean is in turn influenced by Italian, and it is in this form that it eventually enters Ladin discourse. Finally, the direct influence of Ladin on the other languages in contact is generally limited to cultural borrowings.

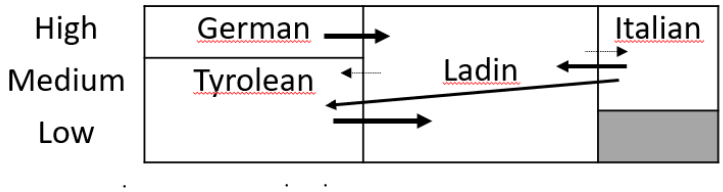

Fig. 5: Multilingual dynamics in the Ladin speech community of Gardena.

A typical feature of these asymmetrical relations is that in individuals' linguistic repertoires, one can find a series of implications related to languages (also see Dal Negro 2017): The knowledge and use of Ladin implies the knowledge and use of Tyrolean, which implies German and, finally, Italian, whereas the inverse implications do not apply, since (adult) native speakers of Italian need not, in principle, speak anything other than their first language and a Tyrolean speaker needs to know Italian and German but not necessarily Ladin.

In this context, the study of insertions in spontaneous speech and of their directionality can be particularly revealing. In order to observe this, I rely on a case study, a BA thesis based on three family conversations that are characterized by participant-related language alternation (Mahlknecht 2009): Although all speakers have at least a passive knowledge of all three languages, two participants out of five do not actively speak Ladin. Fig. 6 (adapted from Mahlknecht 2009) cross-tabulates the languages that are mostly used during these three conversations (and, more generally, by these family members with each other). As one can see, the result is that Ladin is used only between parents and between the mother and her elder daughter (a young woman in her early 20s), whereas the younger daughter (aged 12) and the other participant never use Ladin and, thus, increase the overall presence of German in speech. Most striking is the fact that the elder daughter and her father speak German with each other, despite the fact that both speak Ladin with their mother/wife. Finally, Italian is only apparently absent from this family's repertoire: On the contrary, it emerges quite often in the form of insertions both into Ladin and into Tyrolean German but never on its own.

	Mother	**Father**	**Daughter1**	**Daughter2**	**Daughter1's boyfriend**
Mother	-	Ladin	Ladin	German	German
Father	Ladin	-	German	German	German
Daughter1	Ladin	German	-	German	German
Daughter2	German	German	German	-	German
Daughter1's boyfriend	German	German	German	German	-

Fig. 6: Language choice in family interactions (adapted from Mahlknecht 2009).

Hence, the case study documented by Mahlknecht (2009) shows that within a single family a variety of individual linguistic repertoires can be found with varied access to the three languages at stake, which makes any general account oversimplified. This said, some of the predictions derived from the asymmetries that describe the Ladin linguistic repertoire at a community level seem to be confirmed. First of all, the role of Italian in these three conversations is marginal but in the few utterances in Italian that can be found, no insertions from either German or Ladin occur; conversely, Italian penetrates into both Ladin and Tyrolean German with a high proportion of discourse and interactional markers (see examples in (17) and (18)), paralleling what happens more generally in German speakers' interactions.[9] As for German, it penetrates into Ladin even more intensely than Italian, involving both vocabulary and "sentence grammar" (besides so-called "thetical grammar"; see Kaltenböck et al. 2011 for this distinction), as seen in underlined insertions in (18) and in (19), both produced by the father addressing his wife.

(17) *dai*, i konn net sogn
'*come on*, I can't say'

(18) *ma* chësc *sugo* chësc à gonz dergebn # ie é mé metù ite un n tel de ch- dings de *vellutata*
'*but* this *sauce*, this has quite filled, I have put inside only one of these things, of *veloute*'

(19) y scno? ## olls oke sun scola?
'and else? everything ok at school?'

Finally, Ladin is only marginally the source of insertions, and if so, it is mainly for words endowed with very specific referential content, either cultural (as in food names) or in the case of near naming usages (such as *lava*, 'grandmother', ex. (20)) or with playful functions (cf. ex. (21)). Both examples ((20)-(21)) are produced by the 12-year-old girl, who could be defined a semispeaker as regards Ladin, a language circumscribed to a (very limited) lexical basin from which she can resort to for expressive functions but is probably unable to use productively, a fate similar to that of many Italo-Romance dialects in Italy (cf. Berruto 2006). The word *cajin* in (21) is an adaptation of the Italian *casino* 'mess' and occurs in Ladin in the expression *fé cajin* 'to make a mess', a calque from the

[9] And, as a matter of fact, the speaker in (17) is the younger daughter who is *de facto* a native speaker of (Tyrolean) German.

Italian *fare casino*; here, the speaker creates (or more probably reuses) a construction in Tyrolean in which the Italian *fare* or Ladin *fé* are substituted by the (dialect) German *mochn* 'make'.

(20) kommt di *lava* bold?
'does the *grandmother* come?'

(21) i find=s folle lustig *cajin* zu mochn
'I find it very funny to make a *mess*'

5. Concluding remarks

Trying to summarize these various observations deriving from a range of contact situations that are located across the Romance-Germanic language border in northeastern Italy, a few constants can be highlighted.

First, in all observed contexts, the contact situation is asymmetrical, which is probably a sociolinguistic truism (cf. Matras 2020: 47); when more than two languages (or dialects) are involved, languages are ordered along an implicational chain, as was observed in particular in the case of Ladin. As a first consequence, this means that living in an area where more than one language is spoken (though all languages are local and officially recognized) does not result in a community of balanced bi- or multilingual speakers. Second, this areal bi- or multilingualism does not imply that interferences and other contact phenomena are multidirectional and that all languages have the same chances to be the source and the target of borrowings and insertional code-mixing (to recall the two phenomena that were mostly considered in this contribution); quite on the contrary, mostly unidirectional and predictable paths of language contact were detected. Taking into account conversational data, one finds extremely few German insertions in a corpus of Italian speakers from Bolzano speaking in their first language (Italian), whereas in the reverse situation (German dominant speakers speaking Tyrolean German), Italian insertions in speech are more frequent and different in kind (both lexical and functional); moreover, the incidence of these phenomena increases considerably for those German speakers living near the language border.

Second, if we take it for granted that the frequency of contact phenomena occurring in speech strongly depends on the degree of bilingualism of a speech community, the variety of phenomena that can be found relates much more to specific features characterizing the structure of linguistic repertoires. In particular, for functional insertions to occur in speech, languages need to be in contact in the low, oral domains of the communicative space. The more asymmetrical the relation between the languages that are in contact, the more functional insertions filter into sentence grammar; otherwise, they dominate in the so-called thetical grammar, that is, in the domain of discourse markers, especially as regards interactional functions. For lexical insertions, their presence is more dependent on contextual factors that relate to the speech situation, both as regards register variation (formal registers being less sensitive to contact than informal ones) and the degree of referentiality in speech; specialized topics (school matters, local institutions, food) require a specialized lexicon that is often dependent on contact languages, whereas small talk tends to be more immune from lexical insertions (but not so from functional ones).

Finally, standard languages create a stronger barrier to contact at the level of discourse than nonstandard (such as Tyrolean German) or "less" standard (such as Ladin) languages. That of standardization is actually part of the larger issue of sociolinguistic asymmetries within bi- or multilingual speech communities, but it contributes to shedding light on it and explaining some anomalies, such as the fact that the Italian language is (almost) always the source and (almost) never the target of insertions and borrowings in all language contact combinations in South Tyrol, despite the fact that the Italian-speaking community is numerically much smaller than the German-speaking community. The fact that the languages that are actually in contact are Italian (a standard language)

and Tyrolean (a nonstandard group of dialects) is part of the explanation, as is the fact that Standard German is almost immune to superficial contact phenomena (at least to those coming from Italian).

In sum, this bordering area, *de facto* a frontier in anthropological terms, is crossed by different linguistic and sociolinguistic boundaries in the sense that the various speech communities that inhabit it have different access to and make different use of coexisting languages.

References

Alfonzetti, Giovanna (1998). 'The conversational dimension in code-switching between Italian and dialect in Sicily'. In Auer, Peter (ed.), *Code-Switching in Conversation*. London: Routledge. 180-211.

Auer, Peter (1999). 'From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech'. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 3(4): 309-332. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/13670069990030040101

ASTAT (2012). *Volkszählung 2011 Berechnung des Bestandes der drei Sprachgruppen in der Autonomen Provinz BozenSüdtirol. Censimento della popolazione 2011 Determinazione della consistenza dei tre gruppi linguistici della Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano-Alto Adige*. Autonome Provinz Bozen-Südtirol / Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano-Alto Adige.

Belardi, Walter (1991). *Storia sociolinguistica della lingua ladina*. Roma: Dipartimento di studi glottoantropologici, Università "La Sapienza".

Berruto, Gaetano (1989). 'Main topics and findings in Italian sociolinguistics'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 76. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1989.76.7.

Berruto, Gaetano (2006). 'Quale dialetto per l'Italia del Duemila? Aspetti dell'italianizzazione e risorgenze dialettali in Piemonte (e altrove)'. In Sobrero, Alberto A. & Annarita Miglietta (eds.), *Lingua e dialetto nell'Italia del Duemila.* Galatina: Congedo 101-127.

Berruto, Gaetano (2009). 'Confini tra sistemi, fenomenologia del contatto linguistico e modelli del code switching'. In Iannàccaro, Gabriele & Vincenzo Matera (eds.), *La lingua come cultura*. Torino & Novara: UTET. 3-34, 212-216.

Ciccolone, Simone & Silvia Dal Negro (2021). *Comunità bilingui e lingue in contatto*. Cesena: Caissa.

Cole, John W. & Eric R. Wolf (1974). *The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley*. New York, London: Academic Press.

Dal Negro, Silvia (2009). 'Local policy modeling the linguistic landscape'. In Shohamy, Elana & Durk Gorter (eds.), *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. 206-218.

Dal Negro, Silvia (2017). 'Bilinguismo asimmetrico in Alto Adige: lo spazio sociolinguistico dell'italiano'. In Bombi, Raffaella (ed.), *Nuovi spazi comunicativi per l'italiano nel mondo*, Udine: Forum. 59-67.

Dal Negro, Silvia & Karin Tartarotti (2019). '<Muttårschpråche daitsch, però ho sempre parlato italiano>. Comunità linguistiche di confine nella Bassa Atesina'. In Bidese, Ermenegildo, Jan Casalicchio & Manuela Caterina Moroni (eds.), *La linguistica vista dalle Alpi. Linguistic Views from the Alps.* (Studia Romanica et Linguistica 57). Berlin: Peter Lang. 317-338.

Dal Negro, Silvia & Simone Ciccolone (2020). 'KONTATTO: A laboratory for the study of language contact in South Tyrol'. *Sociolinguistica*, 34(1): 241-247. DOI:10.1515/soci-2020-0014.

Dell'Aquila, Vittorio & Gabriele Iannàccaro (2006). *Survey Ladins: usi linguistici nelle Valli Ladine*. Trento: Ist. cultural ladin "Majon di Fascegni".

Fabietti, Ugo (1998). *L'identità etnica: storia e critica di un concetto equivoco*. Roma: Carocci.

Fiorentini, Ilaria (2020). 'Il plurilinguismo dei ladini e le languages in contact nell'area ladina". In Videsott, Paul, Ruth Videsott & Jan Casalicchio (eds.), *Manuale di linguistica ladina*. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter. 452-469. DOI: 10.1515/9783110522150-015

Heath, J. G. (1984). 'Language Contact and Language Change'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 13: 367-384. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.13.100184.002055

Iannàccaro, Gabriele, Vittorio Dell'Aquila & Nadia Chiocchetti (2020). 'La tutela istituzionale del ladino'. In Videsott, Paul, Ruth Videsott & Jan Casalicchio (eds.), *Manuale di linguistica ladina*. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter. 378-393. DOI:10.1515/9783110522150-012.

Kaltenböck, Gunther, Bernd Heine & Tania Kuteva (2011). 'On thetical grammar'. *Studies in Language*, 35: 852-897. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.35.4.03kal

Mahlknecht, Sabine (2009). *Die Sprache Bei Tisch in Gröden*. Unpublished BA Thesis. Free University of Bozen/Bolzano.

Matras, Yaron (2020). *Language Contact.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mereu, Daniela & Alessandro Vietti (2021). 'Dialogic ItAlian: the creation of a corpus of Italian spontaneous speech'. *Speech Communication*, 130: 1-14. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.specom.2021.03.002.

Poplack, Shana (2018). *Borrowing: Loanwords in the Speech Community and in the Grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190256388.003.0004

Thomason, Sarah Grey & Terrence Kaufman (1988). *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520912793

Verra, Roland (2007). 'Sprachwechsel in Gröden'. *Ladinia*, XXXI: 274-286. DOI: https://doi.org/10.54218/ladinia.31.274-286

Viazzo, Pier Paolo & Giulia Fassio (2012). 'Borders et frontières: définitions théoriques et expérience subjective d'un concept à géométrie variable. La perception de la frontière franco-italienne chez les Italiens de Grenoble'. *Migrations Société*, 140(2): 255-264. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3917/migra.140.0255.

Vietti, Alessandro (2008). 'Scelta di codice in contesti comunicativi incerti. Il caso delle richieste di indicazioni stradali in Alto Adige/Südtirol'. *Vox Romanica*, 67(1): 34-56.

Vietti, Alessandro (2017). 'Italian in Bozen/Bolzano: the formation of a <new dialect>'. In Cerruti, Massimo, Claudia Crocco, & Stefania Marzo (eds.), *Towards a New Standard: Theoretical and Empirical Studies on the Restandardization of Italian*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 176-212. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614518839-007.

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 93-116 (2023)

Palatalized/affricated plosives in Paris French. A sociophonetic production-perception study of a dynamic working-class and/or language contact phenomenon among middle-class speakers

Anita Berit Hansen, University of Copenhagen

Abstract: A long tradition of attracting work forces to Paris from outside countries has produced a high proportion of inhabitants using other languages than French (Gadet 2008). Geographically, most of the immigrants and their descendants are housed in cheap residential areas in the northern and eastern parts of the capital and its surrounding suburbs – zones that were historically the home of working-class Parisians. Recently, sociolinguists have observed that a specific way of speaking French in these areas has emerged (Fagyal 2010; Gadet 2017), and might be spreading. There is agreement that part of the lexical phenomena in this "multiethnolectal French" is due to language contact between French and the immigrant languages, but as for phonetic features, diverging claims exist. Are the palatalized and affricated plosives (*qui* [kji]), *voiture* [vwatʃyr]), the strongly articulated /r/'s, and the frequent drops of phonetic material an effect of contact with Arabic or are they features of working-class Parisian French that have been boosted through an identity-based process of reallocation? Regardless of the answer to this complex question, we seek here to grasp the potential of the palatalized/affricated plosives to spread socially upwards to non-multicultural, middle-class speakers outside the area in question. On the basis of our recordings with upper- and lower-middle-class Parisians (Hansen ms.) and of the attitudinal data we have gathered from a listening experiment among 235 predominantly middle-class French speakers (Hansen 2015, Hansen ms.), we conclude that the phenomenon in question does show signs of active adoption and social spread upwards, while being intriguingly little salient for our participants according to the perception results, as compared to other phonetic phenomena. Only when occurring with other features (*in casu* strongly articulated /r/'s, with which it shares the ambiguity of being both a popular French and a possible French-Arabic language contact feature), a few listeners comment overtly on its presence and associate its users to Maghreb and/or poor suburban descent.

1. Introduction

In recent decades, the linguistic dynamics of combined working-class and multilingual urban milieus have been pointed to for several European capitals, like for instance Berlin (Jannedy & Weirich 2014) and Copenhagen (Quist 2008).[1] Paris, the capital of France, is no exception, with its large belt of poor housing and high proportion of immigrant descendants in the north-eastern suburbs, but empirical sociolinguistic explorations are still, to a large extent, restricted to these milieus themselves and have only very recently begun to include possible effects on speakers from non-multicultural, middle-class layers outside these areas. We intend here to contribute to the study of dynamic pronunciation tendencies with roots in popular and/or multilingual environments in Paris, by focusing on a characteristic phonetic feature termed "palatalization/affrication" of plosives [henceforth pal/aff], cf. *qui* [kji], *voiture* [vwatʃyr]. Our specific interest is in middle-class speakers' production and perception of this phenomenon, since little is known about its possible spread upwards and its salience or connotations among this social segment. Do we have evidence in production of "change from below"? Are participants aware of the feature, and if so, do they seem to link it to low social background or to persons from language mixed areas? Perceptual studies of French in France are relatively rare to date, and in adopting a double production-perception approach we wish, at the same time, to reinforce language change studies of European French along the lines originally proposed by Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968).

In the following sections, we shall first – via a brief view on immigration history – present the multilingual suburbs of Paris and their social characteristics (section 2), and then give a broad portrait

[1] For more examples, also outside Europe, see Nortier & Svendsen (2015) (éds). *Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century. Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

of the linguistic features (lexical, syntactic and phonetic) often said to be typical of the zones in question (section 3). Section 4 narrows in on the pronunciation features, the claims about their origin as being either clearly contact-induced, clearly *français populaire* or ambiguous in this respect, as well as on their alleged sociolinguistic dynamics. Our empirical approach then follows two axes of investigation: In section 5, we will explore longitudinal production data from upper- and lower-middle-class Parisians *not* based in the disfavored multilingual area, in order to find out to what extent the feature we have singled out for study displays a distributional pattern that confirms an origin in lower-class French pronunciation and a tendency of spreading upwards. In section 6, we will explore attitudinal (by some researchers called perceptual) data showing reactions to French from Paris among 235 French speakers, in order to find out to what extent the listeners seem aware of the feature in question and, if they do, what the feature connotes spontaneously to them (does it make them think of lower-class persons? Of immigrants?). The last section sums up the results and our interpretation of them, while acknowledging the methodological limits of our study and the need for continued exploration of the explanatory factors in adoption of features from "below".

2. Parisian suburbs and multilingualism

Lodge (2004: 195-197) makes an historical account of successive waves of migrants to the area of the French capital up to World War II that detects three main periods of arrival in post-revolutionary times: One first wave, from 1800 to 1850, which brought a massive influx from the nearby provinces; a second wave, from 1850 to 1900, which saw migrants arrive from provinces further away; and a third wave, from 1900 to 1950, which brought newcomers from other European countries (especially Poland and Italy). Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot (2008) confirm these phases of immigration, but point to the fact, as do Gadet (2008) and Calvet (1993), that after 1950, the origins of immigrants to Paris (and to France in general) have been increasingly diverse. While decolonization of Maghreb countries Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria caused an extensive Arabic and Berber speaking immigration, that of sub-Saharan west- and central Africa added speakers of several African languages. Moreover, war, famine and political persecution in other parts of the world have further added to the influx including Asian, Afghan, Turkish, Yugoslav and other populations with their respective linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As for the scope of this whole immigration phenomenon, Gadet (2008: 459) estimates that "between a quarter and a third of the 60 million French living in France have at least one immigrant ancestor within three generations". The Paris region is above average in this respect compared to other urban conglomerations in France. Not only does it show higher percentages of residents of immigrant descent than does the rest of the country (around 18.5% vs. 9%),[2] but it also features a large number of speakers with a bilingual daily life. According to Gadet (2007: 128), one out of four children in Ile-de-France encounter a language other than French at home.

Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot (2008) state that the residential areas of Ile-de-France mostly touched by these newly arrived populations (the northern, north-eastern, and eastern parts) correspond to the parts that historically contained the poorest segments of the inhabitants in the region (with cheap housing, low wages, and high unemployment). The geographical overlap between the main settlement of immigrants and their descendants, on the one hand, with the traditional residential zones of lower-class Parisian population to whom linguists have attributed the variety called *français populaire*, on the other (Guiraud 1978; Gadet 1992; Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot 2008) is thus tangible. The geographic zone in question is known for relative poverty and social problems to the extent that it has been called the "poor croissant" with a metaphor alluding to its curvilinear form (Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot 2008: 18). The map of the Paris region in Figure 1 illustrating the average annual income in

[2] Source (comparison from 2013) https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3136640 (Retrieved on August 16, 2023). In 2022, the percentage of immigrants in France was 10.3% (https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2381757) (Retrieved on August 16, 2023).

euros in different administrative entities (*arrondissements* and *communes*) gives visual credit to this designation.

Fig. 1: Map of the Paris region. Average annual income in euros. (https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banlieue - retrieved on August 16, 2023).

Language contact between French and – especially – Arabic is particularly frequent in these geographical sections, and sociolinguistic research has uncovered many special features in the French spoken in the area in question. While some call it "multicultural French" (Gadet 2017), others prefer to characterize it in more linguistic terms; for instance, as an "interethnic" form of speech (*parler véhiculaire interethnique*, cf. Billiez 1993). The role of language contact in the formation of its specific elements has been analysed in several studies, and this factor seems a reasonable explanation of the occurrence of certain lexical items and expressions. As regards pronunciation, however, the situation seems less clear-cut. Since the immigrant presence overlaps with zones that were historically the home of ethnically French working-class Parisians, and since parts of the French sound profile in the area recalls elements of *français populaire,* a certain question recurs in the debates: Are the characteristic phonetic features observed the effects of language contact or are they working-class variants that have been boosted through an identity-based process of reallocation? (Fagyal 2010; Gadet 2016; Jamin et al. 2006). Though our own approach does not address this question directly, it seems important to have in mind, since the social value of the linguistic forms from the area might affect their potential to tempt users from higher social layers.

3. Linguistic characteristics of multicultural suburban Parisian French

A long series of empirical studies have pointed to an emerging way of speaking French in the above-mentioned areas. We have already mentioned the term "interethnic" speech (Billiez 1993) as a way of designating this variety, but the terms are numerous, some stressing the social challenges of its speakers (*le langage des cités/des ghettos, le parler banlieue*), others the plurality of the linguistic elements that it contains (*multi-ethnolecte*) cf. the overview in Gadet (2017: 32). In order to signify its potential to spread to other speaker segments, via its large population basis and its exposure in media and music, some speak of it as a "contemporary urban vernacular" (*vernaculaire urbain contemporain*, Gadet 2017: 45-49), using a concept forged by Rampton (2015) for comparable multilingual areas in London.[3]

As for its lexical characteristics, the overall effect on French from contact with the immigrant languages is evident. Studies by Goudaillier (1997), Bertucci (2009), and Gadet (2007, 2017), for instance, show that foreign words integrated in French speech include instances of Arabic (*wesh* 'how are you'/'what's up'/'isn't it' (discourse marker)*, wallah* 'I swear to you'/'I swear to God'*, haram* 'sin'*, zaama* 'like' (discourse marker)*, ahchouma* 'shame'/'disgrace'), African languages (*go* 'girl'/'young woman'*, gorette* 'girl'/'woman'*, macoumé* 'homosexual')*,* and Gypsy (*bedo* 'joint'*, marave* 'beat'/'kill'*, bicrave* 'sell (illegally)'*, pourave* 'stink')[4] (but also English words inspired by American popular culture *(flow, clash, street, flipper*)*,* while speakers at the same time seem to be pulling on words and slang formation procedures known from popular French such as *daron/daronne* for 'father' and 'mother', backwards transformations like *téci* (for *cité* 'poor high-rise neighborhood'),[5] and reduplications (*leurleur* for *contrôleur* 'conductor').

