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10

Konvergenz und Divergenz von Dialekten in Europa
Convergence and divergence of dialects in Europe
Convergence et divergence des dialectes en Europe

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Neuerscheinungen:

Sprachbewahrung nach der Emigration. Das Deutsch der zwanziger Jahre in Israel

Teil I: Transkripte und Tondokumente
Herausgegeben von ANNE BETTEN unter Mitarbeit
von SIGRID GRASSL

1995. VIII, 449 Seiten und 1 CD. Kart. DM 252.- /
ÖS 1840.- / SFr 252.-. ISBN 3-484-23142-4
(Phonai. Band 42)

Die deutsche Sprache hat im Nationalsozialismus und nach 1945 tiefgreifende Wandlungen erfahren. Dies gilt für den mündlichen Gebrauch vielleicht noch stärker als für den schriftlichen, was jedoch mangels geeigneter älterer Tondokumente kaum an Datenmaterial nachzuweisen ist. Weitgehend unverändert erhielt sich das Deutsch der Weimarer Republik jedoch bei Emigranten und wahrscheinlich am besten bei jenen ursprünglich ca. 55.000 deutschsprachigen Juden, die während der Hitler-Zeit in Palästina einwanderten und dort auf Grund der besonderen Sprachbarriere, die das Hebräische für die meisten darstellte, *nolens volens* oft noch lange an ihrer Muttersprache festhielten. Von der letzten Generation dieser noch in Europa geborenen ehemals deutschen und österreichischen Juden, heute 60 bis 100 Jahre alt, kommen hier 121 zu Wort. 165 thematisch in sich abgerundete Textauschnitte aus 109 mehrstündigen Gesprächen, die zwischen 1989 und 1994 in Israel geführt wurden, dokumentieren beeindruckend die hohe, an den Normen der Schriftsprache orientierte Sprachkultur des Bildungsbürgertums der zwanziger Jahre. Gleichzeitig entstand damit eine Chronik über das deutsche Judentum vor und nach 1933, die Emigration und den Neuanfang in Palästina bis zu den israelischen Problemen der Gegenwart, die auch für Historiker und den Unterrichtsgebrauch Quellenmaterial von größter Lebendigkeit bietet. Die Texte werden in vier chronologisch und thematisch geordneten Kapiteln präsentiert; die Abfolge der 38 ausgewählten Proben auf der beigegebenen CD folgt demselben Prinzip. Für die Transkription wurde zur besseren Lesbarkeit die literarische Umschrift gewählt, jedoch im Hinblick auf syntaktisch-stilistische und gesprächsanalytische Analysen, die in einem zweiten Band folgen werden, in Partiturschreibung, u.a. mit genauer Kennzeichnung gleichzeitigen Sprechens.

Ulrike Kiefer

Gesprochenes Jiddisch

Textzeugen einer europäisch-jüdischen Kultur

1995. XIV, 382 Seiten. Kart. DM 174.- / ÖS 1270.-
/ SFr 174.-. ISBN 3-484-73101-x (Beihefte zum
LCAAJ. Band 1)

Dieses erste Beiheft zum »Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry« bietet eine Untersuchung, die im Sinne des initiierten Erzählmonologs »freie« Sprache zum Gegenstand hat. Die Autorin präsentiert zehn Dokumente des heute gesprochenen Jiddisch und diskutiert die gesamte linguistische und kulturelle Themenbreite, die in ihnen zum Ausdruck kommt. So lassen die Textproben vor unseren Augen die Umrisse des ehemaligen osteuropäischen Sprachgebiets mit seinen regional-sprachlichen Variationen erstehen; ihre Schilderungen bringen gelebten Alltag nahe und machen Geschichte im gesellschaftlichen Umfeld und in der kulturellen Verankerung konkret. Es ist ein Verdienst dieser Studie, der Zeitgeschichte und ihren Zeugen Raum zu geben; damit ist der Damm gebrochen, der Sprachwissenschaft und Leben und Leiden der Träger des Jiddischen trennt.

»Nur selten kann man Sprachwissenschaftlern das große Kompliment machen, daß sie bei der Aufarbeitung von Texten deren sämtliche Schichten von den rein inhaltlichen bis zu den rein instrumentellen mit gleicher Sorgfalt dem Leser nahezubringen verstehen. Ulrike Kiefers Buch verdient dieses Kompliment. ... Alles das hat Ulrike Kiefer kommentiert in einer Sprache, die Präzision mit urbaner Verständlichkeit verbindet. Insgesamt: welches bis zum Bersten konkrete Bild sprachlicher Vielfalt, wie unendlich entfernt von der erst dreißig Jahre zurückliegenden intellektualstolzen Beschränkung der damals jungen Generativistik auf die Untersuchung (oder gar das Selberrmachen!) von *well-formed sentences!*« (Erika Timm, Geleitwort)

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Peter Auer/Frans Hinskens

The convergence and divergence of dialects in Europe. New and not so new developments in an old area*

1. Introduction

All over Europe, social and cultural changes have affected the nature and position of the old dialects, thereby dissolving the traditional linguistic situation and giving way to complex sociolinguistic developments. Although the transition differs in detail from region to region, the convergence and divergence (i.e., the becoming structurally more similar and dissimilar, respectively) of dialects can be considered its main constituents. Both dialects and standard varieties can be involved. The fact that processes of dialect convergence and divergence are currently taking place throughout the Old World offers unique possibilities for cross-linguistic research into these partly new developments.

The notions of convergence and divergence will be used here to refer to internal developments affecting the structure of (dialect and standard) varieties as well as that of the diasystem and, on the speakers' level, the verbal repertoires they are part of. Hence, these notions are not to be equated with functional processes such as language shift, although (a) convergence and divergence usually also have external motivations and consequences, and (b) language shift is usually accompanied by convergence.

Processes of dialect convergence and divergence in the present-day European context are a 'modern' phenomenon only to the extent that they are related to the concept of a 'standard language' as part of the national discourse(s) after the French Revolution, and to the spread of standard languages throughout the speech communities, as well as the rise of mass literacy as it took hold during the early 20th century. Equally important for dialect convergence and divergence were large-scale long-lasting migration movements which started in the second half of the last century.

Dialect convergence and divergence are not uniquely European phenomena, of course. For instance, some English dialects in North America have converged towards the standard variety to such an extent that they are on the verge of being wiped out by it (see, e.g., Wolfram/Schilling Estes 1995). On the other hand, there is massive dialectal diversification going on in the U. S.; in fact, Labov 1991 (see also Labov/Ash/Boberg 1995) points out that in North America, divergence seems more prevalent than convergence.

* This paper is based on a grant proposal submitted to the European Science Foundation for a new, three-year Scientific Network. The plans were approved of and the Network has officially started its activities on November 23, 1995, under the direction of the present authors. Information about the activities of the Network can be traced through the ESF homepage (WWW.esf.org) or by contacting the authors. Hinskens' research was supported by a fellowship of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The present volume brings together a number of studies from various parts of Europe. Each study has a social dialectological orientation, i.e. it approaches the study of dialects and dialect use from a sociolinguistic perspective, and it addresses instances of dialect convergence (as a consequence of levelling in both the dialect-dialect and dialect-standard language dimension) and of dialect divergence in a given sociolinguistic constellation, highlighting structural as well as social aspects.

Our paper is structured as follows: section 2 sets out with a loose sketch of the possible position of dialect convergence and divergence in some of the more classic debates in such areas as historical linguistics, dialect geography and research into the structural consequences of language contact. Then we will roughly outline several opposite trends in the fundamental changes affecting the position of the original dialects in Europe which are characteristic of the twentieth century. In section 3, we will look at some of the most important phenomena connected with the convergence and divergence of dialects, illustrating them with examples from the European context. We distinguish four central topics: the dynamics in the dialect-standard language dimension (i.e., 'vertical' convergence), the dynamics in the dialect-dialect dimension (i.e., 'horizontal' convergence and divergence) along with some of their motivations, mechanisms and implications, the relevance of political borders to processes in both the horizontal and the vertical dimension and, finally, the relevance of national and international migration. In section 4, we will discuss some theoretical and methodological issues, linking social dialectological research on processes of dialect convergence and divergence to linguistic theory to social psychological aspects of language variation and accommodation, as well as to ethnographic and interactional approaches within sociolinguistics. In the final section 5, we will briefly comment on each contribution in this issue.

2. Background

Research of processes of convergence and divergence of dialects stands in several related traditions in the study of language variation, contact and change. In subsection 2.1, we will briefly dwell upon the conceptual lines connecting the convergence and divergence of dialects to some older issues in linguistics. In subsection 2.2, we delineate two areas of tension which play an important role in determining the position of dialects in contemporary Europe.

