

VARIOLINGUA

NONSTANDARD - STANDARD - SUBSTANDARD

Herausgegeben von

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Dialect and Migration
in a Changing Europe

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were refunctionalised, as in Canadian English, according to natural phonetic principles.

We conclude that in areas which have been the focus of migration of a type which leads to contact between mutually intelligible varieties of language, it is worth considering reallocation as an explanation for both sociolinguistic variability and complex allophony.

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Long-Term Linguistic Accommodation and its Sociolinguistic Interpretation: Evidence from the Inner-German Migration After the *Wende*

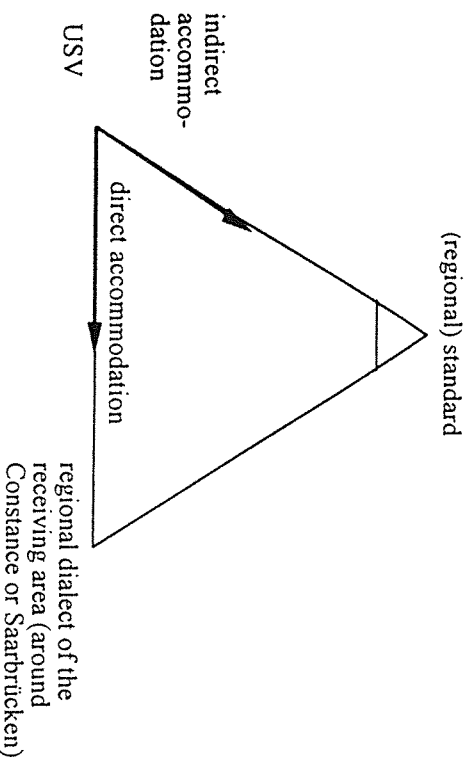
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In our paper, we will report on some findings of a research project on long-term dialect accommodation in real time.¹ In a longitudinal study carried out in 1990-1992, data were collected in a group of 56 speakers aged 12 to 52, each of whom was interviewed 8 times over a two-year period by speakers of standard German. Informants were native speakers of the Upper Saxonian Vernacular spoken around/between Leipzig and Dresden, i.e. only in the former GDR. During or shortly after the collapse of the GDR, many East Germans left the country and settled in West Germany for political and/or economic reasons. Our informants were recruited among these migrants. Two receiving dialect regions were selected: the region around (and including the) city of Constance in the extreme Southwest of Germany (an Alemannic-speaking, Upper German dialect area) and the city of Saarbrücken in the westernmost part of Germany (a mixed Rhenopalatium/Moselle-Franconian, i.e. Middle German dialect area). Given the traditionally very low prestige of the Upper Saxonian Vernacular (henceforth USV),² a high degree of pressure to accommodate the local dialect of the receiving area or the standard variety of German (as a kind of neutral way of speaking) was expected, particularly in an 'out-group' interview situation in which the interviewer came from West Germany and used the standard variety. In this article, we will restrict ourselves to discussing indirect accommodation of this latter type (i.e. loss of USV features), disregarding dialect acquisition which was also observed over the two years' period. Cf. Fig. (1).

¹ For more details, particularly on the social dimension of the project, cf. Großkopf/Barden/Auer 1996; Auer/Barden/Großkopf 1996 and 1998; Barden/Großkopf 1998.

² For further details on the Upper Saxon Vernacular, cf. Becker/Bergmann 1969.

Fig. (1): Model of long-term dialect accommodation



USV is a regional dialect koine easily described (and recognized) by a small number of phonological features, most of which are listed in table (1) together with some examples.

Table (1): The Upper Saxonian (USV) variables

vocalic variables:

- (A): vernacular velarized (rounded, back) long low vowel
 std. [ɑ:] vs. USV [ɔ:]
 example: std. [va:r] vs. USV [vɔ:r] 'true'
- (E): vernacular low long mid front vowel
 std. [e:] vs. USV [ɛ:]
 example: std. [lɛ:bm] vs. USV [lɛ:bm] 'to live'
- (Ü): vernacular non-rounded long high front vowel
 std. [y:] vs. USV [i:]
 example: std. [y:bm] vs. USV [i:bm] 'to practice'
- (Û): vernacular non-rounded short high front vowel
 std. [ʏ] vs. USV [i]
 example: std. [hʏtə] vs. USV [hɪdɔ] 'hut'

³ USV also has non-rounded mid front vowels instead of std. German /ɔ/ and /ɑ:/, because of their comparatively low frequency they were not taken into account in the quantitative investigation

- (O): vernacular centralization⁴ of long mid back vowel
 std. [o:] vs. USV [a:]
 example: std. [blo:s] vs. USV [blɔ:s] 'only'
- (U): vernacular centralization of long high back vowel
 std. [u:] vs. USV [ɜ:]
 example: std. [apsɔlɪ:ʁt] vs. USV [äpsɔ:ʁt] 'absolutely'
- (OI): vernacular non-round back outgliding diphthong
 std. [ɔə] vs. USV [aə]
 example: std. [frɛənt] vs. USV [fraənt] 'friend'
- (AI): vernacular monophthong instead of the std. front outgliding diphthong
 std. [əɪ] vs. USV [ɛ:]
 example: std. [kaən] vs. USV [kɛ:n] 'no' (determiner)
- (AU): vernacular monophthong instead of the std. back outgliding diphthong
 std. [aʊ] vs. USV [a:]
 only quantified for: std. [aʊx] vs. USV [a:x] 'also'

consonantal variables:

