# 8th International Conference on Language Variation in Europe

# Book of Abstracts

# Plenary talks

# Dynamics, Variation and the brain

## Jürgen Erich Schmidt |
## Forschungsstelle Deutscher Sprachatlas, University of Marburg

German dialects offer a unparalleled data situation to carry out precise research on language change. In German dialects, phonetic-cum-phonological change can be traced back in space and time for a period of one hundred years on the basis of valid empirical data. The data situation makes it possible to determine which factors play a role in triggering the different types of sound change. In this presentation, I will demonstrate how neurolinguistic methods can be used to study speaker-listener constellations between language varieties coming into contact with one another. It becomes apparent that linguistic stability, word for word phonological change and the rapid change of phonemes as a whole are accompanied by differing physiological processes in the brain for the speaker and the listener.

# The large and the small of it: Big issues with smaller samples in the study of language variation

## Miriam Meyerhoff |
## Victoria University of Wellington

Many variationists work with large corpora based on dozens or even hundreds of speakers. In addition, their analyses are based on relatively frequent variables (e.g. vowels). Much of my work on language variation has investigated variation in smaller corpora of less well-studied languages, and dealing with the issues raised by small samples has been a recurring issue for me as a sociolinguist. These include the relationship between community size and internal variation, the relationship between the individual and the group, and how we theorise and model individuals as members of larger communities or social groups, e.g. reconciling the speech community (not the idiolect) as the basic unit of analysis with recent trends to systematically model speaker as a random effect. Some of the problems I have encountered are specific to my research context but some concern issues of relevance to all variationists – they are just writ large when you start looking small.

# Analytic and synthetic:
## Typological change in varieties of European languages

## Susanne Michaelis & Martin Haspelmath
## MPI-EVA Leipzig  & University of Leipzig

Since the early 19ᵗʰ century, linguists have sometimes tried to understand language change from a broader perspective, as affecting the entire character of a language. Since A.W. von Schlegel (1818),  it has been commonplace to say that Latin is a synthetic language, while the Romance languages are (more) analytic, i.e. make more use of auxiliary words and periphrastic constructions of various kinds. However, the newly developed analytic constructions may again turn into fused patterns, as in the well-known case of the Romance future tense (e.g. Spanish *cantar-é* 'I will sing' from *cantare habeo*), a phenomenon that we call "anasynthesis". In this talk, we address three major points regarding this broad picture:

(i) We discuss the basic question of how to distinguish analytic and synthetic patterns in the first place, noting that the distinction if understood synchronically rests on the conceot of "(auxiliary) word", which is not well-defined except in a trivial orthographic sense. But there is no question that a diachronic process of "analyticizing" or "refunctionalizing" is widespread and is involved in a substantial number of salient grammatical innovations.

(ii) We highlight the strongly analyticizing developments in creole languages, based on examples from the "Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures" (2013). Compared to other Romance varieties, especially of course the standard varieties, all creoles show drastic loss of inflectional markers, their replacement by new function items, and/or the development of novel function items, mostly from earlier lexical roots.

(iii) We propose an explanation of these developments on the basis of the contact history of these languages, invoking general principles of contact-induced grammatical change, and we ask whether similar differences can be found within some of the major language families (e.g. with French being more analytic than Spanish, or Bulgarian more analytic than Russian), or even within the major languages (with some vernacular varieties being more analytic than the standard varieties).

# Panels

# PANEL 1: Quantitative and qualitative approaches to language (de)standardization

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**Stefan Grondelaers |**
**Centre for Language Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen**

**Jürgen Jaspers |**
**Université Libre de Bruxelles**

The alleged 'destandardization' in many European languages (Deumert & Vandenbussche 2003) has spawned a great number of quantitative (experimental) and qualitative (discourse-analytic) investigations into the perceptual factors believed to motor (standard) language change. It is typical for the indifferent relationship between these methods that their joint interest in (de)standardization has scarcely engendered any co-operation. This workshop intends to facilitate such a détente in order to demonstrate that both perspectives are needed to obtain an accurate picture of the present-day dynamics in standard languages.

Quantitative approaches usually rely on the speaker evaluation design (Lambert et al. 1966), in which participants evaluate speech clips (representing different varieties) on a number of adjectival measures. In view of the fact that these experiments are rigidly controlled to exclude non-relevant perception triggers, more qualitatively inclined researchers typically deplore their limited contextual sensitivity.

Qualitative analysis comes in a number of shapes. Discourse-analytic approaches (Van Hoof & Jaspers 2012) build on primary sources (such as post-war propagandistic documents) to uncover language ideology (change). A second brand of qualitative analysis proposes interactional micro-analysis of a small number of case studies in convergence with the idea that the social meaning of linguistic features is relative to the unfolding interaction in a specific context. Quantitative researchers deplore the empirical austerity of such approaches, and question the relation between the proposed case studies and the discourses they are said to exemplify.

Unsurprisingly, quantitative and qualitative accounts of standard language (change) often result in very different assessments and predictions. In Flanders for example, corpus counts and experimental investigations such as Grondelaers, Van Hout & Speelman (2011) and Grondelaers & Speelman (2013) support the idea of a destandardizing official standard variety, and a (re)standardizing colloquial variety. Qualitative investigations such as Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012), by contrast, conclude that the deeply engrained hierarchization of varieties brought about by the Flemish hyperstandardization has *not* changed drastically, as a result of which the current Flemish standard language situation had better be qualified as a case of "late standardization", in which standardizing and vernacularising forces are conditioning each-other, rather than cancelling each-other out.

Such diametrically different predictions are not entirely exceptional in current (de)standardization research (compare, for example, Kristiansen's (2002, 2009) experimental accounts of de- and restandardization in Danish with discourse-analytical work by Madsen (2013) and Stæhr (2014), or experimental accounts of destandardization in the UK with Rampton's (2006) insistence on the continuing relevance of a Cockney-'posh' dyad in adolescents' speech practices). Does this divergence result simply from the different methodologies, from the micro- or macroscopic focus, or from (ideologically determined) different meta-beliefs?

**1. Flemish Dutch is destandardizing: Evidence from speaker evaluation**
Stefan Grondelaers | Centre for Language Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen
Dirk Speelman | Quantitative lexicology and Variational Linguistics, University of Leuven
Roeland van Hout | Centre for Language Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen

**2. Language ideology in sociolinguistic change: Quantitative and qualitative studies in Denmark**
Tore Kristiansen | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen
Nicolai Pharao | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen
Marie Maegaard | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen
Janus Møller | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen

**3. Teachers' and pupils' strategies in dealing with monolingual, SLI-driven language-in-education policies in Flanders**
Steven Delarue | Ghent University (Belgium)
Inge Van Lancker | Ghent University (Belgium)

**4. Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronouns of address: A variationist-interactional study of child-directed speech in dinner table interactions**
Dorien van de Mieroop | KU Leuven
Eline Zenner | KU Leuven
Stefania Marzo | KU Leuven

**5. Delineating standard and non-standard varieties: on the need to combine perceptual and productive data**
Anne-Sophie Ghyselen | University of Ghent

**6. Flemish Dutch is not destandardizing: Evidence from ethnographic and discourse-analytic analysis**
Jürgen Jaspers | Université Libre de Bruxelles

**7. Re-labelling standard speech – Reformulating sociolinguistic values**
Lian Malai Madsen | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen

**8. The dynamics of multistandardisation and diversification in a dialect area**
Leonie Cornips | Meertens Instituut Amsterdam & University of Maastricht
Vincent de Rooij | University of Amsterdam

**9. Implicit measures of automatic evaluation: Exploring new quantitative methods to measure the perception of language varieties**
Laura Rosseel | Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics, University of Leuven
Dirk Geeraerts | Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics, University of Leuven
Dirk Speelman | Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics, University of Leuven

**10. A quadrangulation of attitudinal study: Qualitative-Quantitative-Conscious-Nonconscious**
Dennis R. Preston | Oklahoma and Michigan State Universities

# PANEL 2: Living on the border between conflicting communities of practice

**ORGANISER**
**Corinne A. Seals |**
**Victoria University of Wellington**

A major focus of third wave sociolinguistic variationist research is to incorporate theories of social constructionism to uncover the social meaning of linguistic variables and how the shifting use of these variables contribute to the ongoing construction of complex speaker identity (Eckert 2012). This presentation of identity is ever-shifting, dependent upon contextual factors and the various communities of practice to which the speakers belong. Studies in sociolinguistic variation have looked at language and identity through the social constructionist lens to challenge many commonly accepted principles, such as the notion of static identities and stances in discourse (e.g. Björk-Willen 2007, Eckert 2000, Kiesling 2005, Schilling-Estes 2004, etc.).

This panel brings together researchers looking to further push the explorations into social constructivist variationist studies of language and identity by looking to cases where the speakers operate at linguistic borders. The researchers here look to explore what happens when the speakers' daily lives ask them to engage as members of ideologically conflicting communities of practice. How does 'living on the border' affect their identity practices and their choice and use of one linguistic variable over another? Additionally, how does their linguistic variation in turn affect their lived experiences?

This panel also takes a unique approach of deconstructing what makes a 'border' in studies of sociolinguistic variation. Presenters draw upon various constructs of ideological, social, and/or political borders to investigate cases involving nationality, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status, all of which involve participants learning to navigate and cross the borders present in their daily lives. Some of the areas under discussion include perception-production-attitudes along the Scottish-English border, the reinterpretation of enregistered styles for local identity work in a multiethnic school in England, the meaning of Swahili loanwords for Gujarati speakers in London, ideologically driven topic-based variation in palatalization by young adults from various regions of Ukraine, and negation in Osaka Japanese by Japanese expatriate women living in the Netherlands.

**1. Perception of difference: socioindexical forms in the Scottish/English border region**
Dominic Watt | University of York
Carmen Llamas | University of York

**2. Boundaries and intersections: Class, ethnicity and identity in a multiethnic school**
Sam Kirkham | Lancaster University

**3. Swahili loans in 'London Gujarati': Linguistic traces from the East African past**
Sheena Shah | University of Cape Town

**4. Negotiating conflicting ideologies: Sociolinguistic identity in the Ukrainian conflict**
Corinne A. Seals | Victoria University of Wellington

**5. 'We're in it together' – Linguistic practices in a CofP of Japanese expatriate women**
Anna Strycharz-Banas | Meertens Instituut/Warsztat Innowacji Społecznych

# PANEL 3: Koines and regional standard varieties. How stable and coherent can they become?

ORGANISERS
Frans Hinskens | Meertens Instituut (KNAW) & VU University
Stavroula Tsiplakou | Open University of Cyprus
Juan Villena Ponsoda | University of Málaga

The transition from agrarian to (post-) industrial societies triggers cultural changes which indirectly and gradually have tremendous effects on the position and linguistic fabric of the dialects. Among the cultural changes are increased literacy and mobility. World-wide, the resulting erosion of the relatively closed rural village community, the habitat of traditional dialects, is manifested geographically in urbanisation. Regular and intensive contact of a dialect with other varieties can lead to changes in the verbal repertoires.

Nowadays, in many parts of Europe a situation is developing in which new intermediate varieties 'fill up' a large part of the structural space between local dialect and standard. These intermediate varieties include (supra-) regional dialects (koines, stripped of most local variants) and regional standard varieties, resulting in the development of dialect-standard continua. Bellmann (1998) has described this development as a change from diglossia, with linguistically and contextually distinct varieties, to 'diaglossia', a more fluid repertoire.

The workshop focuses on the current structural status of emergent intermediate varieties in the space in between the base dialects and the standard variety, featuring four language groups (Germanic, Romance, Greek) represented by Dutch, German, Norwegian, Spanish, Italian, Greek. The objectives are  (a) to explore how stable and coherent the younger intermediate varieties are, and (b) to identify the factors affecting their stabilization and growing coherence - or lack thereof.

The question regarding the correlation and co-occurrence of dialect features in lectal continua has hardly been addressed empirically yet. To which extent are these motivated by structural relations among the variants? Which role does 'bricolage' (Eckert 2012) play? Are intermediate varieties constructed with arbitrary collections of variants (standard or nonstandard, local, regional or national), or do variables show systematic patterns of co-occurrence? Are the variables involved in statistical implication relations (Lameli 2004)?

Other relevant questions are:
- which features percolate all the way up in the dialect-standard continuum?
- which features correlate or co-vary in koines and regional standard varieties?
- are intermediate varieties less coherent and focussed than others (e.g., local dialects; standard varieties)?
- what role does the socially symbolic meaning ('indexicality') of the features play in the stabilization of intermediate stages in the continuum?
- how are usage factors (e.g. type and token frequency) implicated in the coherence of intermediate varieties?
- to the extent that intermediate varieties become coherent and stable, is this outcome better understood as an effect of internal factors, of social mechanisms, or both?

**1. Are newly-emergent varieties 'coherent'? Notes from Cypriot Greek**
Stavroula Tsiplakou | Open University of Cyprus

**2. Co-occurring features in a dialect-standard continuum: regional standards in Italo-Romance**
Massimo Cerruti | Università di Torino

**3. Between local and standard varieties: horizontal and vertical convergence and divergence of dialects in Southern Spain**
Juan A. Villena-Ponsoda | Universidad de Málaga
Antonio Ávila-Muñoz | Universidad de Málaga
Matilde Vida-Castro | Universidad de Málaga
M. Clara von Essen | Universidad de Málaga

**4. Regional varieties in Norway – fact or fiction?**
Unn Røyneland | University of Oslo

**5. The shapes of the vertical variation spaces in Germany**
Roland Kehrein | Research Center Deutscher Sprachatlas, University of Marburg

**6. Partly undressed and halfway frozen? Stability and coherence in koines and regional standard varieties of Dutch**
Frans Hinskens | Meertens Instituut & Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam
Reinhild Vandekerckhove | Universiteit Antwerpen

**7. Discussion: Koines and regional standard varieties. How stable and coherent can they become?**
Frans Hinskens | Meertens Instituut (KNAW) & VU University, Amsterdam
Stavroula Tsiplakou | Open University of Cyprus, Nicosia
Juan Villena Ponsoda | Universidad de Málaga, Málaga

# PANEL 4: Community-based studies of language change

**ORGANISERS**
**Isabelle Buchstaller | University of Leipzig**
**Suzanne Evans Wagner| Michigan State University**

This panel proposes to give a common platform to research that is rooted in observation of the speech community, while using quantitative methods to determine the nature of language changes in progress in those communities. Research of this kind goes back to the foundational study of Martha's Vineyard by Labov (1963) and it has formed the backbone of the field ever since. However, the growing importance of new techniques, from sophisticated experiments to 'big data' corpus analyses, has made community studies just one of a number of ways of understanding language change. This panel will convene to consider the place of community-based studies in the current state of the field, led by the following questions:

- Are community studies still worth the time, expense and effort?
- What can observation of the speech community contribute to our understanding of language change that modeling, experiments and corpora cannot?
- How much ethnography is needed? Does it have to be deep and long-term?
- Can we trust the generalizations made in community-based studies?
- What practices can we learn from case-study approaches in other social sciences? Can new methods or technologies decrease the time and effort involved in community studies and what are some best practices for combining community studies with other methods?
- What is the future of community-based research? Suggestions might include partnering with anthropology/social psychology colleagues to provide fieldwork training, combining fieldwork and training/teaching, especially in depts/programs where devoting a semester or more to fieldwork is not feasible.
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We have invited contributions from  researchers investigating communities in both Europe and North America. The remit of the panel is thus explicitly cross-linguistic and cross-cultural, intending (i) to transcend the English stronghold that pervades research in quantitative sociolinguistics (ii) and cross-pollinate research conducted in European communities with North and South American ones. The overall objective of the panel is to increase the international scope of community-based case studies (as well as other aspects of diversity – e.g. more multilingual communities, more rural communities, more non-Western communities) with the aim to make observations more generalizable and therefore robust.