2.1 A bit of historiography

Research on the convergence or divergence of languages and language varieties is certainly not new, and neither is attention to the extra-linguistic (social, in the widest sense) factors which can bring convergence/divergence about. A number of older strains of linguistic research come to mind:

– in the Neogrammarian model, a distinction was made between language change *sensu stricto* and borrowing. Language change in the strict sense has a language-internal origin; it can take the form of either sound change or analogical change. When a change

is not achieved autonomously, that is, when it does not have an internal origin, it can either stem from another language or "from within the same speech area", thus Bloomfield (1933: 444), who referred to the latter type as dialect borrowing;

– in traditional dialectology, much attention was paid to natural (rivers, swamp areas, mountain ranges and the like) and man-made (tribal, ecclesiastical or political) borders in order to explain the location of dialect boundaries as the outcome of dialect divergence – or rather, non-convergence. In a number of important studies, isolation from a language area as in the form of language enclaves (*Sprachinseln*) was seen as the driving force behind convergence; in this respect, mention should be made of the work by Viktor Schirmunski (1928/29; 1930) on the German settlements in Russia;

– the mutual influence a dialect and the standard variety can exert on each other has not gone unnoticed since the early days of modern linguistics; witness, for instance, de Saussure's comments on "langue littéraire et idiome local" (part IV ch. 2 of the *Cours*) and his insightful reflections on language history as a continuous struggle between "la force d'intercourse et l'esprit de clocher" (part III, ch. 4), i.e., between the tendencies towards unification and those towards particularism and cultural fragmentation. From the late 19th century onwards, German dialectology dealt with convergence through dialect levelling, i.e., the reduction of structural variation, under the label of *Ausgleich*, as opposed to *Abbau*, the convergence through levelling in the dialect-standard language dimension. To dialectologists like Wrede (1919) and Haag (1929/30), dialect levelling on the one hand and (lexical) dialect mixing on the other were the key mechanisms that destroy regularity and the alleged exceptionlessness of the sound laws.

– historical dialectology resulted in studies such as Theodor Frings' account of the emergence of a German *Gemeinsprache* as a consequence of the convergence of the Middle German settlers' dialects in the (later) Upper-Saxonian area (cf., e.g., Frings 1936). Another product of this line of research is Kloeke's (1927) famous study of the spread of diphthongization in WGmc /û/ → /y/ → /æy/, from the cities in the Northwestern Netherlands to the more peripheral parts of the language area in the 16th and 17th century;

– a related issue which has received attention in historical linguistics, variation studies and language contact research is koineization. This process has been defined as the development through dialect mixing, simplification and reduction of a regional lingua franca – incorporating features of various varieties.¹ The label *koiné* comes from *hē koiné diálektos* of Attic/Ionic dialects of Hellenistic Greek (Hock 1991: 485–88; Joseph 1992: 87; Bubenik 1993). Another important example is the ancestral Arabic koiné, which developed in the early days of the spread of Islam, and from which all of the modern spoken Arabic dialects eventually emerged (Ferguson 1959a). In view of its origin as a synthesis from rural dialects, Nynorsk, one of the two official standard languages of Norway, might also qualify as a koiné – although it was constructed, so the koineization proceeded somewhat artificially;

¹ Trudgill 1986. Cf. Siegel 1985 for an overview and a list of no less than 36 other languages which have been called a koiné, and Siegel (in press) for a discussion of the relevance of the concept of koineization for the study of language contact generally and creole genesis in particular; Hinskens, in press *a* comments on the latter paper.

– mainly in historical linguistics and in language contact studies has there been a long-standing interest in *Sprachbund* phenomena, i.e., the areal convergence of typologically and genetically distinct languages as it is found in the well-known *Balkan Sprachbund*.²

2.2. Ambiguities in the position of dialects in present-day Europe

There are two main reasons to approach dialect convergence and divergence from a social dialectological point of view. One is methodological: although in the above-mentioned strains of research, reference is made to extra-linguistic factors, usually the considerations do not surpass the level of plausibility. Empirically rich, well-documented and quantitative investigations of processes of convergence and divergence, and not just of their outcomes, are rare; investigations into the links between social changes and the linguistic developments they can trigger are even rarer. In part, this is due to the dominantly historical perspective taken. Only with the appearance of sociolinguistics and social dialectology on the linguistic scene in the 1960's has it become feasible to go beyond these limitations and to investigate language change (including divergence and convergence) in situ, in its social and situational context, and as a gradual, on-going phenomenon reflected in statistical trends rather than categorical outcomes.

Since the convergence and divergence of dialects usually affect both internal variation and the differences between related varieties, the investigation of these processes needs to be oriented towards both the study of language variation as a synchronic manifestation of language change and the study of language change as a result of language contact.

The second, and maybe even more important, motivation for re-introducing divergence and convergence as subjects of research is the fact that, during the 20th century, the status of the traditional dialects has become more and more ambiguous almost everywhere in Europe. Until recently, this ambiguity was mainly due to the coexistence of two major antagonistic trends: cross-dialect convergence within language communities on the one hand and cross-dialectal divergence at political borders on the other. Dialect levelling, usually leading to dialect convergence, results from the various (infrastructural, economic, political and cultural) manifestations of national unification and the overall sharp increase in geographical mobility over the course of the processes of industrialization and concomitant urbanization. Both on the supraregional and on the national level, these developments have brought about dialect contact to a degree hitherto unknown. At the same time, the mass media and improved education guarantee general access to the standard variety. These demographic and cultural developments have led to the formation of intermediate varieties between the traditional dialects and the standard variety.

Convergence in the dialect-standard language and dialect-dialect dimensions necessarily leads to divergence at the borders. Particularly on the international level, political borders transgressing old dialect continua have turned into new dialect borders. Thus, horizontal dialect convergence, whether or not under the influence of the standard variety (vertical convergence), may well at the same time result in (horizontal) divergence from those dialects which are not 'roofed' by the same standard variety

² Cf. Hock 1991: 494–512 for an overview and Bakker 1995 for a recent study.

A second ambiguity has only recently emerged. Since the 1970's, there have been attempts to 'revive' dialects as means of displaying regional affiliations and identities. This tendency is sometimes strengthened by a marked anti-centralist attitude – as in the case of the Frisian movement, which has been quite successful in promoting the status of Frisian in The Netherlands. It remains to be seen whether the aim of revitalising the dialects will in fact be attained on the level of the traditional dialects, or if the revivalist attempts will merely lead to an increase in the use of intermediate forms and varieties. There are reasons to suspect that, at least in Central and Northwestern Europe, the highly acclaimed 'dialect renaissance' is mainly a matter of attitudes and intentions, and that it affects those social groups who would not normally use the traditional dialects rather than the habitual dialect speakers.

Counteracting regionalization, there is the internationalization of economic, administrative and intellectual structures in Europe. This internationalization has already brought about a linguistic superstructure above the level of the national languages in which English and, to a lesser degree, French and German are gaining importance as *lingue franche*. It is too early to determine whether this new hierarchical level in the organization of the 'pan-European' linguistic repertoire will weaken the status and acceptance of the old national languages (while the dialects become the vehicles of regional affiliation – *Heimat*) or, on the contrary, weaken the status of the old dialects. In the latter scenario, the dialects might become superfluous and provincial since the national language would be sufficient to indicate regional affiliation.

In short, and somewhat oversimplified: whereas on the national levels there are tendencies towards fragmentation, on the international level there are tendencies towards unification.

The changes in the position and structure of the dialects which occur in any particular area in Europe are necessarily contingent upon that area's sociolinguistic history. Nevertheless, the ambiguities sketched above seem to apply to all regional language varieties in Europe. They may, however, do so under very different guises.

3. Some of the main topics

In this section, we will sketch some of what we feel are the central problem areas in the social dialectological approach to convergence and divergence of dialects. We will zoom in on four different, yet mutually related topics for research. This short list of topics is, of course, far from exhaustive; at the same time, some of the issues overlap. For each topic we will (a) go into some detail as to the coherence of the range of phenomena that seem to be involved, (b) give examples as well as some references to the literature, and (c) formulate a few questions and hypotheses that could serve as a focus for further research.

3.1. Dynamics in the dialect-standard language dimension

The central question regarding changes in this dimension is whether and how a standard language and a dialect change under the influence of each other. Asking the question in

this way presupposes (a) that a standard variety exists at all, (b) that there is at least one dialect, and (c) that they are part of the same diasystem. None of these presupposition is a matter of course, but (a) holds for all language communities in Europe today, while (b) and (c) certainly do not. In a language community in which the 'dialect(s)' have no overarching standard 'roof', i.e., in which condition (a) does not seem to hold, the standard variety of the dominant linguistic group is part of the repertoire and fulfills many of the functions of a standard variety for the speakers of non-related dialects as well – so, in this type of situation, it is actually condition (c) that does not apply. Examples are the German dialects spoken in Alsace (where French fulfills the role of the standard language), the Celtic language communities in Great Britain and France (where the role of the standard language is fulfilled by English and French, respectively), the Sorbian community in Germany, and the former Jiddish-speaking communities in Poland and Russia. However, the speakers of the 'roofless' dialects do not linguistically orient themselves towards this standard variety in the way they would to a 'real' standard variety. We will come back to the situation of the 'roofless' or quasi-'roofless' dialects of Europe in section 3.2 below.