- (CH): vernacular coronalization of the palato-alveolar fricative
 std. [ç] vs. USV [ʃ]
 example: std. [mɛnç] vs. USV [mɛnʃ] 'monk'
- (G): vernacular spirantization of the intervocalic velar voiced stop
 std. [g] vs. USV [ɣ], [ʒ]
 example: std. [va:gn] vs. USV [vɔ:y:ɣn] 'car'
- (P,T): vernacular syllable-initial lenis stops instead of voiceless fortis
 std. [p], [t] vs. USV [b], [d]⁵
 example: std. [par] vs. USV [bɔ:v] 'some'

For these 12 variables, indices were calculated referring to the percentage of non-standard realizations in the interview data.

We will not go into the phonetic and distributional details of these features of USV (cf. Barden/Großkopf 1998). Rather, it is our aim to focus on possible sociolinguistic explanations of the loss of USV realizations, as it was found in our group of speakers. A sociolinguistic explanation of the relative loss of USV realizations is indeed possible according to our results, if the social integration of

⁴ The vowel system of USV is generally more centralized than that of standard German. Centralization was calculated for the long back vowels only, however, where it is most easily identified using auditory methods

⁵ Lenition of initial /k/ is exceedingly rare in our data. Therefore we decided not to include it in the quantification of this variable

the migrants in the new, West German social environment is investigated, and if, in addition, the way in which this integration is perceived by the migrants is taken into account.

In order to present our results, we have chosen a possibly somewhat exceptional method, i.e., we will focus on one particular speaker in the Saarbrücken group, called Mr V here. Mr V is not a typical representative of our group of Saxonian informants as a whole; in fact, he is not even typical of one of the various accommodation types we were able to identify. On the contrary, the way his speech changes during the approx. 2 years of our investigation is unique in many ways. Nonetheless, we will try to show that looking at this particular, exceptional case can be revealing for detecting and analysing the general social forces behind the linguistic accommodation of Saxonian migrants in the West of Germany.

We will first present the linguistic results and afterwards look at an explanation in terms of social integration and its perception by the speaker. This will be done against the background of the results found in the study at large.

On a very superficial level, the non-typicality of Mr V can be shown by comparing his linguistic behaviour with that of the average speaker on a cumulative index for all variables investigated (cf. Fig. 2 for the whole group). On average, every speaker in our group reduces his or her USV value by 40 to 29 points during the period of investigation, which corresponds to a relative loss of 28% USV realizations. In the case of Mr V (cf. Fig. 3), who used a comparatively high level of USV forms in the first interview, no such tendency is observed; indeed, he has even become slightly 'more Saxonian' in the last interview, linguistically speaking (the relative increase is 5%).

The overall index refers to all non-standard realizations. Since some of the variables are gradual, the same index was calculated for a subset of the USV non-standard realizations which we called 'strongly Saxonian'. This second index excludes intermediate realizations. A comparison between the whole group and Mr V for these 'strong realizations' shows a pattern similar to all non-standard realizations. Again, the value in the group as a whole decreases considerably within the two years (relative loss of USV realizations = 38%), while Mr V reduces his strong Saxonian forms by a meager 8%. So all in all, Mr V seems to have slightly reduced his strong Saxon realizations during the two years, whereas his intermediate non-standard forms have increased.

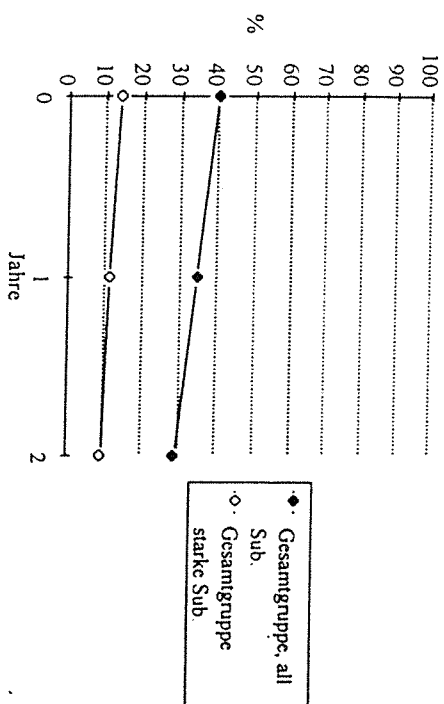


Fig. (2): Whole group: mean values of all non-standard (upper line) and strong vernacular realizations (lower line) for all variables

This makes Mr V a non-typical representative of our group of informants, but not an altogether unique case, for there is a number of speakers (type C) in which the USV forms are stronger at the end of the period of investigation than they had been at the beginning. The very special nature of Mr V's accommodation pattern only reveals itself when it is investigated, not over the two-year period as a whole, but in smaller intervals.