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**1. Determiner omission in urban German: multilingual versus monolingual settings**
Heike Wiese | University of Potsdam
Ines Rehbein | University of Potsdam

**2. Communities-based research**
Naomi Nagy | University of Toronto

**3. Language change in the post-colonial context**
Maya Ravindranath | University of New Hampshire

**4. Lifestyle as a bridge between the macro- and micro-sociology in sociolinguistics**
Aria Adli | University of Cologne

**5. Developing network methods in community-based sociolinguistics**
Robin Dodsworth | North Carolina State University

**6. Six decades of interviews on Tyneside**
Isabelle Buchstaller | University of Leipzig
Karen P. Corrigan | Newcastle University
Adam Mearns | Newcastle University

**7. Communities divided: Convergence and divergence across a political border**
Carmen Llamas | University of York
Dominic Watt | University of York

**8. Letting the community lead**
Miriam Meyerhoff | Victoria University of Wellington

# PANEL 5: Minority languages in Europe

**ORGANISERS**
Anne-José Villeneuve | University of Toronto
Nanna Haug Hilton| University of Groningen

More than twenty years after the adoption of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, many questions about the outcomes of contact between indigenous minority languages and national majority languages in Europe remain unanswered. More specifically, the issue of convergence between these languages and their respective national varieties represents a new and interesting area of research that can inform current theories of language variation and change.

This session aims to further our knowledge of the possible outcomes of long-standing language contact by addressing the issue of convergence between European regional minority languages and their national languages, many of which are closely related typologically (e.g., West Frisian and Dutch in the Netherlands, Picard and French in France, Welsh and English in Wales). Language contact with regional minority languages is of particular interest given that while many have received official recognition under the Charter, they often continue to be viewed as 'rural' or 'peasant-like' (Gal 1978, Hilton et al. 2013) by the overall population and sometimes even by speakers themselves. Also intriguing is the fact that some of these languages have benefitted from a certain level of standardisation through the establishment of curriculum or the development of local literary movements (Auger 2003). In some cases, this new linguistic awareness may contribute to an increased distance between the two languages (divergence), or at the very least, delay the effects of convergence.

In this thematic session, we wish to address some of the following questions:

Does structural convergence between minority and majority languages follow different patterns tha convergence between dialects?

Which social and ideological factors particularly favour convergence (or divergence) in contact situations with indigenous languages?

What is the role of standardization on the outcome of language contact?

Which linguistic features are typically lost (or maintained) in the contact situation between an indigenous (or regional) minority language and a national majority language?

To address the questions above, we have assembled a panel of researchers working on indigenous minority languages from a quantitative variationist perspective. Their work deals with convergence (or lack thereof) at the phonetic and phonological level (Kasstan; Morris; Nance *et al.*; Nota, Coler & Hilton), and at the morphosyntactic level (Auger & Villeneuve; Knooihuizen; Nagy). Varieties spoken in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Wales, Scotland and the Faroe Islands will be addressed in detail during the session.

By examining the outcomes of language contact between minority and national language of Europe, we believe that the proposed session will be especially relevant to delegates attending the ICLaVE 8 conference.

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# Phonetics and phonology

**1. Language contact and intonation patterns: the case of Frisian and Dutch**
Amber Nota | University of Groningen
Matt Coler | INCAS3
Nanna Haug Hilton | University of Groningen

**2. Convergence and divergence in Francoprovençal: new speaker networks as sources of linguistic innovation in obsolescent dialect communities**
Jonathan Kasstan | University of Kent

**3. Examining historical convergence and synchronic variation in situations of long-term contact**
Jonathan Morris | Cardiff University

**4. New speakers and language contact: Scottish Gaelic in Glasgow and Edinburgh**
Claire Nance (Lancaster University), Wilson McLeod (University of Edinburgh), Bernadette O' Rourke (Heriot-Watt University) & Stuart Dunmore (University of Edinburgh) :

# Morphosyntax

**1. Danish influence on morphosyntactic variation and change in Faroese**
Remco Knooihuizen | University of Groningen

**2. Cross-dialect vs. cross-linguistic contact in Southern Italy**
Naomi Nagy | University of Toronto

**3. Morphosyntactic convergence between French and Picard in Vimeu, France**
Julie Auger | Indiana University
Anne-José Villeneuve | University of Toronto

# Papers, posters and panel abstracts

# Borrowing and contact intensity:
## A corpus-driven approach from four Slavic minority languages

**Evangelia Adamou | French National Centre for Scientific Research**
**Walter Breu | University of Konstanz**
**Lenka Scholze | University of Konstanz**
**Rachel Shen | University Paris Diderot**

Numerous studies on language contact document the use of content words and especially nouns in most contact settings (e.g., Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Muysken, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Matras & Sakel, 2007; Matras, 2009; Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009). Moreover, a vast literature on language contact agrees that the degree of borrowing largely depends on extra-linguistic factors such as the intensity and type of language contact, as well as on language attitudes (e.g., Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Muysken, 2000; Winford, 2003; Matras, 2009; Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009).

In this paper we provide evidence relevant to this discussion based on the analysis of free- speech corpora from four Slavic minority languages in contact with three Indo-European languages from three different branches, namely German (Germanic), Greek (Greek), and Italian (Romance). The analysis of the corpora, totalling approximately 34,000 word-tokens, is conducted in a variationist perspective with respect to the study of language contact (see Poplack, 1993).

A statistical analysis of the data shows that most communities under study use very low proportions of word-tokens from the current-contact language, namely nouns, while the Slavic communities from Italy are producing a type of language mixing with Italian with significantly higher proportions of contact word-tokens. A Random Forests analysis (Breiman, 2001) identifies 'language' as the main predictor for the ratio of both borrowings and noun borrowings, indicating that each bilingual community has specific patterns (also see Poplack et al. 1988; Adamou & Granqvist, 2014). As we will show, the ratio of borrowing in the present study does not relate to the intensity and type of language contact in the present- day contact settings, but rather reflects their conditioning in the past.

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# Lifestyle as a bridge between the macro- and microsociology in sociolinguistics

**Aria Adli | University of Cologne**

In this talk, I will present lifestyle as a useful social variable for sociolinguistic studies. I will compare the operationalizations of lifestyle in two different societies/communities, Paris and Tehran, to show how this concept is constructed and used in the analysis of linguistic variation.

The operationalization of social class remains an important challenge in variationist sociolinguistics (Kerswill, 2007). Many studies have used rather unidimensional social variables, like occupation, neighborhood, education, income, etc., or a combination of a few such variables, as in Labov's (1966) "socio-economic class index". The reason as to why these unidimensional variables badly reflect the concept of social class is itself societal: Today, social inequality in many contemporary, post-industrial societies, especially in so-called "western" ones, cannot be adequately explained by classic socio-economic indicators. Differences in labor and production do not have the same predictive power any more as in the 19th or in the beginning of the 20th century – a situation that Habermas (1986) describes as "new obscurity".

Pierre Bourdieu's sociocultural theory (Bourdieu, 1979) tries to address these urgent issues in macrosociology by focusing onto the microsociology of taste and lifestyle. The notion of lifestyle combines the macro- and microsociological perspective in an interesting way: A person's choices that reflect her/his taste, for example in the fields of leisure, media, clothing, and values, translate into differences in terms of economic, social, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1983). In other words, individual taste, framed in a socio-cultural theory, is a suitable indicator of social inequality.

The lifestyle dimensions used in this study, leisure, media, clothing and values, are common to both surveys in Paris and Tehran, but their specific operationalization is society- or community-specific. Therefore, we first conducted an exploratory study with ethnographic elements in order to identify suitable lifestyle indicators. To give an example, we developed a section in the questionnaire for the type of women's headscarves in Tehran, because this aspect is perceived as meaningful for a woman's lifestyle.

All in all, the questionnaire contains around 200 lifestyle-specific indicators, to be presented during the talk. The sample consists of 100 persons adults in Tehran and 100 adults in Paris. The statistical analysis of the lifestyle variable is a two-step procedure: First, the number of single indicators is reduced using a factor analysis. Second, the factors obtained in the first step are used as the input of a cluster analysis in order to calculate lifestyle groups.

Finally, the paper will demonstrate the usefulness of the lifestyle variable in sociolinguistic studies. By way of example, the variation in the use of syntactic variants in French interrogatives obtained from spontaneous speech is statistically correlated and explained with lifestyle.

# Morphosyntactic convergence between French and Picard in Vimeu, France

**Julie Auger | Indiana University**
**Anne-José Villeneuve | University of Toronto**

Linguistic convergence is one of the possible outcomes of long-standing contact between minority and national languages. Some claim that Picard, a Gallo-Romance variety spoken alongside French in northern France and southern Belgium, has undergone such severe convergence in urban areas of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region that it is no longer distinguishable from regional French ( Pooley, 1996). The situation is somewhat different in rural areas, where the language appears to still enjoy greater vitality, despite a lack of institutional recognition and protection.

In this paper, we assess the degree of structural convergence between French and Picard by analyzing data extracted from sociolinguistic interviews with Picard–French bilinguals and French monolinguals from the Vimeu area, located in rural Picardie, France. Focusing on morphosyntactic variables—use of the inflected or periphrastic future to express future temporal reference (cf. 1) and the alternation between auxiliaries *être* (F) / *ète* (P) 'to be' and *avoir* (F) / *avoér* (P) 'to have' in compound tenses (cf. 2)—we argue that Vimeu Picard remains, for the most part, distinct from Vimeu French.

(1) a. *quand vous **verrez** Edwige* (F)      *l'prochain coup que je l'**voèrai*** (P)
     'when you will see Edwige'      'the next time that I will see him'
   b. *vous **allez voir** des pièces bleues* (F)   *i **va vir** chés gins* (P)
     'you're going to see blue pieces'      'he's going to see people'

(2) a. *il **est venu** m'voir* (F)      *j'sus rudmint content qu'oz **étes évnus*** (P)
     'he came to see me'      'I'm quite happy that you came'
   b. *quand il **a venu** faire la façade* (F)   *y a personne qu'il **a vnu*** (P)
     'when he came to do the front'      'there is no one who came'

Results from preliminary analyses reveal more convergence between the two languages for linguistic variables of which speakers are less aware than for variables that carry a symbolic value in the community. While the periphrastic future is preferred in both spoken French and Picard, a quantitative analysis of the linguistic constraints that favor each variant reveals sharp differences between the two languages. Auxiliary alternation shows more divergence between French and Picard. As was found for subject doubling, which acts as a badge of Picard identity (Coveney, 2005), bilinguals' high rate of use of *avoér* in Picard contrasts with their near-categorical use of *être* in spoken French. The higher rates of *avoér* in written Picard than in spoken Picard suggest that this variable is used somewhat consciously in the emerging local Picard standard.

In the context of the ongoing debate over the status of minority languages which are closely related to their respective national language, including *langue d'oïl* varieties spoken in Northern France, our Vimeu data provide empirical evidence for the fact that bilingual speakers maintain a mental grammar in the minority language that is distinct from that of the national language.

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# Convergence in the Basque language:
# Evidence from two age groups

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This paper presents results about the relation between the Standard-dialect convergence and the levelling among dialects in the Basque language that are closely related to the age-based sociolinguistic variation in the Basque language.

The convergence and dialect levelling in different languages and dialectal situations is well known, but there are only a few investigations in the Basque language. Such researches began some years ago, and they have guided the creation of the EDAK corpus (The Dialectal Oral Corpus of the Basque Language). This corpus has recorded and gathered phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical information from 100 places of the territory of the Basque language. In each of these localities data from two generations (older and younger people) have been gathered.

These two generations have been educated following different patterns: older people were educated in Spanish or French and never studied any subjects in Basque during their school lives, whereas younger people have for the most part been schooled in Standard Basque. Indeed, as the Standard variety was created in the last decades of the twentieth century, the older generation has had no contact with it, while the younger generation has been immersed in it since childhood.

The data used in this study are based on lexical features. We will use multivariate statistical procedures to clearly prove the direction of the levelling process in the Basque language nowadays.

In the first approach to this subject, using only five lexical features, t-test confirmed that although the answers produced by younger speakers are closer to the Standard variety than the answers of the adult speakers, the dialect differences are still stronger than the levelling effect produced by the Standard variety. In this contribution we will take all lexical features (100 features), instead of five in order to have definitive conclusions.

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# Part of town as an independent factor: the NORTH-FORCE merger in Manchester English

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This study reports on patterns of variation and change in the status of the phonemic contrast between the NORTH and FORCE vowels in Manchester. It is based on a sample of 122 informants, stratified by age, gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity, and part of town. Ninety-one of the speakers identify themselves as white British; the other 31 informants represent the two largest ethnic minorities in Manchester, i.e., Pakistani and Black Caribbean. Five socio-economic levels, based on occupation, are distinguished (from lower-working to upper middle). The informants were recorded during sociolinguistic interviews, supplemented with word list reading and minimal pairs tests.

The informants' complete vowel systems are measured in terms of F1 and F2 in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2012). For 25 speakers, the point of measurement is selected by hand, following Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006). The speech of 97 speakers is measured automatically, using the Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction suite (Rosenfelder et al. 2011). The paper explores variation in the acoustic position of each of the phonemes (F1 and F2) and the phonetic distance between them, measured as Cartesian distance (based on means and medians) and Pillai scores (Nycz & Hall-Lew 2014). In addition, it reports on the results of minimal pair tests conducted for 112 speakers, testing their perception and production of the phonemic contrast.

The minimal pair test results and the acoustic distance measures are subjected to a series of multiple linear regressions, with factors such as age, gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity, part of town, and style entered as independent variables. In addition, the F1 measurements of the two vowels are subjected to mixed-effects modelling, with speaker and word entered as random effects. The results suggest that while the two phonemes are now largely merged for the middle classes, so that words in pairs such as *four-for*, *hoarse-horse*, *wore-war* sound identical, there is a significant distinction for working class speakers, both in perception and production. There is style shifting, with speakers raising NORTH towards FORCE in formal styles, indicating some social awareness and evaluation. Interestingly, the models are improved further when part of town is added to the analysis—for speakers in north Manchester, the two vowels appear to be more distinct from each other than they are in other parts of the city. The paper explores the question of whether this effect is independent of social class.