Provided there is a dialect and a standard variety, and provided that the former orients itself towards the latter, language change may take place in the form of structural convergence, either because the standard assimilates to the dialects or because the dialect converges towards the standard. We have already pointed out that the prevailing scenario is a mixture of both, changing the dichotomic structure of the repertoire into one in which dialect and standard language form the poles of a continuum. This may, in turn, lead to the emergence of intermediate varieties which may or may not stabilize; cf. the schematic representations in Figures 1 and 2, inspired by Chambers/Trudgill 1980: Ch. 1.³ There may also be divergence, either because the standard language dissimilates from the dialects (thus continuing the process of standardisation, as, for instance, in the Retho-Romance or Frisian language areas), or because the dialects diverge from the standard language. The latter seems to be an unlikely scenario in the present-day European context, however (cf. Mattheier, ed., 1988).

In the continuum model in Fig. 2, vertical convergence simply makes the verbal repertoire more complex by fanning out the structural options ranging from the grammars of the local dialects on the one hand to those of the standard language on the other. In the type of situation shown in Fig. 1, however, more or less clearly demarcated intermediate varieties have emerged. These demarcated varieties should be characterized linguistically by a certain amount of rigidity of the co-occurrence restrictions⁴ holding among the typical features of each variety in the repertoire, but they should also have an acknowledged folk-linguistic status, i.e., the speakers should be aware of these varieties and their conditions of usage. Although it is our impression that dialectologists and linguists tend to be somewhat rash in assigning the status of a 'variety' to a certain way of speaking, intermediate varieties of this type surely do exist.

³ In these figures, the horizontal dimension represents the relative geographical diversity.

⁴ Cf. Kristensen/Thelander 1984, Auer (in press b) and some of the considerations made in Kerswill (this volume).

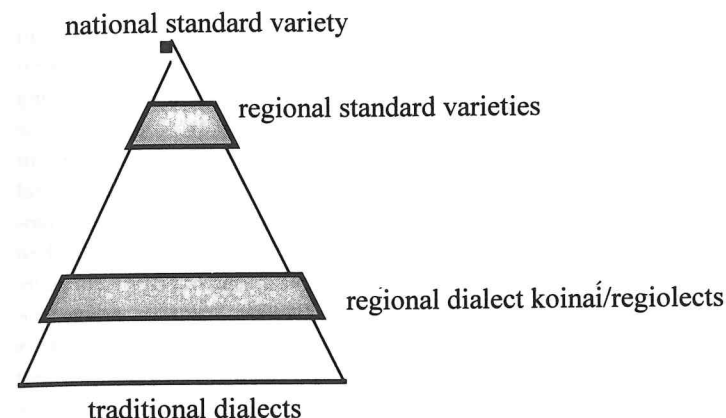


Figure 1. Convergence between standard language and dialects leading to the emergence of relatively stable intermediate varieties. The horizontal dimension represents relative geographical diversity.

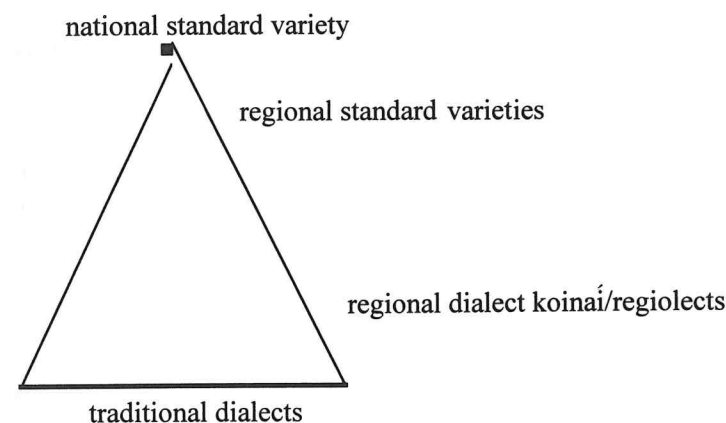


Figure 2. Convergence between standard language and dialects on a continuum. Regional standards and koinai/regiolects cannot be delimited sharply from the other varieties within the repertoire.

The types of situations shown in Figs. 1 and 2 above can be compared to the archetypal speech communities with "diffused" versus those with more "focussed" sets of norms, respectively (Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Especially in areas where, traditionally, there has been a relatively large structural distance between the dialects and the standard variety, the distinction between regional dialect varieties (*Ausgleichsdialekte, regiolecten*⁵) in the lower part of the pyramidal repertoire model, and regional varieties of the standard language (*accents, regional standards*)

⁵ The latter term has been coined by Hoppenbrouwers (1983; 1990).

in the upper part can be relevant on linguistic grounds; cf. Fig. 1.⁶ One should bear in mind that both types of intermediate varieties may be the outcome of very different speakers' strategies and needs, and that these strategies and needs also have a bearing on the structural characteristics of the intermediate varieties. In order to capture these differences, Van Coetsem (1988; 1992: 30ff.) distinguished between source versus recipient varieties, assuming that either can take the 'agentivity' role. For instance, if a traditional dialect absorbs features of the standard language or a variety closer to the standard language,⁷ a process which may eventually lead to the formation of a regional dialect, then this dialect is the recipient variety and the standard language the source variety. Especially when lexical material is borrowed (and structurally adapted), the dialect, or rather, the dialect speakers are in the agent role. However, it may also be the case that the speakers of the standard or a standard-nearer variety force their (grammatical or phonological) structures upon the dialect. Again, the dialect is the recipient variety, but this time it is passive and the standard or a standard-nearer variety takes on the agent role. This may be the case if the standard or standard-nearer variety is spoken in a regional or national capital or economic center, as is the case of Copenhagen for Denmark (cf. Pedersen, this volume) and London for Southern England.

The same distinction can be made for an emerging regional standard. It may be the outcome of a deliberate but only partly successful effort on the part of dialect speakers to acquire the national standard variety; in this case, the standard variety spoken by these learners is the recipient variety and their dialect the source variety, and the learners' standard variety is in the agent position. Well-known examples of varieties near to the standard which have failed to reach the actual standard variety are *italiano popolare* (cf. Berruto 1983; Spitzer 1922), North German *Missingsch* (an unsuccessful attempt by speakers of Low German dialects to acquire the High German standard variety), and *Hollendsj mit knoebele*, lit. 'Dutch with bumps', spoken in the Southeastern part of the Dutch province of Limburg (Hinskens 1992: 473–4). As 'learner varieties', they are relatively unstable and probably even makeshift systems.

Since processes of standard acquisition by adults seem to be becoming rare in Europe, another variant of the emergence of regional standards is more important today. In this type of process, the standard, although once again the recipient variety, is in the agent position, actively picking out features of the regional dialect variety and thereby converging towards it. Usually the features are mainly phonetic and lexical in nature. An example is the current rapid spread of the retroflex, vocoid realization of post-vocalic /r/ at least in the varieties of standard Dutch which are spoken in the Northwest (and hence in national radio and TV broadcasts). This realization is endogenous in the dialects of the Leiden area; in Leiden itself, it still is heavily stigmatized.

6 In this connection it should be pointed out that in older German dialectology, the term *Umgangssprache* was reserved for these regional standards, while at present the term is mostly used to refer to the total variation space between standard and dialects.

7 The latter seems to be the more common path – cf. "local dialects are seldom influenced directly by the standard language, but rather by regional varieties of it, which in turn are influenced by the standard language itself" (Kristensen/Thelander 1984: 224).

The linguistic mechanisms underlying the formation of intermediate varieties between dialect and standard language are poorly understood at the present state of research. There is surely a certain amount of structural convergence between the dialects and the standard variety involved. In the usual case, this 'vertical' convergence also implies 'horizontal', i.e., cross-dialect convergence. Yet the two must not be equated: Hinskens (1992) shows that in four features characteristic of a group of Limburg dialects of Dutch, processes of dialect levelling in the cross-dialectal dimension are structurally independent of the levelling in the dialect-standard dimension. (We will return to this in the next subsection.) In addition, there is evidence that new regional varieties can develop features of their own which are not a result of convergence towards the standard variety. An example is the spread of coronalization (/ç/ → [ç]) in the Middle German regional dialects (Herrgen 1986). Nevertheless, it appears to be more common for dialects to trade in their most characteristic features for the standard language equivalents when intermediate varieties emerge.⁸

It has been claimed that the grammar and the phonology of new varieties tend to be structurally less marked (Kean 1975), more regular and 'simpler' than the ones of the traditional dialects. For instance, Mazur (this volume) shows that the Polish *Literatursprache* came about in part through the selection of the most transparent and regular forms and paradigms from the constituting original dialects. However, at least in some types of intermediate varieties, marked features may appear which are not part of either the standard language or any of the traditional dialects. A good example are the aforementioned fossilized learner varieties such as *italiano popolare*, Low German *Missingsch* and Limburg *Hollendsj mit knoebele*. Another example is the aforementioned dialect levelling in a group of Limburg dialects of Dutch which affects noun pluralization, but leaves the root-internal, non-concatenative procedures, which are typical of these dialects, intact; furthermore, at a certain place within the system there even appears to be a development in the direction of increased complexity through rule addition (Hinskens 1992: 266–69).