Contrary to all but three of our informants, Mr V does not exhibit a linear pattern of change, but rather a zig-zag type curve. While he lost a considerable amount of USV forms in the first year, this pattern changed radically in the second year: in this period, Mr V returned to his old way of speaking, and in some ways even surpassed it in USV realizations.

The results are shown in Fig. (3).

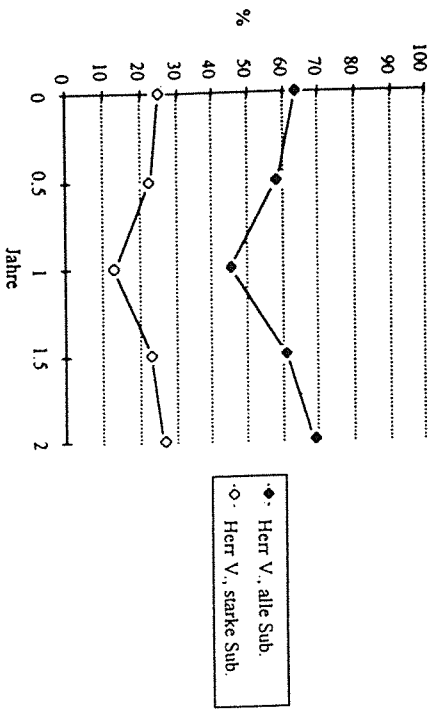


Fig. (3): Mr V: Mean values of all non-standard and strong vernacular realizations for all variables

An informant of this kind, although an exceptional case, is of particular interest for a sociolinguistic study which seeks to explain the amount of change in certain migrants in relation to their social integration and their attitudes. It can function as a test for our general explanation of the differential ways in which our informants responded to the new social and linguistic life-world in the West by accommodating (or not) standard German and (to a lesser degree) the local West German dialect. If there is indeed a close relationship between social integration and its perception on the one hand, and linguistic accommodation on the other, we should find in a person such as Mr V a radical change in the parameters accompanying and explaining linguistic (re)-orientation.

Before we enter into this discussion, the picture of Mr V's linguistic accommodation as given in Fig (3) has to be refined. In particular, we want to know if all linguistic variables take part in the zig-zag change to the same degree. In order to answer this question, let us look at Figs. (4)-(7) which show the percentages of non-standard realizations in Mr V broken down by variables⁶

⁶ The variable (U) was not calculated for Mr V as the number of occurrences was too small to do an interview-by-interview analysis. To judge by the results of the other informants and by the high correlations (.8380), this feature is likely to behave similarly to (U).