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# Variable use of strong preterites in European Portuguese.
# A sociolinguistic and theoretical approach.

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GOALS: In the Minho region in Portugal, the 1st and 3rd person singular forms of strong preterites can be leveled and the form used for leveling can vary:

1. (1)   Pois      ela **estive**      lá      três    anos  parada [68M3A]
   *Anyhow  she  was$_{1P.SG}$    there  three   years  still*

2. (2)   Eu **foi**          para  a   tropa   em   cinquenta e     quatro [38H4B]
   *I    went$_{3P.SG}$  to    the  troop   in   fifty          and   four*

The goals of this paper are: (a) to determine which linguistic and social factors favor this variation, and (c) to offer an explanatory account of this phenomenon.

METHODOLOGY: We examined 50 interviews from the stratified corpus 'Sociolinguistics Profile of the Speech of Braga'. We selected speakers from three age groups (26-59 / 60 – 75 / > 75) and four different education levels (without degree / 4-9 school years /10-12 school years / university degree). A total of 3595 tokens were coded.

We ran a mixed effect binominal analysis using Rbrul (Johnson, 2009), with five independent factors: 'age', level of education; 'verb', 'subject expression' and 'subject position'. The factor 'verb' included the forms 'estive/ esteve' (*1P/3P of to be-stative*), 'tive/ teve' (*1P/3P of to have*), 'fiz/ fez' (*1P/3P of to do*) and 'fui/ foi' (*1P/3P of to be and to go*).

RESULTS: The regression analysis identified as main predictors the factors 'speaker' (a random effect), 'subject expression', 'verb' and 'age'. Variable leveling is almost insignificant in the younger group, thus probably indicating a process of ongoing change. It rarely occurs with null subjects. Subject position does not have a predictive effect.

There is a clear difference between *ter/estar/fazer*, on one hand, and *ser/ir*, on the other. While in the former case leveling can be realized by either the form for the 1st or the form for 3rd person, in the case of *ser/ir* only one form is used, namely the 3rd person form *foi.* There is also an individual tendency to use only one form for leveling: a given speaker either uses the 3rd person or the 1st person, but not both forms of one verb randomly. Thus, there is inter-linguistic variation in this regard.

THEORETICAL CONSEQUENCES: In our analysis, we follow the "late insertion" model of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz l993). We develop an account of these agreement leveling effects that is based on the interaction between the internal syntax of the strong preterites and the late insertion of underspecified functional Vocabulary Items. We propose a derivation of the different forms in the standard dialect and then we offer an analysis of leveling where intra-speaker variation is tied to the probabilistic application of impoverishment rules along the lines of Nevins and Parrot (2010). Inter-speaker variation is due to different choices as to which feature sets are subject to impoverishment: the features for Person or T. In the case a verb such as *ter*, this yields /*teve/* or /*tive/*, respectively. In the case of *ser* or *ir* the resulting forms are /foj/ in both cases.

# Clitic Climbing in the Speech of Braga

## Pilar Barbosa | University of Minho

## 1. Introduction

In European Portuguese (EP), there is variation in the position of pronominal clitics in infinitival domains selected by certain raising and control verbs.

(1) a. Eu *quero comprar-te o livro*
    I   want   by.INF-CL2SG  the    book
  b. *Eu quero-te comprar o livro.*
    I   want- CL2SG   buy.INF.     the    book
    'I want to buy the book from you.'

In (1a), the clitic pronoun is attached to the infinitival verb. In (1b) it is attached to the higher, finite verb. This phenomenon, known as Clitic Climbing, is quite common in the Romance Null Subject Languages and has been extensively studied in generative grammar since Rizzi l982. Clitic climbing is lexically constrained: it is possible with certain verbs, but impossible with others. According to Magro (2004) climbing in EP is regionally differentiated. In her perspective, this is an archaic feature, given that climbing was almost categorical in Medieval Portuguese and attested with a larger number of verbs (Martins 1994).

In this paper, we present and discuss the findings of a multivariational analysis of the linguistic constraints on clitic climbing and their interaction with social variables in a stratified corpus of the spoken Portuguese. The data used (sum a total of 542 tokens) were extracted from 44 sociolinguistic interviews from the sample 'Sociolinguistic Profile of Braga's Speech', organized at the University of Minho. This sample is stratified according to the social variables sex/genre, age and education. All the speakers are natives from Braga and were contacted in different neighborhoods of the city.

## 2. Results and discussion

Two preliminary conclusions can be advanced. The first is that clitic climbing cuts across the raising *versus* control distinction: both raising-to-subject and subject control verbs can be categorical or almost categorical contexts for clitic climbing. The second confirms the findings of other studies: the majority of verbs with categorical or almost categorical clitic climbing are included in the group of modal, aspectual and temporal verbs (Martins, 2008, Fiéis and Madeira, 2014).

A finer analysis of modals reveals that clitic climbing is correlated with the type of modality expressed by the verb. The variant with climbing is more frequent when the modal has an epistemic value. In addition, climbing is sensitive to the type of element that introduces the infinitival complement. In particular, it is conditioned by the type of preposition selected by the higher verb (cf. Magro 2004).

The analysis of the social variables 'age' and 'education' shows that, in this region, clitic climbing is a large spread. The distribution of rates according to age groups suggest a flat pattern, with frequencies close to 90% in all groups. Moreover, the educational level of speakers also shows no significant effect on clitic climbing. Thus, we can conclude that this variable phenomenon is not socially marked and it is not very likely to be susceptive to prescription or social evaluation.

# Resultative Secondary Predication in Old Romance: Evidence from Old French and Old Catalan

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This paper presents a novel empirical investigation into diachronic variation in the syntax of resultative secondary predication constructions in the history of the Romance languages. In Latin, locative prefixes could combine with manner of motion verbs to form resultative *goal of motion* constructions with a directional interpretation (Talmy 1985, Acedo-Matellan 2010, a.o.: *Caprarum-que uberibus ad-volant* 'And they fly onto the udders of the goats.' (lit. 'at-fly') (Plin. Nat. 10, 115). Directional resultative interpretations are not available with the vast majority of manner of motion verbs in Modern Romance, i.e. the French *#L'oiseau a volé à terre* and the Catalan *#L'ocell ha volat a terra* have only a strange locative interpretation '#The bird flew at the ground'. The standard view of this change is as a 'slow drift' from the Latin system (with prefixed resultatives) to Modern Romance (with no resultatives) (see Stolova 2008, Kopecka 2009, Iacobini & Fagard 2011 a.o.). Recently, however, a number of diachronic studies have shown that Old and Middle French (12-15thC) possessed English-style goal of motion constructions (ex. *il vole sur les rainceaulx et sur les branches* 'it flies onto the twigs and branches' (lit. 'fly on the branches') M. De Paris. 14thC), verb particle combinations (Buridant 2000, Burnett & Tremblay 2009) and adjectival resultative constructions (Troberg & Burnett 2014).

Despite recent interest in the evolution of French, the properties of previous stages of other Romance languages have remained unexplored. This paper aims to fill this important empirical gap in the literature through a comprehensive qualitative study of resultatives in Old Catalan (13-15thC). Among other properties of the language, we show that Old Catalan particle combinations (1b) and adjectival resultatives (1c).

(1)  a.  Abdosos los cavallers  **volaren**  **a la terra** (Curial e Güelfa, 15th)
           Both.M.PL the knights  flew.3.PL  at the ground
           Both knights **flew to the ground**
     b.  Leva sus  et vine  ab nós als bayns!
           **Wake**.IMP.2.SG **up** and come.IMP.2.SG with us to the baths
           **Wake up** and come to the baths with us! (L. de Sants Rosselloneses, 13thC)
     c.  a la primera ferida **abateren mort**  lo nabot de...
           at the first wound  **beat-down**.PAST.3.PL **dead**.M.SG the nephew of
             with the first wound they **beat down dead** the nephew of ... (C. de B. Desclot, 13th)

We therefore conclude that the development of English-style resultative predication constitutes a robust and important diachronic stage in the history of the Romance languages.

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# Structural variation in conjunctions in Luxembourgish German in the 19th century: The "success" of loan translation vs. morphosyntactic replication vs. language internal variation

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This paper is situated in the greater framework of the corpus standardization of German in Luxembourg in the 19th century, i.e. in structural processes of variant reduction and norm construction. Moreover, given the long history of multilingualism, replication processes and interferences can be regarded as important sources for language variation (s. Beyer et al 2014). Therefore, not only language-internal, but also contact-induced variation can (initially) be observed. Thereby, we assume contact between several Germanic varieties (i.e. Moselle-Franconian and Colloquial German) on the one hand and between German and French on the other. The analysis draws on a large corpus of predominantly bilingual German/French public notices (2500 scanned and digitized public placards, chronologically and representatively sampled) published by the municipality of Luxembourg. As lots of these notices were originally written in French and then translated into German, French is expected to have special influence. For the multipart conditional conjunction *im Fall(e) (,) dass* ,in case that', for instance, we find at the beginning of the period of analysis (1795-1814) several variants one of which (*im Fall, wo* ,in case where') resembles very much the French construction *dans le cas où* ,in case where' insofar that it can be considered as its literal constituent per constituent translation. Furthermore, for the variation of the element order of the multipart conjunction *sowohl X als (auch) Y* ,X as well as Y' a correlation can be observed with the correspondent French expression. Compare the two co-occurrences in i) and ii):

    i)    *dont les communes auraient complété leurs contingens <u>de l'armée et de la réserve</u> <-> für welche die Gemeinden das Contingent <u>für die Armee sowohl als für das Reservekorps</u> beschaft haben werden*

    ii)   *<u>tant à cet égard qu'en ce qui</u> concerne la conservation des minutes et généralement l'exercice de leurs fonctions <-> <u>sowohl in diesem Betref, als in dem was</u> die Erhaltung der Originalien , und ihre Amtsverrichtungen überhaupt betrifft*

Again, at least for the initial period, we find lots of instances of these two types of co-occurrences for this conjunction. Whereas the lexical material changes (within the concrete tokens), pattern replication is evident. Finally, the variation between the forms *wann* and *wenn* of the subordinate conjunction *wenn* ,when' is not clearly allocable to either diatopic or historical motivation, however, it can be regarded as Germanic-internal. As the database covers more than 100 years (1795-1920), it is possible to trace the development of all three conjunctions, i.e. the assertion of certain variants or their discard. Their contrastive analysis can uncover "more and less successful" variants and allows the development of variation of different backgrounds and types as well as of variant reduction to be especially interpreted in the context of multilingualism.

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# Indexing sexual orientation in non-native speakers of English

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Previous studies of the interaction between language, gender, and sexual orientation have shown /s/ variation to be a robust correlate indexing gay identity in both the production and perception of gay men's speech (Smyth et al. 2003; Levon 2006; Mack and Munson 2006; Pharao et al. 2014). This work has focused on monolinguals leaving open the question of how bilingual speakers construct their gay identity. Literature regarding the globalization of gay identity is largely concerned with examining how, and to what extent, LGBT+ identities are converging across the world (Corboz 2006). Most of this literature rejects a complete homogenized globalization of sexual identities and instead observes hybridization of identities (c.f. Altman 2001; Boellstorff 2004).

The present study expands upon the previously established linguistic framework of indexing gayness by exploring the effects of hybrid identities of gay L2 speakers of English, examining how the linguistic construction of gay identity interacts between their English production and the constraints of their native language.

The present study draws on data from naturalistic English speech of gay and straight French and Dutch men to explore the social meaning of /s/ variation in the context of L2 English production. Results show that the gay speakers of this study produce /s/ with a higher average peak frequency, a higher center of gravity, and more negative skew than the straight speakers. Results also suggest that a speaker's native language does not have a significant impact on the quality of his /s/ production in English. These results are consistent with previous findings which show variation in /s/ to index sexual orientation in monolingual gay men's speech. While the results may be evidence for the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence among non-native speakers of English, these results more likely suggest a hybridization of identity construction beyond the binary distinction of localized gay identity versus global gay identity.

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# Variation of unstressed vowels in the East Midlands

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The boundaries between North and South in the United Kingdom are defined in different ways. Beal's linguistic North does not include the East Midlands (Beal, 2008: 124-5), neither does Wales' (2002: 48). Trudgill states that in traditional dialectology the East Midlands area falls under 'Central' dialects, which come under the 'Southern' branch, but in modern dialectology it falls in the 'North' (Trudgill, 1999). One of the features said to distinguish 'northern' from 'southern' varieties in the UK is the vowel of *happ*Y, with /i/ in southern areas and /ɪ/ in many northern areas (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2005: 91). Use of /i/ for *happ*Y is referred to as happY-tensing (Wells 1982: 258). It has been said that this feature is in a process of change (see for example Windsor Lewis 1990: 159) and that *happ*Y-tensing may be spreading northwards. Beal (2000) disagrees with this theory, arguing that the spread of this feature could have occurred much earlier and has been established in certain areas of the north for some time.

Analysis of recent recordings by the authors suggests some features may be undergoing change in the East Midlands region. This paper will focus on the variability of the *happ*Y vowel, which for some younger speakers seems to be approaching a vowel quality closer to that of their DRESS lexical set (we shall refer to this as *happ*Y-laxing). It will also investigate the phenomenon of laxing of the *lett*ER vowel, which, for some speakers, seems to be indexical in the region for localness in words such as *Lestah* or *Lestoh* for *Leicester*. Previous research by the authors has shown that this feature is seen as particular to speakers from Leicestershire, but recordings suggest this feature is appearing in other areas in the East Midlands.

These recordings, which have been analysed acoustically using PRAAT, will be compared to East Midlands voices held by the British Library to examine to what extent the features of *happ*Y-tensing and laxing and *lett*ER-laxing are found, and whether they are conditioned by social variables, such as age, gender or region.

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# Null Subjects in Middle Low German

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As is well-known, referential null subjects (RNS) are disallowed in the Modern Germanic languages (Rosenkvist 2009), with a few exceptions (e.g. Axel & Weiß 2010). While the older Germanic languages have been studied in great detail (recently by Rosenkvist 2009, Axel, Schlachter 2012, Van Gelderen 2012, Walkden 2013, 2014, Kinn 2014), showing that they should best be characterised as partial null-subject languages, considerably less is known about the intermediate periods. The present paper presents an exploratory study of the distribution of referential null subjects (RNS) in Middle Low German (MLG), the West-Germanic language spoken and written in northern Germany (and, in connection to the Hanseatic trade, around the North and Baltic seas) between c. 1250 and 1600. It is shown in this paper that RNS are attested in MLG, and that they pose a challenge both for an analysis in terms of partial pro-drop as well as in terms of topic drop.