The most striking syntactic features of this speech comprise verbs without conjugation (*passe-partout* forms), which are used as infinitives, past participles, present forms, etc. without changing their endings in the way standard French verbs would do. These can be either of foreign origin, like the Gypsy *marave* 'beat'/'kill' or the Arabic *zaaf* 'be mad (at somebody)' (*Voilà ils se font savater ils se font* marave; *j'attrape ta gueule et j'la* marave (Gadet 2017: 79, Goudaillier 1997: 125); *bien sûr je me* zaaf; *je me suis* zaaf *avec lui*, Gadet 2017: 80, 122), or based on backwards-formed words from French (*choper* 'steal'/'grab' → *pécho*: *tu sais quoi je l'ai* pécho*, mais vas-y va la* pécho, Gadet 2017: 79).[6] Verbs used without their standard complementary objects have also been commented on (*il assure* 'he ensures' (he is competent)*, ça craint* 'it fears' (it is bad/dangerous), Gadet 2007: 122), as well as the highly frequent punctuations of sentence structure by discourse markers, be they Arabic (*wesh* 'isn't it'/'you know'*, zaama* 'like') or French (*tu vois* 'you know'*, genre* 'like') (Gadet 2017: 35-36, 93-94, 120).[7]

The foreign language influence on French seems clear in the above-mentioned linguistic domains, but when it comes to pronunciation, a more complex picture arises. Studies by Paternostro (2012, 2017), Jamin et al. (2006), and Fagyal (2010) have resulted in a long list of characteristic phonetic realizations among young people in the poor suburban zones. These count segmental

[3] We recall here that several other large European cities have comparable multiethnolects, some with a specific designation (*Kiezdeutsch, perkerdansk, Rinkebysvensk*, cf. the Introduction).

[4] Ways of spelling some of these foreign elements as well as ways of translating them may vary from source to source and some sociolinguists advise against trying to assign a unique meaning to them (see for instance Gadet 2017: 121).

[5] This is a slang formation procedure known as *verlan* – a name alluding to the backwards principle, since in itself it stems from the word *l'envers*, meaning "backwards" (Calvet 1994). Also foreign words can undergo this procedure, cf. *keubla* (for *Black*).

[6] My translation of the *passe-partout* examples in order of occurence: 'So, they get beaten up, they get beat up'; 'I catch your face and I beat it up'; 'Of course I'm angry', 'I have had a (verbal) fight with him'; 'You know what, I took it, come on, go take it'.

[7] The corpus "Multicultural Paris French" (MPF), accessible at https://www.ortolang.fr/market/corpora/mpf (Retrieved on August 16, 2023), consists of recordings and transcriptions with more than a hundred young people from Ile-de-France of mainly Maghreb descent, cf. Gadet (2017: 18). The empirical basis of these phenomena is thus very solid.

phenomena, both consonantal and vocalic (plosives /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ with a palatal or fricative release; strongly articulated /r/'s; back /A/'s, yielding [ɑ] rather than [a] in a word like *pas* (negative particle) for instance; suppression of vowels as in *partir* 'leave' realized [p't'r]), but also the frequent drop of phonetic material in general such as schwas in *petit* [pti], post-obstruent liquids (like in *aut(re)* 'other'), or /l/ in pronouns (*i(l)* 'he', *e(lle)* 'she'), and prosodic features like glottal stops and a chopped or staccato rhythm.

The authors mentioned above all discuss the extent to which these phonetic features can be seen as contact features, given the frequent bi- or multilingualism among the speakers of the variety in question. We will now turn to the delicate and more detailed discussion that has taken place among sociolinguists wanting to disentangle those that can properly be seen as results of such a contact (to mainly Arabic language), and those that are less easily categorized, calling for other explanations – mainly the idea that they originate in popular French.

4. Contradicting claims about the origins and dynamics of phonetic variants in multicultural suburban Parisian French

The following draws upon the analysis we have made in Hansen (ms.: chap. 3.3.1-3.3.3). According to Fagyal (2010), who has studied free speech from boys with ethnically European backgrounds and boys with Maghreb backgrounds, all living in a north-eastern Parisian suburb, at least two of the often-heard phonetic features must stem from language contact with Arabic. On the one hand, it is the case of the suppression of vowels, as in [p't'r] for *partir*, noted earlier, or [psn] for *piscine*, cf. also the notation *f't des mères* for *fêtes des mères* in Fagyal (2007: 130-131). While popular French does feature suppression of vowels, this phenomenon would only affect unstressed syllables (like in *c'est-à-dire* pronounced [stadir], cf. Gadet (1992: 45), or *tu sais* realized as *t'sais*, cf. Paternostro (2012: 38)), and never syllables susceptible of carrying stress, as in *partir, piscine or fêtes*. Maghreb dialects of Arabic, on the contrary, display consonantal skeletons of this type. On the other hand, it is the case of glottal stops, which can be described as a consonantal restriction in the larynx. Fagyal (2010: 136) gives examples like *il n'est jamais ʔarrivé ʔà l'école*. Whereas French as a native language might contain such stops, they would appear only for strongly emphatic purposes, often combined with an intonational underlining of the first syllable in a polysyllabic word (*C'est ʔadmirable*, cf. Malécot 1977: 27). Fagyal therefore sees examples like the above as influence from the phonological constraint of an obligatory consonantal attack in Arabic (2010: 141-142).

By contrast, the posteriority of the /A/-quality among this type of speakers in Parisian suburbs (Jamin 2007) is not readily linked to Arabic features at all, and seems explainable only by a copy process of lower-class French, since [ɑ] has been known to persist at the bottom (and at the very top) of Parisian French society in the late stages of the merger of /a/ and /ɑ/ in standard French (Lyche & Østby 2009; Hansen 2014; Hansen & Østby 2016; Hansen ms.: chap. 7).

As for the "noisy plosives" yielding, for instance, a palatalized or affricated /t/ in *voiture* ([vwatjyr]/[vwatʃyr]), the very audible /r/'s that stand out from the standard French non-vibrant uvular sound, and the frequent drop of phonetic material, there seem to be contradicting claims regarding their origin. It has been proved that they occur more often in the speech of people with North African immigrant descent than in speakers without (Jamin et al. 2006), and that they are associated with immigrants in perception studies (Candea 2014), but does this guarantee that they are caused by contact with Arabic?

Some argue that this must be the case, because the phenomena seem inspired by Arabic consonant sounds and phonological structure, and because their hyperfrequency also concerns other suburban areas in France and francophone Europe where immigrants of Arabic-speaking descent use French. These places include Grenoble (Trimaille 2003), Marseille (Gasquet-Cyrus 2004; Spini &

Trimaille 2017), and Brussels (Audrit 2009).[8] Others insist on the fact that they are old features of *français populaire*, i.e., that they have been present in working-class Parisian French for a long time (Lennig 1978; Carton et al. 1983; Gadet 1992), and that their presence within these populations might be a sign that they have been adopted as identity markers to signal a counter-culture to mainstream society. A similar discussion has taken place for second generation immigrants in Berlin (Jannedy & Weirich 2014) and in London (Rampton 2015). The term "reallocation" has been proposed to coin such a process (Trudgill 1986: 126; Britain & Trudgill 1999).

The complexity of the question of the possible influence of other languages on the specific phonetic profile of the French frequently encountered in the Parisian multicultural suburbs thus remains, and deserves further investigation by contact linguists, in line with the study of Fagyal (2010). From a sociophonetic perspective, however, it seems relevant to study the potential of the above-mentioned features to spread to middle-class layers in the Paris region, and thus to affect more standard French in the long term. Trimaille (2010) and Gadet (2017), among others, articulate the idea that some features of suburban speech might actually exert an attraction on young people in general and thus represent a dynamic linguistic force. Such a scenario would represent a linguistic "change from below" (Labov 1972), and would fit in with observable scenarios of ongoing linguistic change elsewhere in Europe,[9] particularly since May 1968 (see Armstrong & Pooley 2010 for a synthesis of this trend that also touches address forms, respect for authorities – including parental, clothing, etc., – and which they term a *zeitgeist*, consisting of a movement of "informalization").

In order to contribute to our knowledge of the broader social value of the multicultural suburban phonetic features of Parisian French, we have deliberately picked out one for study here for which contradicting claims of linguistic origin exist, i.e. the "noisy" plosives. This feature is judged too stigmatized to spread socially upwards by some researchers (Boughton 2007; Hornsby & Jones 2013), but has nevertheless shown several signs of acceptance recently. Carton (2000) includes it in a model for Reference French, Trimaille et al. (2012) observe in an experimental test that it does not prevent French listeners from judging a person apt for news reading, and Candea et al. (2013) see a – small but significant – rise in palatalized/affricated /t/'s within actual news reading on the French national radio from 1999 to 2009. These signs, though modest, would suggest that pal/aff variants either have very little salience in themselves, or might even be connoted positively for overt prestige.[10]

As for the spontaneous production among different layers of middle-class speakers from the Paris region, we have very little knowledge available about the use and dynamics of this feature over time, and as for the perceptual connotations of it amongst the middle-class segment of Hexagonal France, we also lack larger investigations. In the methodological design that we present below, we shall thus try to gain insight into its social embedding in Parisian production *outside* the "poor croissant" (section 5), as well as into the degree of salience and the specific connotations it might reveal more generally among French middle-class persons in different attitudinal test designs (section 6).

5. Analysis of longitudinal production within upper- and lower-middle-class Parisians

5.1. Methodological characteristics of the production study

Adhering to a fundamentally Labovian approach to the analysis of linguistic variation and change (Labov 1972, 1994), we have designed a longitudinal study in the Paris region that allows for

[8] Palaltalized /t/ has also, by the way, been observed in Danish speakers in areas of multicultural populations in the capital of Copenhagen (Quist 2008).

[9] For the effect of a low variety of Copenhagen speech on the pronunciation of Danish among speakers in the rest of Denmark, see for instance Kristiansen (2009).

[10] We are aware – from the literature on indexical values of phonetic variants (eg. Eckert 2008) – that the impression produced by a variant on a listener of course depends on its clustering with other variants and on the prosodic matrix in which it occurs (cf. for instance Pharao et al. 2014; Levon 2014).

opposing comparable social segments of the population over time (see Hansen (ms.: chap. 6) for a fuller account of the entire dataset that comprises several generations of speakers). We shall draw here on a sub-corpus that allows for opposing young adult middle-class speakers at two points in time, in recordings of interview data collected by us in 1989-1993 (Hansen 1994, 1998) and in 2011-2015 (Hansen ms.), respectively.[11] The deliberate choice of dividing these speakers in an upper vs. a lower layer of the middle-class in our analysis, taps into our search for signs of adoption of a feature "from below": If pal/aff variants are more frequent in the lowest of the two middle-class layers, it will confirm the roots of this pronunciation in *français populaire*, and if they gain hold of the upper layer over time, it will confirm a movement progressing "from below".

All 23 speakers in this material were between 16 and 25 years old at the time of the recordings (they are born around 1970 in the first dataset and around 1990 in the second), and were either pupils in secondary education, university students, or had obtained the *lycée*-diploma (*baccalauréat*) at age 17/18 and were employed. None of them could be considered "drop-outs" or persons integrated in a suburban street culture. They were all born in France, have French as their first language, and have grown up in the Paris region outside the poorest northern/north-eastern and eastern parts. As Figure 2 shows, they can be seen, at each of the two points in time, as representing either an upper-middle-class layer (UMC), in that both of their parents have accomplished long formal education (the minimum being the *baccalauréat* plus three years), or a lower-middle-class layer (LMC), in that neither of the parents had obtained the *baccalauréat*, or if they had, had not engaged in education afterwards that required this diploma.

Parisian corpus 1989-1993 (Hansen 1990, 1994)				**Parisian corpus 2011-2015 (Hansen ms.)**			
	Crypted initials	Age	Year of birth		Crypted initials	Age	Year of birth
UMC: Young (born between 1972 and 1974) 15 to 17 years old during the recordings				**UMC: Young (born between 1989 and 1996) 16 to 23 years old during the recordings**			
Average year of birth: 1973	HU-f	17/- y	1972	Average year of birth: 1992	LK-f	21/- y	1991
	QX-f	16/- y	1973		OM-f	23/- y	1989
	UG-f	16/- y	1973		QS1-f	16/- y	1996
	XJ-f	16/-y	1973		FS-h	19/- y	1993
	HA-h	17/- y	1972		OW-h	23/- y	1989
	OJ-h	15/- y	1974		TG-h	-/20 y	1995

[11] This type of approach is called a "real-time" study, of the sub-type "a trend study". A "panel study" would be one that tried to recontact the same speakers after a certain time-lapse. The trend studies are those that inform us most convincingly of actual changes in language (Labov 1972: chap. 7, 1994: 84-85), cf. Hansen (ms.: chap. 1.2.1-1.2.2).

LMC: Young (born between 1970 and 1977) 16 to 23 years old during the recordings				**LMC: Young (born between 1987 and 1992) 20 to 25 years old during the recordings**			
Average year of birth: 1974	FR-f	-/23 y	1970	Average year of birth: 1989	FP-f	25/- y	1987
	JW-f	-/16 y	1977		IX-f	24/- y	1988
	QG-f	-/21 y	1972		OL-f	23/- y	1989
	OG-h	-/18 y	1975		RT-f	20/- y	1992
	QR-h	-/18 y	1975		GR-h	24/- y	1988
					YO-h	22/- y	1990

Fig. 2: Speakers analyzed in the production part of the study (age at time of recording, indicated to the left of slash if early in the field work periode, to the right of slash if late).

Our definition of middle-class and our distinction of "UMC" and "LMC" is based mainly on educational criteria, which – in French sociolinguistic studies – has proved to be a strong predictor for linguistic behavior and thus has often been preferred to that of occupation (*catégories socio-professionelles*) (cf. Hornsby & Pooley 2001; Lambert 2013).[12]

Speakers were interviewed according to a classic frame in sociolinguistics (Labov 1972, 1984), with a relatively loose structure, but containing roughly the same elements from speaker to speaker (biographical information about the link to the Paris region for the speaker and his or her parents, the level and nature of education and occupation of the speaker and his or her parents, the languages mastered by the person and spoken at home, leisure time activities, and a metalinguistic discussion). Around 10 to 12 minutes were transcribed, always excluding the first five minutes and the metalinguistic part, in order to avoid effects from nervousness or enhanced attention to linguistic matters, respectively (cf. Hansen ms.: chap. 6.2.3). Since none of the participants' answers were prepared in advance, we describe these data as spontaneous but still relatively guarded speech because the subjects were alone in front of an unknown university researcher. We conducted all of the conversations ourselves, which guarantees a "same" effect of interviewer personality on the speakers around 1990 and around 2015, but not a "same" effect of interviewer's age, of course. Other sociolinguists doing real-time studies of the trend type have discussed this methodological challenge (see, for instance, Trudgill 1988 and Ashby 2001). The psychological factor might, however, be more important than age, as shown by Sørensen (2014).

French has six plosives, three unvoiced /p, t, k/ and three voiced /b, d, g/. It is the dental and the palatal ones (/t/, /d/ and /k/, /g/) that have been shown to palatalize or affricate in the Paris region. Some studies emphasize that the dentals are heard in "noisy" versions more often than the palatals (Paternostro 2017: 60), or that these two kinds of plosives should be treated separately for other reasons (different contextual constraints on the phenomenon of pal/aff, according to Armstrong & Jamin 2002: 133). But apart from the general observation that pal/aff mainly happens when these consonants are in pre-vocalic position, we still need more fine-grained knowledge of the effects of linguistic factors (cf. Hansen ms.: chap. 9.4.1). We decided to delimit the variable under study to

[12] Sociological studies have shown that in France exceptionally high importance is attached to education and that this factor plays an important role for linguistic variation (Forsé & Lemel 2002, cited by Lambert 2013: 27).

contain all instances of /t/ and /k/ – i.e. one dental and one palatal plosive – occurring in the transcribed speech passages, no matter what the following phonological context was (vowel, consonant, or pause). This decision made us include, for /t/, words like *trois, toujours, continue, sept*; for /k/, words like *crois, qui, cinquante, avec*.

For each occurrence of the variable, we noted the phonetic realization, distinguishing the following variants:

- 0 No pal/aff (standard variants): /t/ = [t]
  /k/ = [k]
- 1 Pal/aff (non-standard variants): /t/ = [tj], [tʃ], [ts], [tç]/[ç], [th]
  /k/ = [kj], - , - , [kç], [kh]
- 2 Indeterminable realization

The data base that resulted from the impressionistic analysis of the material contains a total of 3,513 occurrences (1,655 from the first corpus and 1,858 from the second).[13] When the indeterminable cases were excluded, the final dataset comprised 3,500 occurrences of /t/ or /k/ all in all.

A few comments should be made on the different pal/aff variants identified above. Whereas both /t/ and /k/ have been heard in the data followed by an intrusive [j] (*tu* pronounced [tjy] and *qui* pronounced [kji], for instance), the different kinds of added unvoiced friction to the plosive seem to have slightly different profiles for /t/ and /k/. On /t/, the fricative can be either a palato-alveolar [ʃ], a dental [s], or a palatal [ç] (which sounds close to a German *ich*-laut and which by some speakers actually replaces the plosive entirely, as in *pratiquer* realized [praçike]). On /k/, this latter sound appears in the data as an accompanying sound only, [kç]. Both /t/ and /k/ appear aspirated in the dataset, cf. [th] and [kh].[14] The majority of these variants of palatalization/affrication of /t/ and /k/ have been described traditionally for *français populaire* (cf. the accounts in Léon 1992: 22, 1993: 204; Gadet 1992: 35), but note that the assibilated /t/ – [ts] – has appeared more recently in sociolinguistic descriptions of young Parisian speech (Fónagy 1989: 236; Paternostro 2017: 60), and that the (added) palatal fricative [ç] has not yet, to our knowledge, been described for other comparable data materials from the region.

5.2. Results of the production study

When the effect of the moment of recording (1989-1993 vs. 2011-2015) on the appearance of pal/aff variants is first investigated – for all speakers regardless of parents' educational level – and for all kinds of following phonological environments (vowel, consonant, pause) together (see left side of Figure 3), it does not seem that the phenomenon demonstrates any development over time. Pal/aff touches 7-8% of the occurrences in both corpora (1989-1993: 6.9%; 2011-2015: 7.7%).

When speakers are divided into upper-middle-class (UMC) and lower-middle-class (LMC), however (see middle and right side of Figure 3), it becomes clear that there is an important effect from social background. While the percentages of pal/aff are 3-4% for the UMC groups, they are 11-12% for the LMC groups (this difference is statistically significant). This social effect seems stable over time. It is thus the group with closest affiliation to working class (the lower-middle-class) that displays the most frequent palatalizations/affrications of /t/ and /k/, which gives credit to the idea that this phenomenon is firmly rooted in the *français populaire*. Moreover, the fact that it is present in a

[13] In a sample of about a tenth of these occurrences, a double listening by two researchers (ourselves and an assistant) resulted in an agreement of 95.1% as for judging whether the variant was standard (0) or palatalized/affricated (1).
[14] Aspiration on the plosives has been described by Léon (1992: 55) as a kind of friction.

middle-class population with French first language, from residential areas outside the "poor croissant", adds to the conclusion that its use is not conditioned by French-Arabic bilingualism.

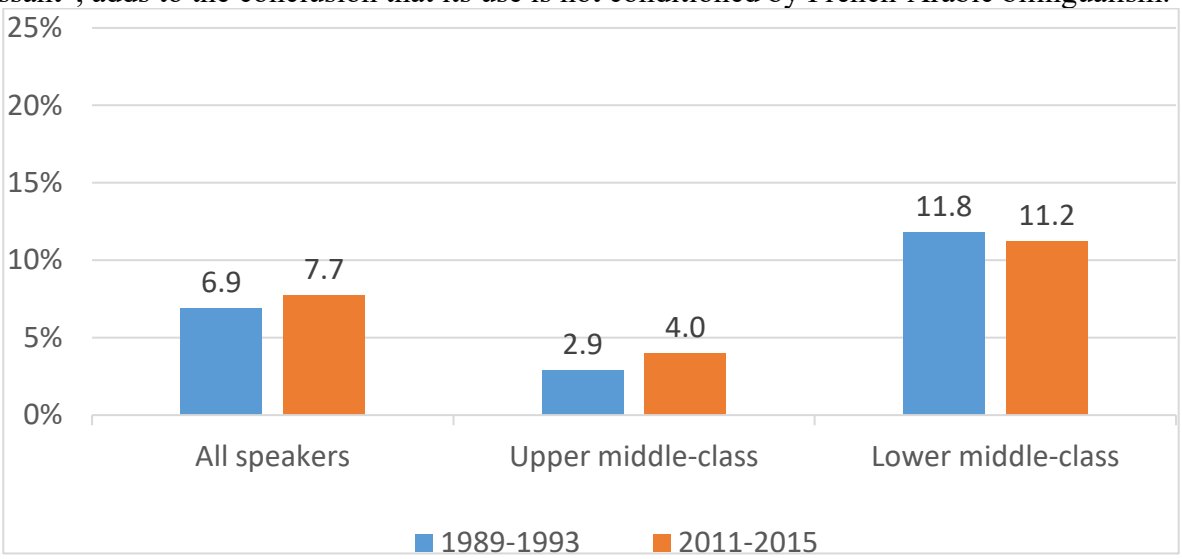

Fig. 3: Pal/aff variants of /t/ and /k/ – the factors of time and social background.

The apparent lack of dynamics shown by Figure 3 is, however, intriguing in the light of the hypothesis of a contagious trend, spreading socially upwards over time. In order to dig further into any signs of progress in the use of pal/aff among middle-class speakers, we therefore analyzed it at a closer linguistic level. We shall here zoom in on one part of this analysis (for a fuller picture, see Hansen ms.: chap. 9.4.2), i.e., the one that studies the exact phonetic realization of the pal/aff in prevocalic position.