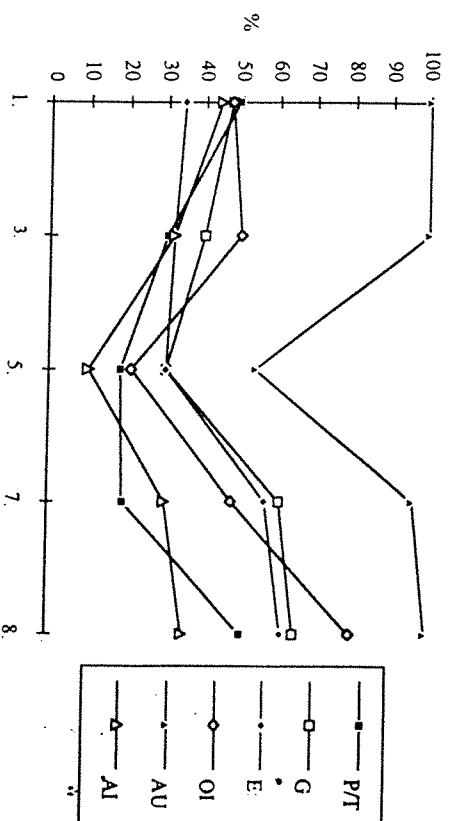


Fig. (4): all non-standard realizations - „zig-zagging variables“

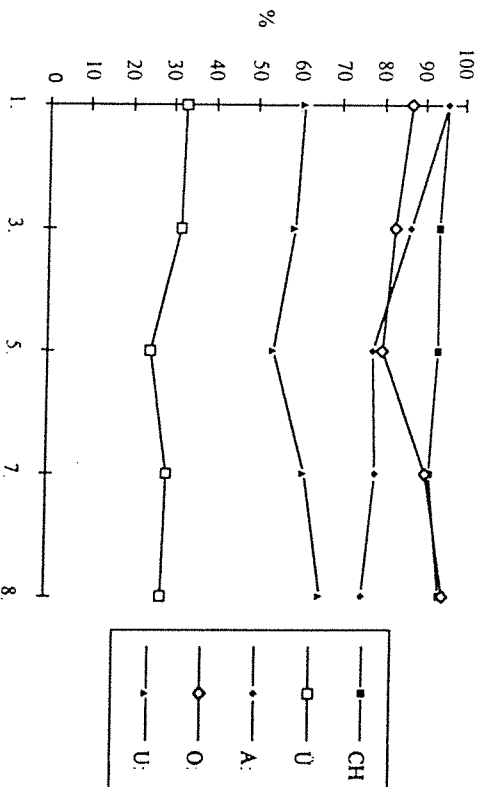


Fig. (5): all non-standard forms - „non-zig-zagging variables“

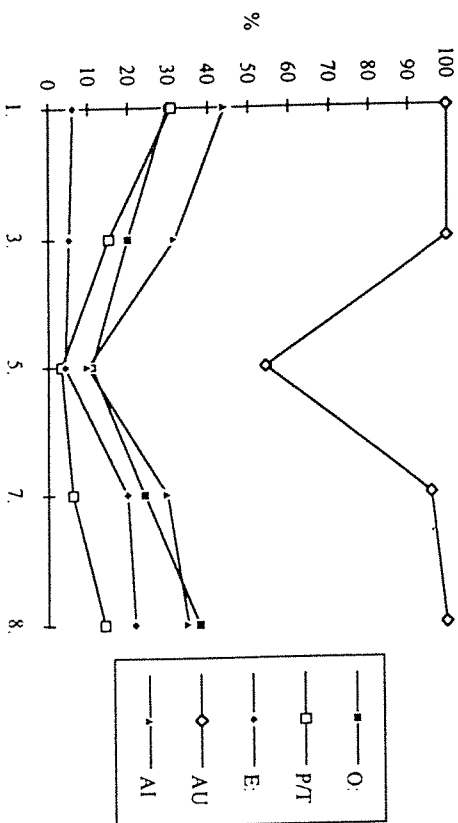


Fig. (6): strong USV realizations, „zig-zagging variables“

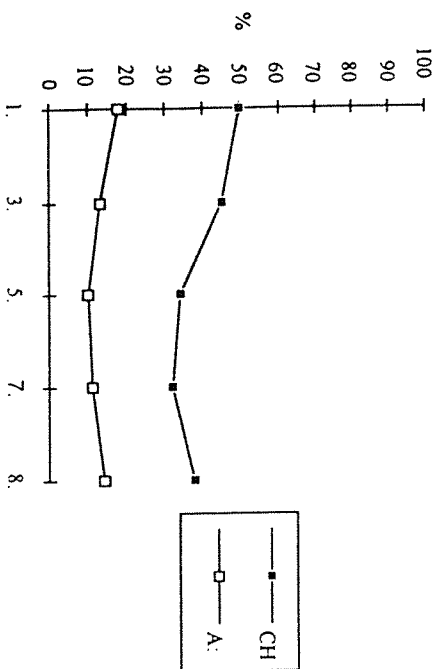


Fig. (7): strong USV realizations, „non zig-zagging variables“

In Fig. (4), we have collated those variables (all non-standard realizations) which are responsible for the zig-zag curve, i.e. the variables which move towards

the standard pole (zero) in the first year of Mr V's time in Saarbrücken, but return to a much more Saxonian way of speaking in the second year, sometimes even reaching values clearly higher than those found in the first interview. These are the three diphthongal variables (OI) (unrounding), (AI), (AU) (monophthongization), the consonantal variables (P/T) (lenition) and (G) (fricativization), as well as the remaining variables (E) (lowering). In contrast, Fig. (5) summarizes the remaining variables (Ü) (unrounding), (CH) (coronalization), (A:) (velarization), and (O:/U:) (centralization). They only show slight traces of the zig-zag movement, and in one variable (A:), this movement is entirely absent; with the velarized forms slightly decreasing in frequency over the whole period investigated.

In Fig. (6), the zig-zagging strongly vernacular non-standard realizations are shown; they may be compared to the curves for (CH) and (A) in Fig. (7) which again do not fit the pattern.⁷ The only difference is - in this case - the centralization of /o:/ which takes part in the zig-zagging while it did not do so in the index of the totality of non-standard forms.

In sum, there is evidence in Mr V's speech that some of the USV variables follow a specific pattern of accommodation-followed-by-non-accommodation, while others don't (or do so to a lesser extent). The important point is that although Mr V is exceptional in his overall development, the different saliency of the various features of USV to the specific social context of the migration corresponds almost perfectly with the saliency of these features as established on entirely different grounds. (The only slight exception is the centralization of /o:/ which in its strong form takes part in Mr V's zig-zag development but is not salient.) The criteria which led us to judge this saliency are summarized and applied to the variables in Tab. (2).⁸

⁷ No strong non-standard forms could be found for (OI), and the variables (G), (AU), (AI) are dichotomous which means that no intermediate forms are possible. In these cases, the curves are identical to those in Fig. (4). For the variables (Ü), (U:) and (U:), occurrences were too small to calculate this index.

⁸ A full discussion of the saliency issue may be found in Auer/Barden/Großkopf, 1998 and 1996. It must be pointed out that saliency in weak and strong USV realizations is not exactly the same, above all because no mergers occur as a consequence of weak non-standard realizations.