In an attempt to bridge the gap between the dialect (i.e., their first language) and the structurally very distinct standard variety, speakers of fossilized learner varieties frequently produce hypercorrections. Although these varieties are today by and large obsolete due to changes in the sociolinguistic macro-situations from which they resulted, some of the hypercorrections made their way into the established intermediate varieties or even (regional) standards. Examples are found in the North German vernacular, which is looked upon as a variety of the standard language, but still contains *Missingsch* features such as the non-centralized (or less centralized) realization of word-final orthoepic schwa (as in [bire] 'please', or [maïne] 'my' fem. poss. ~ orthoepic [bitə] and [maïne]). Another example is the present-day tendency in standard Dutch to voice initial fricatives /f/ and /s/ in the numerals *veertig* 'fourty', *vijftig* 'fifty', *zestig* 'sixty' and *zeventig* 'seventy'. As in the course of history the [t] of the old circumfix meaning 'tenfold', viz. *t-simplex-tig*, which had caused the fricatives to assimilate their voice specification, eroded away phonetically

8 This has been explicitly pointed out e.g. for a case of de-dialectalization in a group of Calabrian dialects of Italian (E. Radtke 1987: 1489) and for the Cracow urban vernacular and surrounding local dialects of Polish by Dunaj (1989: 40).

in most cases (the exception being *tachtig* 'eighty'), the etymologically 'correct' voiceless realization of the fricatives [f]eertig, [f]ijftig, [s]estig and [s]eventig is under attack. This seems to be caused by the fact that the voiceless realization of syllable-initial voiced fricatives is generally considered to be a dialectal⁹ or substandard feature or quite simply 'sloppy articulation', as folk-linguistics has it. In the numerals, the standard orthography obviously plays a role as a 'target'.

There has hardly been more attention paid to the *sociolinguistic* mechanisms of dialect-standard language convergence than for the linguistic dynamics. A number of studies have shown the role of the big cities in the formation and radiation of regional dialects and regional standard varieties.¹⁰ In the cities, traditional dialects often disappeared early, leaving the former intermediate varieties behind as the most regional way of speaking, as in the case of the Berlin vernacular (cf. Schlobinski 1987) or the urban dialects of Nijmegen (Van Hout 1989) and Amsterdam. This finding, of course, links up with the more traditional dialectological view on cities as the vanguards of areally spreading features (cf. Debus 1962). The normative influence these newly emerging urban regional varieties may exert on the standard variety (such as has been claimed for 'Estuary English') needs to be investigated in more detail.

It should be stressed that every process of convergence or divergence must be understood as relating to the verbal repertoire as a whole; it should not be analyzed within the structural limits of the dialect alone. Usually, the emergence of intermediate varieties is accompanied by increasing complexity of the verbal repertoire, i.e., although dialect-standard language convergence results in the emergence of intermediate forms or varieties, it does not necessarily affect the structure of the extreme points in the repertoire and hence does not automatically entail the 'loss' of the traditional dialect (or the old standard variety, for that matter). Certainly, the emergence of new regional varieties certainly does not automatically lead to the extinction of the dialects from which they developed. On the contrary, cases have been reported in which the development of new regional varieties seems to guarantee the survival of the dialects. A case in point is the situation in Calabria and other regions in southern Italy, described in Trumper/Maddalon 1988 and 1994. However, there are also situations in which structural convergence has indeed led to the complete disappearance of a dialect or group of dialects, i.e., of one of the polar ends of the continuum, and thus reduced the complexity of the verbal repertoire (cf. Fig. 3).

This has happened in Upper Saxony and the *Ruhrgebiet*, to mention two examples from the German language area; the Dutch *Randstad* (roughly speaking, the triangle formed by the cities of Utrecht, Amsterdam and Rotterdam) seems to be developing in the same direction. Note, however, that although the regional varieties constitute the

⁹ Traditionally, the devoicing of underlyingly voiced fricatives in syllable-initial position occurs in a rather large group of Dutch dialects, including the ones in the North-West, i.e. the economic and cultural centre where the present-day standard language developed.

¹⁰ For the German situation cf. Bücherl 1982 for Munich/Upper Bavarian; Mattheier 1982, 1985 for Cologne. Villena (this volume) points out that in southern Spain, more in particular in Andalucia, two different regional varieties of standard Spanish exist, a western and an eastern one. They are closely related to the main urban varieties of Castilian, such as the 'norma Sevillana' and 'Malagueño'.

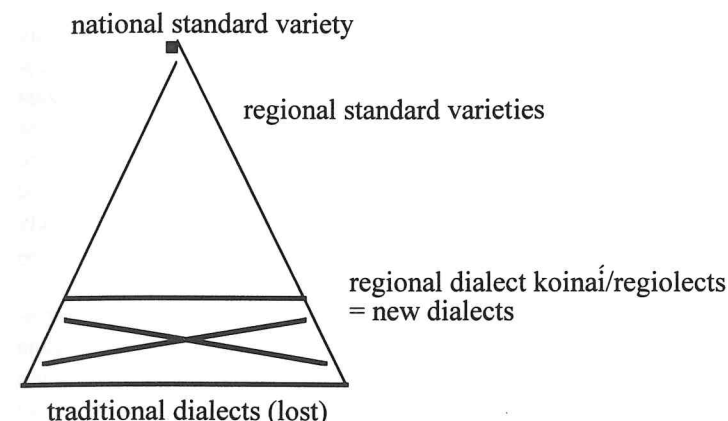


Figure 3. Loss of the traditional dialects.

extreme ('deepest') pole of the repertoire after the loss of the traditional dialects, they do not as a rule assume all the social and communicative functions of the former dialects as markers of in-group membership (usually including family membership). Nor is their attitudinal evaluation usually identical to that of the former dialects. Since the emergence of koinaí at the expense of the former dialects often went hand in hand with industrialization and far-reaching social restructuring, regional dialects of this type frequently carry the positive and negative values associated with that social restructuring, rather than those of the rural, conservative society which is the habitat of the traditional dialects.

Taking our departure from the view that stylistic variation reflects socio-economic variation in language use (Bell 1984), it is very likely that the old, rural dialects were relatively mono-stylistic. After all, the habitat of the traditional Old World dialects is a small and relatively isolated village, which typically has little socio-economic stratification (cf. Kerswill, this volume, section 5). In the case of dialect-standard language convergence through dialect levelling, the remains of the former dialect(s) in the koiné and, even more so, in the regional standard variety, in which geographical variation is much less prominent, will be reinterpreted¹¹ in socio-economic terms. This reinterpretation is to be expected since koinaí and regional standard varieties usually develop in urbanizing and urbanized areas – i.e., in large demographic conglomerates. The 'new' socio-economic variation will in turn acquire situational, in other words stylistic, meaning (cf. Hinskens, in press b). So it seems that the nearer a variety is to the standard language, the bigger the chances for it to show stylistically significant internal variation. In short: stylistic variation is a long-term side-effect of dialect levelling.

The convergence of dialects towards a standard variety (and the concomitant decrease of variability on the horizontal level) is very common throughout Europe; yet, it does not occur everywhere. For instance, the German dialects of Switzerland do not seem to converge towards the local standard variety (cf. Haas 1992). The Swiss example points to an

¹¹ Cf. what Trudgill (1986) labels the 'reallocation' of the survivors of dialect levelling.

important prerequisite for standard/dialects convergence: the latter must have a generally accepted high status and its use must be considered appropriate in a wide range of domains and situations. Especially the latter does not hold for German-speaking Switzerland. If vertical convergence of this type is absent, horizontal levelling may nonetheless take place between dialects; even in Switzerland with its fine-grained dialect structure there are indications that such cross-dialectal levelling is taking place (Christen, in press; cf. section 3.2. below). Thus, while convergence of dialects towards the standard variety always seems to imply some kind of cross-dialectal levelling, the reverse does not necessarily hold.

The convergence of dialects towards the standard language sometimes has as its corollary the convergence of the standard variety towards the dialects, resulting in a decline of status of the national standard and/or the emergence of regional standard varieties. Thus, 'standardization' from below finds its counterpart in 'destandardization' from above (cf. Auer, in press, a). In Italy, England and Germany, a national standard language still is largely a myth, and the recent 'dialect renaissance' may well have strengthened destandardization.

The development of 'regional' varieties of a standard language may be politically motivated; this is, for instance, the case when they are to serve as national standard varieties. Examples are Austrian standard German, Swiss standard German,¹² as well as the standard Dutch spoken in the northern part of Belgium (Deprez 1981; Van de Velde 1996). Examples from outside the European context are North American English ('Network Standard' or 'Standard American English' – Wolfram 1991: 210–13), Australian English, Canadian standard French, Brazilian standard Portuguese and so forth. The Swiss situation shows that 'downward convergence' of standard varieties towards dialects (with the standard varieties adopting dialect features) may occur without simultaneous 'upward convergence' of dialects towards the standard.

The status of a variety as a dialect or language is not necessarily stable. If there is some degree of genetic affiliation and structural similarity, and under certain social conditions, a formerly independent language may become socially dependent on another language and finally turn into one of its dialects. This is, e.g., the case of Low German, which today has to be considered a dialect 'roofed' by the (High) German standard.

There are also examples of the opposite, i.e., of dialects which have not only resisted the influence of the standard language, but even increased their independence. As a consequence, their status has changed or is in the process of changing from that of a dialect into that of a (minority) language. This premise seems to apply in the case of Frisian in the Netherlands and it certainly applies to Letzeburgisch; examples such as Catalan or Galician show that a variety's status may even change several times during its history. It might be rewarding to compare the efforts which are made in these situations to codify, elaborate and otherwise standardize the former dialect to give it the contours of a standard language.