Since some researchers talk of a scale or of degrees of pal/aff – going from added [j] to different kinds of added friction (more noisy than [j]) – we decided to follow any development in the actual realization of the phenomenon, in the two speaker groups, over time. Has it become "noisier" with time? Are the "noisiest" variants spreading from lower- to upper-middle-class? We know of only one real time study in France (Bajulaz (2007), cited by Devilla & Trimaille (2010: 103), who traced qualitative developments in the pal/aff variants in Grenoble's suburbs among immigrants of Algerian descent between 1988 and 2005) which has stated that the phenomenon has become more fricative (thus noisier) over time.

Going through the results for prevocalic /t/ first (see Figure 4), it appears that, around 1990, the LMC group disposed of three variants for its realization: [tj] (in blue), [ts] (in orange), and [tʃ] (in grey). At this moment, our UMC group mainly used [tj], but also sometimes [ts]. Some 20 years later, the most privileged group has started copying more extensively the variants used in the less privileged group (thus now including [tʃ]), while this latter group has added a new fricative variant to its repertoire ([tç], in yellow).

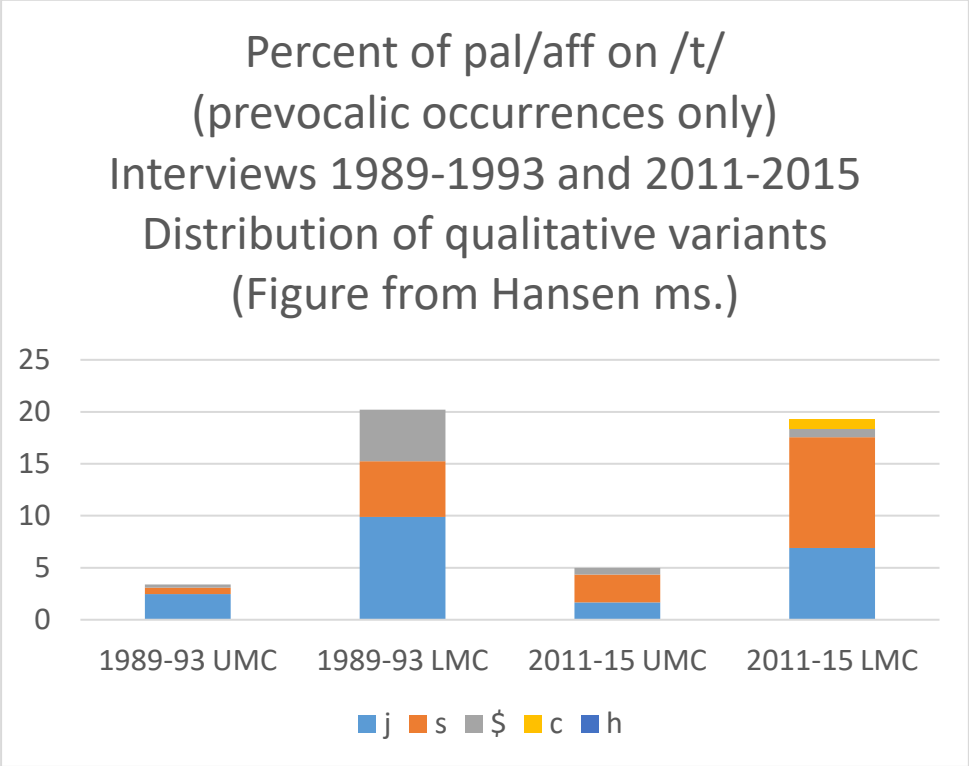

Fig. 4: Qualitative analysis of the realization of pal/aff on prevocalic /t/ across time and speaker groups.

For prevocalic /k/ (see Figure 5), a comparable phonetic enhancement and social imitation process seems to have taken place. In the old corpus, the LMC group used three variants: [kj] (in blue), [kç] (in yellow), and [kh] (in light blue), while the UMC speakers stuck exclusively to the least noisy variant [kj]. Around 2015, one fricative variant [kç] is present in the UMC group, and among our LMC speakers, the fricative variants [kç] and [kh] now constitute a greater proportion of the cases of pal/aff on prevocalic /k/ than in 1989-1993.

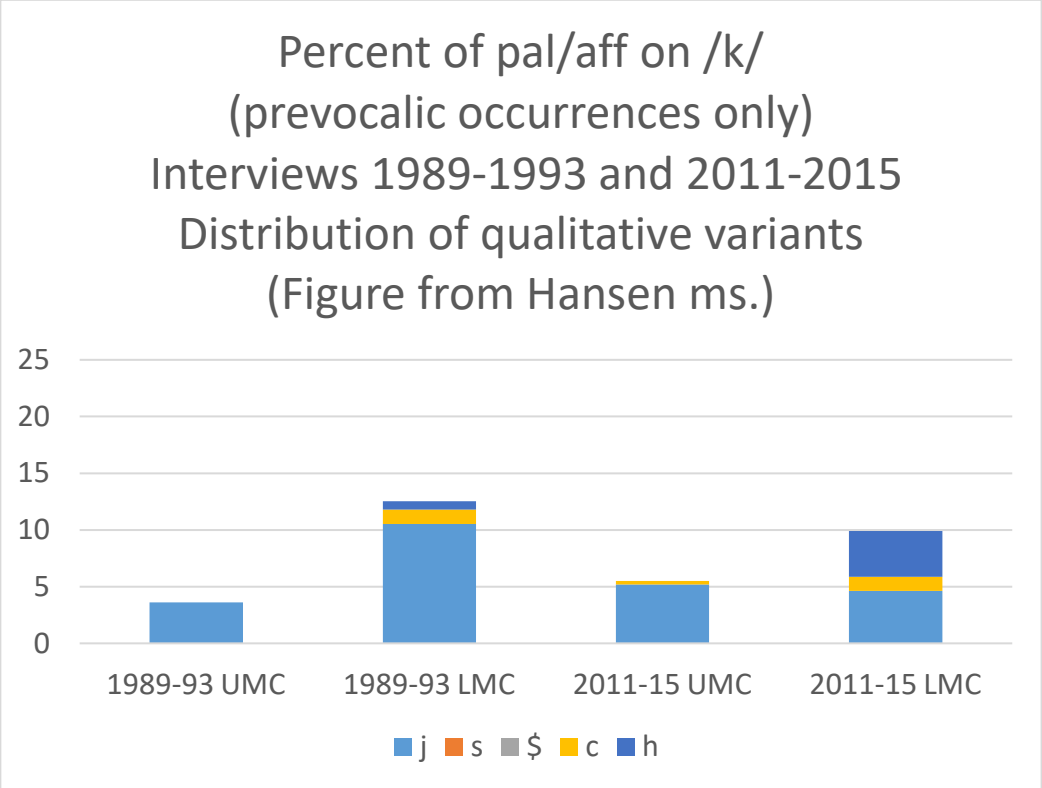

Fig. 5: Qualitative analysis of the realization of pal/aff on prevocalic /k/ across time and speaker groups.

These data point to a dynamic force within the phenomenon of pal/aff on the French plosives /t/ and /k/ which not only makes them noisier over time (more often added friction, less often added [j]) in the least privileged of the middle-class groups examined here (LMC), but also among the UMC speakers, who, albeit somewhat timidly, seem to follow a similar qualitative development in their use. Bajulaz' observation of a phonetic reinforcement of the phenomenon in the Grenoble suburbs for immigrants of Maghreb descent is thus also detectable in the Paris region among middle-class speakers, in roughly the same period of time, though the pal/aff does not seem to progress in *quantitative* terms for our Parisian speakers (cf. Figure 3). Of course, these findings cannot tell us if Franco-Arabic bilingual persons have an influence on the general development. The social patterning of pal/aff outside this milieu shows, however, that it is linked to (and phonetically most developed in) lower social layers in the Paris region, and this makes it likely that it has been boosted in the "croissant" through a reallocation process by segments of the population who share the economic conditions of the French working class.

6. Analysis of attitudinal (perceptual) reactions in France to speech from the Paris region

6.1. Methodological characteristics of the attitudinal (perception) study

In the Labovian recommendations for studies of phonetic change, it is crucial that these not only include the *transition* over time (which can be taken care of by a real-time design like the one we describe above), and the *embedding* in the social and linguistic matrix of use (which we have also exemplified above by studying different speaker groups and different linguistic contexts), but also the *evaluative dimension* (cf. Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968: 170-183; Labov 1972: chap. 7) – i.e. an attempt to grasp the level of awareness and the social connotations carried by the examined variants. This latter dimension of sociolinguistic investigations of sound change has, however, been less developed than the two first aspects (a lack also noted by Kristiansen et al. 2005: 32), and only

recently has there been a recovery to mend the situation. Not only has there been a refinement of classic methods in social psychology (such as the original matched guise test by Lambert et al. 1960), but the renaissance of *folk linguistics* (Niedzielski & Preston 2000) has also brought new methods into play (Hansen ms.: chap. 1.1.3, 1.5 analyzes this development). Sociolinguistic studies in France have joined these lines of investigation relatively late (see Falkert 2013 and Hansen ms.: chap. 4 for an overview). Thus, the use of listener reactions to speech samples were rare in that country (Léon & Léon 1980; Paltridge & Giles 1984) until after 2000 (Castellotti & Robillard 2001, 2003; Detey & Le Gac 2010; Hansen 2015; Boula de Mareüil et al. 2017), and it is also only after the millennium that folk linguistic-inspired methods (such as map tasks or reactions to spatial labels) have entered the scene for Hexagonal French (Kuiper 2005; Stewart 2012).

For the purpose of discovering subjective attitudes to palatalized / affricated plosives among middle-class speakers in France, we shall report here on an experiment we undertook in 2012-2013 (partial results in Hansen 2015, a full account in Hansen ms.: chap. 12). Is this segment of the population aware of the pal/aff feature at all? What does it seem to connote to them? Does the correlate of "immigration" or "immigrant descent" ever occur in relation to it?

A total of 235 persons, raised in France and declaring French as their first language,[15] took part in the study. To assure a rough social homogeneity, they were mainly contacted in university settings. Among the participants, 83% were between 17 and 25 years old (the average age being 24.4 years), and 96.6% were either engaged in BA or MA university studies or had already obtained such a diploma (cf. Hansen ms.: chap. 11.2.3). Through this solid link to higher education, we believe to have encompassed a population that could be characterized as "middle-class" (see also section 5), though we have not tried to obtain a strictly representative sample in sociological terms. They lived in different French cities at the moment of the experiment (Paris, Lille, Lyon, Nancy, Rennes, Toulouse, Tours, cf. Hansen ms.: chap. 10.4.3, 11.2.3).

Since linguistic attitudes are a complex phenomenon, in that they can be both implicit (offered subconsciously) and explicit (offered consciously),[16] our research design included both a listening test (to access implicit attitudes) and a metalinguistic question (testing explicit attitudes). See Figure 6. As for the listening part, our participants were confronted with speech sequences (read and spoken) taken from our entire set of middle-class recordings in the Paris region in 2011-2012, but with no mention of the social or geographic origin of the speech samples, other than the information that they came from French speakers. These sequences (two times 40 seconds stemming from each of eight different upper- or lower-middle-class speakers from different age groups, and displaying various levels of use of pal/aff variants on /t/ and /k/ – see Figure 6) had to be evaluated on Likert scales from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest) with regard to different parameters, such as level of education, social class, mastery of the official pronunciation norm, and aptitude for being newsreaders on national television or teachers of French in France. It was our aim, with this part, to answer the following question: What is the match between listeners' evaluation of the social success and overt linguistic norm compliance of the speaker, on the one hand, and the use of pal/aff variants by the speaker, on the other hand? Further down, we shall report mainly, but not exclusively, on the reactions to read-aloud speech, since the input data are best controlled here (syntax and lexicon being identical for all speakers).[17] The listeners were given the possibility of justifying their scores on the Likert scales by commenting on the features that made them answer the way they did. This option was added to obtain insight into the level of awareness or salience of different features, in a mode where participants were unaware of the origin of the samples.

[15] Foreign exchange students or others not raised in France were excluded from the initial number of 285 participants.
[16] Cf. Bassili & Brown (2005); Kristiansen (2009).
[17] Hansen (ms.: chap. 12) contains the full analysis and discusses this methodological issue.

As for the metalinguistic part, the question pertaining to the present research focus was formulated as follows: "On what linguistic features do you recognize a person from the Paris region?".[18] Just like the justification option in the listening test, this question pertained to the level of awareness of different phonetic features in speech, but this time in an explicit question that also presented a particular geographical frame to the participant, i.e. that of the Paris region. This was done to activate any possible officially known linguistic stereotypes about speakers from this region among the participants.

Participants in attitudinal experiment:	**N = 235**
Listening test	Read and spoken sequences from eight middle-class speakers (Sp.1-Sp.8) from the Paris region (recorded in 2011-2012) • Sp.3, 4, 6 *do not* use pal/aff variants (all UMC speakers) • Sp.1, 2, 5, 7, 8 *do* use pal/aff variants (Sp.1 is UMC, the others are LMC, Sp.5 and 8 combine pal/aff with a few norm breaches in reading) Evaluation on Likert scales (1-5) for different parameters
Metalinguistic question	"On what linguistic features do you recognize a person from the Paris region?"

Fig. 6: Methodological design of the attitudinal experiment (listening test and a metalinguistic question) among 235 French middle-class participants.

6.2. Results of the attitudinal (perception) study

When the Likert scale responses to the listening test were analyzed, it became clear that some of the speakers in the sample were evaluated as closer to the top of educational and social hierarchy and as more apt for prestigious linguistic performances than others (see Figure 7 in which scores from 1 to 5 have been transformed to percentages between 0 and 100%).

[18] Formulation in French: 'Sur quels traits linguistiques reconnaissez-vous une personne venant de la région parisienne?'.

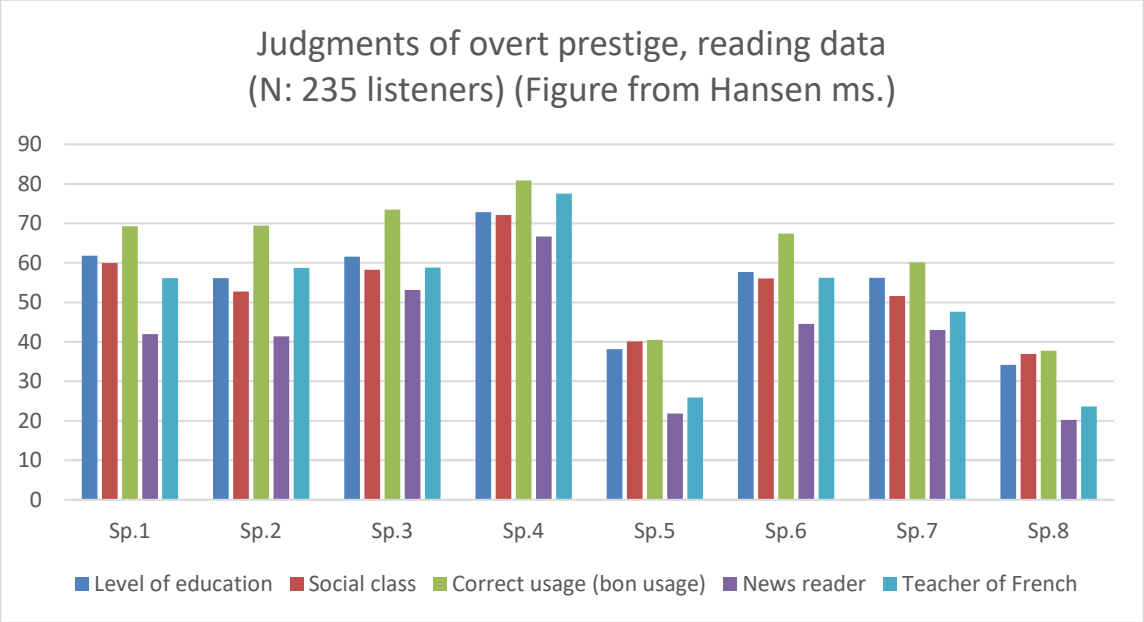

Fig. 7: Listeners' judgments of overt prestige parameters for the eight speakers (in reading).

The speakers scoring the best evaluations – Sp.1, 3, 4, and 6 – are all UMC speakers, and three of them do *not* use pal/aff variants in the reading passage presented to listeners (cf. Figure 6). Since Sp.1, however, does in fact use pal/aff, we interpret this as a certain amount of compatibility of this feature with perception of high status on overt prestige parameters. As for the bottom end of the evaluative scores, we find Sp. 2, 5, 7, and 8, who are all from the LMC layer, all using pal/aff variants while reading. While this could be a confirmation of a negative social prestige attached to the feature of pal/aff, we have to take into account that the four speakers in question are not judged in an equally severe fashion: It is clear from the graph (and also when the scores for the five tested parameters are combined into one average),[19] that only two of these speakers are singled out with very low scores, Sp.5 and Sp.8, and these are exactly the ones who commit a couple of norm breaches while reading (a few misread words, a non-conformity in one place to classical *liaison* rules, cf. Figure 6). The presence of pal/aff, within an otherwise acceptable reading, thus does not seem to affect listeners' reactions dramatically.

The methodological risk that the participants do not react to pal/aff at all but simply react to an overall impression of how the person masters reading aloud can of course not be ruled out on the basis of reading sequences alone.[20] In order to verify the listeners' awareness of elements in the sound input, we therefore now proceed onto the analysis of the linguistic features that were spontaneously mentioned by listeners during the test as justifications for their evaluation scores (again on data from reading stimuli only).

A great deal of the comments were, in fact, of a non-segmental nature (a listener from Tours, in

[19] Average transformed score for the five tested parameters for each of the eight speakers in descending order: Sp.4: 74.01, Sp.3: 61.04, Sp.1: 57.75, Sp.6: 56.38, Sp.2: 55.71, Sp.7: 51.73, Sp.5: 33.2, Sp.8: 30.57 (cf. Hansen ms.: chap. 12.4).

[20] Hansen (ms.: chap. 12.4.1) – which includes an analysis of reactions to the spontaneous passages from the same eight speakers – shows, however, that these speakers can be organized in roughly the same order for the overt prestige parameters level of education, social class and mastery of correct usage for the read aloud and the spoken stimuli: The four UMC speakers 1, 3, 4, and 6 score better than the three LWC speakers 5, 7, and 8 – while Sp.2 (LMC) ends up among the first group. Since performance in reading aloud cannot explain the evaluative difference among the speakers in their spontaneous guise, phonetic realization as such comes in as a stronger explanatory factor here, though differences within syntax and lexicon in the free-speech passages of course might also play a role that cannot be controlled for.

response to Sp.7 noting "not enough intonation in the sentences" to justify the score 2 on "Aptitude for being a professor of French in France"; a listener from Nancy, in response to Sp.5 noting "not enough self-assurance in the voice" to justify the score 1 on "Aptitude for being a newsreader on national television"), but when we zoomed in on the specific segmental phonetic or phonological comments that were in fact proposed in connection with the evaluations, a highly polarized picture emerged (see Figure 8, taken from Hansen ms.: chap. 12).

Whereas more than a third of the 235 participants (34%) commented on the use of *liaison* by the speakers (which is actually more a morphophonological than a phonetic phenomenon in French), and almost the same proportion had comments to the /A/-quality (29%), all other types of precise comments on sounds or sound types were each held by around a fourth or less of the speakers, descending to very low percentages for some phenomena. As Figure 8 shows, comments on the realization of the plosives (/t/, /d/, /k/, and /g/) are found in the very lower end, being proposed by only 4% of the participants (10/235). We interpret this an indicator of low awareness of the pal/aff as compared to other segmental phenomena. Interestingly enough, the phenomenon is never commented on for the one UMC-speaker who uses it (Sp.1), but for the LMC-speakers (Sp. 2, 5, 7, and 8, all using it) it is.

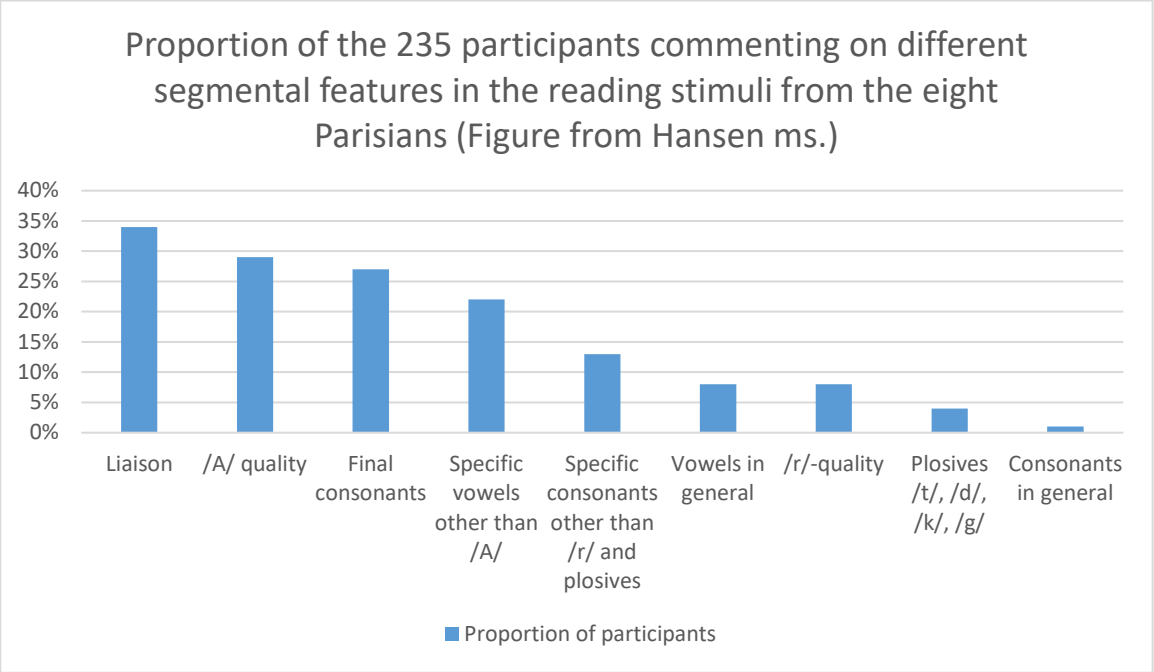

Fig. 8: Salience of phonetic or phonological features in the sound sequences. Proportion of the 235 participants commenting on different segmental features in the reading stimuli from the eight Parisians (Figure from Hansen ms.).