	(O)	(U)	(A)	(CH)	(Ü)	(U)²	(OI)	(E)	(P/T)	(G)	(AU)	(AI)
merger?	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
continuous?	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
excl. lexicalized?	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
style differences? (reading vs. interview)	yes/ no		yes	yes/ no					yes			
writing?			(no)	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
stereotype? (other evidence)	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table (2): Saliency of variables (empty cells = no information available)

The following criteria were used for determining the salience of a feature:

- phonemicity: a feature was judged to be more salient if the variation between the standard and non-standard realization affected a phonemic contrast, in our case of the standard variety (such as, in the case of (Ü), between round and non-round front vowels).
- phonetic nature of the feature: a feature was judged to be more salient if it was dichotomous rather than continuous.
- lexicalization: a feature was judged to be more salient if it was only used in lexical environments which have to be learned word by word (such as, for instance, in the case of the variable (AU) where the monophthongal forms may only occur in a subset of the words, i.e. those going back to MHG /ou/ rather than MHG /a/).
- style differences: for the features (O), (A), (CH), and (P/T), a comparison of interview and reading data was carried out in order to determine the variables' sensitivity to 'style'. This comparison revealed that all variables are controlled (and their USV realizations reduced) in reading when they occur in their strong form, but that only (A.) and (P/T) were controlled in weak realization.
- representation in writing: on the basis of written Saxonian texts (popular books and dictionaries) we asked if the feature (provided it could be rendered in German orthography at all) was coded by the writer (and therefore deemed to be relevant to the dialect) or not. This criterion revealed that (CH) and, possibly, also (A.) are

⁹ Cf. note 8.

less salient than the other features. (Since centralization cannot be marked in German orthography it cannot be subjected to this criterion).

- stereotyping: of course, features which are stereotypical of USV and are used in mimicking are more salient than those that are not.

The total correlation between the USV features' participation in Mr V's zig-zag development and their saliency is striking. It shows that even in a marginal case there is something general to discover. While the changes in Mr V's speech are extraordinary, the general linguistic principles behind them are not.

We now move on to look into the reasons for Mr V's zig-zag pattern. In order to do so, we will focus particularly on Mr V's network contacts (which represent an important part of his social integration into the new social context after migration) and on his own way of evaluating the success of his migration from Leipzig to Saarbrücken, including what is usually subsumed under the heading "attitudes" in the sociolinguistic literature.

Let us start with network analysis. In our study, information on this topic was gathered in the interviews, among other things by a special technique in which informants were asked to draw a figure of their network by placing circles in various distances from the EGO, with the distances indicating the emotional stance the informant took vis-à-vis the network contact (more distance = less affection), and with the size of the circles indicating the (reported) frequency of contacts. Network structure was analysed on three dimensions: (a) The (reported) density of the network was estimated according to the number of network contacts listed, the clusters within the network, and the multiplicity of the contacts. (b) The proportion of Saxonian vs. local contacts in the network. (c) The informant's subjective satisfaction with his or her network. The possible combinations of these three dimensions are summarized in Fig. (8). However, not all of them occurred in our data. Rather, the largest number of informants belonged to network type 3 (informants satisfied with a dense network of contacts including few Saxonians), followed by types 7 and 8 (loose networks with few Saxonians) and by types 5 and 6 (loose networks with important Saxonian contacts); only one informant was a representative of network type 1 (satisfied with a dense network in which Saxonians play an important role).

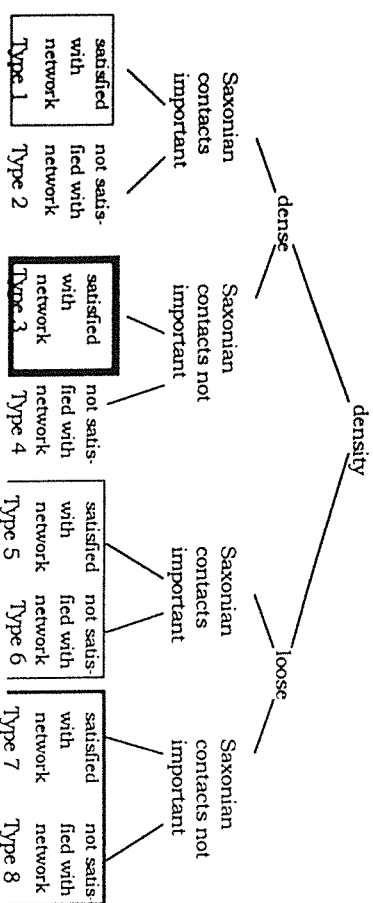


Fig. (8): possible networks

Mr V was a representative of network type 7 until the fifth interview. His network was open and rather loose, and contacts with other Saxons were, neither in Leipzig nor in Saarbrücken, of great importance to him. At the same time, he claimed to be satisfied with his network. Until that time, his network was that of Fig. (9).

Mr V was 26 years old when we started our investigation. He had left the GDR shortly before the fall of the wall and come directly to Saarbrücken. His wife (represented by the large light grey network point close to Mr V's - black - EGO point) joined him early in 1990. In Saarbrücken, he soon found a flat large enough for his family, and a job in his old meter as a bricklayer. Due to his time-consuming job (after only three months, he was promoted to a higher position), he had little time to invest in new social contacts. Apart from his family (wife, child, parents and a brother with his wife, all living in Saarbrücken), his post-migration network included some of his colleagues, a former colleague of his wife's, and - particularly important - a female friend of about the same age (large hatched contact point in the diagramme) ("we can talk to each other about everything", W2, IV). These extra-familial contacts are all locals of the Saarland.