The present study is based on a small corpus of two Westphalian texts from the 15$^{th}$ century. In the great majority of the cases, a pronominal subject is omitted in a main clause introduced by the conjunction *vnde* 'and'. However, an analysis in terms of conjunction reduction is not available in the relevant cases, as the referent of the RNS is typically not contained in another conjunct main clause, but a preceding adjunct clause, making MLG RNS look somewhat like null donkey anaphora. There can be number and case mismatches between the overt referent and the null subject. An analysis in terms of topic drop, in the form in which it is still available in the present-day Germanic languages, is equally doubtful despite the telling absence of filled SpecCP in clauses with RNS, as unlike in topic drop in e.g. Modern German, MLG null arguments are never objects in our corpus, and their antecedent may be (and more often than not is) situated within an embedded clause, which is also impossible in present-day Germanic topic drop. A further property of MLG RNS is that they are frequently 1$^{st}$ or 2$^{nd}$ person in the corpus used for this study. This complicates an analysis of MLG as a partial null-subject language along the lines proposed by Walkden (2014) for the early Germanic languages, who predicts them to be mostly 3rd person aboutness topics. The fact that MLG RNS make up only c. 10% of all referential pronouns in the corpus studied, and null objects are not found, precludes an analysis as a radical pro-drop language despite the presence of 1$^{st}$ and 2$^{nd}$ person RNS.

We propose that MLG is in the transition to a topic-drop language of the 'modern' type, with separate mechanisms for clause-internal syntactic licensing (Sigurðsson 2011, Walkden 2014) and clause external referent-identification, elaborating Sigurðsson's (2011: 283-285) context-scanning mechanism. We argue that the referent is provided by a narrative discourse topic rather than an aboutness topic in the more narrow sense (as proposed by Walkden 2014).

# Differences and similarities of code-switching patterns in the Swiss sms4science corpus: A comparison of the four national languages.

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Whereas previous research on code-switching concentrated on spoken data by proficient bilingual or multilingual speakers, this paper provides new insights into less proficient speakers of foreign languages in the context of SMS ("text messages"). The use of more than one language in SMS communication is widespread, however, it is relatively underexplored in the existing research (but see Pekarek Doehler 2011, Morel et al. 2012, Morel & Pekarek Doehler 2013, Bucher 2015).

This paper, based on the project "SMS communication in Switzerland: Facets of linguistic variation in a multilingual country" (see Dürscheid & Stark 2011), examines the formal and functional aspects of code-switching in a Swiss SMS corpus of 26,000 messages, collected between 2009 and 2011. Four sub-corpora (Swiss-German, French, Italian and Romansh) are compared with each other with regard to the absolute number of code-switches, the languages used for code-switching, the grammatical properties of these elements and their potential functions. This paper aims to find out which patterns are emblematic for only one or more individual languages and which patterns are characteristic for SMS communication in general and/or valid for Switzerland as a whole.

With regard to the differences in the number of code-switches, the frequency of code-switching suggests to mirror the individual language contact situations in Switzerland. While there are differences in the use of the other national languages along English, the frequency in the use of different code-switching-types is similar in all four sub-corpora. Especially the extensive use of one-token alternations (isolated items), which have similar functions as framing or phatic functions, seems to be valid across Switzerland and may suggest a shared type of minimal multilingual practice which does not necessarily require full bilingual/multilingual proficiency and could hint at the notion of "minimal bilingualism" (see Androutsopoulos 2007).

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# Six decades of interviews on Tyneside

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The *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (DECTE; Corrigan et al. 2012) contains three sets of sociolinguistic interviews with residents of Tyneside in north-east England, collected for three different projects spanning the last six decades. Differences in the interviews reflect not only the particular concerns of each project, but also general changes in the approach to this kind of data collection. The *Tyneside Linguistic Survey* (1960s-1970s) was designed to identify phonetic variation and investigate how this might correlate with speakers' social characteristics (Pellowe et al. 1972). Recordings were collected through semi-structured one-on-one interviews, during which participants were asked about various aspects of their lives. The *Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken British English* project (1990s) also focused on links between accent features and social characteristics, but in this case the recordings involved free-ranging conversations between pairs of speakers with little fieldworker intervention (Milroy et al. 1999). DECTE amalgamates these two legacy datasets with a monitor corpus of interviews gathered since 2007 by Newcastle University students as part of an ongoing learning and teaching initiative. These are also dyadic interviews, though naturally with varying degrees of participation by the many different student interviewers. The *Diagnostics of Linguistic Change* project (DLC; Buchstaller 2013-2017) adds a further dimension, with interviews that re-record participants from the original DECTE subcorpora and an investigation that thereby integrates longitudinal and panel data to examine patterns and mechanisms of language change across the lifespan of selected individuals as well as across the wider speech community.

This paper outlines some of the advantages of working with a combined dataset of interviews of this kind, with benefits derived for example from the depth of ethnographic information that the 45-60 minute interview format provides about speakers and their situatedness in the community, particularly with an ongoing collection that now contains recordings of more than 900 people and in which interviewers themselves are frequently native members of the community, and in the current monitor corpus often friends or relatives of their chosen subjects. We will also discuss some of the challenges encountered in the continuing development of the corpus, including issues arising from the combination of teaching and data collection in the current phase of DECTE, and the resulting tension between a need for comparability and the involvement of a multitude of student interviewers.

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# Modal auxiliary variation and indexing presumed knowledge distribution in sexual consent guidance for young people

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Modals auxiliaries have traditionally been under-researched in variationist work. This paper contributes to existing variation literature by drawing on both discursive and variationist approaches to examine the interaction of implied audience and intralinguistic factors as constraints on modal auxiliary variation.

Combining variationist methods with Talbot's (1995) critical discourse analysis framework, I examine the role of modal auxiliaries of obligation and necessity such as MUST and HAVE TO, and modals of possibility such as CAN, in the framing of sexual consent and the construction of the implied reader, in consent guidance. Data is drawn from a UK corpus of sexual consent guidance for young people and professionals who work with them, produced by local and national government, the National Health Service, and NGOs.

I show that modal variation is conditioned by irrealis and negation (Coates 1983), and the texts' implied readership, and argue that modals cue interpretative frames (Blommaert 2005, Goffman 1979) of presumed distribution of knowledge (Holmes 1986). In texts for professionals, MUST and HAVE TO index expertise, and construct the implied reader and the implied author as co-members of a community of experts, creating solidarity between the implied reader and implied author, but not with young people. By contrast, in texts for young people, the quasi-auxiliary HAVE TO indexes the implied author as expert, but is used in negated irrealis contexts to challenge young people's situated knowledge, constructing distance between the implied reader and implied author. Modals of possibility such as CAN, co-occur with discourses of risk and risk reduction, positioning the implied reader as having some obligation with respect to knowledge of the risk, and shifting responsibility for the prevention of sexual violence from assailants to victims.

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# Co-occurring features in a dialect-standard continuum: regional standards in Italo-Romance

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The intensive and long-term contact between Italo-Romance dialects and Italian has resulted in a continuum of intermediate varieties between the base dialects and the standard, and has led in particular to the emergence of regional standards. This paper addresses the structural status of such regional standard varieties, by investigating to what extent they are stable and coherent, and explores some factors which affect the co-occurrence of their linguistic features. The paper is organised in two parts as follows.

The first part accounts for the main dialect-standard levelling dynamics related to the emergence of regional standards in Italo-Romance, tackling how they shape the dialect-standard continuum in different geographical areas. On the one hand, the most typical Italo-Romance scenario, in which dialect and standard are separate linguistic systems, will be compared to that of some areas of Central Italy, as Tuscany and Rome, in which dialect and standard are varieties of the same language. On the other hand, situations in which the base dialects are affected by koineisation processes, as is mostly the case in Italo-Romance, will be compared to those of 'geographical diffusion', in which the base dialects replace some of their original features with those of a converged-to (more prestigious) dialect, as for the dialects surrounding Venice, Milan, Genoa, and Turin (cf. Cerruti & Regis 2014). Auer's typology of "dialect/standard constellations" (2005) will offer the theoretical framework to examine the dynamics at hand.

The second part closely addresses the stability and coherence of a single regional standard. The analysis will be carried out on a corpus of empirical data gathered in Turin; the data come partly from a collection of spontaneous speech and partly from a translation test (administered to a sample of informants representative of different age groups and levels of education). Co-occurrence patterns between regional linguistic features will be identified by implicational scaling (following Cerruti 2009: 235-254). Particular attention will be paid to internal and external factors affecting the co-occurrence between regional standard linguistic features, seeking to explain why some features 'made it' in the way up in the dialect-standard continuum and others did not. There will be analysed how internal factors such as consistency with innovational tendencies and filling of structural gaps (with respect to morphosyntactic features; see e.g. Aikhenvald 2006: 30-36) interplay with external factors such as the pressure of normative prescriptivism and the social awareness of certain sociolinguistic variables.

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# Variation in *any-* and *no*-negation from a transatlantic perspective

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The expression of negation with indefinites in English is highly variable (Tottie 1991). It can be expressed on the verb alongside an indefinite *any-* pronoun (1), can combine with the indefinite to result in a *no-* form as in (2), or can result in negative concord as in (3).

(1)     My parents had*n't any* money.
(2)     He had *no* money at all.
(3)     We did*n't* know *nothing* about this.

In Old English, the particle *ne* was key to the expression of negation, but by the Middle English period, the system had developed two possibilities. One favoured a negative indefinite pronoun after the verb (2) and the other involved negative concord (3). The social changes of the Early Modern period, however, led to the middle classes eschewing negative concord and appropriating type (1) (Nevalainen 1998: 275). Nevertheless, there has been competition between all three variants ever since, suggesting that the dialectic between social evaluation and linguistic change has not yet been resolved. This raises several questions: What is the current state of this variability in Britain where it evolved and in North America where it was transported to? What can socially stratified corpora and a cross-variety perspective tell us about this case of linguistic variation and change?

Our data comprise substantial vernacular speech corpora from Britain and Canada drawn from sociolinguistic projects (1997-2012). To this inter-variety comparison we also incorporate an investigation capturing differences between large urban and smaller peripheral communities. We extracted negative constructions like (1)-(3) in corpora from Britain (N = 1204) and Canada (N = 1765), coding for syntactic factors previously reported to influence variant choice, including verb type and the social factors of age, sex and education. A comparative sociolinguistic approach and distributional analyses alongside fixed and mixed effects statistical modelling (Team 2007) reveals that *no*-negation is stoutly retained in Britain (75%) but remains a minority form in Canada (46%). Linguistic constraints hold cross-dialectally: hence, main verb *BE* and *HAVE* retain *no*-negation, while lexical verbs favour *any*. However, the social embedding is community-specific. In Britain, sex effects are discernible, as is an apparent time decline in *no*-negation in the North East, but age grading in York. In Canada, education effects outside large urban centres are apparent. The unique perspective gained from analysing comparable, socially stratified spoken corpora enables us to disentangle the influence of linguistic versus social factors. While the British and Canadian communities share a common variable grammar, the social value in choosing one variant over the other is highly localised.

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# Politeness lexicon in the Romanian principalities in mid-19th century

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The study of historical im/politeness in the Romanian language and culture allows both the analysis of cultural influences on linguistic communication and a deeper understanding of the im/politeness phenomenon. Our study favours a first order politeness approach, emphasising the contemporaries' perspectives and evaluations of events and interactions. The corpus consists of literary texts, mainly narratives and drama, from the mid-nineteenth century (we are aware of the gap between fictional and authentic communication and we shall account for it in our considerations).

The analysis aims to bring forward the relationship between the Romanian culture (collectivistic) and the ways to express and evaluate politeness considering various cultural influences active in the nineteenth century which become prominent in the lexicon. Nineteenth century is a period of political and social mutations that changed the orientation of the Romanian society from the oriental-balkanic model (Ottoman, Greek) to the Western European model (mainly French).

Classificatory (appraisal) and meta-pragmatic (auto reflexive) aspects of politeness will be taken into account (see Eelen 2001); other phenomena connected to politeness in a first order approach, intentionality and emotional aspects as perceived by the target or audience (the uptake), will be approached too. The analysis focuses on the evaluation of verbal (and nonverbal) behaviour by the fictional characters and the narrator: (a) frequent colocations (and key lexemes) indicating the appropriateness of the characters' behaviour, the connexion between politeness and affectivity (politeness construed as attitudinal schemata associated with affective elements); (b) metacommunicative fragments evaluating a behaviour according to socially (un)acceptable rules and the calculus of the behaviour according to the interlocutor's status.

The analysis could offer an insight in the manner of approaching the other (under Western influence) in the nineteenth century Romanian cultural context: as an inferior, a superior or equal person, as representative of a social class or as an individual concentrating on personal values (focusing on the relational, collective or, respectively, individual self).

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# The dynamics of multistandardisation and diversification in a dialect area

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Many large-scale quantitative studies have been undertaken to examine the loss of dialect in so-called 'domains of use' in the Dutch province of Limburg (for example Belemans 2002; Driessen 2006; Goeman and Jongenburger 2009; Jungbluth et al. 2011; Weijnen 1967). Most studies show that the use of dialect is clearly present in Limburg although various localities and regions differ (Jungbluth et al. 2011). These studies also show that the use of dialect has been decreasing the last decades (Driessen 2006). The province of Limburg thus presents an excellent case to examine the relation between dialect loss and destandardisation as put forward by the following quote in Grondelaers and Van Hout (2012): "Dialect loss in the Netherlands has recurrently been cited as the most important cause of the increasing variability in the standard (Hinskens, 2007; Smakman, 2006; Vandekerckhove, 2009; Willemyns, 1997; 2003; 2007)". The demise of the most important vehicle for communicating regional affiliation has put pressure on NSD (Netherlandic Standard Dutch) to incorporate regional accent variation to allow people to profile a national *and* a regional identity (Grondelaers et al., 2011; Grondelaers & Van Hout, 2011a; 2011b; Willemyns, 2007, pp. 270–271)."

The aim of our talk is to problematize three hidden assumptions. First, people are thought to be essential monolingual exclusively orienting towards the national standard language. Second, there is the idea of a fixed link between identity, language and place (cf. Quist 2011) going hand-in-hand with a view on speakers as low in agency. Third, these studies predominantly present 'dialect' and 'standard' as two linguistic discrete objects instead of social constructs.

Nonetheless, quantitative findings are important when addressing the questions of (i) how people construct their regional and social identities and (ii) how the meaning of the word 'dialect' and 'standard' is context- and use-dependent. This is achieved through speakers' ideologically mediated language practices in which dialect(s) and standard(s) are (re)produced as social constructs. We will develop this perspective with our qualitative case studies in Limburg. We will show that language standardization and diversification are not mutually exclusive but take place simultaneously and in fact are dialectally related. Thus, language standardisation does not equal language unification. What seems to be going on in Limburg is better characterized as a process of multistandardisation and diversification connected to a multiplication of norms, especially among the younger generations.

# "When I was a kid no one came…the only black men here had uniforms on them": How Migration Has Transformed the Linguistic Ecology of Northern Ireland

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**Adam Mearns | Newcastle University**

Research on language in Northern Ireland (NI) focuses on varieties associated with the major ethnic groups. Some studies address aspects of minority ethnic divisions, documenting e.g. the fact that the 2001 NI Census identified 'Chinese' as the largest ethnic minority (0.25%) (Corrigan 2010). NI has since experienced significant societal changes resulting from the dividends of the 1990s Peace Process. The 2011 Census demonstrates that inward migration has dramatically altered NI's population. Many new migrants have negligible English skills. Those who have English competence use new varieties that bear traces of their ethnic minority heritage alongside recently acquired NI English features.