When we analyzed the answers to the metalinguistic question "On what linguistic features do you recognize a person from the Paris region?" – where we ask in an explicit manner with an accurate geographical frame – something similar to the comments in the listening test appeared.[21] It appeared, though, that 40% of the respondents gave an answer that does not mention anything concrete (9.5% left the case blank, 9.5 % wrote that they do not know, 12% that they were unable to recognize a person from the Paris region, and 9% that they recognized such a person on the *absence* of accent or

[21] Only 201 answers could be analyzed, since our questionnaire did not contain this question when it was first distributed.

specific features).[22] The remaining 60% of the respondents claimed to be capable of recognizing a person from Ile-de-France while actually mentioning on what concrete facts they based this recognition. The mentioned observations constitute, however, a very heterogenous category in which we also find comments on lexicon and on prosody (speed, intonation), as well as comments on tone of voice indicating personality traits, but in which allusions to pronunciation or phonetic factors are nevertheless frequent too.[23]

The mentioned phonetic aspects range from very general comments ("leur prononciation" = "their pronunciation") to more specific ones, and only one or two cases refer to a phenomenon that we might as specialists identify as palatalization/affrication on the plosives. The one sure case is the comment by a participant in Lyon: "Le /ɑ/ ouvert, les dentales prononcées alvéolaires" = "Open /ɑ/, dentals pronounced in an alveolar fashion", which alludes to a /t/ with a place of articulation further back than dental and thus "palatalized". The less sure case is that of a participant in Tours: "'T' accentuées comme s'il y avait un 'h' après" = "'T' accentuated as though there were an 'h' after", which could mean a /t/ followed by aspiration, and thus affricated. Other comments are vaguer, as that of another Tours participant: "Sur les consonnes et les ponctuations de phrases" = "On the consonants and the way of punctuating the sentences", and do not allow for inclusion as proof of awareness of pal/aff on plosives. The challenge in interpreting correctly what precise phenomena participants have in mind is of course an obstacle in this kind of analysis, and recalls Preston's skepticism about "folk linguistic awareness" as for its degree of accuracy and its level of specificity (cf. Preston 1996: 40-41).

To sum up, how are we to interpret the almost absolute lack of precise mentions of a phenomenon that is obviously present in French from the Paris region, not only in multicultural suburbs but also, according to our production study (cf. section 5.2), in the middle-class in the southern and western parts of the area? Is it not mentioned because laypersons are unable to be precise about their phonetic observations? In our opinion, such an argument is invalidated by the rest of the metalinguistic data set. Participants are very well capable of formulating a series of other observations that correspond to those made by sociolinguists in Ile-de-France (strongly articulated /r/'s, reinforced final [ə], /A/-quality different from other parts of France, confusion of /E/ sounds in word endings ([e]/[ɛ]), reductions of phonetic material [be it consonant or vowel drop]; cf. Hansen ms.: chap. 12.5.2). The only explanation for the (quasi-)absence of palatalized/affricated plosives in this list seems to be that of lesser salience. This explanation corresponds to the result from the listening test, where the phenomenon was also very rarely hinted at (cf. Figure 8), though a bit more frequently than in the metalinguistic part. This difference is perhaps due to the fact that participants were not biased by a "Parisian" frame in this first task, which might have made them listen in a less prejudiced manner.[24]

At this stage of our attitudinal analysis we seem to have evidence that the pal/aff on plosives is not very easily remarked by our middle-class (mainly young) French test population and that it does not constitute a linguistic stereotype for them when they are asked explicitly to write how they recognize persons from the Paris region. As for what the phenomenon connotes, we saw in 6.1 that its presence in the reading stimuli to some extent correlated with *low evaluation scores* on overt prestige parameters (which would correspond to the actual social distribution in our production analysis, cf. Figure 3), but for a couple of reasons (including its presence in stimuli from a well-rated UMC speaker and general methodological challenges in isolating the effects of single features) this

[22] Cf. Hansen (ms.: chap. 12.3.2).

[23] Analysis in Hansen (ms.: chap. 12.5.2).

[24] That the capital region connotes superiority and correctness (and thus maybe activates less attention towards non-standard linguistic features) is clear from many of the answers to the metalinguistic question, including those that speak of recognition through the personality traits of pride, snobbery, mannerism; although a few respondents answer in terms that reveal a more nuanced view of the Paris region and hint to its several accents (*bourgeoisie* vs. *banlieue*).

result was not entirely convincing, and we still have a question left for examination: Does the correlate of "immigration" or "immigrant descent" ever occur in relation to the speakers who use pal/aff in the recordings?

Since we did not want to hint directly at immigration so as not to affect the results, we obtained information about imagined origin of the eight speakers in another way: Our listening test design included questions in which the listeners were asked more broadly 1) if they thought each of the speakers had an accent (and if so, which accent), 2) how probable it occurred to them that the person could be from the Paris region (Likert scale 1-5), and if improbable, where they thought the person came from (Hansen ms.: chap. 12.3.1). Curiously enough, the two speakers deemed to have the most accent in their spontaneous guises, and to be the less likely from the Paris region, turned out to be one LMC and one UMC speaker, both males, who had an advanced age in common (Sp. 2: 82 years old, using pal/aff; Sp. 6: 73 years old, not using pal/aff). Several French provincial regions (or rural areas in general) were proposed as origins for these two (a fact which might be connected to their conservative use of /A/, cf. Hansen ms.). In comparison, the young speakers who use pal/aff in the spontaneous stimuli (Sp. 1, 5, 7, and 8), are much more rarely associated with regional French among the listeners. However, three of them, all LMC-speakers (Sp. 5, 7 and 8), trigger correlates of foreignness and particular mentions of Parisian suburban areas in some of the responses (see Figure 9). In the answers where the exact foreignness is detailed out for these speakers, which it mostly is, we see that it almost exclusively pertains to North Africa (the Maghreb-area).

Sp. 5	Sp. 7	Sp. 8
RE-36: Maghreb 'Maghreb' RE-49: Voix avec un accent qui semble venir de Paris ou de la banlieue, voix forte et franche 'Voice with an accent that seems to come from Paris or from the suburbs, loud and frank voice' PA-75: Banlieue parisienne 'Parisian suburbs' TO-33: Accent de banlieue 'Accent from the suburbs' LI-02: « Accent » de « parler jeune » / Plutôt banlieue parisienne 'Youth accent / Rather Parisian surburbs'	NA-16: Peut-être des parents d'origine étrangère 'Maybe parents of foreign origin' RE-10: Origine maghrébine 'Maghreb origin' RE-29 : Maghreb 'Maghreb' RE-31: Suisse 'Switzerland' RE-39 : Arabe 'Arab' PA-45: Maghreb, intonation "un p´tit peu" légèrement chuintant 'Maghreb, intonation "a littl' bit" lightly hissing' TL-08: Plutôt un pays du Maghreb 'Rather a country in the Maghreb' TL-14: Orient, Algérie 'The East, Algeria' TO-07: D'origine maghrébine 'Of Maghreb origin' NA-01: Impression d'un accent un peu "banlieusard" 'Impression of accent that is a bit "suburban"' NA-19: Banlieues, quantiers défavorisés 'Suburbs, disadvantaged neighborhoods' RE-35: Banlieue, province 'Suburbs, province' RE-50: Banlieue? 'Suburbs?' RE-73: Sud/Banlieue 'South/Suburbs' LY-10: Banlieue → cf. articulation 'Suburbs → cf. articulation' TL-10: Accent banlieusard (un peu) '(Slightly) suburban accent' TL-11: Banlieue défavorisée, probablement région parisienne, peut-être Marseille 'Disadvantaged suburbs, probably the Paris region, maybe Marseille' TO-35: Semble être issu d'une "cite" difficile 'Sounds like coming from a poor high-rise neighborhood' LI-02: Parler de banlieue / Plutôt de banlieue parisienne 'Suburban speech / Rather Parisian suburbs' LI-05: L'accent sonne banlieue parisienne 'The accent sounds like Parisian suburbs'	LI-02: On a l'impression que le français c'est pas sa langue maternelle. 'You get the impression that French is not his mother tongue' RE-14: Banlieue parisienne 'Parisian suburbs' LY-10: Banlieue 'Suburbs' TO-27: Banlieue parisienne 'Parisian suburbs'

Fig. 9: Correlates of foreignness and suburban origin in listener responses for LMC-speakers Sp.5, 7, and 8 in spoken sequences (listener initials: PA = Paris, LI = Lille, LY= Lyon, NA = Nancy, RE = Rennes, TL = Toulouse, TO = Tours).

The three LMC-speakers in Figure 9 are not the only ones that are evaluated as having a "foreign"

accent in the data set by a few listeners, but wherever such a mention touches one of the UMC-speakers, it is either formulated as a francophone accent (Belgian, Québécois, …) or is not combined with a frequent mention of the Parisian suburbs for the same speaker. Thus, the three young LMC-speakers do sound particularly similar to descendants of non-native French speakers, mainly from North Africa, and as suburban, despite the fact (taken from our biographic interviews with them during our field work) that these speakers do not speak Arabic at home, are ethnically native Parisians, and do not live in the parts of the Paris region where bi- or multilingualism is frequent. This, of course, leaves us with the intriguing question of what input elements from the spontaneous speech of these speakers exactly produce this impression on some of the hearers. While it could be the palatalized/affricated plosives, a comment given for all three of them in reaction to their reading (though by only a few alert listeners), it could also be their /r/'s, another one of the features said to be characteristic of speakers of Maghreb descent in Ile-de-France: Figure 8 did not detail out how the linguistic features used for justifying the evaluative scores were distributed on each of the speakers, but Hansen (ms.: chap. 12.5.1) clarifies that the /r/'s are commented on for all three young LWC-speakers, and that, taken together, plosives and /r/s are commented on by more listeners, all in all for these three speakers, than for any of the other speakers in the reading samples. The answer to why the three of them attract more subjective reactions that point to immigrant descent and suburban ties might then well be that they display a complex combination of features, in which prosody perhaps also plays a role, features that apparently serve for listeners both as cues for lower class origin and for a possible multilingual background.

7. Conclusion

In this paper we have tried to contribute to the debate about the phonetic transformations of French in the capital region of Paris that take place in its poor, multicultural northern and eastern suburbs. We have presented diverging claims from the literature about the sources of the sound variants that are seen as dynamic – reallocation from earlier *français populaire* or effects of language contact with immigrant languages such as Arabic? The question is complex and ought to be investigated more deeply by experts in contact linguistics, but from a sociophonetic viewpoint, we have argued that it is possible to study their chances of spreading to middle-class layers of Ile-de-France by looking into their distributional patterns (or the embedding) outside the "poor croissant" and into the social value that they carry.

In the production part of our study, the variable chosen for examination, i.e. the palatalizations/affrications of the plosives /t/ and /k/, turned out to be systematically distributed in the upper- and lower-middle-class speakers in our corpus in a way that confirms their roots in Parisian lower social classes, in speakers living well outside the north-eastern suburbs. In the attitudinal part of study, the pal/aff phenomenon seemed to have relatively little salience for the 235 French middle-class participants – whether the task was to evaluate reading samples from middle-class persons of whom they were unaware of the Parisian origin, or whether they were asked explicitly to name on what linguistic features they recognized a Parisian. But the fact that the three young LMC-speakers, who all use the feature (in combination with strongly articulated /r/'s), were evaluated in the bottom part of the social and professional hierarchy, and were given correlates of perceived (mostly Maghreb) non-nativeness and banlieue origin to an extent that did not affect the other speakers equally, paints a picture where the phonetic indices of low social class and immigrant descent has probably merged perceptually for (at least some of) our middle-class respondents.

Whether a feature such as palatalized or affricated plosives will spread upwards from lower to higher middle-class layers over time remains to be seen. Our longitudinal data did show a rather stable picture on the surface, but analysis of the qualitative realizations of the phenomenon around 1990 as opposed to around 2015 indicated that our upper-middle-class speakers have come to imitate the noisier way of producing pal/aff which is prevalent in the social layer below them. More research is

of course needed to understand how the phenomenon can, at the same time, be linked to stigmatized population segments and creep (albeit discretely in quantitative terms) into usages of middle-class speakers (a mechanism of so-called "change from below"). If it turns out to be an enhanced trend over time, this Parisian example will join in with comparable phonetic examples from Berlin and Copenhagen, just to mention a few other large European cities.

Methodologically speaking, a few critical remarks will round off this study. The chosen design for the listening test in our study did not enable us to isolate reactions to single phonetic features, even though the use of reading would guarantee comparability on a lot of parameters as compared to the use of spontaneous speech samples. Ideally, further research should control this aspect better. On the other hand, open questions about the origin of speakers seemed to be a good way of accessing important information. As for the use of justification options, as well as for the use of a metalinguistic question, we found the capacity of the respondents to formulate their observations regarding speech from the Paris region surprisingly developed. Instead of finding "folk linguistic awareness" inaccurate and not detailed enough, we found it an interesting tool for ranking the linguistic phenomena noted by our participants in order of salience. Hopefully, this type of approach might shed light on other cases of linguistic variation and change in the future and, as such, contribute to develop the evaluative dimension of sociolinguistic studies in this research area.

References

Armstrong, Nigel & Mikaël Jamin (2002). '*Le français des banlieues*: Uniformity and Discontinuity in the French of the *Hexagone*'. In Kamal Salhi (ed.), *French in and out of France. Language Policies, Intercultural Antagonisms and Dialogue*. Oxford: Peter Lang. 107-136.

Armstrong, Nigel & Tim Pooley (2010). *Social and Linguistic Change in European French*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230281714

Ashby, William J. (2001). 'Un nouveau regard sur la chute du *ne* en français parlé tourangeau: s'agit-il d'un changement en cours?'. *Journal of French Language Studies*, 11(1): 1-22. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959269501000114

Audrit, Stéphane (2009). *Variation linguistique et signification sociale chez les jeunes Bruxellois issues de l'immigration maghrébine. Analyse socio-phonétique de trois variantes non standard*. Doctoral thesis: Université Catholique de Louvain.
https://dial.uclouvain.be/pr/boreal/object/boreal:28881 (Retrieved on August 16, 2023).

Bajulaz, Chrystelle (2007). *Etude de l'évolution de la variable affriquée dans les pratiques langagières de deux groupes d'adolescents grenoblois entre 1988 et 2005*. Master thesis: Université Stendhal Grenoble III.

Bassili, John N. & Rick D. Brown (2005). 'Implicit and Explicit Attitudes: Research, Challenges, and Theory'. In Dolores Albarracín, Blair T. Johnson & Mark P. Zanna (eds.), *The Handbook of Attitudes*. Mahwah (N.J.): Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. 543-574.

Bertucci, Marie-Madeleine (2009). 'L'intégration des migrants dans la société française: situation linguistique, territorialisation, minorisation?'. In Lise Toft & Lisbeth Verstraete-Hansen (eds.), *Une francophonie plurielle. Langues, idées et cultures en mouvement*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. 33-46.

Billiez, Jacqueline (1993). 'Le "parler véhiculaire interethnique" de groupes d'adolescents en milieu urbain'. In Elhousseine Gouaini & Ndiassé Thiam (eds.), *Des langues et des villes*. Paris: Didier Érudition. 117-126.

Boughton, Zoë (2007). '*Ce que prononcer veut dire*: The Social Value of Variable Phonology in French'. *Nottingham French Studies*, 46(2): 7-22. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3366/nfs.2007-2.002

Boula de Mareüil, Philippe, Yves Scherrer & Jean-Philippe Goldman (2017). 'Combien d'accents en français? Focus sur la France, la Belgique et la Suisse'. *Bulletin suisse de linguistique appliquée*, special volume 2. 91-103.

Britain, David & Peter Trudgill (1999). 'Migration, New-Dialect Formation and Sociolinguistic Refunctionalisation: *Reallocation* as an Outcome of Dialect Contact'. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 97(2): 245-256. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-968X.00050

Calvet, Louis-Jean (1993). 'The migrant languages of Paris'. In Carol Sanders (ed.), *French today. Language in its social context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 105-119. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620980.006

Calvet, Louis-Jean (1994). *Les voix de la ville. Introduction à la sociolinguistique urbaine*. Paris: Payot & Rivages.

Candea, Maria (2014). 'Discours sociolinguistiques et discours profanes face à la variation stylistique dans la prononciation du français'. *Lidil. Revue de linguistique et de didactique des langues*, 50. 45-61. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/lidil.3557

Candea, Maria, Martine Adda-Decker & Lori Lamel (2013). 'Recent evolution of non-standard consonantal variants in French broadcast news'. In *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the International Speech Communication Association, INTERSPEECH 2013*. Lyon: ISCA. 412-416. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21437/Interspeech.2013-125

Carton, Fernand (2000). 'La prononciation'. In Gérald Antoine & Bernard Cerquiglini (eds.), *Histoire de la langue française 1945-2000*. Paris: CNRS Éditions. 25-60.

Carton, Fernand, Mario Rossi, Denis Autesserre & Pierre R. Léon (1983). *Les accents des Français*. Paris: Hachette.

Castellotti, Véronique & Didier de Robillard (2001). 'Images de la variation du français: dominantes et harmoniques, changements'. *Travaux neuchâtelois de linguistique*, 34/35: 393-410. DOI: https://doi.org/10.26034/tranel.2001.2567

Castellotti, Véronique & Didier de Robillard (2003). 'Des Français devant la variation: quelques hypothèses'. *Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain*, 29(1-2): 223-240. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2143/CILL.29.1.504022

Detey, Sylvain & David Le Gac (2010). 'Le français de référence: quels locuteurs?'. In Sylvain Detey, Jacques Durand, Bernard Laks & Chantal Lyche (eds.), *Les variétés du français parlé dans l'espace francophone. Ressources pour l'enseignement*. Paris: Ophrys. 167-180.

Devilla, Lorenzo & Cyril Trimaille (2010). 'Variantes palatalisées/affriquées en français hexagonal: quel(s) statut(s) sociolinguistique(s) pour quel destin?'. In Maria Iliescu, Heidi Siller-Runggaldier & Paul Danler (eds.), *Actes du XXV^e^ Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes, 3-8 septembre 2007 Innsbruck. Tome IV*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 99-107. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110231922.4-99

Eckert, Penelope (2008). 'Variation and the indexical field'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4): 453-476. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2008.00374.x

Fagyal, Zsuzsanna (2007). 'Syncope: de l'irrégularité rythmique dans la musique rap au dévoisement des voyelles dans la parole des adolescents dits « des banlieues »'. *Nottingham French Studies*, 46(2): 119-134. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3366/nfs.2007-2.008

Fagyal, Zsuzsanna (2010). *Accents de banlieue. Aspects prosodiques du français populaire en contact avec les langues de l'immigration*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Falkert, Anika (2013). 'Introduction'. In Anika Falkert (ed.), *La perception des accents du français hors de France. Actes du colloque international d'Avignon, 17-18 novembre 2011*. Mons: CIPA. 9-19.

Fónagy, Ivan (1989). 'Le français change de visage?'. *Revue Romane*, 24(2): 225-253.

Forsé, Michel & Yannick Lemel (2002). 'Status Consistency Trends of Occupational, Educational and Economic Position in France, Germany and the United States'. In Yannick Lemel & Heinz-Herbert Noll (eds.), *Changing Structures of Inequality: A Comparative Perspective*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 251-274.

Gadet, Françoise (1992). *Le français populaire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Gadet, Françoise (2007). *La variation sociale en français* (2nd ed.). Paris: Ophrys.
Gadet, Françoise (2008). 'Immigrant Languages in France'. In Ulrich Ammon & Harald Haarmann (eds.), *Lexikon der Sprachen des europäischen Westens, volume 1*. Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag. 459-469.
Gadet, Françoise (2016). 'Variation et contact dans un corpus parisien: 'Multicultural Paris French''. *Repères-Dorif*, 11: 1-6.
Gadet, Françoise (ed.) (2017). *Les parlers jeunes dans l'Île-de-France multiculturelle*. Paris: Ophrys.
Gasquet-Cyrus, Médéric (2004). Pratiques et représentations de l'humour verbal. Etude sociolinguistique du cas marseillais. Doctoral thesis: Université de Provence.
Goudaillier, Jean-Pierre (1997). *Comment tu tchatches ! Dictionnaire du français contemporain des cités*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
Guiraud, Pierre (1978). *Le français populaire* (4th ed.). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Hansen, Anita Berit (1990). *Analyse sociolinguistique de deux évolutions linguistiques dans le français parlé à Paris: la stabilisation du « e caduc » interconsonantique et l'apparition d'un [ə] final*. Master thesis: Université de Copenhague.
Hansen, Anita Berit (1994). 'Etude du E caduc — stabilisation en cours et variations lexicales'. *Journal of French Language Studies*, 4(1): 25-54. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959269500001964
Hansen, Anita Berit (1998). *Les voyelles nasales du français parisien moderne. Aspects linguistiques, sociolinguistiques et perceptuels des changements en cours*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press
Hansen, Anita Berit (2014). 'Lexique et phonologie. Le cas de la perte de distinction /a/-/ɑ/ en français parisien'. In Jacques Durand, Gjert Kristoffersen, Bernard Laks & Julie Peuvergne (eds.), *La phonologie du français: normes, périphéries, modélisation. Mélanges pour Chantal Lyche*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest. 261-284
Hansen, Anita Berit (2015). 'Sensibilité et insensibilité devant la variation phonétique: une étude perceptive sur le français de la région parisienne'. *Langage & Société*, 151: 45-65. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.151.0045
Hansen, Anita Berit (ms). *Changements phonétiques à Paris autour du millénaire. Apports empiriques et théoriques d'une approche à méthodes multiples*.
Hansen, Anita Berit & Kathrine Asla Østby (2016). 'Variation in the capital city of France. Paris'. In Sylvain Detey, Jacques Durand, Bernard Laks & Chantal Lyche (eds.), *Varieties of Spoken French*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 403-416. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199573714.003.0032
Hornsby, David & Mari C. Jones (2013). 'Exception française? Levelling, Exclusion, and Urban Social Structure in France'. In Mari C. Jones & David Hornsby (eds.), *Language and Social Structure in Urban France*. London: Legenda. 94-109. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315092058-9
Hornsby, David & Tim Pooley (2001). 'La sociolinguistique et les accents français d'Europe'. In Marie-Anne Hintze, Tim Pooley & Anne Judge (eds.), *French accents: Phonological and sociolinguistic perspectives*. London: AFLS/CILT. 305-343.
Jamin, Mikaël (2007). 'The 'Return' of [ɑ] in Parisian French: A Case of Sociolinguistic Recycling?'. *Nottingham French Studies*, 46(2): 23-39. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3366/nfs.2007-2.003
Jamin, Mikaël, Cyril Trimaille & Médéric Gasquet-Cyrus (2006). 'De la convergence dans la divergence: le cas des quartiers pluri-ethniques en France'. *Journal of French Language Studies*, 16(3): 335-356. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959269506002559
Jannedy, Stefanie & Melanie Weirich (2014). 'Sound change in an urban setting. Category instability of the palatal fricative in Berlin'. *Journal of Laboratory Phonology*, 5(1): 91-122. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/lp-2014-0005

Kristiansen, Tore (2009). 'The macro-level social meanings of late-modern Danish accents'. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 41. 167-192. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/03740460903364219

Kristiansen, Tore, Peter Garrett & Nikolas Coupland (2005). 'Introducing Subjectivities in Language Variation and Change'. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 37. 9-35. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/03740463.2005.10416081

Kuiper, Lawrence (2005). 'Perception is reality: Parisian and Provençal perceptions of regional varieties of French'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(1): 28-52. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-6441.2005.00280.x

Labov, William (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, William (1984). 'Field Methods of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation'. In John Baugh & Joel Sherzer (eds.), *Language in Use. Readings in Sociolinguistics*. Englewood Cliffs (N.J.): Prentice-Hall. 28-53.