12 Cf. Clyne 1995 on polycentricity in standard German.

An interesting question in this connection is whether the change in attitudes that brings about such a positive or negative change in status is accompanied, preceded, or followed by structural divergence or convergence (cf. below, section 4.2).

3.2. Dynamics in the dialect-dialect dimension

At present, many European dialects are under the potential or actual influence of a genetically closely related, overarching standard language, although there are some exceptions. In particular, a number of dialect groups do not have a commonly accepted and codified standard variety. Examples are Lappish (Sami), Basque, and most Celtic dialect groups outside of Ireland.¹³ More examples have been briefly mentioned above in the first paragraph of section 3.1.

In other cases, there is a standard variety, but either its prestige is so low that it exerts only limited structural pressure on the dialects (as in the case of the Swiss variety of standard German, briefly discussed in the section 3.1 above), or it is still in the process of spreading through the speech community, such as seems to be the case of Frisian in the Netherlands.

Communities of dialect-speaking migrants form yet another case. In this case, there is an accepted standard language, but it is not or only weakly represented in the dialect-speaking communities abroad. This is the situation of the former German *Sprachinseln* in Russia and the Soviet Union, or the present-day Albanian and Croatian *Sprachinseln* in several parts of southern Italy, but it equally applies to many communities of Spanish, Italian, ex-Yugoslavian and Turkish migrant workers in northwestern Europe.

In these three types of constellations, dialects may influence each other. This influence is either completely (the first type of cases) or relatively independent from the overarching standard variety and the normative pressure it exerts (the second and third types of cases). Whether in situations such as these convergence occurs at all, and if so, whether it is monodirectional or bidirectional, will have to be explained on the basis of the social evaluation of the varieties involved in the community. This is, in turn, related to questions of power and dominance. However, in this connection one should ask as well whether and to which extent structural, i.e., internal factors determine the convergence process. Are certain linguistic components more resistant than others (Van Bree 1985)? Is Schirmunski's (1930) distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' dialect features relevant, i.e.,¹⁴ do 'primary dialect features' get evened out earlier/faster than secondary ones, as Schirmunski claimed? We will return to this issue later in this subsection.

Levelling of structural variation between dialects may even take place when there is a standard variety with the usual, i.e., relatively large, amount of prestige attached to it. In communities where this is the case, the dynamics in the cross-dialectal dimension can be

¹³ In the case of the Retho-Romance dialects, several standard varieties compete; for an overview of the grammars of the main varieties in the diasystem, see Haiman & Benincà 1992.

¹⁴ For a typology of the many (derived and non-derived) criteria since Schirmunski introduced his ideas, cf. Hinskens 1986. See Auer 1993 and Tældeman 1993 for suggestions as to the theoretical embedding of Schirmunski's proposal; the latter author relates the distinction to Van Coetsem's two transfer types, among other things.

independent from those in the dialect-standard language dimension (cf. above, § 3.1). We present some further examples here: Holmquist (1992:276) reports on the revival in the local dialect of Uceda of a bundle of non-standard features of a Cantabrian dialect of Spanish, features which "are not limited in scope or in association to the dialect area". Ramge (1982) found that certain *Saarland* dialects of German adopt variants of neighbouring dialects, and Dewulf et al. (1981: 58) come to the same conclusion for certain Flemish dialects of Dutch. An apparent time study on the dialect spoken in the village of Rimbürg, in the south-east of the Dutch province of Limburg, led Hinskens (1992) to conclude that 14 out of the 21 dialect features studied are in the process of being levelled out. In the case of 4 of these 14 features, none of which is unique to the Rimbürg dialect, the levelling leads to a decrease in the structural distance from surrounding dialects, but at the same time to an increase of the structural distance to the standard language. Dialect levelling, it appears, does not necessarily amount to convergence to the standard variety; in some cases it can even lead to divergence from the standard.

Van Keymuelen (1993) and Vandekerckhove (1993) report on recent changes in Dutch dialects spoken in Belgium and in a local West Flemish dialect, respectively; both authors discuss cases in which the levelling constitutes dialect-dialect *convergence* and dialect-standard language *divergence* at the same time.

Of course, the question arises whether the levelling of cross-dialectal variation occurs completely independently from the standard language. In some cases, what may seem to be purely cross-dialectal levelling may be triggered indirectly by the dynamics in the standard/dialect dimension, for instance, when the dialect converged towards is perceived as being closer to the standard by the speakers of the converging variety. In a slightly different case, Auer (1988, 1990) argues that the apparent convergence of Lake Constance Alemannic towards Swabian is, in fact, a partial convergence towards the standard variety, with the resulting intermediate forms resembling the Swabian ones. Specifically, the question is whether dialect/dialect convergence would also have occurred had there been either no standard language or another standard language. For the Rimbürg case, one can only speculate as to the first scenario (no standard language). However, there are possibilities to study the second one, i.e., a different standard language. This different standard language would be German, and at present a research project is being prepared at the Dept. of General Linguistics and Dialectology of the University of Nijmegen in which the vitality of the common features of the Rimbürg dialect and the neighbouring German dialect of Übach-Palenberg (just across the Dutch-German border) will be studied.

In this context, let us return to the distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' dialect features: one of the criteria to which Schirmunski related the saliency criterion is the relative geographical spread of dialect features. If the distinction is operationalized as a matter of degree, as Schirmunski himself suggested (1930: 118, 183), and if the poles 'primary' – 'secondary' are operationalized as less to more wide-spread in geographical space, then his claim that primary features are more vulnerable and secondary ones more resistant is borne out in the patterns of dialect levelling in the Rimbürg dialect.¹⁵ How-

¹⁵ Cf. Hinskens 1992: 276, 460–61 and 1993b: 54–56. Thelander (1980; 1982) presents findings for the Swedish dialect of Burträsk which point in the same direction.

ever, if the distinction is operationalized as one between lexicalized versus productive rules of phonology, as proposed by Reiffenstein (1976; 1980), then Schirmunski's claim does not hold: on the one hand the Rimbürg dialect has completely unproductive, lexicalized phonological rules which seem to be relatively or completely resistant, and on the other it has a fully productive postlexical rule of phonology which is undergoing a very dramatic loss (cf. Hinskens 1993b: 52–54).

As the concept of a standard language itself is relatively young and as mass literacy is a twentieth century innovation, cross-dialectal levelling must be the older and, historically, the main and probably only type of convergence. As 'late' as 1914, a study by Terracher of the dialects of the region of Angoulême (France) found that "l'agent destructeur de la morphologie des patois n'est pas le français, mais les parlers limitrophes" (Pop 1950: 106).

Dialect transition zones seem to result from partial cross-dialectal convergence, i.e. convergence for some dialect features but not for others (cf. Mazur, this volume, section 2). With respect to single dialect features, cross-dialectal convergence can similarly lead not only to complete but also to partial similarities between dialects; cf. the types of structurally intermediate varieties which have been labelled 'mixed' and 'fudged' lects.¹⁶ Mixed lects are lects which, for a given dialect feature, combine variants from two different 'pure' lects. Fudged lects also combine the variants from two different, 'pure' lects, but they have an additional third variant which is a compromise between the two 'pure' variants.

In this subsection, only processes of *convergence* between dialects have been discussed. International political borders typically turn into new dialect borders, as they lead to the *divergence* of the dialects involved. This topic will be discussed in the next subsection.

3.3. Political borders and dialect divergence

A well-established insight from traditional dialectology holds that ecclesiastical and, even more so, political borders have influenced dialect geography, e.g., through the formation of isoglosses. However, this influence is often believed to be minor compared to the influence of natural borders, and no longer relevant. A closer look reveals that, contrary to this belief, European national borders which cut across old dialect continua can have a considerable impact on dialect change.

From a macro-perspective, again at least three different types of constellation can be distinguished. In one type, almost the same standard language is spoken on both sides of the border. Examples are the German-Austrian border areas (a Middle Bavarian dialect continuum), the areas along the border between Germany and the German-speaking part of Switzerland (a High Alemannic dialect continuum), and possibly also between the Federal Republic of Germany (incl. West Berlin) and the former GDR (incl. East Berlin). For the Middle Bavarian dialect continuum, Scheuringer (1990) reports different developments on each side of the border: whereas the dialects spoken in Germany converge towards the regional variety of the standard, the Austrian dialects are fairly conservative. The net result is, of course, divergence. According to Schifferle (1990), the High Aleman-

¹⁶ Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 132–37; cf. Hinskens 1992: 464 for another example of fudging.

nic dialect continuum in the German-Swiss border areas is breaking apart because of the fact that the dialects on both sides of the border are converging towards the respective regional and (on the German side) national varieties.¹⁷ In connection with the Federal Republic of Germany and the former German Democratic Republic, dialect divergence between East and West Berlin is of particular interest (Schlobinski 1987). Other instances of this constellation can be found in the area along the border between the Netherlands and the northern, i.e., the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (Deprez 1981; Taeldeman 1990; Van de Velde 1996: 215 ff) as well as in the area along the border between France and the southern (i.e. French-speaking) part of Belgium.