Research on the acquisition of local variants by young migrants in Britain (Schleef et al. 2011; Verma et al. 1992), shows that the speech of ethnic minorities patterns differently from that of locally born peers. This variation depends on factors like the degree to which individuals identify with indigenous/exogenous community values. Similar research is currently underway in the Republic of Ireland (Migge 2012; Nestor et al. 2012). This paper presents the findings from the first project to investigate these issues in a NI context both synchronically and diachronically.

Ethnographic interviews with migrants to NI (aged 5-19) were conducted from 2012-2014. These interviews probe migrants' attitudes to local community norms, as well as their own linguistic repertoires and daily use of languages. Findings from these contemporary migrant populations are then contrasted with the linguistic ecologies of Northern Irish migrants captured in the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence* (1750s-1920s) (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2012). They also experienced what it was like to enter a new community and be exposed to different norms. There are points of synergy and divergence between both groups of 'new speakers' that make an interesting contribution to debates on language variation and change.

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# The Voice of Polan[t] - modelling L1 interference in the acquisition of variation by Polish migrants in Edinburgh

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Recent studies investigating the acquisition of variation in the context of migration have highlighted several factors which contribute to the successful acquisition of local variation patterns by second language learners, such as the social indexicality of variants, the degree of contact with native-speakers, or migrants' attitudes toward the host country (Schleef et al. 2011; Meyerhoff and Schleef 2012; Drummond 2012; 2013). In the current paper we take this issue a step further by assessing the role of speakers' first language (L1) in the process. Specifically, we investigate the acquisition of word-final (t,d) deletion (e.g. Guy 1980) among 16 teenage Edinburgh-based Polish speakers of English. The production of [+voice] word-final obstruents is particularly challenging for Polish speakers of English since in Polish final obstruent voicing is almost categorically non-contrastive, meaning that all word-final obstruents are produced as voiceless (1), (2) (Slowiaczek et al 1985: 328). Therefore, in the [+voice] environment of the English word-final obstruent cluster, devoicing of /d/ (rather than deletion) is expected among Polish learners, as in (3) and (4).

(1) zja**zd** [zjVst] (*gathering*)
(2) ska**rb** [skVrp] (*treasure*)
(3) Pola**nd** [pVlVnt]
(4) co**ld** [kVlt]

The goal of this talk is to explore to what extent (and if at all) the Polish devoicing rule interferes with the acquisition of (t,d) deletion in English. We test two different scenarios for the relationship between (t,d) deletion and devoicing (Fig. 1), and assess quantitatively which model fits the data better:

(i) /d/ deletion is an extension of obstruent devoicing (Fig 1a). To illustrate this dependence, we use the analogy from Labov's early work on copula deletion which found copula deletion to be the extension of contraction (Labov 1969).

(ii) /d/ deletion and obstruent devoicing are two independent processes, analogical to the straight contraction and deletion process proposed by Rickford et al. (1991) for modelling copula deletion.

Furthermore, we compare the constraints on (t,d) deletion among Polish speakers with the results obtained for the locally-born teenagers.

# Expanding the circle to Learner English: Investigating quotative marking in a German student community

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Much is known about the intra and extralinguistic reality of the quotative system in native speaker grammars (Canada: *inter alia* Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004, Australia: *inter alia* Winter 2002, UK: *inter alia* Durham et al 2012), and L2 or indigenised forms of English (Singapore, Hong Kong: D'Arcy 2013, India: Davydova forthcoming). But we know very little about the ways in which the rapid language change that has altered the quotative landscape in the English-speaking world is acquired and used by EFL learners with extensive as opposed to limited interpersonal contact with L1 English speakers.

This study sets out to explore the language-internal and sociolinguistic mechanisms underlying the variable realisation of quotation in German Learner English. It addresses the following research questions,

  (i)     What does the system of quotative marking in German Learner English look like? How does the newly emerging variable grammar compare to native-speaker Englishes?

  (ii)    What is the effect of exposure to native speaker English in a naturalistic setting (operationalised as duration and number of stays abroad)?

The German Learner English data consists of about 800 instances of quotation produced by 45 native learners of German currently completing their bachelors' and masters' degrees at the University of Mannheim. Replicating the variationist method as documented in Buchstaller (2014), the study explores the system that produces quotative *be like* (e.g. *I am like, "Oh, wow!"*) in the speech of German learners and contrasts it with that reported for natives speakers of North American English.

Previous studies have found three relatively stable language-internal constraints shaping production of *be like* in native-speaker English: (i) mimetic enactment, (ii) grammatical person of the subject, (iii) tense and aspect and (iv) quote content (see *inter alia* Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009). Drawing on converging evidence stemming from a fixed-effect and a mixed-effect modelling of data, we show that our high-exposure learners fairly closely replicate the sociolinguistic patterns of North American English. In contrast, low-exposure learners differ dramatically from their peers with respect to the use of quotative marking. We conclude that prolonged exposure coupled with the high-level of schematicity of the construction under study may indeed account for such a neat result. Other factors arguably facilitating the acquisition of the variable grammar include the high type and token frequency of quotative *be like* (Ratije 2009; Buchstaller 2014). Overall, the study contributes to the discussion of what is possible in the second-language acquisition of variable grammars (Schleef et al. 2011; Meyerhoff and Schleef 2012), while at the same time furthering our understanding of the sociolinguistic forces shaping the formation of non-native Englishes worldwide.

# Teachers' and pupils' strategies in dealing with monolingual, SLI-driven language-in-education policies in Flanders

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**Inge Van Lancker | Ghent University**

Flanders is experiencing growing intra- and interlingual diversity, with both the emergence of Tussentaal ('in-between-language') as a cluster of intermediate varieties between the Flemish dialects and Standard Dutch, and an increasing number of immigrants and their respective languages in Flanders. The effects of both phenomena on the role of Standard Dutch in Flanders have been assessed differently by various researchers: for some, processes of destandardisation are at work (e.g. Grondelaers & van Hout 2011), while others trace processes of demotisation (e.g. Delarue 2013) or see the effects of a hyperstandardisation process (e.g. Van Hoof & Jaspers 2012). The Flemish language-in-education policy (e.g. Vandenbroucke 2007, Smet 2011) seems to be a derivative of the latter, as it deals with the (perceived) problems of substandardisation and multilingualism by imposing a strict monolingual policy, propagating Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language variety (Delarue & De Caluwe 2015) and thus demonstrating a strong and vital Standard Language Ideology (SLI). In most Flemish classrooms, however, a lot of Tussentaal features are used, both by teachers and pupils (Delarue 2013), causing tension between daily classroom reality and the ideal picture set by policy makers.

This paper analyses the way(s) in which teachers and pupils cope with this tension, and the research methodologies which can be used to gain insight in their coping strategies. The research project of the first author studies the language use and the language ideologies of 82 teachers of Flemish primary and secondary schools. By combining participant observation, sociolinguistic interviews and questionnaires, the study seeks to map the 'personal ideological frameworks' of teachers, and uncover the capricious ways in which teachers respond to language-in-education policies. The second author of the paper uses sociolinguistic-ethnographic methods to gain insight into the language use, attitudes and ideologies of pupils in a secondary school in East-Flanders.

The two research projects seem to yield similar (yet preliminary) results: both teachers and pupils are deeply influenced by the SLI, and stress the importance of Standard Dutch inside as well as outside of the classroom, but at the same time, they often have no problem admitting that they do not always use Standard Dutch in school contexts – using various strategies to explain why. This paradoxical view on the standard can be interpreted as an interplay between policy-supported processes of hyperstandardisation on the one hand and norm-relaxing processes of demotisation on the other. The results of the research projects presented here thus demonstrate that the use of qualitative/ethnographic methodologies can provide a deep understanding of the perceptions, thoughts and practices of teachers and pupils, and that the specific Flemish language situation cannot be unambiguously identified as a typical example of destandardisation, hyperstandardisation or demotisation.

# Developing network methods in community-based sociolinguistics

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In theories of language variation and change, a central consideration is the role of face-to-face interaction. Recent modeling and experimental work on language change incorporates interactional components such as density of communication or magnitude of influence between people or between groups (Baxter et al. 2009 inter alia). However, this work can only remain speculative unless measured against the transmission of real linguistic change through community networks. Yet community-based social network analysis in sociolinguistics, if it endeavors to use contemporary quantitative network techniques available in sociology and related fields, faces serious methodological challenges.

This paper addresses two such challenges and solutions that have emerged in a large-scale study of contact-induced vowel change in Raleigh, a southern U.S. city. In Raleigh, industry-motivated migration from the northern U.S. has led to the reversal of the Southern Vowel Shift (Labov et al. 2005). Acoustic analysis of conversational data from 150 White Raleigh natives shows the pace and direction of change for six elements of the SVS: the five front vowels and /ay/ monophthongization. While methodological obstacles have arisen during this project's long-term use of network analysis to consider the social mechanisms by which the SVS reverses, their solutions point to new ways of exploring language change that hinge on community-based data.

The first challenge is tie scarcity. Most network studies in other fields use network methods that succeed with densely connected populations, such as academic or corporate communities. By contrast, most speakers in large-scale sociolinguistic studies have no direct connections with one another despite living in the same city, rendering many network methods irrelevant. As a solution, we build upon the Raleigh project's recent work with bipartite, or two-mode, network data, which enabled use of the cohesive blocking technique (Moody & White 2003), now introducing additional methods compatible with bipartite data. We discuss two existing automated methods for identifying densely connected subgroups in the network, the so-called "fast greedy" and "multilevel community" algorithms, and show that they (imperfectly) identify Raleigh subgroups that lead and lag in the SVS reversal.

The second challenge is the relationship between network position and age. Whereas most sociological network analysis is cross-sectional, dealing with ties at only one time period, studies of language change necessarily involve people born at different times and therefore having different network opportunities and influences. Using network measures and age as distinct but interacting variables in regression analysis does not adequately address their interrelationship. We present an innovative strategy in which we define each dyad's edge weight as the inverse of the age difference between the two speakers, such that a tie between speakers of similar age is weighted more strongly. In this way, weight-sensitive network methods become available. We show the results of exposure-based models for each of the six elements of the SVS cited above. Identifying the network mechanisms of language change is essential to sociolinguistics, and this paper's methodological work illustrates the feasibility of community-based network analysis.

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# Distributional Properties of Personal Pronouns in Luxembourgish

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This poster shows an overview of the formal and functional categories of Luxembourgish pronouns. Each personal pronoun has two variants (with some exceptions), which will be analyzed according to their distributional properties. The research focus lies on word order and the syntax-semantics-interface. The empirical data originates from a corpus of spoken and written Luxembourgish (> 60M tokens). The Luxembourgish language is especially interesting because standardization is still ongoing, leading to great variation and a continuous expansion of Luxembourgish into the written domain (creating new repertoires). Also, broad syntactic analyses are still missing up to this point.

Taking the whole pronoun paradigm as a starting point, my poster will explore three main phenomena:

A. Formal aspect: full and reduced pronouns

Most of the pronouns have a full and a reduced form. This contrast exists both on a spoken and on a written level.

1. *Hie ka mer et soen.*
   he.NOM.FULL can me.DAT.RED it.ACC.RED tell
   'He can tell me.'

B. Syntactic aspect: word order and omission of the Wackernagel movement

Depending on syntactic factors such as topicalization or case assignment the reduced forms can be further divided into weak forms (mostly due to speaking tempo and information structure) and clitics (blocked for certain sentence positions). The subcategories will be characterized according to sentence structures found in the corpus. Additionally, there is a strong tendency for the dative to precede the accusative, even on a pronominal level, leaving out the Wackernagel movement (cf. example 1).

C. Semantic aspect: reference restrictions in the 3rd pers.sg.

The pronouns in the 3rd person singular are the following: *hien/en* (MASK.), *si/se* (FEM.), *hatt/et* (NEUTR). The full forms *hien, si, hatt* have restricted reference possibilities: Depending on the animacy of the referent the full forms are blocked. Those reference restrictions can be explained using semantic features of the animacy hierarchy.

For referring to any female person, one either uses the feminine pronoun *si/se* or the neutral pronoun *hatt/et*. The choice depends on pragmatic factors, such as social hierarchy or age, and has a rather consistent use pattern. It can be summarized under the label of 'pragmatic distance'.

The higher the distance, the stronger the pronoun *si/se* is taken into account. In this context, I will also discuss the notions of *political correctness* and *accuracy* and show some conflicting examples from the corpus.

In this context, further theoretical questions will be raised: What is the underlying form of a pronoun: full or reduced? Why should a form be labeled 'full', if it has this many semantic restrictions? This poster on personal pronouns provides an insight into the complex interaction between the various components of Luxembourgish language structure, including inflectional morphology, syntax and semantics.

# Language varieties, media and everyday places: On the differentiation of language use in the present

**Christine Domke | University of Chemnitz**

My contribution's aim is to take up the considerations elaborated on the interplay between language varieties, media and places and to concretize them with reference to both the media used for communication and the mode of perception resulting from that choice. Following the well established approach of linguistic landscapes (e.g. Landry/Bourhis 1997, Backhaus 2007) in analyzing the sociolinguistic structure of public places, semiotic landscape studies are targeted on the discussion of all semiotic resources, but in a more qualitative way (e.g. Jaworski/Thurlow 2010a). Nevertheless, in investigating the relation between public places, language use and indications of power the main focus so far lies on texts visible in the urban space (e.g. Auer 2009, Shohamy et al. 2010; Papen 2012); different kinds of mediality and thereby different kinds of perception are just being recognized and gradually start to be explored, for example in Dray (2010) who discusses the interplay between the official lingua franca (English) and the colloquial language (Jamaican Creole) in Jamaica and the media used like handwriting and posters just for the colloquial language. For example Linguistic Soundscaping has not yet become as relevant a research topic (e.g. Scarvaglerie et al. 2013). And what is to be touched and felt and perceived in this way has almost been overlooked (Domke 2013).

The contribution begins a this point. First, I will give a short overview over the studies on semiotic and linguistic landscapes done so far. Secondly, what can be read, heard, and touched in public places like market places, railway stations and airports will be outlined – highlighting the communication forms (like signs, stickers, notices, announcements) used while making places „readable" as specific spaces. Based on this wide perspective on semiotic resources, thirdly, the main focus lies on the relations between different modes of perception like visual, auditive and tactile and the language varieties being recognized in public places.

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# The social life of language variation – What quotations tell us about sociolinguistic realities

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It is challenging how little we know about the dimensions of language variation that humans really employ in everyday talk-in-interaction. Usually employing categories as a priori assumptions, the contemporary study of variation still lacks to focus the complexity of language variation in its function, structure, use and conceptualization regarding situated communicative practice. This study argues that reflexive activities in situated talk can serve as important diagnostics for the complexity of variation in communicative practice. It proposes a functional approach to language variation by investigating code-switching in quotations in situated discourse as an example of activity-based variation.