Labov, William (1994). *Principles of Linguistic Change. Volume 1: Internal Factors*. Oxford (UK): Blackwell.

Lambert, Paul (2013). 'Social Stratification in France: Measures and Trends'. In Mari C. Jones & David Hornsby (eds.), *Language and Social Structure in Urban France*. London: Legenda. 22-34. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315092058-3

Lambert, Wallace E., Richard C. Hodgson, Robert C. Gardner & Stanley Fillenbaum (1960). 'Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages'. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60(1): 44-51. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1037/h0044430

Lennig, Matthew (1978). *Acoustic Measurement of Linguistic Change: The Modern Paris Vowel System*. PhD thesis: University of Pennsylvania.

Léon, Pierre R. (1992). *Phonétisme et prononciations du français*. Paris: Nathan.

Léon, Pierre R. (1993). *Précis de phonostylistique. Parole et expressivité*. Paris: Nathan.

Léon, Pierre R. & Monique Léon (1980). 'Observations sur l'accentuation des français régionaux'. *Studia Phonetica*, 15: 93-106.

Levon, Erez (2014). 'Categories, stereotypes, and the linguistic perception of sexuality'. *Language in Society*, 43(5): 539-566. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404514000554

Lodge, R. Anthony (2004). *A Sociolinguistic History of Parisian French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486685

Lyche, Chantal & Kathrine Asla Østby (2009). 'Le français de la haute bourgeoisie parisienne: une variété conservatrice?'. In Jacques Durand, Bernard Laks & Chantal Lyche (eds.), *Phonologie, variation et accents du français*. Paris: Lavoisier Hermes Science. 203-230.

Malécot, André (1977). *Introduction à la phonétique française*. The Hague: Mouton. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110807578

Niedzielski, Nancy A. & Dennis R. Preston (2000). *Folk Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110803389

Nortier, Jacomine & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.) (2015). *Language, use, and identity in the 21st century. Linguistic practices across urban spaces*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139061896

Paltridge, John & Howard Giles (1984). 'Attitudes towards speakers of regional accents of French: Effects of regionality, age and sex of listeners'. *Linguistische Berichte*, 90: 71-85.

Paternostro, Roberto (2012). 'Aspects phonétiques de l' « accent parisien multiculturel »: innovation, créativité, métissage(s)'. *Cahiers AFLS*, 17(2): 32-54.

Paternostro, Roberto (2017). 'Les jeunes ont-ils un accent?'. In Françoise Gadet (ed.), *Les parlers jeunes dans l'Île-de-France multiculturelle*. Paris: Ophrys. 55-71.

Pharao, Nicolai, Marie Maegaard, Janus Spindler Møller & Tore Kristiansen (2014). 'Indexical meanings of [s+] among Copenhagen youth: Social perception of a phonetic variant in different prosodic contexts'. *Language in Society*, 43(1): 1-31. DOI:

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404513000857
Pinçon, Michel & Monique Pinçon-Charlot (2008). *Sociologie de Paris* (2nd éd.). Paris: La Découverte. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3917/dec.pinco.2008.01
Preston, Dennis R. (1996). 'Whaddayaknow?: The Modes of Folk Linguistic Awareness'. *Language Awareness*, 5(1): 40-74. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.1996.9959890
Quist, Pia (2008). 'Sociolinguistic approaches to multiethnolect: Language variety and stylistic practice'. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 12(1-2): 43-61. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/13670069080120010401
Rampton, Ben (2015). 'Contemporary urban vernaculars'. In Jacomine Nortier & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century. Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 24-44. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139061896.003
Sørensen, Randi Skovbjerg (2014). *Turning the spotlight: Looking at the interviewers. A dialogical approach to interaction analysis of two interviewers' sociolinguistic interviews with a personality psychological perspective on the interviewers*. PhD thesis: University of Copenhagen.
Spini, Mathilde & Cyril Trimaille (2017). 'Les significations sociales de la palatalisation/affrication à Marseille: processus ségrégatifs et changement linguistique'. *Langage & Société*, 162: 53-78. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.162.0053
Stewart, Christopher Michael (2012). 'Mapping language ideologies in multi-ethnic urban Europe: the case of Parisian French'. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(2): 187-202. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2011.617821
Trimaille, Cyril (2003). *Approche sociolinguistique de la socialisation langagière d'adolescents*. Doctoral thesis: Université Stendhal Grenoble III.
Trimaille, Cyril (2010). 'Consonnes dentales palatalisées/affriquées en français contemporain: indicateurs, marqueurs et/ou variantes en développement?'. In Michaël Abecassis & Gudrun Ledegen (eds.), *Les Voix des Français. Volume 2. En parlant, en écrivant*. Oxford: Peter Lang. 89-100.
Trimaille, Cyril, Maria Candea & Iryna Lehka-Lemarchand (2012). 'Existe-t-il une signification sociale stable et univoque de la palatalisation/affrication en français? Étude sur la perception de variantes non standard'. *Congrès Mondial de Linguistique Française - CMLF 2012. SHS Web of Conferences*, 1. 2249-2262. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20120100122
Trudgill, Peter (1986). *Dialects in Contact.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Trudgill, Peter (1988). 'Norwich Revisited: Recent Linguistic Changes in an English Urban Dialect'. *English World-Wide*, 9(1): 33-49. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/eww.9.1.03tru
Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov & Marvin I. Herzog (1968). 'Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change'. In Winfred P. Lehmann & Yakov Malkiel (eds.), *Directions for Historical Linguistics. A Symposium*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 95-195.

Links

Multicultural Paris French (MPF): https://www.ortolang.fr/market/corpora/mpf (Retrieved on August 16, 2023).
Map of the Paris region. Average annual income in euros: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banlieue (Retrieved on August 16, 2023).
Percentage of immigrants in Paris vs provinces in 2013: https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3136640 (comparison from 2013) (Retrieved on August 16, 2023).
Percentage of immigrants in France in 2022: https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2381757 (Retrieved on August 16, 2023).

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 15: 117-143 (2023)

Negotiating local in-group norms in times of globalization. Adnominal gender variation in two urban youth varieties in the Netherlands

Kristel Doreleijers, Tilburg University & KNAW Meertens Institute
Khalid Mourigh, KNAW Meertens Institute
Jos Swanenberg, Tilburg University & KNAW Meertens Institute

Abstract: This paper discusses variation in adnominal gender marking in two urban youth varieties in the Netherlands, i.e., Moroccan Dutch in the city of Gouda and leveled local dialect, Brabantish, in the city of Eindhoven. In both settings, linguistic practices are influenced by language contact with Standard Dutch, the dominant language in society, resulting in variation patterns such as omissions and overgeneralizations (i.e., hyperforms). Interestingly, we find overgeneralizations of common gender determiners in Moroccan Dutch, as described in previous research, but also of neuter gender determiners. This hypercorrect usage of the (neuter) prestige variant contrasts with the variation found in the Brabantish variety, as the Eindhoven speakers tend to overuse the local dialect form instead of the standard variant. However, we show that both variation patterns may well be driven by the same underlying mechanism of (re-)indexicalization. Data from speech recordings and online peer conversations as well as focus group discussions reveal that in both cases the gender feature acquires different indexical meanings, depending on the register and stylistic practices speakers are involved in. These indexical meanings are not fixed, but result from a dynamic process of negotiating in-group norms on the local level of peer interactions.

1. Introduction

In this paper, we investigate language variation in two urban settings in the Netherlands, where language contact is omnipresent. In fact, wide-ranging social and economic developments, such as urbanization, immigration, digitalization, and increased mobility, have accelerated contact between speakers of structurally distinct dialects and languages (cf. Britain 2009), not only in the metropolitan areas but also in the margins (Wang et al. 2014). We present data from young speakers in Gouda, a city in the western province of South Holland with a substantial Moroccan community, and Eindhoven, the largest city in the southern province of North Brabant with a conspicuous dialect. Their speech shows interlingual and intralingual variation, as their Dutch is influenced by other languages and lects such as dialects, ethnolects, and sociolects. Moreover, their language practices can lead to new variation, or eventually to entire new varieties (Britain 2009).

Importantly, youth language should not be seen as a separate linguistic category but as a container concept or descriptive label (cf. Cornips et al. 2015). It indicates new and mostly (but not exclusively) urban ways of speaking as markers of identity. These ways of speaking are primarily seen as registers (Agha 2004), or styles (Coupland 2007: 154; Eckert 2008), reflecting young speakers' particular communicative choices. Moreover, youth language in the context of cities with large numbers of immigrants does not necessarily imply ethnic speaker groups speaking ethnic varieties. To an increasing extent, the perception of youth language in urban settings has developed from a perception as indexing 'immigrant' or 'ethnic minority' status to something geographical, a 'place', associated with a city, or one or more districts in a city (Kerswill 2013). For example, Marzo & Ceuleers (2011) explain how *Citétaal,* a specific youth language variety of Dutch in Genk, Belgium, was originally spoken by immigrant Italian coalminers, but has now been 're-linked' to a youth identity associated with the city of Genk itself. What used to be an ethnolect is reallocated: it is now re-indexicalized as something authentically representing a place, i.e., a contemporary urban vernacular (Rampton 2015).[1] Re-indexicalization can also take place at the level of a single feature.

[1] Kossmann (2017a: 294) points out, however, that the label contemporary urban vernacular is hardly helpful in the Dutch context, as Rampton (2015) considers it to be a more or less unstylized variant, whereas stylization is generally assumed to be an important ingredient of Dutch youth varieties.

For example, also in *Cité*, the /s/ palatalization as expressed in the non-standard pronunciation and spelling of *sjtijl* (instead of *stijl* 'style') has become an index for a modern, streetwise identity, even by people unfamiliar with its migrant origin (Grondelaers & Marzo 2022).

The current paper presents data from youth varieties of two diverse and urbanized settings in the Netherlands. These settings are quite distinct in terms of center-periphery dynamics and language contact constellations (Cornips & De Rooij 2018). Where Gouda is part of the *Randstad*, the central agglomeration in the West, Eindhoven is the largest city outside the Randstad in North Brabant, in the more peripheral South. The contemporary vernacular in urban settings involves "hybrid urban language use" (cf. Madsen 2016), i.e., it is a constantly changing result of Dutch, the dominant language in formal domains of language use, such as in school or at work, in contact with the other languages present. These languages range from local dialects, such as the local city dialect or the dialects of surrounding villages, as well as many other languages, dialects and ethnolects immigrants speak or spoke, and are combined by young urban language users (Jørgensen 2008a).

Investigating sociolinguistic change driven by the omnipresence of the standard language in a multi-sited way has already yielded interesting results for the Danish context (e.g., Maegaard et al. 2019). For example, it is shown that different (rural) traditional dialect areas show different outcomes regarding the use and status of dialect features, pointing to convergence as well as divergence. Although there may be advanced standardization, younger speakers still resort to local features in stylized peer interactions (cf. "the terminal stage of dedialectalization" in Stæhr & Larsen 2019). In addition, Madsen (2016: 210) describes how contemporary urban vernacular can be used regularly when the situated use requires stylized language involving features indexing a particular way of speaking. In the current paper, we show that our Dutch case studies can contribute to a deeper understanding of such phenomena.

Moreover, urban youth varieties are an important part of linguistic practices in online and offline interactional contexts (Blommaert 2021), i.e., in new and social media, for example, in (stylized) performances such as rap music, movies and series, in humoristic vlogs and memes, on Facebook, or in TikTok videos (Cornips et al. 2018; Doreleijers & Swanenberg 2023; Stæhr et al. 2019). The (playful) use of specific linguistic repertoires in such cultural expressions contribute to language creativity and innovation, i.e., "young people use language expressively and creatively in order to create their own social identity" (Kristiansen 1995 in Jørgensen 2008b: 8). Therefore, this paper also deals with examples of online (stylized) peer interactions of the Moroccan Dutch community.[2]

The aim of this paper is to show how samples of the youth varieties spoken in Gouda and Eindhoven demonstrate (re-)indexicalization, i.e., how specific features of these varieties acquire indexical meaning, in particular in the context of representing a place, ethnicity, social group, or suchlike. We compare both urban settings by focusing on one specific contact phenomenon, i.e., variation in adnominal gender marking. Drawing from data from two different research projects, we aim to answer the following question: What are the differences and parallels in the use and indexicality of the gender feature between the two different urban settings? We show for each setting how the gender marking feature diverges from the standard language, i.e., Dutch, or the traditional dialect, i.e., Brabantish, resulting in hyperforms. In addition, we point out that this variation is associated with the creation and negotiation of in-group norms, as different varieties are identifiable not only through linguistic variants but also through small-scale reflexive actions, such as corrections, mockeries, and other metalinguistic comments (Rampton 2015: 26). In this dynamic context, linguistic variants are assigned their indexical value.

[2] As for the Brabantish case study, we refer to Doreleijers & Swanenberg 2023 and Doreleijers fc. for recent examples of enregistering adnominal gender in online stylized language practices, as the current paper only invokes metalinguistic data from focus group discussions.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In the next section, we sketch the phenomenon of interest, i.e. adnominal gender marking in (varieties of) Dutch. In Section 3, we move to the setting of Gouda, where data are presented from conversations with a group of youngsters of Moroccan decent and data from online (forum) peer interactions. Then, Section 4 presents data from the setting of Eindhoven, where the local dialect of North Brabant, *Brabantish*, is still spoken to some extent. This section brings together both variation in form (Section 4.1) and metalinguistic reflections (Section 4.2) from young ('new') local speakers. Finally, in Section 5 we synthesize and discuss both studies to answer the research question.

2. Adnominal gender marking in (varieties of) Dutch and its sociolinguistic context

The adnominal gender system of Standard Dutch distinguishes between two genders: common gender, i.e., masculine (M) and feminine (F), and neuter (N) gender.[3] Lexical gender is marked by agreement in the adnominal domain, i.e., on articles, adjectives, and demonstrative and possessive pronouns. The studies discussed here only deal with (in)definite articles and demonstrative pronouns (and to a very limited extent also possessive pronouns in 4.2). Dutch has three different articles, the indefinite article *een* ('a') which is used for all types of gender, the definite article *de* ('the') which indicates common gender, and the definite article *het* ('it') which indicates neuter gender. In the class of demonstrative pronouns, Standard Dutch makes a two-way distinction between proximal and distal forms, and each of these categories has two variants, i.e., common (*deze* 'this' and *die* 'that') and neuter (*dit* 'this' and *dat* 'that'). All Standard Dutch articles and demonstratives are presented in Table 1.[4]

Gender	Indefinite article	Definite article	Proximal demonstrative	Distal demonstrative
Common	*een (tafel)* 'a (table)'	*de (tafel)* 'the (table)'	*deze (tafel)* 'this (table)'	*die (tafel)* 'that (table)'
Neuter	*een (boek)* 'a (book)'	*het (boek)* 'the (book)'	*dit (boek)* 'this (book)'	*dat (boek)* 'that (book)'

Table 1: Overview of the (in)definite articles and demonstrative pronouns in Dutch.

The system described in Table 1 is taught in schools and is also prevalent in all domains of formal communication. However, speakers may sometimes (deliberately) deviate from it. For example, in Dutch youth varieties such as *Straattaal* 'street language', a (mixed) multiethnolect (Schoonen & Appel 2005; Kossmann 2017a; Nortier & Dorleijn 2013), and *Moroccan Flavored Dutch/MFD* (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008), speakers are developing their own linguistic and stylistic norms. In these varieties, the overgeneralization of common gender, i.e., the use of *de*, *deze* and *die,* where *het, dit* and *dat* are required (e.g., *de/deze/die boek*), is one of the main characteristics of their speech styles (see Cornips 2008 for a detailed discussion). Originally, this is a remnant of bilingual (L2) acquisition, with immigrant speakers overdoing common gender forms in neuter contexts. However, sociolinguistic research has shown that overgeneralization also occurs in the speech of subsequent generations who have acquired Dutch as a first language (Cornips 2008). In youth varieties, the overuse of common gender has been re-indexicalized by group members to flag their

[3] Please note that in the pronominal reference system, Standard Dutch still distinguishes between masculine, feminine and neuter gender. However, personal pronouns are outside the scope of this paper, as are relative pronouns and adjectives.

[4] In this paper, only the singular forms are discussed.

identity. By producing deviations from the standard language (i.e., 'errors') speakers can be recognized as in-group, as they accommodate to a speech style that fits the social context of 'hanging out with friends' (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008: 132). The same principle applies to other mechanisms of linguistic innovation. For example, it has been shown that omission of (in)definite articles occurs in youth language, with MFD speakers producing bare nouns, e.g., *hij geeft mij Ø boek* 'he gives me *Ø* book' (Doreleijers et al. 2019). Interestingly, both patterns, i.e., overgeneralization and omission, may as well occur simultaneously within the same variety or speaker (group).

This co-occurrence is, for example, found in contemporary data collected in a small exploratory study carried out at the Meertens Institute in between November 2022 and April 2023.[5] In this study, ten male speakers aged 16-18 and living in Amsterdam, the national capital and largest city in the Netherlands, participated in groups of three in six conversations that were recorded, transcribed and annotated. All participants were part of the same local football club, and they were asked to talk about a range of topics. The study particularly looked at the dynamics of interactions between peers (i.e., the ways in which they accommodate their language use), without focusing on one specific linguistic variable, in order to uncover focal points for large-scale follow-up research. In general, their speech is characterized by heterogeneity, with their language use ranging from standard-like to *straattaal*, e.g., many lexical elements from Surinamese, to local city dialect. However, the data also reveal some interesting examples of gender shift. In the examples displayed below, speaker A1 speaks Dutch and also Brazilian Portuguese at home, speaker B2 also speaks Thai and English at home, and speaker B3 mostly speaks Turkish at home. In the first place, the data show examples of article omission. In (1-3) the target forms are put between brackets.

(1) *Ik heb net [<een] mailtje gestuurd.* (AM-C1, 16)
'I just sent (an) e-mail.'

(2) *Ik heb daarvoor rijles, gewoon [<een] uurtje*. (AM-A1, 18)
'Before, I have driving lessons, just (an/one) hour.'

(3) *Ik heb [<een] interview gehad met de straatcoach.* (AM-B3, 16)
'I had (an) interview with the street coach.'

In these utterances, produced by different speakers, the indefinite article *een* would be required preceding the nouns, following the Standard Dutch determiner system: *een mailtje* 'an e-mail' in (1)*, een uurtje* 'an hour' in (2)*,* and *een interview* 'an interview' in (3)*.* However, these omissions do not lead to corrections from the peers, and therefore seem to 'fit' within the informal conversational context (cf. Swanenberg 2019). In the next examples, the definite articles, i.e., *de* for common gender (4) and *het* for neuter gender, are omitted (5).

(4) *Die man gooit ... naar scheidsrechter.* (AM-B3, 16)
'That man throws … at (the) referee.'

(5) *Bij examen?* (AM-A2, 16)
'At (the) exam?'

Both omissions follow prepositions, i.e., *naar scheidsrechter* 'to referee' and *bij examen* 'at exam'. Cross-linguistically, such bare nouns following prepositions are quite common, but within restricted

[5] This specific case study was conducted by Eveline Elferink, MA student at the University of Amsterdam and intern at the Meertens Institute, and she was supervised by Jos Swanenberg.

contexts and often in locative contexts, indicating a geographical, social, or time-related space, such as *zee* 'sea', *school* 'school' or *vakantie* 'vacation' (see Doreleijers et al. 2019: 297). However, the prepositions in (4-5) do not indicate a location, but rather a receiver (4) and an event (5). Both phrases would require a definite article in Standard Dutch. In the Dutch context, data from MFD speakers in Gouda have already shown speakers overgeneralizing such bare nouns (Doreleijers et al. 2019: 318), and this might well be the case in the Amsterdam setting.

As described in Section 2, omissions and overgeneralizations do not seem to be mutually exclusive. The example in (6) shows overgeneralization of common gender in the definite article. *Examen,* a neuter noun, requires the neuter article *het* in Standard Dutch (see Table 1). This type of overgeneralization is also found in the demonstratives in (7) and (8).

(6) *Wij gaan al de [<het] examen maken.* (AM-B3, 16)
'We will already make the exam.'

Overgeneralization of common gender is also found in demonstratives. *Bord* 'plate' (7) is a neuter noun which requires *dat* instead of *die* as a demonstrative, and the same applies to *ei* 'egg' in (8). In this utterance, the noun *ei* is used figuratively as a cussword for someone who does something silly. Interestingly, *die ei* does not go unnoticed like the previous examples, as C2 is immediately corrected by one of his peers by offering the correct Standard Dutch alternative: *dat ei* 'that egg'.

(7) *Ik eet zo die [<dat] hele bord.* (AM-B3, 16)
'I eat that entire plate, just like that.'

(8) *Die gast die van zo'n muurtje afvalt. Die [<dat] ei.* (AM-C2, 16)
'That guy who fell off a little wall. That egg.'

Youth varieties that exhibit these characteristics are perceived to be more socially than geographically oriented, though urban settings, such as Amsterdam, often account for a high degree of language contact in which such varieties emerge and thrive (Nortier & Dorleijn 2013; see Nortier & Svendsen 2015 for multiple studies on this topic).