To give a final example, the political border between the Republic of Ireland and the six counties of Northern Ireland provides a double case of the role of political borders. Irish, the official language on one side of the border is hardly accepted on the other side. Broadly speaking, there are two varieties of English available. To a large extent, they fall under different standards: RP in the North and a rather more complex situation which reigns in the South.

Another type of constellation is exemplified by the German (mainly Low German) – Dutch transition areas along a stretch of the German-Dutch border which are part of the larger Continental West-Germanic dialect continuum, spanning what was originally one Dutch-German diasystem.¹⁸ Nowadays each country has its own standard language, and the two are related but different. On linguistic grounds alone, many of the traditional dialects in the continuum bridging the structural gap between them cannot be properly classified as either Dutch or German. For the northernmost part, and especially for the dialects of Dutch spoken in the province of Groningen, Niebaum (1990) found that the changes in dialect use no longer allow for cross-border processes of dialect levelling, i.e., levelling processes which equally affect both the Dutch and the German dialects involved; at the same time, they further the 'transfer' of standard language elements into the dialects. For a long stretch of the border area south of the one covered by Niebaum's study, Kremer (1990) concludes that the dialects on both sides of the border are undergoing functional loss, which leads to structural loss; the national border separates two diasystems which continue to diverge even further. Hinskens (1993a) reports on a series of studies carried out in the Enschede-Gronau area as well as in the Nijmegen-Kleve area. Across the board, there appears to be a clear tendency to reserve the dialect for more intimate domain types, particularly in the younger age groups. These findings point towards a tendential, as yet situationally conditioned, dialect shift. Analyses of both reported and actual behaviour show that the dialect plays an increasingly more marginal role as a *lingua franca* between Dutchmen and Germans in either area.¹⁹ This loss of status will doubt-

¹⁷ Here, "binnendeutsche" versus "binnenschweizerische Ausgleichsbewegungen" are taking place, as the author puts it (p. 333), i.e. processes of intra-German versus intra-Swiss levelling.

¹⁸ Cornelissen 1994 presents an overview of the several types of studies of the dialect situation on both sides of the Dutch-German border, specifically in the zone from Aix-la-Chapelle over Nijmegen to Enschede.

¹⁹ Cf. Bister 1989; Cornelissen 1985; Kremer 1983; Taubken 1984.

lessly add to the tendencies of the dialects on both sides of the national border towards divergence.²⁰

In the third type of constellation, a dialect area is again divided by a national border, but the corresponding standard language is used only on one side of the border. This holds, among others, for the Low Alemannic dialects of German spoken in Alsace (where French is the H variety; Ferguson 1959b), for several dialects of Dutch origin spoken in Germany²¹ and Northern France (Ryckboer 1990), for the Albanian dialects spoken in Greece (Trudgill 1983), for the Swedish speaking minorities in Finland, and for the Danish minorities in South Schleswig. The complementary case of the German minorities in South Jutland is discussed further by Pedersen (this volume).

Especially in constellations of the second type sketched above, horizontal dialect convergence under the influence of the standard variety (vertical convergence) often leads to (horizontal) divergence from closely-related dialects which are not 'roofed' by the same standard variety. This point is depicted in Fig. 4.

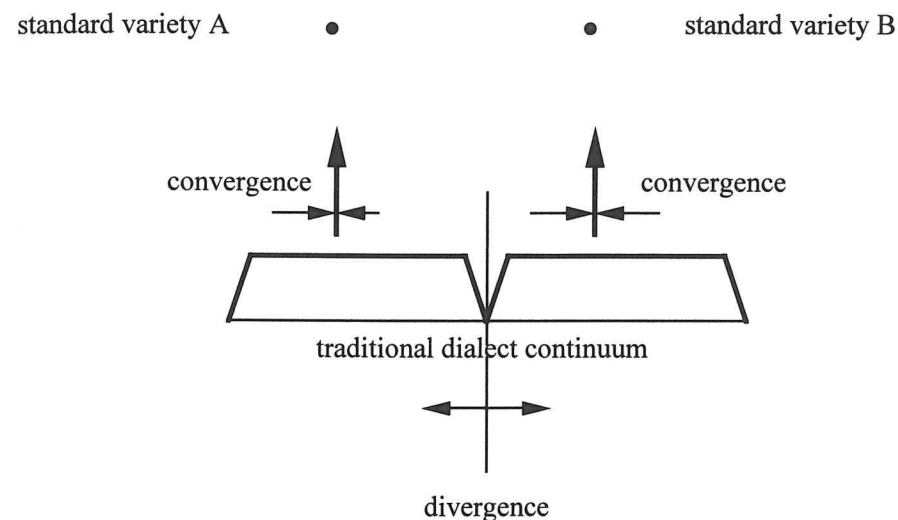


Figure 4. Divergence under the influence of two different standard varieties, dissolving an older dialect continuum.

So in most cases, the standard language "minimizes internal differences and maximizes external ones." From the point of view of nation-states and language areas, "the urge for

²⁰ A study carried out in Zeeland Flanders showed exactly the same tendencies; in the equally relatively intimate domain of 'parents and children', however, dialect use is generally avoided (Cucchiari/Hinskens 1988). This finding has been repeated in many other studies. The domain of 'parents and children' was not included in the questionnaires for the studies carried out in the two Dutch-German border areas.

²¹ Gerritsen 1991 reports on a study of three closely related and geographically contiguous dialects in the Belgian-Dutch-German border area, thus combining the first and the second type of constellation.

separatism has come into sharp conflict with the urge for international contact," to quote Haugen (1968/1972: 244–45).

In the third type of constellation, cross-dialectal divergence frequently goes hand-in-hand with dialect shift, or rather language shift: often the dialect is gradually traded in for the genetically unrelated 'roofing' standard language or a regional variety thereof (Niebaum & Kremer 1990:17). A case in point (among many) is the variety of Hungarian spoken in Oberwarth/Felsöör, Austria, which is gradually but irreversibly losing ground, with the regional variety of German taking over (Gal 1979).

In all three types of cases mentioned above, the general tendency nowadays seems to be for the closely related dialects on both sides of the border to become more and more dissimilar, i.e., to move structurally into different directions. How exactly is this 'horizontal' divergence (i.e., the growing apart of akin dialects) related to 'vertical' convergence, i.e., to the levelling in the dialect-standard language dimension? Is the cross-dialectal divergence a function of the convergence in the dialect-standard language dimension? Or do different 'autonomous' processes of inter-dialectal convergence on both sides of the border play a significant role? The 'replication' of at least part of the Rimbung study in the neighbouring German village of Übach-Palenberg, mentioned in subsection 3.2 above, might shed some light on this issue as well.

3.4. Migration and dialect convergence/divergence

Another important source for the dynamics of the dialect situation in present-day Europe is the fact that large scale migration has occurred both on national and on international levels. The link between migration and dialect change has always been very close. In fact, the geographical distribution of the present Germanic dialects more or less directly reflects the outcome of massive migration processes during the so-called Migration of the Peoples. The linguistic consequences of the 'Norman conquest' of England were as far-reaching as those of the German colonization of Slavic territories in Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages. Trumper & Maddalon (1994, MS) show how the linguistic effects of Southern Italian migration after the earthquake in 1638 are still visible in the linguistic landscape of the region today. The large-scale flight of nearly 60,000 inhabitants of the city of Antwerp in 1585 (more than half of the city's population at the time) after the Spanish occupation, and of another 90,000 in the course of the sixteenth century, led to a large wave of immigration to the western provinces of the present-day Netherlands. Because of their number and the fact that many of them were well-to-do representatives of the intellectual and cultural elite, their immigration had long-term effects on the group of dialects that would later form the basis of the Dutch standard language.

There are countless other examples; however, it seems nonetheless correct to say that – apart from such cataclysmic events – large parts of the European population remained relatively immobile for many centuries.²² With only few exceptions, even the colonization overseas and in (Eastern) Europe was restricted to relatively small segments

²² There are notable exceptions of large-scale migration, such as the Irish emigration to the USA.

of the population, although it affected the linguistic situation all over the world. Yet colonization usually did not affect the sociolinguistic constellation at home.

Large-scale migration affecting major segments of the population permanently set in around the middle of the 19th century in most European countries, i.e., with the advent of industrialization. This migration started on a relatively small scale, i.e., through the influx of workers from the countryside into the industrial centres, for instance into London (Kerswill, this volume) and the North of England. In the West of the Netherlands, the Randstad area developed into the country's main economic centre, with employment in industry, trade and transport as well as in government administration and the service sector acting as a giant magnet. In the Eindhoven area, the electronics industry boomed around the turn of the century, leading to almost explosive urbanization. The rapid industrialization (coal-mining) of the Southeastern part of the Dutch province of Limburg in the first decades of this century led to an enormous demand of manpower, which attracted thousands of labourers and their families from all parts of the country, as well as from several parts of Eastern Europe. These demographic (urbanization) and cultural changes had dramatic effects on the position of the local dialects and, in the longer run, on their structures (Hinskens 1992).

Today, the industrial centres continue to be relevant for dialect-standard language convergence because of the growth of the suburbs surrounding industrial centres. However, the direction of influence has changed: rather than influencing the urban variety,²³ the rural dialects are now under the influence of the urban vernacular or the regional standard spoken by the white collar workers living in the new suburbs (cf. Mattheier 1981 for the Cologne area).