From a usage-based perspective it is shown that code-switching in quotations offers valuable insights into everyday sociolinguistic realities. In situated discourse the activity of quotation is an explicitly reflexive activity (Lucy 1993) that serves as a complex metapragmatic device to master communicative challenges by dynamic recontextualization (Tannen 2007). The interpretative analysis of data from everyday conversations recorded in Northern Germany (Schröder/Elmentaler 2009) shows that code-switches in quotations illuminate fundamental characteristics of the unstable mutual interaction of signs-in-use and human reflections of these signs-in-use. The data enable a reconstruction of (i) repertoire-extracts of linguistic and social knowledge, (ii) patterns of contrastive potential in their situated realizations, (iii) social valorizations of linguistic forms, and (iv) underlying ideologies from the participants' perspective. Thus, the data reveal "reflexive models of social life" (Agha 2007), e. g. formations of socially meaningful signs that are dialogically produced, reproduced and negotiated through reflexive activities (cf. Johnstone 2011; Johnstone et al. 2006; Eckert 2008).

The findings show that the functional in-depth analysis of language variation in its natural habitat serves as an analytic window to dialogical sociolinguistic realities. Linking the study of variation with strands of research in interactional studies it is shown that the analysis of quotation offers a way to approach variation where cultures and identities "live". The results implicate that the interpretative reconstruction of intra-situational, socially meaningful variation offers an approach to both the social embeddedness of language variation and the linguistic constitution of social relations. It is concluded that the usage-based analysis of language variation pushes the study of variation further and eminently contributes to our understanding of the social life of language variation.

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# How to sound *lush* in 140 characters: Performing a Welsh accent on Twitter

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Twitter, not only allows researchers to quickly collect attitudes about accents and dialects across extended periods of time (Campbell-Kibler and Torelli 2012, Durham 2014), but, in cases where the tweets are 'performed' in a specific accent (examples 1-2), it can also help pinpoint what is being indexed through the use of the accent and which features might be particularly salient or stereotyped.

1.  *Welsh accent* that's lush
2.  I've perfected my 'alright Gav what's occurring' in a welsh accent

Using tweets containing the words *Welsh* and *accent* collected as part of a broader project running over the past two years, this paper will focus on a sub-section of over 2000 instances in which the tweeters adopt (or claim to adopt) a Welsh accent in some way. The larger project examined all the tweets sent on four days each month over a period of nine months and considered whether the attitudes in the tweets were predominantly positive towards the Welsh accent, negative, made some other type of comment on the accent, or whether they demonstrated some kind of performance of the Welsh accent. A majority of the tweets were straightforwardly positive towards the Welsh accent (50%), but 20% of the tweets were categorized as performance.

Broadly speaking the performance tweets fall into two categories: those where people comment on their use of the accent (example 3) and those in which tweeters additionally mark their use through what they see as Welsh English vocabulary (example 4), pronunciation (example 5) or morphosyntax (example 6)

3.  Been doing the welsh accent the whole night
4.  *in my best welsh accent* I just munched on a peanut butter nature valley bar! TIDYYY
5.  Trying to pull off a welsh accent after watching Gaveeeen and Staaaaaacey.
6.  yous aren't even funny like (in a welsh accent)

This paper will discuss what the main linguistic features used to perform a Welsh accent on twitter are and how closely they can be correlated with actual features in Welsh English (Penhallurick 2007), as well as the ways that phonological features in particular are presented in writing. It will also attempt to establish what are people may be indexing when performing Welshness online and what associations they have with Welsh accents and ultimately what this can tell us about perceptions of the Welsh accent outside of Wales.

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# "Poor understanding of grammar"?: A sociolinguistic analysis of usage attitudes in British English

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From the eighteenth century onwards, prescriptivism has attempted to keep British English language variation and change to a minimum, if not to eradicate variation in usage all together. This "suppression of optional variability", as described by Milroy and Milroy (2002: 22), is considered an essential component of the English standardisation process. Yet, the success of prescriptive efforts is debatable, as pedants, sticklers, and grammar mavens still frown upon the alleged misuse of the English language, while others go on happily splitting infinitives and the like. The general public's attitudes towards language use, which just like language itself, are subject to change, yet at the same time they allow an interesting glimpse at language variation through the eyes of the general public.

Only a handful of attempts has been made by linguists to assess the current state of usage attitudes (Leonard 1932, Mittins et al. 1970, Sandred 1983, Albanyan and Preston 1998). However, their main aim has not strictly been to put an end to the ongoing debate between prescriptivists and descriptivists, but to update language rules in school textbooks. Education and prescriptivism have entered a peculiar matrimony, which has been sealed in the pursuit of standardisation. The language use of the educated world has often been equated with standard usage and correctness. With the gradual move from language 'correctness' to the notion of 'appropriateness' and the emergence of sociolinguistics as a linguistic discipline, a shift has occurred focusing no longer primarily on the language use of the educated world, but on that of the general public.

In order to assess the current state of language attitudes to usage problems, I have conducted interviews with informants in the 'Golden Triangle'- London, Cambridge and Oxford. These interviews include an open-guise test, an adaptation of the matched-guise test, with which I tested the informants' perceptions of prescriptive and descriptive forms such as the double negative and split infinitive. Recordings including these usage problems have been rated by informants on semantic differential scales which subsequently have been analysed according to Zahn and Hopper's (1985) factor analysis identifying superiority, attractiveness and dynamism as key themes in guise tests. In this paper, I will attempt the assessment of the general public's attitudes towards prescriptive and descriptive language usage by combining a sociolinguistic analysis with a discourse analysis of the transcribed interviews in order to identify recurring patterns such as above mentioned "poor understanding of grammar".

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# Stéckchen vs. Stéckelchen – The diminutive singular doublet in the Luxembourgish and Moselle Franconian transitional area

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This poster is to provide an insight into the principles of diminutive formation in the Luxembourgish language and the neighbouring and closely related Moselle Franconian dialects on the German side of the political border. More specifically, the focus will lie on the assignment of the two singular allomorphs (-*chen* and -*elchen*) and their interaction and/or competition between each other. The main aim is to investigate the emergence, development and status of the diminutive singular doublet from a theoretical and diatopic perspective.

Already the main grammars of both varieties fail to establish entirely clear-cut assignment rules for the two allomorphs. The simple suffix -*chen* is said to be the norm (1) while the complex suffix -*elchen* always follows stems ending in /ʃ/ and /ç/ (2) but only "frequently" those with the final sounds /k/, /g/, /ts/ and /ŋ/ (3) (cf. BRAUN et al. 2005, REUTER 1990).

(1) e.g. *Bild-chen* 'pictureDIM', *Messer-chen* 'knifeDIM'

(2) e.g. *Dësch-elchen* 'tableDIM', *Bich-elchen* 'bookDIM'

(3) e.g. *Stéck-chen* vs. *Stéck-elchen* 'pieceDIM', *Witz-chen* vs. *Witz-elchen* 'jokeDIM'

Even though the sheer occurrence of the complex suffix -*elchen* has been noted by the literature on diminutives especially in terms of its composition and areal distribution, no detailed reasons or theories for the oscillations in (3) have yet been found. This poster will closely examine the occurrences and reasons for these variations on the basis of two resources, the Wenker materials from the 19th century and a corpus with findings from an especially executed survey on diminutives in Luxembourg and the Moselle Franconian area in Germany.

The comparison of these two regions is promising: while many phenomena associated with diminutives suggest the emergence of a linguistic border, the assignment of the singular diminutive suffix follows a different dynamic: both sides of the political border show seemingly unstructured variation.

Thus, this poster will address several research questions from three different perspectives.

(a) Historical perspective: How did the doublet emerge? How stable is it today? Is one variant declining?

(b) Areal perspective: How unstructured is the variation in the two varieties? Are there differences between the areal distribution of the 19th century and today?

(c) Structural perspective: Are there phonological, prosodic, morphological or semantic reasons for the competition between the two variants? Has a semantic differentiation occurred?

In brief, the goal of this poster is to outline the emergence and continuation of a derivational doublet in two related varieties as well as to find reasons for its existence.

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# "Linguistic variation and levelling in the Basque language: the case of Busturialdea"

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It is a long time since Unified Basque (promoted by Euskaltzaindia, The Royal Academy of the Basque Language, 1968) was established, and it is irrefutable its noticeable effect on the spoken language of the youngest generations, as it is widely present in the school system and the media. Nevertheless, in the case of the Basque language, there have been few researches from this point of view.

In this contribution, we study the dialect leveling phenomenon in the area called *Busturialdea*, located in the Basque Country. This contribution is part of the study of the sociolinguistic variation in the Basque language and its main objective is to provide an overview of the dialectal leveling phenomenon in the Basque Country. For that purpose, diverse linguistic parameters such as morphology, syntax and lexicon have been analyzed using a closed-ended questionnaire.

This paper shows the results of the research of sociolinguistic variation taking into account only one social factor: age. In fact, we have study the linguistic variation between two generations: adults and young people. In the paper we present data from 20 localities and we analyze the linguistic variation across generations in different localities.

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# A linguistic mapping and analyzing tool – the online application REDE SprachGIS (www.regionalsprache.de)

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Drawing a linguistic map is one of the central tasks that linguists studying variation have to perform in publications and research projects. The REDE SprachGIS online application (available via www.regionalsprache.de) offers numerous options to generate linguistic maps from different sources (CSV-import, KML-import) and system internally. The maps can be easily exported and also published online in the system. The application can be used free of charge, as it is funded by the Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur.

Furthermore, the REDE SprachGIS application serves as a research platform offering a wide range of research data from over 100 years of dialectology. The system contains the complete Digital Wenker Atlas (*Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* by Georg Wenker) with all 1.668 maps and over 50.000 original questionnaires (*Wenkerbögen*) as well as numerous sound recordings of the questionnaire sentences (*Wenkersätze*) and other sound corpora. The system also includes many other digitized dialect atlases and historical, political and geographical maps and will be continuously expanded. Additionally, the system offers an extensive bibliography of areal linguistics (*GOBA – Georeferenzierte Online-Bibliographie Areallinguistik*).

This talk will introduce the system and present its contents and basic functions. Additionally, the mapping functions will be illustrated using a concrete example: we will evaluate the development of the perfect vs. preterite distribution over the course of the preterite loss (*Präteritumschwund*) in German dialects, comparing data from over 100 years.

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# Experiencer coding on the European periphery

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Haspelmath (2001) proposes a number of diagnostic morphosyntactic features for "Standard Average European", including canonical versus non-canonical coding of experiencers. Canonical (nominative) coding of experiencers is characteristic of a core group of SAE (English, French and mainland Scandinavian Germanic), in sharp contrast to Northeast Caucasian Lezgian, which is maximally non-canonical (inverting) in its experiencer coding. However, the areal distribution does not yield a smooth transition from one type to the other; Modern Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish for example pattern on the metric developed by Bossong (1998) essentially like the Romance languages Spanish and Italian (Zeldes 2013), suggesting that outside of the extreme canonical languages such as English, the claim that SAE is in some sense characterized by canonical experiencers is difficult to maintain.

In this paper we explore strategies of experiencer coding in two regions on the European periphery: Anatolia, and the Caucasus. In Anatolia we find Turkic, Iranian, and various Semitic languages as well as remnant dialects of Armenian (locally called Hemshinli) and the Kartvelian language Laz (Haig, to appear). In the Caucasus there are Northeast Caucasian languages such as Lezgian, Agul, Hinuq, Tsez, Bezhta (Comrie & van den Berg 2006, Ganenkov 2006, Comrie et al., to appear), Kartvelian, West Caucasian and Kartvelian as well as Iranian (Belyaev, Ms.) and Turkic languages. We suggest that what has been proposed as a (West) European pattern cannot be meaningfully disentangled from the larger Eurasian web of interlacing isoglosses on this feature. We also point to finer semantic differences in experiencer coding, which appear to have an areal bias; for example, experiencers of verbs of visual perception (SEE) are frequently non-canonical in the Caucasus, but never so in Anatolia, suggesting that a finer grained approach to experiencer coding may be more revealing than the broad-brush quantitative metric originally developed by Bossong.

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# Why dialects differ: the influence of concept features on lexical geographical variation

**Karlien Franco | University of Leuven**
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**Dirk Geeraerts | University of Leuven**

In dialectometry, language variation is often assumed to be governed by lectal or geographical factors (Nerbonne & Kleiweg (2007), Séguy (1971), Wieling, Nerbonne & Baayen (2011)). However, Geeraerts and Speelman (2010) and Speelman and Geeraerts (2008) showed that semantic features can complicate this view. Their analysis of the semantic field 'the human body' in the Dictionary of Limburgish Dialects demonstrated that vaguer, less salient or negatively connoted concepts are significantly more prone to variation in concept naming. Moreover, they showed that these kinds of semantic features can also distort the geographical spread of lexical variants. However, since these studies only take one semantic field into account, it remains unclear whether their results are stable in other conceptual domains as well. Consequently, in this paper, we aim to determine whether vagueness, lack of salience and negative affect play a role in other semantic domains as well. Furthermore, we will examine whether the amount of onomasiological heterogeneity that occurs in dialects is also dependent on the semantic field itself.

More specifically, we focus on three other semantic fields that are available in the digitized database of the Dictionary of Limburgish Dialects: 'family and sexuality', 'character and feelings' and 'the physical and abstract world'. We operationalize onomasiological heterogeneity by taking into account the number of variants that are found for each concept and how they are scattered across geographical space. We use mixed-effects linear regression analysis to predict onomasiological heterogeneity with concept vagueness, lack of salience and negative affect as predictors. This strategy also allows us to explore the influence of the conceptual domain on lexical geographical variation. In a final stage, we use the results of our regression analyses for a dialectometric analysis of the Limburgish dialect area.

We find further evidence for the influence of concept features on lexical geographical variation. Our preliminary results indicate that vagueness, lack of salience and negative affect can be significant predictors of lexical variation in other semantic domains than the human body in the Limburgish dialects. Furthermore, as we expected, differences between semantic fields occur.

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# Delineating standard and non-standard varieties: on the need to combine perceptual and productive data

**Anne-Sophie Ghyselen | University of Ghent**

Since a couple of decades, societal factors such as immigration, globalisation, democratisation and informalisation have led to a changing, sometimes weakened position of European standard languages (cfr. Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003). These changes have spawned considerable research into changing standard languages and standard language ideologies, of which the SLICE publications are exemplary (cfr. Kristiansen and Coupland 2011, Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013). In these studies a distinction is often made between *destandardisation* and *demotisation*, i.e. respectively the process whereby "the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'" and the process whereby "the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact, while the valorization of ways of speaking changes" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28).

Highly controversial in this respect is the question whether and how varieties can be delineated. After all, whereas demotisation implies that the concept of what constitutes standard language is broadened, destandardisation suggests that a new variety acquires prestige, next to the standard language. Hence, an important prerequisite for the study of destandardisation and demotisation processes is that one disposes of an in-depth characterization of what constitutes a standard or non-standard variety. Three approaches are possible when it comes to delineating varieties: (1) a perceptual approach, in which laymen's perceptions of existing structures are central, (2) a productive approach, in which linguistic cohesion, intraspeaker variation and pragmatic characteristics function as criteria in the delineating process, and a (3) combined approach, which combines both perceptual and productive criteria.