However, youth varieties can well be influenced by the local language(s) spoken in a given geographical setting. For example, in the southern Dutch province of North Brabant, a parallel gender shift is taking place that aims at a deviation from the standard by magnifying features of the local dialect. Due to processes of dialect leveling and dialect loss, the local dialect of North Brabant, 'Brabantish', is changing rapidly (Swanenberg & Van Hout 2013).[6] This language change can be clearly observed in morphosyntactic features. In contrast to Dutch, the Brabantish dialect traditionally distinguishes between masculine and feminine lexical gender (De Schutter 2013; Hoppenbrouwers 1983, 1990). This difference is marked grammatically in the adnominal domain, as articles, possessives, demonstratives, and adjectives preceding masculine singular nouns are attached the gender suffix *-e, -en* or *-n*. The form of the suffix depends on the subsequent adjective or noun, i.e., adjectives and nouns starting with a vowel or *h, b, d, t* usually trigger a so-called binding-*n*. An overview of the different forms, in this case (in)definite articles, is given in Table 2. In this Table, the difference between articles with or without a binding-*n* is also indicated by the labels 'Brabantish1' and 'Brabantish2'. As shown in Table 2, the Brabantish form of the indefinite article preceding singular masculine nouns always deviates from the Dutch form (*ene* or *enen* in contrast to *een*). The Brabantish form of the definite article preceding singular nouns only deviates from the Dutch form if

[6] In this paper, 'Brabantish' is used as an umbrella term to indicate all local dialect varieties that are spoken within the province of North Brabant.

the phonological constraint is met (*den* in contrast to *de*).

Lexical gender	Definite article			Indefinite article		
	Dutch	Brabantish1	Brabantish2	Dutch	Brabantish1	Brabantish2
Masculine	*de*	*de*	***den***	*een*	***ene*** *(unne)*	***enen*** *(unnen)*
Feminine	*de*	*de (d')*	-	*een*	*en*	-
Neuter	*het*	*'t*	-	*een*	*e(n)*	-

Table 2: Overview of definite and indefinite articles in Brabantish (compared to Dutch).

Similar to speakers of Straattaal or MFD, younger speakers of Brabantish tend to exhibit patterns of omission and overgeneralization, in this case of the masculine gender suffix, resulting in non-traditional dialectal forms (Doreleijers et al. 2020). Some detailed examples will be provided in Section 4.1. What both contexts have in common, is that variation has been explained as resulting from incomplete acquisition or dialect leveling (cf. *interdialect*, Britain 2009), but also, or instead, as cultural identification with speakers using deviations from the standard or the traditional dialect to position themselves by expressing their belonging to a particular community or speaker group (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008; Doreleijers fc.). In the latter case, overgeneralizations and omissions in gender marking can function as conspicuous linguistic markers. They function as shibboleths that are part of a stylistic repertoire and emblematic for a given sociolinguistic context (Coupland 2001; Johnstone 2014). This means that stylistic choices, including variation in the use of determiners, are indexical for particular registers, e.g., young and urban Brabantish (or streetwise Moroccan Dutch), and can become associated with (localized) cultural identities, such as neighborhoods or peer groups in secondary schools (Eckert 1988; Nortier 2018; Dorleijn et al. 2020). Interestingly, this process of enregisterment, i.e., linking linguistic forms with ways of speaking and certain types of speakers (Agha 2003; Silverstein 2003), can only take place when speakers presume 'a standard' to deviate from or to aim at (cf. Agha 2015: 316; Madsen 2016: 216). This 'standard' is often thought of as the 'standard language', i.e., the dominant language in society. However, it can also be the traditional dialect perceived as a uniform variety within the local community. Therefore, the speakers in the studies discussed in the current paper face different kind of norms, ranging from the standard language (Dutch) norms they learn at school to the traditional dialect norms within their local community or the in-group norms that prevail within their peer groups.

Also in terms of speakers' attitudes, youth varieties seem to elicit evaluations that are not connected to standard language (overt prestige, i.e., status and superiority) or traditional, local dialect (covert prestige, i.e., solidarity). For example, an experiment by Grondelaers and Van Gent (2019) has revealed that Moroccan Flavored Dutch carries dynamic prestige, associated with streetwiseness and popular culture. Something similar has been observed for the Danish context, where features previously "associated with the 'low prestige' traditional urban working class variety", are now re-indexicalized as "modern Copenhagen speech" and "rated high on social dimensions of dynamism" (Madsen 2016: 199). The latter example illustrates that the emergence of dynamic prestige may well be accompanied by processes of re-indexicalization.

Obviously, stylistic repertoires (including the use of adnominal gender markers) and the meanings assigned to them are variable, depending on domains of language use and the registers deemed fit for these various domains (cf. Bell 2006). In recent years, digitalization has increased the opportunities for style-shifts. For example, in offline peer group conversations, registers of language use will be different from the registers for online performances on the one hand, and from online

writing on the other hand. Writing, also when it takes place online, draws on different norms of language behavior and therefore will take different forms and features from the urban youth language repertoires than peer group conversations will do (e.g., Hillewaert 2015). We will briefly discuss this modality-driven linguistic variation in Section 3 and 4.

In the next two sections, the case studies of Gouda and Eindhoven will be discussed. What variation do young speakers show when it comes to adnominal gender marking, and do speakers reflect on it?

3. Gender variation of Moroccan Dutch speakers

3.1. Variation patterns

The data in the present study are taken from a corpus of interviews conducted by one of the authors with Moroccan Dutch (henceforth abbreviated as MD) youth in Gouda from 2014 until 2017 for the purpose of a phonetic and grammatical description (cf. Mourigh 2017, Mourigh fc.). Most people of Moroccan heritage in Gouda originate from the region of Nador in northern Morocco, specifically from the Ait Said (or: Bni Said) tribal area (De Mas ms.). Therefore, Tarifiyt Berber is the main heritage language, that is, the main language of most parents, while the size of other ethnic communities (Surinamese, Antillean and the Turkish population) is negligible. It is therefore the ideal location to study Moroccan Dutch. All interviews were conducted in Dutch, with occasional Berber or Arabic code-switching. At the time of recording, the participants were in secondary school (*vmbo*, *speciaal onderwijs*) or in lower vocational training (*mbo*). The interviews reported in the current paper were conducted with boys aged 16-21, i.e., the age at which the 'adolescent peak is reached' (cf. Labov 2001), who share a similar educational and socio-economic background.

The Standard Dutch gender system (in Table 1) is used without exception by the white Dutch speakers in the Gouda corpus (Mourigh 2017). However, for the MD speakers, our data show overgeneralization of common gender, which confirms results from previous studies pertaining to youth vernaculars and multiethnolects (Section 2). In Figure 1, the distribution of common and neuter determiners preceding Dutch neuter nouns is displayed for ten MD speakers from Gouda (N = 252). The chart shows absolute numbers. The rightmost bars are the sum of the other columns. The leftmost bars show that the article *het* (neuter) is more frequent than the article *de* (common) preceding neuter nouns, while the second bar shows that the distal demonstrative *die* (common) is much more frequent than *dat* (neuter) preceding neuter nouns. In the case of demonstratives, the overgeneralized form is even more frequent than the standard form. Proximal demonstratives *dit*/*deze* are infrequent, but show a nearly even distribution.

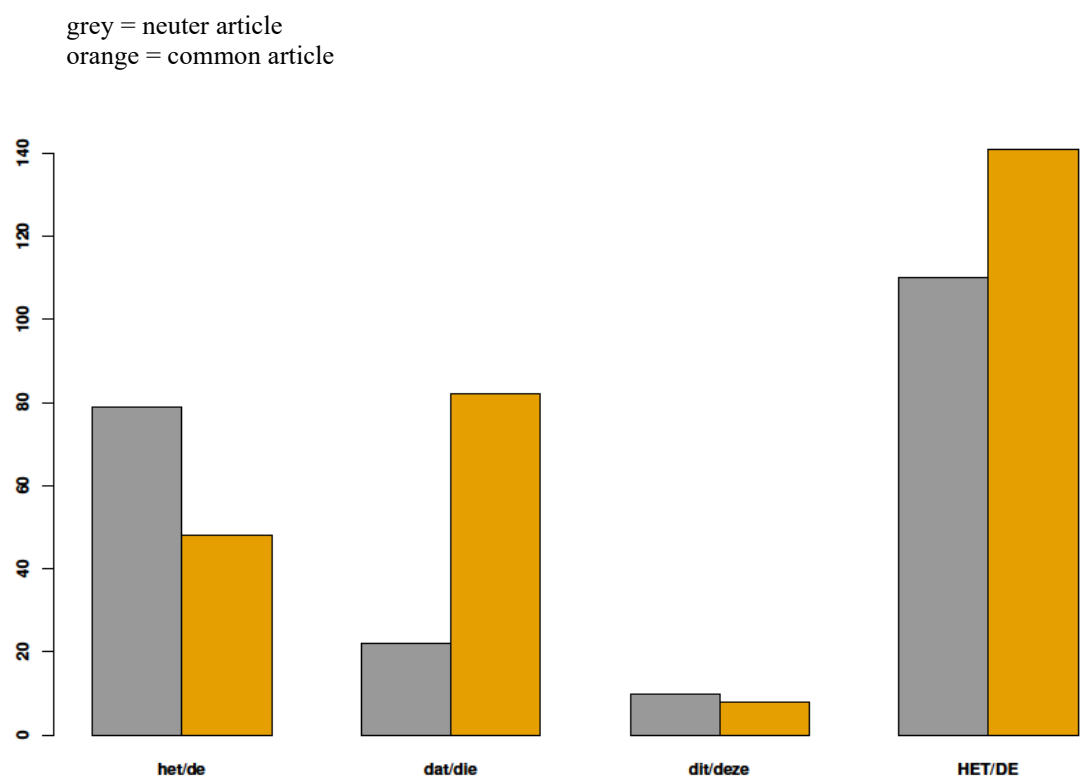

Figure 1: Distribution of common and neuter determiners in the speech of ten MD speakers from the Gouda Corpus.

Below we present some examples (9-13) of common gender articles and demonstratives preceding neuter nouns. The target forms are put between brackets.

(9) *Bij de [<het] centrum, weet je waar, richting uhm.* (MD-C, 16)
'In the center, you know where, in the direction uhm.'

(10) *Deze [<dit] land is niet alleen maar voor Nederlanders.* (MD-K, 16)
'This country is not only for Dutch people.'

(11) *Zij werken niet precies, je weet toch, niet echt met [die] [<dat] vlees.* (MD-I, 21)
'They don't work exactly, you know, not really with [that] meat.'

(12) *Ik wil daar, de [<het] jaar derop, klaar je weet toch uh.* (MD-I, 21)
'I want to, [the] year after that, finished, you know.'

(13) *Waar ligt, waar ligt de [<het] paradijs?!* (MD-L, 16)
'Where is [the] Paradise?!'

Diminutive nouns are grammatically neuter in Dutch, but are preceded by a common gender article by the MD speakers as well, as illustrated in the examples (14) and (15). To be sure we are dealing

with a variable feature, the neuter gender article is attested as well on diminutive nouns (16).

(14) *Die [<dat] mannetje, de eigenaar van die [<dat] ding.* (MD-I, 21)
'[That] little guy, the owner of [that] thing.'

(15) *Die zwager is getrouwd met de [<het] zusje van die man.* (MD-I, 21)
'That brother-in-law is married with [the] little sister of that man.'

(16) *Het bruggetje, dat is tussen de stad en Korte Akkeren.* (MD-B, 23)
'The little bridge, that is between the city and *Korte Akkeren*.'

The example in (17) shows a peculiar use of the demonstrative pronoun which is unknown in Standard Dutch: the city name Gouda is preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *deze* (common). In Standard Dutch it is impossible to use deictics with (unique) place names in this way. It should be noted that the construction is quite rare in the corpus, and it resembles a Berber construction in which a demonstrative pronoun can follow a place name.

(17) *Ja, veel wel, tenminste deze Gouda volop.* (MD-I, 21)
'Yes, a lot do, at least in this Gouda a lot.'

Although the bar chart in Figure 1 reveals a quite robust pattern, there are some inter-individual differences in the distribution of common and neuter determiners preceding neuter nouns. Table 3 shows this distribution on a selection of speakers from the Gouda corpus.

Speaker	DE	DEZE	DIE	***total DE***	HET	DIT	DAT	***total HET***	***total***	***% DE***
MD-I	6	2	23	**31**	12	2	2	**16**	**47**	**66%**
MD-A	2	-	13	**15**	2	1	-	**3**	**18**	**83%**
MD-L	2	-	5	**7**	2	2	2	**6**	**13**	**54%**
MD-K	-	-	11	**11**	1	-	1	**2**	**13**	**85%**
MD-M	1	-	6	**7**	-	2	3	**5**	**12**	**58%**
MD-J	6	-	-	**6**	7	-	2	**9**	**15**	**40%**
MD-M	2	1	5	**8**	3	-	-	**3**	**11**	**73%**
MD-B	1	-	3	**4**	26	1	7	**34**	**38**	**12%**
MD-E	2	1	10	**14**	-	-	-	**0**	**14**	**100%**

Table 3: Inter-individual differences in the production of common and neuter determiners in the Gouda corpus.

Table 3 reveals that most speakers use the demonstrative pronoun *die* most often, in line with the findings in Figure 1. There is considerable variation, between 12% up to 100%. Generally, the higher the percentage of overgeneralizations, the higher the incidence of other aspects of Moroccan Dutch

speech. For instance, MD-I and MD-E's speech is characterized by a high incidence of sibilant palatalization, overlong consonants and sometimes extremely short or absent vowels (cf. Mourigh, fc).

A single gender system seems to be developing, even though, as the data show, this change is still in progress. The use of the neuter article and demonstratives are declining, and common gender seems to be taking over its function. Furthermore, determiners are often omitted (cf. Doreleijers et al. 2019), as in (18).

(18) *Nu is het gewoon Ø spelletje.* (MD-I, 21)
'Now it's just a game.'

Like other speakers, speakers of Moroccan Dutch are confronted with a standard language norm which poses challenges in particular circumstances. In the following subsection, we discuss the implications of the tension between the standard norm and speakers deviating from it.

3.2. Hyperforms in Moroccan Dutch: speech and forum data

One Moroccan Dutch speaker, MD-B is clearly aware of the different articles Standard Dutch nouns take, reflected by the low percentage of overgeneralization in his speech (see Table 3). In one interview he corrects a younger interlocuter, showing his metalinguistic awareness.

Interviewer *Ja, je zei: ik ga soms op vakantie naar Marokko. Soms Tunesië hè?*
'Yes, you said: 'I sometimes go on holiday to Morocco. Sometimes Tunisia, right?''
MD-T *Ja, om de jaar.*
'Yes, every other year.'
MD-B *<u>Het</u> jaar (lachen).*
'<u>The</u> year' (laughter).

Not only does speaker MD-B correct the interlocuter, during the interview he is very conscious of his language. When we discuss formal subjects pertaining to school and education, he clearly tries his best to keep a formal stance (cf. Kiesling 2009; Mourigh 2017). He does not use the common gender determiner on neuter nouns at all, and more interestingly, he uses the neuter determiner where a common gender determiner is expected in Standard Dutch. This is an example of (qualitative) hypercorrection: the forms "are used in constructions in which they should not occur, being conceived as more prestigious" (Hubers et al. 2020: 553). MD-B uses a neuter determiner preceding a common noun eight times (see 19-22), while he uses a neuter determiner preceding a neuter noun fourteen times.

In the context of overgeneralizing the neuter forms, the Moroccan Dutch speaker shows a form of linguistic insecurity, that is, he is trying to reach the Standard Dutch target but he overshoots it, resulting in 'too much' standard language (cf. Labov 1972). Conspicuously, the examples below show that the neuter determiner is used when there is a triggering context, such as the article 'het' already preceding it or a contamination with a following neuter noun. Example (22) shows variation on the same noun.

(19) *En die moeten dus het [<de] Engelse taal gaan…* (MD-B, 17)
'And he must do [the] English language…'

(20) *In het [<de] Nederlandse taal heb je dat niet, denk ik* (MD-B, 17)
'In [the] Dutch language there is no such thing, I think.'

(21) *Van HBO naar het [<de] universiteit.* (MD-B, 17)
'From higher vocational study to [the] university.'

(22) *In het zuiden van het [<de] hoofdstad of in het noorden van de hoofdstad?* (MD-B, 17)
'In the South of the capital or in the North of the capital?'

In the Gouda corpus, only speaker MD-B shows this type of overgeneralization. To further examine this phenomenon within the interactional context, we decided to examine the use of the neuter determiner in written peer group communication on *forums.marokko.nl*.[7] On this forum, (mainly) Moroccan Dutch youngsters discuss all kinds of issues. The forum is completely in Dutch and has been active for over two decades. It has 192,205 profiles which is an indication of its popularity in the Moroccan Dutch speaking community (this includes Flanders).[8] Even though social media seem to have taken over a lot of the functions of the forum, it still is very active with daily posts and almost 1300 people online at one moment.[9] The forum has different subforums such as *algemeen* 'general', *yasmina* dedicated to women and dating, *islam & levensbeschouwing* 'islam and philosophy of life', *Marokko dating* 'Morocco dating', *Sport, uitgaan & vrije tijd* 'Sports, entertainment and spare time', and finally a subforum called *creative writing* (sic).

To investigate overgeneralization of the neuter determiners, we have conducted a random search on frequently occurring common gender nouns (see Table 4) in combination with the neuter article *het* on the forum.

het man	'the man'
het jongen	'the boy'
het tijd	'the time'
het hand	'the hand'
het dag	'the day'
het vrouw	'the woman'
het plaats	'the place'

Table 4: Frequently occurring common gender nouns with neuter articles on *forums.marokko.nl*.

In addition, we have searched the forum on nouns which we expected to frequently occur with neuter *het* because of their association with formal contexts, i.e., *het school* < de school 'the school' and *het tas* < de tas 'the bag', both of which occur in school contexts.

The search yielded many results, especially in longer texts that demand a serious key (cf. Kossmann 2017b). Often, as in the spoken examples, a neuter determiner precedes or follows the noun with a gender mismatch. In examples (23) and (24), *dag* 'day' is preceded by article noun with neuter marking, in example (25) it is followed by it. The noun *oordeel* 'judgement' takes a neuter determiner in Dutch, pointing to a possible contamination. In all examples, targets are in bold, and

[7] We would like to thank Maarten Kossmann for pointing out that neuter gender overgeneralization is common on this forum.
[8] Accessed on 5 April 2023.
[9] Accessed on 5 April 2023.

preceding 'correct' neuter articles are marked by an underscore. Note that in (23), overgeneralization of common gender occurs too, i.e., *deze stukje tekst* 'this piece of text' instead of *dit stukje tekst*, as *stukje* is grammatically neuter (a diminutive).

(23) **llllooooollll**
laa illaha illahllah 28-10-2007 23:21 #2
O broeder en zuster hopelijk heb je wat van deze stukje tekst geleerd. De voorspellingen van de profeet zijn ook echt uitgekomen wat ons dichterbij maakt naar het einde van de dagen en ***het*** *Dag Des Oordeels.*
'O brother and sister I hope you have learned something from this piece of text. The prophecies of the prophet have actually come true which brings us closer to the end of days and the Day of Judgment.'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=1635845&p=38962402&viewfull=1

(24) **princess87** 13-02-2005
nieuws lezen voor anderen, plaats zal maken in het paradijs op ***het*** *dag des oordeels, en al degenen die dit nieuws niet geloven zullen verbannen worden van het paradijs.*
'reading news to others, will make way in paradise on the day of judgment, and all those who do not believe this news believe will be banished from paradise.'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=583699

(25) *Wie denkt zij dat zij is , het top punt van al is dat de jurken picco bello uitzagen ze loog tegen mijn zus , al goe kent mijn zus een echte vriendin die ook ziana is ze had ook bruidloft van haar nicht op die dag maar ze wou toch mijn zus helpen alatif en die bruidsjurk gaf ze op* ***het*** *dag van het huwelijk*
'Who does she think she is , the pinnacle of all is that the dresses looked picco bello she lied to my sister , well my sister knows a real friend who is also ziana [make-up artist] she also had her cousin's wedding on that day but she wanted anyway help my sister alatif and that wedding dress she gave on the day of marriage.'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=2439548&p=60925697

Example (26) shows multiple uses of the neuter article *het* in one story. In this case, there is no preceding or following neuter noun which may provide a trigger for *het vrouw* 'the woman'. Moreover, the distal demonstrative *dat vrouw* 'that' woman, is also neuter. Later on in the story, the neuter noun *kwik* 'mercury' if followed by the common noun *emmer* 'bucket', which is preceded by a neuter article. At the end of the story, the neuter article is used with *emmer* 'bucket' again.

(26) **faatje_01** 21-03-2005
Ik bekeek het kamertje nauwkeurig en wenste dat ik nu in me eige huisje zat. Het zag er zoo eng uit !! dr was een fornuis met een paar pannen dr op. Wat er in zat kon ik niet zien en weten wou ik ook niet want het rook niet erg lekker. 'Ga zitten..' zei ***het*** *vrouw met een felle stem. Ik zg dat khalid het een beetje benauwd kreeg. Ik moest er stiekem wel om lachen. Zo stoer was khalid dus niet. 'Om wie gaat het..' zei* ***het*** *vrouw.*
'Het gaat om mijn dochter Rachida..' voordat me moeder haar zin kon afmaken sprak ***het*** *vrouw tot mij.*
het leek wel alsof ze me gedachten kon lezen. Ze pakte een pollepel en k zag dat ze wat uit 1 van die kokende pannetjes haalde. Het leek wel op kwik. Ze mompelde iets en ze gooide het kwik in ***het*** *emmer water dat onder mij stond. PLATSSSSSSSSSSS!!!! Ik hoorde een*

oorverdovende klap en het water spetterde zo erg dat me broek helemaal nat ervan werd. Ik schrok zo erg dat ik begon te gillen. 'niet bang zijn.' zei ze weer en ze herhaalde het drie keer. 'zo je bent klaar je mag weer gaan zitten.' Ik liet me dat niet 2x zeggen en ging als de speer op de bank zitten naast me moeder. zij gaf geen kik. het leek wel alsof ze dit verwachte. Khalid daartegen was helemaal bleek geworden. ***Dat*** *vrouw pakte wat uit* ***het*** *emmer en zette het neer op tafel.*
I looked closely at the room and wished I was now in my own little house. It looked so scary!! There was a stove with a few pans on it. I couldn't see what was in it and I didn't want to know because it didn't smell very good. 'Sit down..' the woman said in a fierce voice. I saw khalid got a little stuffy. I secretly had to laugh about it. So Khalid wasn't that tough. 'Who is it about..' said the woman.
'It's about my daughter Rachida..' Before my mother could finish her sentence, the woman spoke to me.
it was like she could read my mind. She grabbed a ladle and I saw that she took something out of one of those boiling pans. It looked like mercury. She mumbled something and threw the mercury into the bucket of water below me. PLATSSSSSSSSSS!!!! I heard a deafening bang and the water splashed so much that my pants got all wet. I was so shocked that I started to scream. 'do not be afraid.' she said again and she repeated it three times. 'so you're done you can sit down again.' I didn't let myself be told that twice and sat on the couch next to my mother like the spear. She didn't make a sound. It seemed like she expected this. Khalid had gone completely pale. That woman took something out of the bucket and put it on the table.
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=530701&pp=15&page=85

The following examples do not show any preceding triggers. In example (27), the feminine noun *vrouw* 'woman' is preceded by a masculine noun phrase *de man* ('the man'), and still the neuter article is chosen (*het vrouw* < *de vrouw* 'the woman'). In (27-33), different nouns are assigned a neuter article despite their common gender: *het plaats* 'the place'*, het school* 'the school'*, het tas* 'the bag'.