Mr V was satisfied both with the number and the emotional status of the contacts in his network. Since his wife kept close contacts with Saxony, he never entirely cut off his ties with East Germany, but they did not play an important role in his life at that stage (cf. the dark grey network points).

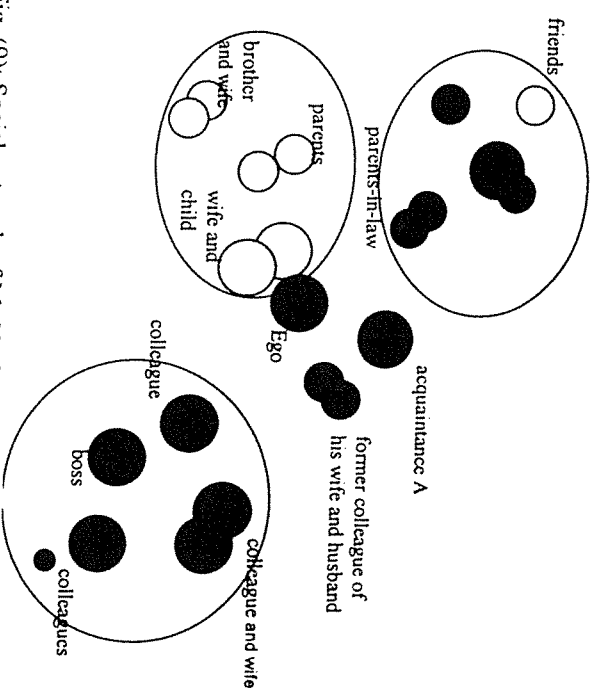


Fig. (9): Social network of Mr V after one year, network type 7

On the basis of the interviews, we also investigated which stance the informants took vis-a-vis their new social environment in comparison with their old *Heimat*, i.e. Saxony, and how they evaluated the success of their migration. In this part of the investigation, we also included attitudes towards the varieties of German spoken in both regions. Tab. (3) shows the two main dimensions investigated. One refers to the informant's attitudes towards the new and the old region. Here, we distinguished three types of *Ortsbezogenheit* (loyalty to the region): a positive attitude towards the receiving region (i.e. the *Saarland* or *Baden*), a positive attitude towards the region of origin (Saxony), and a neutral stance which we dubbed 'cosmopolitan' because these informants claimed that for them, loyalty to the region was not important at all. Rather, they claimed to be able to live everywhere.

	loyalty towards receiving region	no loyalty (cosmopolitians)	regional loyalty towards the region of origin
the 'cheerful soul' (<i>die Frohnatur</i>)	11	5	0
the 'cool one' (<i>der Gelassene</i>)	7	11	5
the 'fighter' (<i>der Kämpfer</i>)	7	3	3

Table (3): Regional affiliation and evaluation of the migration; number of informants

The second dimension refers to the way in which the informants 'digested' their individual migration and how they evaluated its success and presented it to us (West Germans) in the interviews. Here, we identified three prototypical kinds of assimilation. The first prototype, which we called the 'cheerful soul', foregrounds his or her positive experiences and forgets the negative ones. These informants are highly satisfied with their new living conditions in the West, and they view their migration as a success throughout, even in cases where 'objectively speaking' this evaluation is not obviously evident. The second prototype, called the 'cool one', perceives and describes his or her experiences in the new environment with some distance. The usual attitude is that 'things will turn out okay' without much active intervention by the informant. Negative experiences of the migration are acknowledged, but do not lead to a negative overall view of life. Persons of this type often very clearly see both the advantages and disadvantages of life in East and West; in the interviews, this leads to detailed reflections which, however, do not seem to affect the person very deeply. Finally, the third prototype, called the 'fighter', is highly dissatisfied with his or her life after migration. Negative experiences are foregrounded and positive ones are seldom mentioned. But unlike the 'cool one', the 'fighter' is deeply involved emotionally in coming to grips with his or her situation. The 'fighters' take problems of assimilation very seriously. Generalized negative statements about failure are frequent, and responsibility for this failure is usually attributed to the West. On the other hand, these informants are desperately trying to change their situation, although they do not often succeed. If these criteria are applied to Mr V such as he presented himself in the first year of his participation in our study, he comes closest to the prototype of the 'cool one' with his clear affiliation with and loyalty to Saarbrücken, his new home.