In this paper, it will be argued that a combined approach deserves the preference, as it allows a detailed description of existing varieties, while it avoids the pitfall of overly abstract theorizing. Such a combined approach will be demonstrated by means of a case study in Flanders, where the delineation of *Tussentaal* (a conglomerate of intermediate variations between dialect and standard) is subject of much debate. More specifically, a quantitative multivariate analysis of the language use of 30 women from 3 Flemish cities in 5 speech settings is combined with a qualitative analysis of sociolinguistic interviews with the same women. These analyses lay bare the need to distinguish between varieties and prototypes (cfr. Lenz 2009), and also show the advantages of a combined approach towards the concept of a variety.

# Between 2 L1 and early second language acquisition

## Elena Ginghină

A balanced bilingualism is hard to achieve even if the languages are learned simultaneously from birth on. The exposure to both languages will influence the language learning process, which will lead to clear differences in the competence in the two languages. Studies indicated that it is nearly impossible for bilingual children to attain complete native-speaker mastery in both languages. Therefore, this asymmetry in the bilingual development leads to the existence of a weaker language, whose process of development resembles the second language acquisition. Nevertheless, not only the exposure to a language is a dominant factor in the language learning process but also the age of acquisition, since there are children who are confronted with their second language at the age of three. This case is known as the successive bilingual development, where in most cases there is no possibility for the child to attain complete native-speaker competence in the second language, since the child will learn the second L1 through another language. Although immigrants are considered to be in this situation, there is another similar category, which finds little consideration at present: the Romanian children who go to German schools in Romania, schools founded by German native speakers, who settled many centuries ago in Romania and who became an ethnic minority in Romania. Most of these Germans immigrated to Germany after the Communist regime but the German schools remained. Nowadays there are few German native-speaking teachers, but most of the students come from Romanian families. These children first encounter the language in their 3rd year, when they go to a German kindergarten. Then they go on to a German school, where every subject except for Romanian is taught in German but they live in a country where the weaker language is not spoken. They grow up speaking two languages which differ in exposure and in the age of acquisition. Therefore, the language acquisition of their second language may be considered to be a weaker first language acquisition as is the case with a bilingual child.

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# The effect of visual input on accentedness perception of Asian and Caucasian non-native speakers of English

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Previous research on speech perception has found an effect of the supposed ethnicity of the speaker, such that the same speech sample may be rated 'more accented' when presented alongside an Asian face. This has been said to be due to reverse linguistic stereotyping, which is an expectation of certain linguistic characteristics based on the speaker's appearance (Rubin, 1992; Yi, Phelps, Smiljanic, & Chandrasekaran, 2013). McGowan (2011), however, has found a facilitatory effect of matching ethnicity for intelligibility: listeners were better at transcribing Chinese-accented speech in noise when presented with a picture of an Asian face than a Caucasian one or a silhouette. While most of the previous research has concentrated on Asian non-native English speakers (NNES), accentedness perception in Caucasian NNES remains under-explored.

In this study native English-speaking listeners were presented with short clips from first language (L1) German, Korean, and New Zealand English speakers speaking English in an 'accentedness rating' task in 3 conditions: audio only, video only, and audio-plus-video. The same audio tracks were used in the audio and audio-plus-video conditions, and the same video tracks were used in the video and audio-plus-video conditions.

The 'accentedness' of the German and Korean speakers was not rated significantly differently from each other in the audio condition. Overall, for the Korean speakers, no significant effect of condition was found: contrary to some previous studies, Korean speakers were not perceived to be more accented in the audio-plus-video condition compared to the audio condition. German speakers were rated significantly less accented in the video condition and more accented in the audio-plus-video condition compared to the audio one. Their lower accentedness score in the video condition is in line with reverse linguistic stereotyping accounts, but their higher accentedness score in the audio-plus-video condition contradicts this. I explain the latter finding as a mismatch effect, such that when listeners see a Caucasian face and do not expect to hear a foreign accent, the foreign accent that they do hear is 'boosted' and becomes more salient.

This interpretation is further supported by a positive correlation between the difference in mean speaker ratings between the audio and video conditions and between the audio-plus-video and audio conditions. That is, the less accented a speaker was rated in the video condition compared to the audio condition, the more accented that speaker was rated in the audio-plus-video condition compared to the audio condition. Implications for understanding perception and factors that play a role in it are discussed.

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# Copula Variation in Italian L2.

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This paper analyzes copula variation in L2 Italian of long term Russianspeaking residents in Italy. I approach their linguistic systems from the point of view of language variation. The research question I want to answer is: which factors are significant for correct copula use? The data was collected from 8 L1 Russianspeakers from Ukraine and Moldavia working in Italy as caregivers or *badanti*. They are all female and have no formal instruction in Italian L2. All ofthem have spent more than 5 years in Italy (between 6 and 14 years).

The data was processed with multivariate statistical tool Goldvarb X. Social and linguistic factors were included in the analysis, among which age, integration into society, spoken languages, semantics of the predicate, polarity, type of subject and grammatical environment. In the present study I consider as copula a wide range of uses of the verb to be: locative, attributive, equative and existential.

This research tries to participate in a 'classic' quantitative sociolinguistic discussion of copula omission starting from the seminal work of Labov (1966 and 1969) and continuing till now with works on AAVE (Rickford 1991, Walker, 2000, Walker & Meyerhof, 2007 and others) and copula variation in other varieties of English (one of many, Herat, 2005).

My conclusion is that copula variation in SLA is due to a combination of multiple social and linguistic factors, it cannot be explained by one single factor. I found that integration into the society is of a crucial importance for the process of acquisition and that semantics has much more significance than grammatical environment. Although this factor group was always considered as the most important in the abovementioned studies.

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# Quantitative and qualitative approaches to language (de)standardization.
# Flemish Dutch is destandardizing: Evidence from speaker evaluation

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**Dirk Speelman | University of Leuven**
**Roeland van Hout | Radboud University Nijmegen**

In view of the fact that standard languages are typically regarded as stable clusters of co-varying standard features, the increasing presence in European standard languages of non-standard elements (Deumert & Vandenbussche 2003; Kristiansen & Coupland 2011; Kristiansen & Grondelaers 2013) is often interpreted as a sign of destandardization (see Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011 for an overview), and even of the death of the standard language idea(l) (Van der Horst 2008; Stroop 2010).

The standard language situation in Flanders is an unusually exciting arena for de- and re-standardization research, on account of the decreasing vitality but ongoing perceptual dominance of the official standard variety, and the unstoppable vitality of an overtly stigmatized colloquial variety (named "Tussentaal" in view of its stratificational situation in-between the dialects and the standard). While there is abundant corpus evidence for the fact that Tussentaal is increasingly spoken by demographic groups previously devoted to Standard Dutch (Plevoets 2009), and for the fact that it manifests spontaneous standardization processes (Vandekerckhove 2006, 2007, De Caluwe 2009 – see also Willemyns 2005), previous speaker evaluation experiments (Impe et al. 2007; Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007) did not uncover any prestige perceptions to explain the production vitality of Tussentaal.

We report a speaker evaluation experiment which did not return any traditional prestige perceptions either, but which confirmed that some Tussentaal features elicit *modern* prestige, pertaining to the coolness, the assertiveness and the trendiness of media personalities. Following Kristiansen (2009) and the studies in Kristiansen and Grondelaers (2013), we claim that it is these modern prestige perceptions which (co-)determine the production vitality of Tussentaal, and that in order to extract these modern evaluations of stigmatized variants/varieties – which are covert and private social meanings –, a carefully designed and stringently controlled experimental setup is required: we did everything in our power to hide the experimental purpose from the participants, and we removed non-ignorant subjects from the eventual analysis.

Methodologically, we claim that experiments such as these represent the missing link in the causal relation between language perception and language production (Grondelaers & Kristiansen 2013). Modern standard languages have come to represent clusters of standard and substandard features which are licensed by different prestige values. The continuing importance of prestige (be it traditional or modern) in the dynamics of standard languages underlines the central role of perception as a factor in language variation and change.

Empirically, the available data support the idea of a "standard language vacuum" in Flanders (Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011). Whereas the official standard continues to be ideologically dominant and prestigious, it has become a non-vital, virtual variety (see also De Caluwe 2009). Tussentaal, by contrast, is increasingly and unstoppably vital, but up to now it is powered only by covert and modern prestige perceptions, not by the high status evaluations traditionally associated with standard varieties.

# *Bamba* revisited

## Anna Gunnarsdotter Grönberg | University of Gothenburg

1994–1996 a questionnaire was handed out to 634 teenagers in upper secondary schools in different neighbourhoods of Gothenburg, the second largest city in Sweden, and in ten adjacent municipalities within a distance of 20 to 80 km to the North, East and South.

The first part consisted of a multiple choice test with traditional Gothenburg dialect words. The main goal was to find out whether the Gothenburg adolescents understood them, and if they had spread out into the surrounding region. In the second part, the pupils were asked to fill in own synonyms for standard Swedish words. They were mainly chosen with the purpose of mapping whether a number of traditional words were still in use, and if they were distributed outside of Gothenburg. The main results showed different tendencies:

1) Most of the traditional expressions in the first part were incomprehensible to the teenagers, and in the second part most of the expected Gothenburg words were not present.

2) The word *bamba* 'school canteen' was distributed in a pattern of concentrical circles, from nearly 100% of the answers in Gothenburg and the closest municipalities, to 0% in places farthest away to the East.

These tendencies illustrate both a regular dialect levelling and the specific situation in this part of Sweden, where Gothenburg has a great impact on the surrounding region, both socially and linguistically.

The use of *bamba* in Gothenburg schools was followed up in 2005, and in 2012–2013 some of the adjacent municipalities were revisited (by students collecting research material for their own essays and for this study). The questionnaire has been answered by a new generation of teenagers. The results from these surveys will be presented, with comparisons with the questionnaire from the 1990's and other studies. Methodological problems of using this kind of questionnaire will also be discussed.

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# Number Agreement in Existential Constructions
## Morphological Variation and Change in the History of Swedish

**David Håkansson | Uppsala University**

Existential constructions have attracted much interest in variationist studies (see among others Mecchan & Foley 1994; Crawford 2005; Nevalainen 2009) because of the extensive variation in number agreement. In English the finite verb in existential constructions can agree either with the expletive *there* or with the notional subject as shown in (1):

(1) a.     **there is** a few pages
    b.     there **are a number of unit conversations and concentration**
                                                     (examples from Crawford 2005)

The Scandinavian Languages can help to shed new light on this discussion. In Icelandic, on the one hand, the finite verb always agrees with the notional subject (as shown in (2)), whereas there has been a change in agreement pattern in Swedish. Originally, the finite verb agreed with the notional subject and not with the expletive in Swedish, as shown in (3). However, in the 19th and 20th century, prescriptive grammars state that the finite verb has to agree with the expletive *det*, as in (4), and not with the notional subject. This change was preceded by an extensive variation in agreement pattern, before agreement was lost in the written language in the mid 20th century.

(2) Það eru mýs í baðkerinu.          (Icelandic; from Thráinsson 2007)
    there are mice in bathtub-the
(3) thz waro fyra hedhniske konunga       (Old Swedish)
    there were four heathen kings
(4) Det {är/*äro} inte många gäster här.     (Swedish; from Wellander 1939:370)
    there {is/are} not many guests here

In this talk, I will argue that the agreement pattern in existential constructions is dependent on the syntactic status of the expletive; only when the expletive has syntactic subject status, a conflict between two argument controllers can exist. In this respect, Icelandic differs from Modern Swedish since *det* in Modern Swedish is a syntactic subject—in contrast to *það* in Icelandic. Old Swedish, on the other hand, corresponds with Icelandic, since expletives in Old Swedish do not behave as syntactic subjects. Hence number agreement with the expletive in existential constructions is caused by the establishment of the subject constraint.

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# New-dialect formation: language changes in Odda and Tyssedal over the last hundred years

**Helene Hildremyr | University of Bergen**

This paper will be based on my sociolinguistic PhD project, a longitudinal study whichinvestigates the development of the spoken language in the industrial towns of Odda and Tyssedal. These towns are situated in Sørfjorden in Hardanger, six kilometers from each other in the western part of Norway. Odda and Tyssedal developed as industrial towns in the beginningof the 20th century, and they both experienced a rapid growth of population. Only 40 people lived in Tyssedal before the industrialization started in 1906 (it reached its peak in 1950 with 1600 inhabitants), in Odda the population was about 500 (it reached its peak in 1970 with 7500 inhabitants).

People moved to the new towns from all over the country and from abroad to work and live in Odda and Tyssedal, and within a short period of time completely new communities were formed. In the establishing phase the places were both social and linguistic melting pots, and the "original" dialect of these places was changed because of weak local linguistic models: Those who lived in the area before the industrialisation process were too few to "neutralize" the newcomers linguistically and a process of new-dialect formation (Trudgill 1986) started in bothplaces. Considerable differences developed between the two new dialects, although they had virtually identical dialects before the industrialization began. Today, however, a levelling process is evident.

My project has got both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. For the synchronic study I have collected new data of spoken language from three generations of men and women, and I investigate the dialect situation and the patterns of variation in the two towns today (2013). By using older data (recordings and written descriptions of the dialects from 1959 to the 1980s) I investigate the dialect changes diachronically and seek to understand the linguistic lines of development from the establishment of the industry until today.

In this paper I will present some preliminary results from my study, by focussing on some lexical, phonological and morphological variables.

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# Partly undressed and halfway frozen? Stability and coherence in koines and regional standard varieties of Dutch

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From the point of view of Auer's (2005) typology of dialect/standard constellations, in the present-day Dutch dialect landscape types C (diaglossia, in which the base dialects and the standard co-exist with a range of intermediate varieties) and D (dialect loss) predominate, with most regions hovering between the prototypical type C and a fairly advanced type C or incipient type D.

In most socio-dialectological studies of Dutch and other European languages, the emphasis is on separate, individual dialect features, sometimes including intermediate variants and hyperdialectisms. Much less attention has been paid to language varieties as a whole, i.e. at the level of more or less coherent language systems.

The degree of  stability of diaglossic intermediate varieties (koines and regional standard varieties) has hardly been addressed, and neither has the degree of coherence of their constituent features.

The awareness of intermediate varieties in Dutch dates back to the first wave of socio-dialectological publications for the Dutch language area, such as Hagen (1982), which offers a prototypical example for the eastern Brabant region with the sentence "Hij heeft het aan Jan gegeven" ('He has given it to John') - in Hagen's transliteration:

(a) Hij hĕggut Janne gegèève  (deepest dialect)
(b) Hij hĕ ut oan Jan gegèève
(c) Hij hĕĕft ut āon Jan gegĕĕve
(d) Hij hééft ut aan Jan gegééve (standard)

Whereas the deepest dialect realisation differs from standard Dutch both in morphosyntax and phonology, in the intermediate variety (c) only the phonetic (accent) colouring is left. The intermediate variety (b) however still contains a deviant finite verb form, 'hĕ'.