Migration, especially work migration, on a nationwide basis towards the more developed or more affluent parts of a country has not lost its impact on the status and structure of the dialects; cf., e.g., migration from Southern to Northern Italy and, more recently, from Eastern to Western Germany.²⁴ The disproportionate growth of the capitals in centralized states is a special type of this migration, as in the cases of Paris or Vienna, particularly in the pre-World War I era. An interesting case is the founding of new industrial cities, such as Milton Keynes in England (cf. Kerswill & Williams 1992; Kerswill, this volume). Another example is the recent migration of Norwegian-speaking industrial workers into the Northernmost part of Norway (Troms, Finnmark), i.e., into an area previously inhabited by Sami speakers; this migration has led to the formation of a relatively standard-near, levelled vernacular with Sami (Lappish) substrate (Bull 1992).

On the largest scale, migration movements may cross national borders. The migration of labourers then creates new bilingual communities which can either be short-lived (as the Polish communities in the late 19th century and early 20th century *Ruhrgebiet*) or more stable (such as seems to be the case of the Turkish communities in the Netherlands or Germany). In either case, in the allochthonous community, new types of bilingualism develop, which may be characterized by specific patterns of convergence among the dia-

²³ As in the case of what Villena (this volume) refers to as the 'rurban' features of Andalusian urban vernaculars.

²⁴ Cf. Barden/Großkopf 1996; Auer/Barden/Großkopf 1996.

lects 'imported' by the immigrants. In this connection, another question for research is which role ethnic minorities, who are gradually developing into the new lower class or even 'underclass' in the cities on Northwestern Europe, play in the maintenance and change of urban dialects. Kotsinas (1988) reports that younger members of ethnic minorities in Stockholm have developed their own substandard varieties of Swedish for in-group use; this new ethnic Swedish substandard may eventually have an impact on the development of the autochthonous substandard variety.

Apart from work migration, the 20th century has not been free from politically motivated migration, of course. Let us just mention the resettling of the German population from the Eastern provinces of the *Deutsche Reich* and in Czechoslovakia after World War II and the immigration of Eastern Polish settlers in (present-day) Western Poland; the first led to complete loss of dialect within two generations, the second to dialect levelling (cf. Mazur, this volume).

Finally, tourism may be cited as a somewhat curious new form of migration which may have linguistic consequences. For instance, the increasing use of the standard variety of German spoken in the Federal Republic (rather than that of Austria) in South Tyrol is said to be a consequence of the masses of German tourists in that area (Lanthaler, in press). This example shows that tourism can lead to convergence – and not just to divergence, as in the case of the English dialect spoken on the island of Martha's Vineyard off the coast of Massachusetts, USA (Labov 1963).

What is common to the different types of migration is that they make the purely geographical orientation of traditional dialectology rather difficult to pursue. This problem has long been recognized for the cities, which were consequently largely *terra incognita* for traditional dialectology. For this reason, that branch of sociolinguistics is sometimes referred to as 'urban dialectology'.

4. Theoretical and methodological aspects

In 2.2 above, we discussed a number of reasons why processes of dialect convergence and divergence should (also) be approached from a social dialectological point of view. Among these are considerations of a methodological nature. In this section, we will dwell upon three theoretical issues which seem highly relevant to the study of dialect convergence and divergence, along with some of the methodological implications of their incorporation into the social dialectological approach to dialect convergence and divergence.

4.1. Linguistic theory

Studies of processes of convergence and divergence should take both structural and social aspects into account and relate these aspects to each other in meaningful ways. Structural-linguistic analyses (whether or not inspired by current formal linguistic theories) can be particularly relevant on three levels: (a) the study of the *raison d'être* of a specific dialect feature, i.e., of why there is variation at these specific points in grammar; (b) the study

of changes in the usage of these features such as may lead to the convergence or divergence of dialects; and (c) the comparison of processes of convergence or divergence in different dialects. Linguistic analysis is indispensable when it comes to answering the question if and to which extent similarities in these processes are motivated either by universal structural tendencies or rather by common 'external', e.g., sociolinguistic, factors.

Traditional dialectology "tended to treat linguistic forms in isolation rather than as parts of systems or structures" (Chambers/Trudgill 1980: 38). In part, this seems to be a consequence of the largely a-theoretical nature of certain currents in traditional dialectology which, in turn, is related to the insight reflected in Jaberg's often cited claim that in reality, each word has its own particular history.²⁵ To another part, it seems to result from the rather exclusive diachronic perspective in certain branches of traditional dialectology, as well as from a general lack of structural reasoning. In its tendency to treat linguistic forms in isolation, the sociolinguistic approach to language variation and change unmistakably inherited some of the features of dialectology. In many sociolinguistic studies of language variation and change, the implicit position seems to be that the less a description is embedded in linguistic theory, the more reliable and useful it is. However, this is but one manifestation of the very widespread misunderstanding that a thorough empirical approach (such as a quantitative method can be) is incompatible with an in-depth linguistic analysis, either in the spirit of mainstream linguistic theory or not.

A theoretical *parti-pris* does not necessarily do any harm, however, since linguistic theory can be extremely useful as a heuristic device. Linguistic theory can open one's eyes to aspects relevant to the phenomenon (e.g. dialect feature) under study which otherwise might have gone unnoticed. A theoretical explanation of the phenomenon at issue, whether or not in a formalized fashion, may help to make predictions about possible future changes – say, the fate of a given dialect feature in processes of convergence or divergence. Moreover, theoretical explanations may help to disentangle the internal and external forces which can be at work in such processes.

4.2. Social psychological aspects

Social psychological aspects of language variation include speakers' attitudes towards varieties or variants, speakers' reports on their own language use or code choice and speakers' accommodation to each other in face-to-face encounters.

So far, most research on language attitudes has been experimental in nature, based on the systematic manipulation and control of variables. The results of such studies do not necessarily carry a high degree of external validity – i.e., they cannot always be generalized to language use in 'real life.' Another way of obtaining data regarding language attitudes is to distill them out of interviews. Both experimental designs and interviewing are difficult research tools for eliciting reliable data, however, particularly when they are used to investigate the 'covert prestige' of a variety or variant. To the extent to which these methodological problems can be solved, this type of research can provide valuable insight into how certain linguistic forms are stereotypically related to speakers' attributes

25 "In Wirklichkeit hat jedes Wort seine besondere Geschichte" (Jaberg 1908).

such as intelligence, profession, likability, trustworthiness, etc. (Moosmüller 1985, 1991), and in general, on how language ideologies contribute to identity formation. Many studies have shown, however, that attitudes have only limited predictive power for actual language use; it is even more difficult to use attitudinal data to *predict* language change, including convergence and divergence. (Cf. Münstermann & van Hout 1985; Jaspaert & Kroon 1988;²⁶ Omdal 1994 for a critical evaluation of the relevance of attitudinal research for socio-dialectology; but Barden & Großkopf 1996 for positive ex-post explanations at least in some variables.)

One of the basic problems seems to be that only some dialect features are salient enough to be avoided even by those speakers who dislike the dialect (Schirmunski's 'primary dialect features'). Another problem is that not every speaker is able to acquire or cast off a given dialect feature. Among the possible reasons for this are the phonetic-articulatory problems the dialect features poses (one simply finds it hard not to pronounce a word in a certain way, or one cannot produce a certain phonetic feature), the auditive-discriminatory problems a dialect feature poses (one cannot perceive a certain phonetic difference) or grammatical problems (a linguistic variable may have been lexicalized to a degree which makes it difficult to acquire.) The link between evaluations and actual behaviour is therefore a very indirect one at best.

Since self-reported behaviour on dialect and standard use is heavily influenced by attitudes, studies based on this type of data may be of limited predictive power for actual language use as well (cf. Hinskens 1993a:326–41). In particular, heavy over- or underreporting is to be expected in situations in which the dialect is held in very high or very low esteem. The Low German dialects in Northern Germany are an example of the first case, and the *Ruhrgebiet* vernacular(s) of the second.

In the social-psychological approach to accommodation (Giles et al. 1987 – to mention just one of the key publications in this area), the notion of convergence refers to what can happen linguistically when speakers adapt to the speech of others to reduce differences. As such, it is a type of accommodation (modification of behaviour), namely the opposite of divergence, which is the exploitation and making more salient of differences, in order to distance oneself from the other participant.

We do not wish to suggest that the meaning in which we use these notions is entirely unrelated to the social psychological usage. On the contrary: accommodation in the social-psychological sense may even be a precondition for structural 'accommodation', i.e., convergence (Trudgill 1986, Hinskens 1992, Ch. 11, Sobrero 1988). Following this line of argument, structural convergence may be a long-term effect of sustained, frequent convergence on the part of the speakers.

With respect to linguistic (rather than merely psychological) 'accommodation', three levels need to be distinguished, however: 1. the interactional encounter, 2. the individual speaker and 3. the speech community or community grammar of the dialect. The more general the level, the higher the chances that linguistic 'accommodation' will have perma-

²⁶ Who, in their concluding remarks (p. 170), refer to other studies the outcomes of which point towards "the problematic and seldom straightforward relationship between attitudes and behaviour".

nent (structural) effects. The transitions between these levels are not at all obvious. Methodologically, it is unclear how findings regarding 'accommodation' on level *x* can be generalized to level *x*+1, and in particular, how the short-term manifestation of 'accommodation' may result in middle-term (individual) and, especially, long-term manifestations of 'accommodation' (community grammar of the dialect/ speech community).