After having sketched Mr V's social integration and attitudes in the first year, we will now present the general results of our study on the interdependence of linguistic and social integration and then come back to Mr V and the changes in his life in the 2nd year of our investigation. These general results are summarized in Tab. (4):

	Type A	Type AB	Type B	Type BC	Type C	Type D	total
network	15	6	10	5	2	10	
density	+	+	-	-	-	-	
satisfaction	+	+	+	+	-	-	
contacts with Saxonians	-	-	-	+	+	-	
attitudes							
regional affiliation with new region	+	+	-	-	-	+	
'cosmopolitan' with Saxony	+	-	+	-	-	+	
perception of migration							
'the cheerful soul'	+	-	-	-	-	-	
'the cool one'	-	+	+	+	-	-	
'the fighter'	-	-	-	-	+	+	
linguistic accommodation							
of the standard variety (absolute change over two years)	-15.77%	-9.98%	-10.71%	-5.08%	12.90%	-24.00%	-11.24%
(relative change over two years)	-37.69%	-15.04%	-26.95%	-8.80%	29.14%	-45.30%	-28.46%
of the local dialect (over two years)	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes

Tab. (4): Type of integration and type of linguistic accommodation in the study at large

It can be noted that some of the network and some of the attitudinal parameters are interrelated. For instance, and this is not very surprising, if a person has a strong regional affiliation with Saxony on the attitudinal level,

contacts with Saxonians are also important in the network (types BC and C), while a person who feels a stronger affiliation with the receiving region will not seek such contacts (types A, D and AB). Moreover, 'fighters' are always dissatisfied with their social networks (types C and D), while 'cheerful souls' or 'cool ones' are always satisfied with them.

In the group as a whole (excluding the three informants like Mr V with a non-linear development), four main (A, B, C, D) and two intermediate types of interdependencies between linguistic and attitudinal/network related parameters (AB and BC) were identified.

In the types A and D as well as in the intermediate type AB, regional affiliation is connected with the West German area of living, i.e. with Saarbrücken or Constance. Only in these three types do we find accommodation of the dialect of the receiving area. Otherwise, A and D represent very different developments. For a person of type A, the new network is densely structured, contacts with Saxonians are unimportant and satisfaction with one's integration (in terms of network structure) is high. These informants have a positive view of their migration and represent the attitudinal type of the 'cheerful soul'. Quite on the contrary, informants of type D are characterized by a loosely structured network, and they are not satisfied with their social integration. Their attitudinal stance is that of a 'fighter'.

Interestingly enough, although in social terms type A and D are very different, their accommodation of the standard variety is similarly high (type A: 38%, type D: 45% relative overall loss of USV features). We take this result as evidence that very different social conditions can lead to linguistic accommodation to a new area. In the one case, informants are regularly confronted with the local vernacular in face-to-face interactions in their networks, and very likely, they accommodate the language of their interlocutors in these interactions (or, at least, get rid of the most pronounced features of their own divergent vernacular). In type D, the language of the new area is not so present in face-to-face interaction; so taking up features of this area or getting rid of USV features can be seen as an attempt (an "act of identity" Le Page/Tabouret-Keller) by these speakers to adapt themselves to the social field in which they try (unsuccessfully) to be accepted. Type D therefore is evidence for Granovetter's thesis (taken up in sociolinguistics by Milroy & Milroy 1992) that dense networks are not necessarily a precondition of rapid change; rather open (loose) networks seem to do the same job, particularly when they are not considered satisfactory by the speaker.

Type C is similar to type D in that migrants of this type also have loose networks, are not satisfied with their social integration and belong to the group of

'fighters'. However, type C informants seek Saxonian contacts, and their regional affiliation is connected with Saxony. As a consequence, the linguistic development of these speakers is the opposite of type D: compared to their initial level of USV usage, they even increase the USV features in their speech, i.e., there is divergence from the local speech of the receiving area. This linguistic development clearly indicates withdrawal from the West.

Finally, migrants of type B belong to the group of the 'cool ones', an attitudinal stance they share with the intermediate types AB and BC. Type B differs from AB (and A) only in that networks are loosely structured, and from BC only in that network contacts with Saxonians are irrelevant. The general orientation of type B informants is 'cosmopolitan', their satisfaction with their network contacts is high. Reflecting this intermediate position between type A (AB) and C (BC), speakers of this type accommodate the standard variety in an average way (relative loss of 27%, total group = 28%).

In contradistinction to the above details, migrants of the intermediate type AB (loyalty towards the receiving area, contacts to Saxonians not important) lose their USV features to a clearly lower degree than the average (15%) but take on features of the receiving area, whereas migrants of the intermediate type BC (loyalty towards Saxony, contacts to Saxonians important) accommodate the standard even less (9%) and do not take on features of the receiving area.

With these results in mind, let us now go back to Mr V. As mentioned above, he is close to integration type B (open network, contacts with Saxonians not important, 'cool one', satisfied with social integration); only his affiliation with Saarbrücken moves him slightly in the direction of AB. In accordance with this classification, his use of USV features is reduced by some 30% in the first year which is slightly above the average for the group as a whole and for type B.

	Type B	Mr V/1st year	Type C	Mr V/2nd year
network density	-	-	-	-
satisfaction contacts with Saxonians	+	+	-	-
attitudes regional affiliation with new region 'cosmopolitan'	-	+	-	-

with Saxony	-	-	+	+
perception of migration	-	-	-	-
'the cheerful soul'	+	+	-	-
'the cool one'	-	-	+	+
'the fighter'	-	-	+	+
linguistic accommodation				
of the standard variety	-10.71%	-17.92%	+12.90%	+23.10%
(absolute change)				
(relative change)	-26.95%	-30.08%	+29.14%	+46.55%
of the local dialect				
(over two years)	no	no	no	no

Tab. (5): Mr V/first year and Mr V/second year compared with type B and type C

But what happened in the second year? The turning point was an operation Mr V had to undergo at about this time which left him severely handicapped. After six months of medical treatment, he had to accept the fact that he would never again be able to return to his job but would have to retire instead, with substantial financial losses for himself and his family. This dramatic situation led to many changes in his life.