(27) **abdelkarim_010** 10-12-2003
Ik persoonlijk vind de marokkaanse vrouwen de mooiste vrouwen die er zijn. Als je goed om je heen kijkt dan zul je me niet snel tegenspreken. Wat ik wel weet van zowel de man als ***het*** *vrouw dat ze het niet prettig vinden als ze elkaar zien met iemand van andere cultuur zien.*
'I personally think the Moroccan women are the most beautiful women there are. If you take a good look around you, you won't easily contradict me. What I do know from both the man and the woman that they don't like seeing each other with someone from a different culture.'

(28) Weegschaal123 12-07-2009, 16:53
Het is eigenlijk nooit goed kan ***het*** *vrouw geen kind krijgen is het gezeur…*
'*It's never OK, if the woman can't have a child, she's nagging…*'
https://forums.marokko.nl/archive/index.php/t-2639000-mijn-man-wil-nog-geen-kinderen-maar-ik-wil-heel-graag-p-3.html

(29) JOEJOEJOE 19-03-2009, 12:05
zet hier ***het*** *plaats waar je bent geboren.....*
'put here the place where you were born.....'
https://forums.marokko.nl/archive/index.php/t-2501881-waar-ben-je-geboren.html

(30) 3.301 12-10-2005
herkennen ze zal samen met die enen knapste jongen van heel ***het*** *school verkeren end of*

story waaauw wat een pracht van een verhaal net als al die andere verhalen
'recognizing she will be with that one most handsome boy in the whole school end of story wow what a beauty of a story just like all those other stories'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=1745278&p=42178885&viewfull=1

(31) moslima25
03-08-2012, 20:51
*"oke oke siaar, je hebt je punt gemaakt, ik vertel het gewoon, ik ga misschien verhuizen", k kreeg een hartaanval, mn beste vriend die **het** school wat leuker maakte, gaat weg ?!'*
"Okay okay siaar, you made your point, I'm just telling you, I might move", I had a heart attack, my best friend who made school more fun, is leaving?! I got a call, but wouldn't answer until I saw it was my mom, oh no bullshit.'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=2188088&p=54159659

(32) soufyan007 08-01-2006, 15:06
*aangekomen op **het** school moesten alle leeringen naar de gymzaal daar kregen we te horen in welke klas we zouden komen en met wie en zo*
'arrived at the school, all pupils had to go to the gym, there we were told in which class we would come and with whom and so'
https://forums.marokko.nl/archive/index.php/t-778288-voor-ik-het-wist-was-mijn-meisje-ontmaagd.html

(33) Geplaatst door **Stopmetjeleven**
*Neem dat mee in **het** tas, je klikt gwn er 1x op en dat oorverdovend alarm ga af.*
'Take that with you in the bag, you just click on it once and that deafening alarm goes off.'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=5597287&page=15

Examples (34) and (35) show an interaction on a forum post. The topic is made by *Mallory* who pretends to open an online coupling agency. Anyone who wants to meet their future spouse can react. Someone says "I want somebody who's funny", then another post says "how funny?" to which *Agzenay systém* reacts in example (34). It is unclear if he is referring to an earlier interaction between them with his statement, but the overgeneralization of the neuter pronoun is striking in any case. In (35), *Mallory* makes a metalinguistic commentary about the 'erroneous' use of the neuter determiner by repeating the noun phrase *het klas* and by demanding him to stop being 'funny'. The fact that 'funny' is placed in inverted commas indicates its ironic use, i.e., according to *Mallory* the way the neuter article is used in a hypercorrect way by *Agzenay systém* is not really funny but comes across as 'forced' or supposedly funny.

(34) Agzenay systém 01-12-2010
*Zo grappig.. dat je **het** klas word uitgestuurd.*
'So funny.. you get kicked out of class.'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=4503024&page=1

(35) **Mallory** 15-12-2012 13:05 #15
***Het** klas? Alsjeblieft stop met 'grappig' zijn.* 🙂
'The class? Please stop being 'funny'.'
https://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=4503024&page=1

The data in this section have shown that young speakers of Moroccan Dutch in Gouda exhibit

overgeneralization not only of the common determiner (as described in Section 2), but also of the neuter determiner. The latter results in hypercorrect language use, which sometimes leads to mockery by peers. However, not all speakers in the current study show this variation pattern. Interindividual variation might be related to awareness of the standard norm, i.e., speakers deliberately deviating from the in-group norms (such as overgeneralizing common determiners to accommodate to the social context of 'hanging out with friends') to achieve a more standard-like speech or writing style. The next section describes the setting of Eindhoven, where speakers actually aim to deviate from the standard by overusing dialect forms.

4. Gender variation of Brabantish speakers

4.1. Variation patterns

Previous research in North Brabantish context has revealed that language contact not only leads to convergence, i.e., the omission of the masculine gender suffix as displayed in Table 2, but also to divergence (Doreleijers et al. 2021). Variation increases as younger speakers overgeneralize the suffix or invent innovative suffixes. A study by Doreleijers et al. (2020) presents evidence of this increased variation by investigating speech data from fifteen adolescent speakers, aged 14 to 17 (different educational levels). In this study, peer groups of three speakers performed a translation task in which they had to translate 75 sentences from Standard Dutch to their own way of speaking Brabantish (with peers). Strikingly, traditional gender suffixes (such as *enen auto* 'a car') were only reported in 4% of all translations. In 70% of the utterances, participants used an adnominal form similar to Dutch, pointing at convergence. However, the remaining utterances show evidence of hyperdialectism, i.e., the suffix is used in linguistic contexts where it does not belong historically (Lenz 2004; Hinskens 2014: 114), such as with feminine nouns (*enen oma* 'a grandma'), neuter nouns (*ene koekske* 'a cookie'), or plurals (*den spiegels* 'the mirrors'). In 5% of the utterances, participants came up with a jointly invented form in which the original suffix is doubled. This stacked suffix is used with singular masculine nouns (e.g., *enenen hond* 'a dog') as well as with hyperdialectal forms (e.g., *enene koe* 'a cow').

The data of the abovementioned study were collected in June 2017 at a secondary school in Eindhoven, near the city center. Eindhoven is the fifth largest city in the Netherlands, and with about 240,000 inhabitants the largest city of the province of North Brabant. The city of Eindhoven is also called a *Brainport* city because of its booming high-tech industry, such as the High Tech Campus, ASML, and the Eindhoven University of Technology. Due to (labor) migration from other provinces and the influx of expats, the number of citizens has increased significantly in the last century. In addition, the geographical territory of Eindhoven has grown, with former villages becoming urban neighborhoods in *Groot Eindhoven* (Swanenberg & Brok 2008: 25; Wilting et al. 2014: 146). Social mobility and immigration as well as the global image and reach of the companies and the research institutes, lead to language contact situations that may reduce the use of local dialects in favor of macro languages such as Dutch, English, and immigrant languages. Local dialects give way to a so-called *regiolect*, i.e., a leveled dialect variety with a larger geographical reach, cf. *koine* (Britain 2009; Hoppenbrouwers 1990). Moreover, 'new' citizens who did not acquire the Brabantish dialect from a young age and carry their own linguistic background mix up with authentic local dialect speakers. This contact situation offers insights into how and why (a specific feature of) the dialect varies and changes.

The variation in forms that was discovered in the study of Doreleijers et al. (2020) raises multiple questions, for example on the situated use and the metalinguistic awareness of the gender feature. Are hyperdialectal forms also found in other contexts? And to what extent are speakers aware of the feature, i.e., are hyperdialectisms produced deliberately or rather unintentionally? To answer these questions, a follow-up study on social media dialect was conducted by Doreleijers (fc.). In this study, a Brabantish Instagram page was analyzed to determine whether the gender suffix is also used

in posts that aim to highlight and magnify the local Brabantish identity. In total, 961 nominal phrases were analyzed. The results reveal that almost a quarter of these phrases contain a hyperdialectal gender suffix. The large amount of hyperdialectisms indicates that the gender suffix is a distinctive feature of Brabantish that is suitable to give the language in the posts a local flavor. This idea is supported by data from a semi-structured interview with the creator (part of the same study), who mentions the suffix as one of the linguistic features that he considers typically Brabantish and therefore appropriate in constructing a recognizable Brabantish identity. In addition, he reports to use hyperdialectisms deliberately to emphasize a deviation from Standard Dutch, even if he hesitates whether the produced form might be 'wrong' Brabantish.

Speakers who (deliberately) violate grammatical rules provide an interesting case for sociolinguistic research. In general, hyperdialectisms are thought to result from limited dialect knowledge. As fewer people grow up with a Brabantish dialect as their first language (in favor of Dutch), their acquisition of the traditional grammar is incomplete. These speakers pick up dialect features in their social environment without acquiring the corresponding grammatical constraints. This results in speakers overdoing these features in an attempt to sound local. However, a lack of grammatical knowledge does not necessarily mean that speakers have no sense of a linguistic norm at all. Therefore, Section 4.2 delves deeper into the norms that are associated with the use of the gender suffix by 'new' dialect speakers.

4.2. One feature, multiple norms: evidence from focus group discussions

The Brabantish dialects have no standardized norm, unlike Standard Dutch. There is no uniform variety, but rather a set of local variants that can all together be labelled 'Brabantish'. For example, there are many differences in accent, lexicon and grammar between the western and the eastern part of the province, and there is even variation between neighboring towns and villages. However, the gender feature is considered to be quite stable across the province, as recorded in grammar descriptions from the twentieth century. Nevertheless, Brabantish is not a language you learn from the books (at school, for instance, children are taught in Standard Dutch), but a language that is transmitted across generations, from direct personal experience. The steep decline in the acquisition and use of Brabantish as a first and home language, however, has detrimental effects on the transmission of the dialect (Versloot 2020). This can be inferred, for example, from the following excerpt reported in the abovementioned study of Doreleijers et al. (2020: 95-96). This excerpt is retrieved from the transcriptions of the translation task, with the peers (A4, B4, C4) reflecting on their own use of the gender suffix.

C4: *Menne* tènte lècht ècht hillemal nooit, maar *men* oom wel.
'My-M aunt-F never laughs, but my-∅ oncle-M does.'
B4: Lècht (lacht).
'Laughs' (laughs).
A4: Maar *men oom* wel.
'But my-∅ oncle-M does.'
B4: Ja.
'Yes.'
B4: 'Is ut *men* of *menne*?'
'Do you say men-∅ or menne-M?'
B4: Maar *menne* oom wel of *men* oom wel?
'But my-M uncle-M does or my-∅ uncle-M does?'
C4: Ligt eraan of je vrouwelijk of mannelijk zit volges mij.
'I think it depends on femininity or masculinity.'

A4: *Zen* oom.
'His-∅ uncle.'
C4: *Men* oom, *menne* tante. Ja.
'My-∅ uncle-M, my-M aunt-F. Yes.'

This example already reveals vague awareness of the grammatical function of the suffix. The speakers know to some extent that there is a grammatical rule for the use of the suffix, and they also know that this rule has something to do with the lexical gender of the noun. However, their interpretation is actually the opposite of what we might expect, as they ascribe the suffix to feminine nouns instead of masculine nouns. Moreover, kinship terms are an exception to the rule, i.e., regardless of their gender, the suffix is never used.

To improve our understanding of the extent to which young speakers still have a sense of a norm, five focus group discussions were conducted between April and July 2022. In total, 25 speakers aged 16-18 participated in the study. All participants had limited knowledge of the traditional dialect, as they (on average) indicated to speak 'a little Brabantish'. The study took place at a school for secondary education (senior general and pre-university level) in the city center of Eindhoven. Each group of five peers was recruited by the teacher. The focus group discussions were part of a larger mixed-method study, including a questionnaire on language use and attitudes, and a judgment task in which participants had to indicate the acceptability of spoken sentences with traditional and hyperdialectal gender suffixes. Each time, the focus group discussion was the final part of the study. On average, the discussions lasted 23 minutes. The lingua franca of all discussions was Dutch, with interferences from the Brabantish dialect. Based on a topic guide (cf. Matthews & Ross 2010: 246) participants were asked by the researcher about their evaluations of three prompts, i.e., pictures containing a hyperdialectal gender suffix, such as *ene (unne) daome* ('a- M lady'). The pictures were obtained from the social media corpus described in Section 4.1. In particular, the questions revolved around the features contributing to the 'Brabantishness' of the prompts, which could be both linguistic and cultural. In all five group discussions, the gender suffix was mentioned as one of the features contributing to the Brabantishness of the prompts.

An important aspect of the study's design is that participants were not informed about the phenomenon of interest, i.e., the gender marking suffix, until the very last moment of the discussion. For the current paper, we zoom in on this final part of the discussion. The question that was asked in every group reads (roughly): "do you know when to use *ene (unne)* instead of *een (un)*, or *den* instead of *de*?" Strikingly, this question has led to a different answer in each focus group discussion. Below, these different norms are described and illustrated by excerpts of the transcripts. In each excerpt, A-E indicate different participants, and R indicates the researcher.

Focus group discussion 1
In the first focus group discussion, participants ascribe the use of the gender suffix to the situational context. They would be more likely to use it when they are drunk, in the pub, or with friends, as they adapt the use of the suffix to the setting they are in and the people they are with. In doing so, they call it "the lowest level" of Brabantish, or in other words: it is a kind of 'basic' Brabantish, it is just normal to use it. Strikingly, the participants do not talk about a grammatical norm at all.

R: Weten jullie wanneer je dat gebruikt die vorm *unne* of *den*?
'Do you know when you use that form *unne* or *den*?'
A: Ik gebruik het denk ik vaker als ik een beetje dronken ben. Als we dan weet ik veel 's avonds met een paar vrienden in het café staan.
'I think I use it more often when I am a little drunk. When we are in the bar at night with a

couple of friends.'
D: Ik pas het denk ik best wel aan aan de setting waarin ik ben en met welke mensen.
'I think I pretty much adapt it to the setting in which I am and with which people.'
E: Ik heb het niet echt in de gaten als ik het zou gebruiken. Maar ik heb wel in de gaten dat mijn vrienden het weleens zeggen, maar het is wel Brabants.
'I really don't notice when I use it. But I do notice that my friends say it sometimes, but it is definitely Brabantish.'
A: Omdat het zo normaal is gaat het eigenlijk gewoon aan je voorbij als iemand het zegt.
'Because it's so normal, you just forget about it when someone says it.'
E: Ja het is echt het laagste level van Brabants.
'Yes, it is actually the lowest level of Brabantish.'

Focus group discussion 2
In the second focus group discussion the participants also did not know about the grammar rule underlying the use of the gender suffix. They follow the guideline "just do (use) it". This could mean that they assume there is no norm at all. Yet this does not seem to be the case either, as they also refer to contexts where it might not be correct to use the suffix. However, they are not able to further elaborate on what exactly that norm would be.

R: En heb je daar ook een gevoel bij wanneer je *unne* gebruikt? En wanneer je dat niet kan doen?
'And do you have a feeling about when you can use *unne*? And when you can't use it?'
C: Hoe bedoelt u?
'What do you mean?'
R: Ja dus weet je wat de regel daarvoor is, wanneer je *unne* zegt in het Brabants en wanneer je gewoon *un* zegt?
'Yes, so whether you know what the rule is, when you use *unne* in Brabantish and when you use *un*?'
C: Ik denk da er nie veel regels achter zitten.
'I think there are not many rules behind it.'
A: Gewoon doen.
'Just do it'.
C: Je komt er vanzelf wel achter als het niet klopt.
'You will find out if it's not correct.'

Focus group discussion 3
The finding from the second focus group discussion is quite similar to that from the third focus group discussion. Again, there is no explicit awareness of a grammatical norm underlying the use of the gender suffix. Participants indicate that their use of the suffix is automatic or natural.

R: En hebben jullie een idee wanneer je eigenlijk in 't Brabants bijvoorbeeld *unne* gebruikt of *den*?
'And do you guys have an idea when you actually use *unne* or *den* in Brabantish?'
B: Ik weet niet of ik 't zo kan uitleggen maar meestal gebeurt 't vanzelf ofzo.
'I don't know if I can explain it this way but usually it happens automatically or something like that.'
R: Oké, ja, dus je bent daar niet bewust van?
'OK, so you are not aware of it?'
B: Nee ik ben er nie bewust mee bezig van oh nou moet ik dit zeggen of nou moet ik dat zeggen, 't gebeurt eigenlijk gewoon dan vanzelf.

'No, I am not consciously thinking about whether I should say this or that, it just happens naturally.'

R: Ja. En geldt da voor jullie allemaal?
'Yes. And this applies to all of you?'

All: Ja.
'Yes.'

Focus group discussion 4

We observe a very different sense of the norm in the fourth focus group. Here, participants reflect on the use of the marked possessive pronoun *munne* ('my-M'). They evaluate this form as exaggerated Brabantish, especially in written dialect. Participant A points to the use of *munne* when addressing or talking about a friend (i.e., in-group, with peers): *munne maot* 'my buddy'. Besides, the participants associate it with a variant of Brabantish that would be used in stylization practices (Coupland 2007) when speakers want to portray themselves as someone from Brabant, i.e., a social persona (Agha 2003: 243; Doreleijers fc.). The participants indicate that in these stylization practices, exaggeration is often accompanied by a non-serious tone of voice.

B: Nee *munne* is gewoon overdreven, maar das bij heel veel dingen als je 't uitschrijft dan is 't altijd groter als da je 't echt in de volksmond zegt.
'No, *munne* is just exaggerated, but that's the case with a lot of things, if you write it down it's always 'bigger' [i.e., more exaggerated], than if you say it in vernacular.'

R: Ja oké, eigenlijk overdreven Brabants?
'Yes OK, it is actually exaggerated Brabantish?'

D: Ik ken maar weinig mensen die echt *munne* in een zin zouden zeggen.
'I know very few people who would say *munne* in a sentence.'

A: *Munne maot*, weet je wel, da hoor je echt wel af en toe.
'*Munne maot'* ['my-M buddy'], you know, you really do hear that sometimes.'

R: En hebben jullie zelf een gevoel bij wanneer je dat dan wel zou gebruiken, wanneer zou je *unne* zeggen in plaats van *un* en wanneer zou je *den* zeggen in plaats van *de*?
'And do you have a feeling about when you would use it, when you would use *unne* instead of *un* and when you would use *den* instead of *de*?'

E: *Unne* doe 'k bijna nooit.
'I hardly ever use *unne.*'

D: Als mensen vragen "kom je uit Brabant?" en ik wil dat duidelijk maken.
'When people ask "are you from Brabant?" and I want to make that clear.

A: Ja ook weer in zo'n overdreven Brabantse zin die dan vaak onserieus is.
'Yes, another of those exaggerated Brabantish phrases that are often not intended to be taken seriously.'

Although the norm within this group seems to be governed by social or stylistic constraints instead of a grammatical constraint, one of the speakers comes up with a comment that assumes a language internal norm. The suffix in the definite article *den* might be used to put information structural emphasis on the subsequent noun, i.e., to convey that you are talking about a specific object, person or entity, in this case a farm.

B: Ik vind *den* trouwens wel iets anders. Bij *den* leg je echt meer de nadruk dan als je *de* neerzet.
'By the way, I think *den* is something else. By using *den* you really put more emphasis than by using *de*.'

R: Ja.
'Yes'.
A: *Den boerderij*.
'*Den boerderij* ['the-M farm-F].'
B: Dan heb je het wel over deze, specifiek deze boerderij. […] *De boerderij* is wa algemeen. *Den* maak je 't wel meer echt *deze* waar hij over gaat.
'Then you are talking about this one, especially this farm. […] *De boerderij* is somewhat general. By using *den* you are specifying (cf., 'this one'*)* what it is about.

Focus group discussion 5
Also in the fifth focus group discussion, there seems to be slight awareness of a language internal norm, although the participants fail to come up with a grammatical rule. One of the participants says he draws upon his grandmother's speech, who speaks traditional Brabantish dialect. He has noted that she does not always use the gender suffix, only with certain words and usually not multiple times within the same sentence. However, he does not relate this to a grammatical rule about lexical gender. Instead, he creates on-the-spot norm that prescribes alternating between forms with and without a suffix, in order not to overshoot the target.

E: Ik had het denk ik meer Brabants gevonden als ze *munne* hadden geschreven gewoon als *men m-e-n.*
'I think I would have considered it more Brabantish if they had written *munne* simply as *men m-e-n.*'
R: Oké, en dat staat er twee keer op hè, *munne buuk*, dus *mijn buik*, en *munne dialect*. Geldt da in beide gevallen of?
'Alright, and that's on it twice right, *munne buuk,* so *mijn buik* ['my belly'], and *munne dialect* ['my dialect']. Does that apply in both cases or?'
D: Ja ik denk bij die eerste wel *munne* maar bij die tweede juist *mun.* Twee keer *munne* is een beetje te.
'Yes, I think *munne* in the first one but *mun* in the second one. Two times *munne* is a bit too much.'
R: Das te?
'That's too much?'
D: Denk ik wel.
'I think so.'
R: Oké. En das gewoon jouw gevoel of heb je daar een reden voor waarom je da zou doen?
'Alright. And that's just your intuition or do you have a reason why you would do that?'
D: Nou, mijn oma praat heel Brabants, en ik denk ik vergelijk zeg maar […] ook een beetje van zou oma da kunnen zeggen […] en ik denk dat zij minder snel twee keer in een zin *mun* zou zeggen en gewoon zou afwisselen tussen *munne* en *mun*, dus daarom denk ik dat het tweede *mun* beter is.
'Well, my grandmother speaks very Brabantish, and I also compare a bit […] could grandma say that […] and I think she would be less likely to say *mun* twice in a sentence and she would just alternate between *munne* and *mun*, so that's why I think that the second *mun* is the better one.'