4.3. Interactional and ethnographic approaches

Interactional or ethnographic approaches characteristically do not take a linguistic variety or variable as their point of departure (nor, in fact, the individual speakers with their specific social and communicative needs, as in accommodation theory), but rather the linguistic community or certain interacting social groups. They are concerned less with the distribution of variants in texts or text corpora, but rather with the way people use (constellations of) variables in natural conversation. For instance, in what is still one of the most impressive documented cases of cross-language convergence, Gumperz & Wilson 1971 show that the extreme degree of convergence between the languages Kannada, Urdu, Marathi and Telugu, all spoken in the village of Kupwar in Maharashtra (India), has virtually assimilated the syntax and phonology of these originally unrelated languages, to the point where word-for-word translation is possible. In such a case of long-standing intensive language contact over hundreds of years, the (European) linguist may ask why multilingualism has not been given up altogether for the sake of monolingualism in one of the more dominant languages (such as, in this case, Marathi), as the languages have become (almost) mutually comprehensible. Gumperz & Wilson answer the question with an ethnographic argument: there is a strict separation between the private and the public sphere. In the private (intraskin) sphere each of the groups or castes uses their own language. For this reason, women are usually monolingual. In the public sphere, the use of another language as a *lingua franca* (i.e., often accommodation to the language of the other) is customary in order to keep the spheres of activity separate.

Although the ethnographic approach relies on interviews (informants' reports) in addition to observed and recorded behaviour, it avoids a strict equation of these sets of data. In their famous Hemnesberget study, Blom & Gumperz (1972) found that a group of former Hemnesberget residents who had left for education in the cities had accommodated de facto to the standard variety (Bokmål); however, they nevertheless claimed to use pure Hemnesberget dialect (Ranamål). In this case, linguistic divergence coincides with psychological non-accommodation. Such a discrepancy between observed and reported behaviour is itself in need of an ethnographic account.

Ethnographic and interactional approaches are often considered to be fundamentally different from and incompatible with the so-called quantitative variationist approach. Although we see some fundamental points of conflict, in particular in the way 'social' parameters such as social class were handled in early variationist sociolinguistics, we believe that in the study of processes of convergence and divergence of dialects, a sensible integration of the two frameworks is called for. In particular, we claim that ethnographic methods of data collection, both with respect to linguistic data and their social and communicative embedding, are of eminent importance to any sociolinguistic (and socio-dia-

lectological) study (cf. Auer 1995). On the other hand, we also claim that quantitative methods are not only valid but even necessary in investigating the interactional and social meaning of some aspects of linguistic behaviour which are not amenable to a social interpretation in the single case of their occurrence; this applies especially to unconscious phonetic variables (Schirmunski's 'secondary dialect features'; cf. Barden, Großkopf & Auer, in press).

5. A few more words about the contributions to this issue

This volume deals with instances of dialect convergence or divergence in five different language areas, representing the western, eastern, northern, southern and more central parts of Europe. In addition to the empirical points they make, the contributions also make theoretical and methodological points. Some are more qualitatively oriented, some more quantitatively, and some reflect a mix of approaches.

Paul Kerswill compares the development of the English dialect of the new town of Milton Keynes (Buckinghamshire), with that spoken by rural newcomers in the city of Bergen (Norway). In the former case, the attention is focussed on the acquisition of both the internal and external distribution of several phonological and phonetic variants, and within the latter, on morphological change. The contribution contains thought-provoking considerations on what patterns of variation, co-occurrence and code-switching may reveal about processes of convergence. Differences in the ways the two dialects are developing are related to a range of differences between the Milton Keynes and the Bergen situation. More generally, however, convergence and pronounced dialect levelling are taking place in both instances which, according to Kerswill, is partly because of common changes in life-style.

Jan Mazur shows for the Polish language area that convergence and divergence are nothing new in language history. After a broad and particularly well-documented overview of the role of convergence and divergence in the diachrony of what seems to be almost the entire Polish diasystem, Mazur discusses a number of relevant developments in modern Polish. He pays particular attention to phonological, morphological and lexical issues. One of his central claims is that, by and large, at present these processes have a different motivation and take place at a considerably faster pace than was the case in the past. According to the author, the differences in origin and direction as well as in the tempo of processes of convergence and divergence can be properly understood only against the background of larger societal and political developments.

Inge Lise Pedersen investigates the notion of 'regionalism' with respect to Denmark, focussing in particular on Jutland, which, given its long-lasting development independent from the capital and the Danish islands, is the best candidate for a Danish 'region'. After reviewing the role of the *regionalsprog* within the Danish speech community, Pedersen discusses the ways in which the Jutlanders have adapted to the standard language in various phases of history. Most modern studies suggest that Jutland is moving towards the (Copenhagen) standard variety without developing a *regionalsprog* of its own, but Pedersen argues that this finding may be methodologically biased since usually, only single

variable studies in the variationist paradigm have been carried out. If the linguistic repertoire as a whole is taken into account, there is some evidence that young Jutlanders use Copenhagen *non-standard* features in their language, thereby developing a new and unique mixture of old (local Jutlandic) and new (Copenhagen) features.

Juan Villena Ponsoda outlines the Malaga Urban Vernacular project (Villena 1992), which is ethnographically oriented, and departs from the network organisation of the local community (cf. Milroy 1980). In his discussion of some of the findings generated by this project, he pays most attention to the various, partly diffuse, processes of convergence and divergence in the phonology of the traditional local variety of Andaluz. The author focuses particularly on the link of these processes not only with style but also with a range of extralinguistic factors, including social network membership and the speakers' sex. The present situation is characterized not so much by a bi- but a tri-polar continuum, according to Villena.

In Alberto Sobrero's contribution different patterns of sociolinguistic change in Italy are described, against the background of socio-economic changes in the sixties and later. These patterns were different in different parts of Italy. The author distinguishes three types of koinéization, an active one, such as the spread of Milanese, a passive one, which levels out dialectal differences under the influence of the standard language, and a third type, which affects dialectal transition zones. In the final part of the article, the author describes the present-day situation in various regions of Italy, such as Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany, as well as the situation of the Roman dialect. He concludes that more fieldwork specifically aimed at koinaí and processes of koinéization is necessary.

We hope that this issue of 'Sociolinguistica', along with the new ESF Network (see footnote *) will contribute to intensifying the study of processes which seem to be gaining momentum in all corners of the Old World. They may be deplored by some, but this should not be a reason not to take advantage of the unique possibilities they offer for comparative study.

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Varietätenkonvergenz: Überlegungen zu einem Baustein einer Theorie der Sprachvariation

1. Problemdefinitionen und Abgrenzungen
2. Bemerkungen zum Terminus „Konvergenz/Dialektkonvergenz“
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1. Problemdefinitionen und Abgrenzungen

Konvergenz von Sprache – das ist ein Baustein einer Theorie von Sprachvariation und Sprachwandel, der zwar, das wird in der derzeit laufenden Forschungsdiskussion immer deutlicher, eine tragende Funktion im Theoriegebäude haben muß, der jedoch seltsam undeutliche Konturen aufweist. Das zeigt sich schon darin, daß mit der Bezeichnung „Konvergenz“ in der Linguistik recht unterschiedliche Phänomene bezeichnet werden. So verwendet etwa Janos Juhasz (1980, 647) „Konvergenz“ weitgehend bedeutungsgleich mit „Interferenz“, wenn es darum geht, das Streben nach Äquivalenz zwischen zwei in Kontakt stehenden Sprachen zu bezeichnen. Claus Jürgen Hutterer (1982, 178f.) verwendet den Konvergenzbegriff im Zusammenhang mit einer speziellen Sprachkontaktkonstellation im Rahmen der Sprachinselforschung zur Bezeichnung der Annäherung von zwei in einer Sprachinsel vorkommenden unterschiedlichen Dialekten, wobei beide sich wandeln, und er unterscheidet davon den Prozeß der Annäherung von Sprachinselvarietäten an die überdachenden Varietäten. Andere Verwendungsweisen von Konvergenz thematisieren die Annäherung von Dialekten in sogenannten regionalen Umgangssprachen, aber auch – unter sprachhistorischen Gesichtspunkten – die Sprachmischungsprozesse und die Bildungsprozesse von historischen Ausgleichssprachen.

Hier wird schon erkennbar, daß Sprachkonvergenz keineswegs ausschließlich ein linguistisches Strukturkonzept ist, bei dem es um die Veränderung von Strukturteilen unter dem Einfluß anderer Varietätenstrukturen geht. Der Konvergenzbegriff ist immer eng mit der Funktionsweise von Sprache in gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhängen verbunden und sollte deshalb immer auch als soziolinguistischer Begriff verwendet werden.

Beschäftigung mit „Konvergenz“ finden wir in den verschiedensten Zusammenhängen. So gibt es etwa im Zusammenhang mit der Ausbildung von Standardsprachen in den