First of all, his network structure underwent a fundamental shift. Many of his Saarland contacts which were somewhat superficial uniplex work contacts, were lost. His female friend (acquaintance A) completely disappeared from his network ('She said she would drop in and she never did' W2, VIII). On the other hand, Mr V had reactivated his old contacts with friends and relatives 'back home' in Saxony through the help of his wife. (His parents had re-migrated back to Saxony at that time.) These contacts became more and more important since he was beginning to view his Saarbrücken network as disappointing. Since neither Mr V nor his wife had a job, they often went back to Leipzig for a holiday.

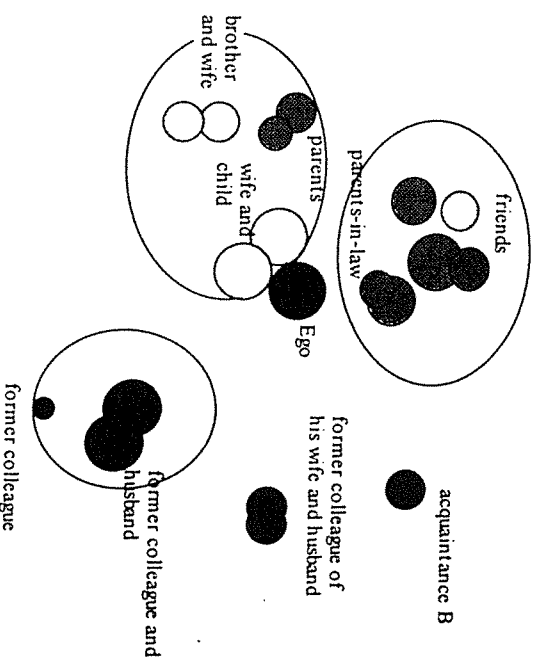


Fig. (10): Social network of Mr V after two years, network type 6

On the level of attitudes, Mr V's formerly positive view of Saarbrücken and the people there radically changed as a consequence of his negative experiences with insurance companies and state administrators. He distanced himself from the 'mentality of the Saarländer' whom he accused of being unreliable. In the last interview we conducted with Mr V, his plans to return to East Germany had already become very concrete despite his claim in one of the first interviews that he would go back to Leipzig only as a visitor. ("Well, we'll do it [i.e. return to Leipzig] as soon as everything has been settled here with me. Although at the beginning, I told everybody I wouldn't go back for a hundred thousand marks" W2, VII.) All in all, Mr V's integration type changed from type B to type C. And for this type, divergence from the receiving area of migration is typical, as we have seen. So again Mr V behaves just as we would expect him to on the basis of our general results.

We hope to have shown by our single case analysis that even looking at an exceptional informant can reveal the general regularities and forces, both on the linguistic and sociolinguistic level, that are characteristic of long-term dialect accommodation.

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Strategies of Neutrality in the Arctic

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My paper is in several respects *extreme*. Not only is the community I will introduce here a final point of the world - literally speaking a real *Ultima Thule*. But the social conditions as well, are extraordinary and outstanding. This extremity, both geographically and socially does not mean, however, that the mechanisms affecting peoples' verbal behaviour are of some fundamentally other kind than elsewhere in the world. On the contrary, I will rather emphasize that the social forces that are operating in this extreme community are highly normal and regular. It is rather a question of the *intensity* of these social mechanisms that makes the difference from what we consider as common and typical. In fact I imagine that we can observe several aspects of the normality of our modern, western civilization in this community - but at a kind of infinitely high degree. It is as if we were looking at ourselves with a magnifying glass. Probably because of this expanded degree, I really had the experience that I was participating in a social and linguistic laboratory, when I was doing my fieldwork.

To the point then: The community I have in mind is the arctic settlement of *Longyearbyen* (hereafter: Lyb) at Svalbard, or Spitsbergen, which probably is a more familiar term. Spitsbergen is a group of islands which lie halfway between mainland Norway and the North Pole, at the latitude of 78 degrees north. After a period of several centuries as "no man's land" the area came under Norwegian sovereignty in 1920, but there has been a permanent Norwegian settlement in Longyearbyen since the very beginning of the 20th century. The immediate reason for a permanent community in this arctic region was the potential for coal mining, and the majority of the adult population of Lyb has until recently been involved in the mining industry in one way or another.

In 1986, when most of my fieldwork for this study was carried out, the population of Lyb was approximately 1200, of which about 250 were children and adolescents.

There are a lot of things I would like to outline regarding this fascinating community, but in this context I am forced to focus on the most fundamental structures and tendencies - both with respect to the social conditions and to the linguistic situation (for some more complementary information, see Mæhlum 1992a and 1996).