The findings from the focus group discussions not only provide compelling evidence of different norms within different speaker groups, but also of a shifting norm in general. The gender suffix gains social function and meaning at the expenses of grammatical function and meaning. To create an overview of this norm shift, we can situate all different norms on a continuum (see Figure

2) with the extremes being the traditional grammatical norm on the left end and the new social or stylistic norm on the right end. In between are the norms that tend to be more grammatically or socially oriented, or have a 'neutral' meaning, i.e., when the speakers have no explicit sense of a norm underlying the use and distribution of the gender suffix.

Language internal (grammatical) norm			No explicit sense of a norm		Language external (social or stylistic) norm	
Marking lexical gender	Specifying/ emphasizing the noun	Alternating between different forms	It happens automatically/ naturally	No rules (just do (use) it)	Adapting the use of the suffix to the setting, i.e., interactional context	Exaggerating the dialect to portray a persona (stylization)

Figure 2: Continuum of different norms for the use of the gender suffix in Brabantish.

The continuum shows that the original grammatical function of the suffix (i.e., marking lexical gender) can change into another function, such as emphasizing the noun (i.e., as an information structural cue) or alternating between different forms. Of course, alternation is quite vague. However, it does reveal that there is awareness of a grammatical constraint on the distribution of the suffix, which is at odds with the stylistic norm at the right end (i.e., exaggerating and overshooting the target). The right-end of the continuum illustrates that the suffix can also be detached from the original grammatical function to index social of stylistic meaning. Note that none of the participants in the focus group discussions have mentioned the traditional grammatical function of the gender suffix, although the speakers brought in different experiences and dialect knowledge.[10] Their ignorance is reinforced by the fact that none of the participants have recognized the use of the suffix in the prompts as hyperdialectal. This supports the idea that hyperdialectisms (see Section 4.1) are the result of a limited understanding of the traditional dialect. However, the suffix still functions in a social manner by adding a Brabantish flavor to the language. This claim is strengthened by the finding that the suffix is found particularly suitable for portraying a Brabantish persona.

5. Discussion

Comparing the data from Section 3 (Gouda setting – Moroccan Dutch) and Section 4 (Eindhoven setting – Brabantish) reveals differences, but also interesting parallels not previously discussed. One major difference, besides the differences in geographical area and the languages involved, relates to the target variety which determines the specific outcomes in terms of gender variation. A speaker who gears the Moroccan Dutch (developing) gender system towards a more standard type is different from a Brabantish speaker who, for different reasons, imitates the dialectal gender system by changing its rules in the process. The former aims at the standard variety by overgeneralizing the prestige variant,

[10] One could argue that this is an effect of the research setting, i.e., that speakers are unable to consciously reflect on the linguistic phenomenon. However, in this study we also collected data from older participants who did show grammatical awareness of the gender marking rule.

while the latter aims at the non-standard variety by overgeneralizing the local dialect variant. However, different linguistic outcomes appear to be resulting from comparable stylistic practices.

The first interesting parallel between the two cases is the variability in the selection of linguistic variants as well as co-occurring variants. In the Brabantish speech style, speakers both omit the gender suffix and overgeneralize it (in different ways). In the MD speech style, especially in peer interactions, speakers also favor overgeneralization of common gender determiners for stylistic reasons (cf. Nortier & Dorleijn 2008). In the light of this shift towards common gender, one might ask why neuter gender is used in the speech and writing of Moroccan Dutch youth. Although overgeneralization of neuter gender is restricted in the Gouda corpus (it is only attested in the speech of one speaker, which can also indicate an idiolect), in written MD on the forum, there are many cases. Online written communication inherently evokes a more formal style that is enhanced when used in semi-literary prose, for example in the stories on *forums.marokko.nl*. This type of overgeneralization may well be more abundant in the *creative writing* subforum, as the writer attempts to reach the standard language register. In spoken interaction, the neuter (hypercorrect) option also emerges when the register changes, for example in interaction with a higher educated and older interlocutor (the interviewer) who triggers the use of standard-like forms. However, the issue remains why so many speakers in the Gouda corpus, in which each interview was compiled in similar circumstances by the same interviewer, do not show more cases of neuter gender overgeneralization while the expected overgeneralization of common gender is abundant. This can only be accounted for if context is not the central driving force of stylistic variation. Rather, individual speakers act as stylistic agents who are "tailoring linguistic styles in ongoing and lifelong projects of self-construction and differentiation" (Eckert 2012: 98). This can also be observed in the Brabantish context, for instance when speakers indicate that their use of the gender feature depends on the interactional setting they are in or the people they are with, or on the way they want to portray themselves.

This brings us to the second parallel, as both speaker groups share that they are trying to project social personae (Agha 2003), for example formal, literate and educated in the MD case, and informal, funny and local in the Brabantish case. In constructing these personae, both speaker groups use different linguistic strategies. For example, the Brabantish case shows clear examples of *hyperdialectism*, an overgeneralization of the masculine gender suffix typical of the traditional dialect, whereas the Moroccan Dutch case shows overuse of the standard system. An appropriate term for the latter could be *hyperstandardism,* a deviant form that aims at the standard language.[11] In both processes, specific linguistic features become enregistered to represent a social persona (cf. *enregistered voice*, Agha 2005: 39). However, one feature can be linked to different registers and personae (Johnstone 2011: 675). For instance, overgeneralization of the gender feature could be an index for place (e.g., Gouda) or ethnicity (e.g., MD speakers), or both. In addition, speakers may also want to portray a persona associated with a social group, for example a non-standard speaking, streetwise youngster, or a standard speaking, literate and educated one. This stylistic agency is also reflected in some of the speakers in the Eindhoven context. Clearly, none of the speakers are aware of the traditional grammatical function of the gender feature, as they all fail to link the suffix to lexical gender. Instead, they create and negotiate on the spot the norms associated with the use of the suffix. Interestingly, these norms differ between the five speaker groups, with some groups invoking language internal norms and others referring to more social or stylistic norms. The latter relate the use of the suffix not to a grammatical rule but to an informal stylistic context of hanging out with friends, or even to portraying an exaggerated local persona. In this change from a grammatical to a social function, the suffix acquires indexical social meaning, or, in other words, the suffix is re-indexicalized as representing a jovial interactional tone of voice (in the pub, having drinks, with

[11] This term should not be mistaken for *hyperstandardization,* a macro-level term referring to large-scale and propagandistic standardization campaigns (cf. Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013).

friends), or as representing a local place (*Brabant*) or persona (*De Brabander*). These indexicals are not fixed but dynamic and changeable, as they "acquire a certain recognizable value when deployed with a specific time-space configuration", i.e., they are part of the chronotopic identity of the speaker (Blommaert & De Fina 2017: 3).

The inter- and intra-individual differences, in the Brabantish as well as the MD context, as well as the register and modality-driven differences in speech style (formal vs. informal, serious vs. funny, spoken vs. written, online vs. offline, et cetera), support the idea that the meaning of the linguistic variable, in this case the gender feature, is underspecified. It gains more specific (social) meaning(s), ranging from jovial and funny to formal and literate, in the context of the stylistic practice (Eckert 2012). The current paper has used two datasets of urban youth varieties, one in the central *Randstad* and one in the more peripheral south of the Netherlands, as a starting point to show that in addition to production data, metalinguistic reflections can be key in uncovering these meanings. Contexts of peer interactions in the online-offline nexus not only show patterns of variation, but can also provide a glimpse into the underlying awareness of the speakers, either through responses (corrections or mockery) to each other's language use in (semi-)spontaneous speech settings, or through explicitly requested statements in focus group discussions.

However, the differences in the types of data compared in this paper need to be taken into account. The two case studies did not result from the same research project, but were conducted and analyzed separately before synthesis. This explains the discrepancy in methodology, i.e., language use in interviews and digital communication were investigated in the Moroccan case study (Section 3) and focus group discussions in the Brabantish case study (Section 4). Ideally, in a multi-sited approach, the same data types should be collected to provide an accurate and thorough description of parallels and differences (cf. Maegaard et al. 2019), as explicit norms and signs of implicit (enacted) norms may take place on different levels of linguistic awareness. Therefore, the current paper is mainly exploratory; it serves as a prelude to a more detailed and methodologically balanced comparison of the youth varieties in question, drawing on multiple registers (ranging from standard to ethnic or local dialect features) in different contact constellations.

In any case, the data presented in this paper show that, even in times of globalization, in-group norms are negotiated on a very local level. In diverse urban settings, intertwined with settings of digitally mediated communication, young speakers with different linguistic backgrounds are actively involved in stylistic practices of meaning-making. In the Dutch context, dialect variation and ethnic variation in youth varieties have not previously been linked, as they are thought to result from different speaker characteristics, different source languages and possibly different social dynamics. However, a comparison of these data suggests that although different contact situations may appear very distinct on the surface, i.e., in their various linguistic outcomes (forms), the underlying driving mechanisms may be quite similar and worth further exploration.

Bibliography

Agha, Asif (2003). 'The social life of cultural value'. *Language and Communication*, 23(3-4): 231-73. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00012-0

Agha, Asif (2004). 'Registers of language'. In Duranti, Alessandro (ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology.* Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 23-45. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996522.ch2

Agha, Asif. (2005). 'Voice, footing, enregisterment'. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 15(1): 38-59. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/jlin.2005.15.1.38

Agha, Asif. (2015). 'Tropes of slang'. *Signs and Society,* 3(2): 306-330. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1086/683179

Audring, Jenny (2006). 'Pronominal gender in spoken Dutch'. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, 18: 85-116. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542706000043

Bell, Allan (2006). 'Style and the linguistic repertoire'. In Llamas, Carmen, Louise Mullany & Peter Stockwell (eds.), *The Roudledge Companion to Sociolinguistics.* London: Routledge. 95-100. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203441497

Blommaert, Jan (2021). 'Sociolinguistic Restratification in the Online-Offline Nexus: Trump's Viral Errors'. In Spotti, Massimiliano, Jos Swanenberg & Jan Blommaert (eds.), *Language Policies and the Politics of Language Practices. Essays in Honour of Sjaak Kroon.* Cham: Springer International. 7-24. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-88723-0

Blommaert, Jan & Anna De Fina (2017). 'Chronotopic identities: On the spacetime organization of who we are'. In Ikizoglu, Didem, Jeremy Wegner & Anna De Fina (eds.), *Diversity and superdiversity: Sociocultural linguistic perspectives.* Georgetown University Press. 1-15. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/book49919

Britain, David (2009). 'One foot in the grave? Dialect death, dialect contact, and dialect birth in England'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 196/197: 121-155. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/IJSL.2009.019

Cornips, Leonie (2008). 'Loosing grammatical gender in Dutch: The result of bilingual acquisition and/or an act of identity?'. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 12(1-2): 105-124. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/13670069080120010701

Cornips, Leonie, Jürgen Jaspers & Vincent de Rooij (2015). 'The politics of labelling youth vernaculars in the Netherlands and Belgium'. In Nortier, Jacomine & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, youth and identity in the 21st century: Linguistic practices across urban spaces*. Cambridge University Press. 45-70. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139061896

Cornips, Leonie & Vincent de Rooij (eds.) (2018). *The sociolinguistics of place and belonging: Perspectives from the margins*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.45

Cornips, Leonie, Stefania Marzo & Jos Swanenberg (2018). 'Processen van place-making door talige praktijken in Tilburg, Heerlen en Genk. Parodie van de Braboneger en Getske Boys, en het cités'. *Taal en Tongval*, 70(2): 149-177. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5117/TET2018.2.CORN

Coupland, Nikolas (2001). 'Dialect stylization in radio talk'. *Language in Society*, 30(3): 345-375. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404501003013

Coupland, Nikolas (2007). *Style. Language variation and identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511755064

De Mas, Paolo (ms.). 'Geboorteplaats in Marokko, van Marokkanen in Gouda'.

De Schutter, Georges (2013). 'The dialects of Brabant: Grammatical properties'. In Hinskens, Frans & Johan Taeldeman (eds.), *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Volume 3: Dutch*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 297–318. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110261332

Doreleijers, Kristel (fc). 'Enregistering grammatical gender. Indexing Brabantishness through languagecultural practices in digital tiles'. *Signs and Society.*

Doreleijers, Kristel, Marjo van Koppen & Jacomine Nortier (2019). 'Lidwoordomissie in Moroccan Flavored Dutch: Kale nomina in eentalige Nederlandse uitingen'. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 24(3): 291-322. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5117.NEDTAA2019.3.002.DORE

Doreleijers, Kristel, Marjo van Koppen & Jos Swanenberg (2020). 'De dynamiek van geslachtsmarkering in de Noord-Brabantse dialecten'. *Taal & Tongval*, 72(1): 69-116. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5117/TET2020.1.DORE

Doreleijers, Kristel, Joske Piepers, Ad Backus & Jos Swanenberg (2021). 'Language Variation in Dialect-standard Contact Situations'. In Kristiansen, Gitte, Karlien Franco, Stefano De Pascale, Laura Rosseel & Weiwei Zhang (eds.), *Cognitive Sociolinguistics Revisited.* Berlin: De Gruyter/Mouton. 175-185. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110733945

Doreleijers, Kristel & Jos Swanenberg (2023). 'Putting local dialect in the mix. Indexicality and

stylization in a TikTok challenge'. *Language & Communication,* 92: 1-14. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2023.06.002

Dorleijn, Margreet, Maarten Kossmann & Jacomine Nortier (2020). 'Urban youth speech styles in multilingual settings'. In Adamou, Evangelia & Yaron Matras (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language Contact*. Abingdon: Routledge. 366-384. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351109154

Eckert, Penelope (1988). 'Adolescent social structure and the spread of linguistic change'. *Language in society*, 17(2): 183-207. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500012756

Eckert, Penelope (2008). 'Variation and the indexical field'. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 12(4): 453-476. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2008.00374.x

Eckert, Penny (2012). 'Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation'. *Annual review of Anthropology*, 41: 87-100. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-092611-145828

Grondelaers, Stefan, Paul van Gent & Roeland van Hout (2015). 'Is Moroccan-flavoured Standard Dutch standard or not? On the use of perceptual criteria to determine the limits of standard languages'. In Prikhodkine, Alexei & Dennis R. Preston (eds.), *Responses to Language Varieties. Variability, processes and outcomes*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 191-218. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.39.09gro

Grondelaers, Stefan & Paul van Gent (2019). 'How "deep" is Dynamism? Revisiting the evaluation of Moroccan-flavored Netherlandic Dutch'. *Linguistics Vanguard*, 5(s1): 20180011. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2018-0011

Grondelaers, Stefan & Stefania Marzo (2022). 'Why does the shtyle spread? Street prestige boosts the diffusion of urban vernacular features'. *Language In Society*, 52(2): 295-320. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404521001202

Hillewaert, Sarah (2015). 'Writing with an accent: Orthographic practice, emblems, and traces on Facebook'. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 25(2): 195-214. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/jola.12079

Hinskens, Frans (2014). 'Despite or because of intensive contact? Internal, external and extralinguistic aspects of divergence in modern dialects and ethnolects of Dutch'. In Braunmüller, Kurt, Steffen Höder & Karoline Kühl (eds.), *Stability and Divergence in Language Contact: Factors and Mechanisms*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 109–40. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/silv.16

Hoppenbrouwers, Cor (1983). 'Het genus in een Brabants regiolect'. *Tabu*, 13: 1–25.

Hoppenbrouwers, Cor (1990). *Het regiolect: van dialect tot Algemeen Nederlands*. Muiderberg: Coutinho.

Hubers, Ferdy, Thijs Trompenaars, Sebastian Collin, Kees de Schepper & Helen de Hoop (2020). 'Hypercorrection as a by-product of education'. *Applied Linguistics*, 41(4): 552-574. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amz001

Jaspers, Jürgen, & Sarah Van Hoof (2013). 'Hyperstandardisation in Flanders: Extreme enregisterment and its aftermath'. *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*, 23(2): 331-359. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.23.2.06jas

Johnstone, Barbara (2011). 'Dialect enregisterment in performance'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 15(5): 657-679. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2011.00512.x

Johnstone, Barbara (2014) '"100% Authentic Pittsburgh": Sociolinguistic authenticity and the linguistics of particularity'. In Lacoste, Véronique, Jakob Leimgruber & Thiemo Breyer (eds.), *Indexing Authenticity: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 97–112. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110347012

Jørgensen, J. Normann (2008a). 'Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents'. *International journal of multilingualism*, 5(3): 161-176. DOI:

https://doi.org/abs/10.1080/14790710802387562
Jørgensen, J. Normann (2008b). 'Youth Language'. In Jensen, Maria Marqvard, Louise Højrup, Louise Kammacher, Lian Malai Madsen, Marie Maegaard, Julie Møller, Pia Quist, Janus Spindler Møller & J. Normann Jørgensen (eds.), *Jugendsprache/Youth Language. Copenhagen Studies in Multilingualism*, 42. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen. 5-16.
Kerswill, Paul (2013). 'Identity, ethnicity and place: The construction of youth language in London'. In Auer, Peter, Martin Hilpert, Anja Stukenbrock & Benedikt Szmrecsanyi (eds.), *Space in language and linguistics: geographical, interactional, and cognitive perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 128-164. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110312027
Kiesling, Scott F. (2009). 'Style as Stance: Stance as the Explanation for Patterns of Sociolinguistic Variation'. In Jaffe, Alexandra (ed.), S*tance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 171-194. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195331646.001.0001
Kossmann, Maarten (2017a). 'Is Dutch Straattaal a mixed multiethnolect? A Moroccan perspective'. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 10(3): 293-316. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2017-0050
Kossmann, Maarten (2017b). 'Key and the use of Moroccan function words in Dutch internet discourse'. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 22(2): 223-248. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5117/NEDTAA2017.2.KOSS
Labov, William (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Labov, William (2001). Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 2: Social Factors. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Lenz, Alexandra (2004). 'Hyperforms and Variety Barriers'. In Gunnarsson, Britt-Louise (ed.), *Language variation in Europe*. Uppsala: Uppsala University. 281–293.
Madsen, Lian Malai (2016). '"You shouldn't sound like an uneducated person": Linguistic diversity and standard ideology in Denmark'. *Sociolinguistica*, 30(1): 199-220. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/soci-2016-0011
Maegaard, Marie, Malene Monka, Kristine Køhler Mortensen & Andreas Candefors Stæhr (2019). *Standardization as Sociolinguistic Change: A transversal study of three traditional dialect areas*. New York: Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429467486
Marzo, Stefania, & Evy Ceuleers (2011). 'The use of Citétaal among adolescents in Limburg: the role of space appropriation in language variation and change'. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(5): 451-464. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2011.597560
Matthews, Bob & Liz Ross (2010). *Research methods. A Practical Guide for the Social Sciences*. Harlow: Pearson Longman.
Mourigh, Khalid (2017). 'Stance-taking through sibilant palatalisation in Gouda Moroccan Dutch'. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 22(3): 421-446. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5117/NEDTAA2017.3.MOUR
Mourigh, Khalid (fc). 'Gouda Moroccan Dutch. Linguistic Ideology and Practice in an Urban Youth Variety'. *Afrikanistik-Aegyptologie-Online* (www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/aaeo-main-english).
Nortier, Jacomine (2018). 'Youth Languages'. In Ziegler, Arne (ed.), *Jugendsprachen/Youth Languages: Aktuelle Perspektiven internationaler Forschung/Current Perspectives of International Research*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 3-24. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110472226
Nortier, Jacomine & Margreet Dorleijn (2008). 'A Moroccan accent in Dutch: A sociocultural style restricted to the Moroccan community?'. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 12(1-2): 125-142. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006908012001080

Nortier, Jacomine & Margreet Dorleijn (2013). 'Multi-ethnolects: Kebabnorsk, Perkerdansk, Verlan, Kanakensprache, Straattaal, etc.' In Bakker, Peter & Yaron Matras (eds.), *Contact languages: A comprehensive guide*. Berlin: De Gruyter/Mouton. 229-272. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614513711

Nortier, Jacomine & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.) (2015). *Language, youth and identity in the 21st century: Linguistic practices across urban spaces*. Cambridge University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139061896

Rampton, Ben (2015). 'Contemporary urban vernaculars'. In Nortier, Jacomine & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century. Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 24-44. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139061896

Schoonen, Rob & René Appel (2005). 'Street language: A multilingual youth register in the Netherlands'. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 26(2): 85-117. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434630508668399

Silverstein, M. (2003). 'Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life'. *Language & Communication*, 23(3-4): 193-229. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2

Stæhr, Andreas Candefors & Anne Larsen (2019). 'Bornholm: The terminal stage of dedialectalization'. In Maegaard, Marie, Malene Monka, Kristine Køhler Mortensen & Andreas Candefors Stæhr (eds.), *Standardization as Sociolinguistic Change: A transversal study of three traditional dialect areas*. New York: Routledge. 114-144. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429467486

Stæhr, Andreas Candefors, Malene Monka, Pia Quist & Anne Larsen (2019). 'Dialect in the media: mediatization and processes of standardization'. In Maegaard, Marie, Malene Monka, Kristine Køhler Mortensen & Andreas Candefors Stæhr (eds.), *Standardization as Sociolinguistic Change: A transversal study of three traditional dialect areas*. New York: Routledge. 169-189. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429467486

Swanenberg, Jos (2019). 'Out of Order: Authenticity and Normativity in Communication at School'. In Kroon, Sjaak & Jos Swanenberg (eds.), *Chronotopic Identity Work. Sociolinguistic Analyses of Cultural and Linguistic Phenomena in Time and Space*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 153-173. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21832/9781788926621

Swanenberg, Jos & Har Brok (2008). *Het Brabants beschreven. Dialect in Noord-Brabant, met een bibliografie van 1776 tot 2007*. Alpen aan de Maas: Uitgeverij Veerhuis.

Swanenberg, Jos & Roeland van Hout (2013). 'Recent developments in the mid southern dialects'. In Hinskens, Frans & Johan Taeldeman (eds.), *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Volume 3: Dutch*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 319-335. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110261332

Versloot, Arjen (2020). 'Streektaaldood in de Lage Landen'. *Taal & Tongval*, 72(1): 7-16. DOI: https://doi.org.10.5117/TET2020.1.VERS

Wang, Xuan, Massimiliano Spotti, Kasper Juffermans, Leonie Cornips, Sjaak Kroon & Jan Blommaert (2014). 'Globalization in the margins: Toward a re-evalution of language and mobility'. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 5(1): 23-44. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2014-0002

Wilting, Max, Roeland van Hout & Jos Swanenberg (2014). 'Regiolect verankerd. Een survey-onderzoek naar dialectgebruik van Eindhovense jongeren'. *Taal & Tongval*, 66(2): 143-171. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5117/TET2014.2.WILT