In connection with the two intermediate realisations (b, c) the question now is whether, for instance, the non-standard finite verb occurs more frequently with 'oan Jan' than with 'Janne', 'aon Jan', or 'aan Jan', whether it occurs more frequently with 'gegèève' than with 'gegĕĕve' or 'gegééve', and so forth. These questions concern the nature and the patterns of the co-variation between the respective variants. Much remains to be explored in this field.

In our talk, we will present a first overview of recent studies on the use and perception of modern Dutch koines and regional standard varieties in several media (spoken and written, including computer-mediated communication). We will try to answer the questions (a) to which extent they can be considered as fixed systems (both from a linguist's and a layman's point of view), and (b) which relationships there seem to exist between the relevant phenomena and variants: are they statistical (correlation), structural (either co-occurrence or disjunction) and/or socio-stylistic?

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# Dual forms in Slovenian and bordering Croatian dialects

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In modern Indo-European languages, the dual is an archaism and one that has been preserved only in a small number of Slavonic languages: in Slovenian, Upper and Lower Sorbian, and Cassubian. This specific grammatical category as preserved to the present day in various Slovenian dialects, as well as in some areas in neighbouring countries in which Slovenian-speaking minorities reside (including a few areas of Croatia), calls for more focused, morphologically detailed fieldwork.

The Slovenian language has five neighbouring languages, with the only related one being Croatian. The current network for the Slovenian Linguistic Atlas (*Slovenski lingvistični atlas*, SLA) has been extended, over the last ten years, to include 417 local micro-dialects ('research points'), mainly in the neighbouring countries of Italy, Austria, Hungary and Croatia.

The dual is integral to Contemporary Standard Slovenian, is required by Slovenian grammar, and is used for all inflected word types (nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs). On the other hand, it is not an integral element of Contemporary Standard Croatian, which means that the questionnaire for the ongoing Croatian linguistic atlas includes no dual forms; the dialect material for morphology containing a dual number should therefore be collected for the Croatian Kajkavian local micro-dialects spoken close to the Slovenian border sooner rather than later.

This research aims to highlight use of the dual in Croatian Kajkavian local micro-dialects, and draw a comparison for this grammatical number between the Slovenian and Croatian sides of the border. The main goal is to find out how the political border between Slovenia and Croatia has influenced dialects in these border regions, and to record the dual forms existing in these dialects. Further investigations in this area will contribute to an awareness of the dual in some Kajkavian dialects.

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# Variation and Change Processes in a Peripheral Town – The Case of THOUGHT in Maryport English

## Sandra Jansen | University of Brighton

Research in language variation and change has tended to focus on urban settings: language, it is argued, is changing faster in cities than it is in rural areas. Remote areas of the British Isles have often been neglected in sociolinguistic research, albeit with some exceptions (for example Smith 2002, Tagliamonte 2012, Maguire 2014). As a result, Britain (2014) has called for more attention to rural areas in studies of language variation and change.

Maryport is a peripheral town on the West Cumbrian coast in the north of England. Due to its geographical position – it is very much off the beaten tourist track in Cumbria – Maryport English has retained a number of traditional features, though many are now in decline.

The THOUGHT vowel shows quite intriguing variation:

a) [aʊ] (the conservative diphthongal form)
b) [oː] (the phonetic contrast between THOUGHT and GOAT is lacking)

c) [ɔː] (distinction between GOAT and THOUGHT)

The results show that we are dealing with a complex, multi-layered system, in which some speakers are using the conservative form along with the phonetically merged form, whilst others have the unmerged form but still use the traditional form to some extent. While a) is highly indexical in the variety, people are not aware of the merged form.

In this talk, the following questions are being addressed: What is the distribution of the three variants across the sample? Do we observe a change and if so which trajectory does this change take? Which external and internal factors effect this change?

The data stems from sociolinguistic interviews which were conducted in Maryport in July/August 2014. Data from 38 sociolinguistic interviews were transcribed and analysed using an apparent-time approach. In a first step, all THOUGHT tokens were analysed auditively. In the second step the tokens that were realized as b) and c) were analysed acoustically in order to investigate the trajectory of this change. Mixed-effect models are used to identify factors that important in this change.

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# Flemish Dutch is *not* destandardizing: Evidence from ethnographic and discourse-analytic analysis

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Various authors have in recent years proposed that Flanders, the Dutch-speaking north of Belgium, is experiencing a process of destandardization (see e.g. van der Horst 2008, Willemyns 2013), in line with suggestions that linguistic standardization as one of the cornerstones of what is regularly called 'modernity' is in consistent decline across Europe (cf. Coupland & Kristiansen 2011). The main reason for this is the soaring popularity of the nonstandard, mixed speech style that has come to be dubbed *tussentaal* ('in between language') on account of its combination of dialect and Standard Dutch features. Although stigmatized by a linguistically trained elite, *tussentaal* has become so popularly spoken today that most Flemish linguists are convinced that the standard variety of Belgian Dutch is losing the race – illustrating Mufwene's (2004) argument that low prestige can coincide with high vitality.

To be sure, experimental attitude research has powerfully argued that "Belgian Dutch is currently a standardless variety" (Grondelaers et al. 2011:200): Standard Dutch is actually only used by news anchors, and since no other variety is consistently identified as "best" or most "beautiful" by subjects invited to judge the regionally colored but formal spoken Dutch of teachers, no stand-in appears available for replacing the virtual norm (Grondelaers et al.: 217–218). More recent experiments report that lexical tussentaal features are positively judged as dynamic, leading to hypotheses that "by using typically Flemish lexemes, speakers project a trendy, assertive image" (Grondelaers & Speelman 2013:184), and that these values are the driving force behind the emergent standardization of tussentaal.

But while there are undeniable signs that (public) language use in Flanders is differently conditioned from before, and while the standardization of tussentaal is in principle possible, claims that Flanders is awaiting destandardization are, at least at this stage, in interesting counterpoint to a range of discourse-analytic (e.g., Delarue & De Caluwe 2014; Jaspers & Van Hoof 2013) and ethnographic-interactional findings (Jaspers 2011a, 2011b, Jaspers & Van Hoof forthc., Van Hoof 2013). These studies insist that linguistic standardization is reinvigorated through more popular discursive tropes (e.g., equal opportunities), and demonstrate how standardization serves as the continuous backdrop for routine as well as more spectacular interactional activity – not unlike other national contexts.

The question then is how we can explain these contradictory findings or how we can make them speak to each other. Rather than arguing that these authors are reading the same thing differently, I will argue they are reading different things, and suggest we need to observe the inherently conflictual nature of language-ideological processes. I will argue in addition that after intense standardization efforts in Flanders, and in 'liquid times' (cf. Bauman 2006), many Flemings may be linguistically investing in "the maintenance rather than the resolution of ambiguity and indeterminacy" (Jaffe 2009:18), although this investment ultimately appears to build on conceptions of linguistic purity.

# Extending in time and space: General extenders in Danish

**Torben Juel Jensen | University of Copenhagen**
**Tanya Karoli Christensen | University of Copenhagen**

General extenders (GEs), such as Eng. *and stuff like that, or something,* are generally described as a feature of youth speech (e.g. Dubois 1992, Stubbe & Holmes 1995, Cheshire 2007, Tagliamonte & Denis 2010, Pichler & Levey 2011). Most studies build on apparent time-data, though, and thus cannot distinguish unequivocally between age grading and communal change, and none have data to study geographical diffusion over time. In this paper, we present the results of a large-scale study of GEs in Danish, based on data from the LANCHART corpus, encompassing speech from three age cohorts, of which two have been recorded twice (in the 1980s and again in the 2000s), and from four localities in Denmark, including the capital, Copenhagen.

All GEs occurring in the data have been coded for a number of linguistic and contextual variables based on findings of previous studies, e.g. category and number of the referents in the extended phrase (to test for (lack of) agreement between GE type and referent type), and co-speakers' treatment of the utterance with respect to conversational turn taking (to test for function as a turn-completor). This coding allows us to follow grammaticalisation processes of the different GE types based on distributional and mixed models analyses.

A marked difference between Danish and English is the fact that very few variants in Danish are headed by a generic noun, such as Eng. *thing* or *stuff* (cf. Hansen & Heltoft 2011 who argue that Danish NPs are headed by the determiner, not the noun) as witnessed by the fact that the most widespread GE type we find is *og sådan noget* 'and such some(thing)'. This highly abstract way of referring to previously mentioned list members suggests a high degree of grammaticalisation of Danish GEs, which is corroborated by analyses of agreement tendencies over time.

Regarding the social factors, our data support the general finding that GEs are more frequent in youth speech. Adolescents have the highest relative frequency of GEs, and speakers tend to decrease their GE use during their life span, whilst participating in community changes regarding the use of the different GE types. An interesting aspect of the results, which may be connected to this, is that real time change with respect to the use of the different GE variants cannot be predicted from apparent time results: in Copenhagen, variants with *sådan (noget)* are losing ground over time while being preferred both in the 1980s and the 2000s by the youngest speakers.

In our paper, we will detail the real time changes in the use of Danish GEs in Danish, and evaluate them with respect to prevailing assumptions about the relationship between lifespan and community-wide change (Sankoff 2005, Sankoff 2006, Sankoff 2013) as well as to hypotheses regarding the diffusion of language change (Maegaard, Jensen, Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2013).

# To be or not to be a productive word-formation suffix:
# Verbs of type –na + st in Icelandic

## Margrét Jónsdóttir | University of Iceland

Icelandic has a number of anticausative/inchoative verbs suffixed with –*na,* verbs like *batna, hitna,* and *stirðna,* with the meaning 'become better/warm(er)/stiff(er); from the synchronic point of view all related to adjectives. It has been a general opinion that –*na*–verbs can't be suffixed with –*st.* That opinion is mainly based on the assumption that –*na* is a productive suffix forming an agentless verb, cf. Wood (2012); see also Sigurðsson (1989) who names *sofnast* as an exception to that the –*na*-formation and -*st*-formation do not combine. I will conclude it is wrong. My assumption is that –*na* is not a suffix any longer; instead it is a part of the word itself. Many examples of these *st*–cliticized *na*–verbs are found in Icelandic, to name examples verbs like *batnast, hitnast*, and *stirðnast*, verbs with –*na* + *st*, both groups with the same meaning. They can be found in written sources from different times, in the oldest sources of the language, as well as in very young sources of a different nature. In that case, it is worth mentioning that new rather informal verbs like *urlast* 'become mad', *ölvast* 'become drunk', are always suffixed with –*st.* Another verb that should be mentioned is the verb *lasnast* 'become sick'. In dictionaries, the verb *lasna* (same meaning) is registered but never used any longer. More examples of the same type can be found. It should be emphasized that only in a couple of instances is there a semantic difference between *na*–verbs with or without –*st.* Both constructions are used in an anticausative meaning.

The subject of these suffixed *na*–verbs is nearly always in the nominative, i.e. *brotnast, gulnast* 'become yellow', *hitnast,* and normally *batnast*. The corresponding *na*-verbs, *brotna* and *gulna* are also with a nominative subject. On the other hand, *batna* and *hitna*, are either with a dative subject or a nominative subject depending on the nature of the subject. This sheds an interesting light on the relationship between subject case, object case and thematic roles on the one hand and verbal forms on the other.

For the sake of comparison, the behaviour of two verbal groups will be dealt with. On the one hand, there are –*k(k)a/*–*ga*-verbs suffixed with –*st* with an anticausative/ergative meaning, i.e. *fjölgast* 'increase' and *stækkast* 'become bigg(er)'. Verbs belonging to this group are numerous. Their formation, rather unexpected to some scholars, is comparable to the –*na* + *st* verbs. On the other hand, there is a very small group of verbs, i.e. *batast, hitast, meyrast* 'become tender'; these verbs, with the same root as the *na*–verbs, are used in an anticausative/ergative meaning and have a causative counterpart as well.

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# Pre-school children's varietal competence in Austrian German: Developing one's L1 repertoire

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When researching L1 acquisition, linguistics has mostly been engaged in studying phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic competence and its development. Only recently we have started to look at another important aspect making us competent users of our L1: the ability to use different varieties of our first language (e.g., dialect and the standard language) in an adequate and efficient way.

The Bavarian-speaking part of Austria is often cited as a prime example of the so-called dialect-standard continuum. People living in this area can use a range of speech forms between the extremes of (Austrian) Standard German and the respective base dialect (cf. Wiesinger 1992; Ammon 2003; Ender/Kaiser 2009; Kaiser/Ender 2013). According to recent findings (Ender/Kaiser 2009), it is mainly the (in)formality of the situation and the (language variety of the) interlocutor which affect the choice of speech forms from the individual repertoire in each communicative situation. In terms of the varieties' status, the standard language paves the way to education and participation in society but dialects – and the intermediate varieties between standard and dialect, called "Umgangssprache" – still perform important sociosymbolic and identity-forming functions in Austria as well as in many other countries.

However, little is known about the acquisition of varietal competence in preschool children in Austria: How and when do children broaden their range of speech forms between dialect and the standard language after having acquired the basics of their first variety at home? How successful are they at acquiring new speech forms, be it the standard language or the dialect and what are the most decisive factors shaping acquisition and competence?

In the present paper, we will aim to give first answers to these questions. The study participants are children in kindergarten between four and six years of age. Different data sources are integrated: Background questionnaires filled in by the parents and kindergarten teachers give us information on the language(s)/varieties spoken at home and at kindergarten. Actual language data from children come from a range of guided and free language-related tasks, e.g. playing a game with different partners who speak different varieties of German or 'translating' sentences into dialect or standard German for a puppet that "does not understand". We will analyse and discuss the results and also the methodological challenges in working with small children in linguistic research.

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# Variable within variable: simultaneous stability and change.

**Marko Kapović | University of Zadar**

The weakening of syllable-final *s* is undoubtedly one of the most studied variables in Spanish linguistics, and according to Ferguson (1996: 204), it is among the most treated phenomena from a variationist point of view in general. Ciudad Real, capital of the homonymous province in the autonomous community of Castilla-La Mancha, is located midway between the openly innovative southern varieties and completely conservative northern ones. The results of our study have revealed that the conservative influences of the northern varieties and the standard, and the innovative ones of the southern dialects seem to cancel each other out, since, on a general level, after the examination of both apparent and real time evidence, the variable in question has shown signs of complete stability in Ciudad Real.

The most important linguistic factor that conditions syllable-final *s* weakening is the surrounding phonetic context; as is usual in all varieties affected by this phenomenon, preconsonantal contexts have been found to favor weakening, in difference to the prevocalic and prepausal ones. The central interest of this paper is the behavior of the sequence $/s/ + /t/$, by far the most conservative of all preconsonantal contexts. Although, as has already been stated, syllable-final *s* is on a general level completely stable in Ciudad Real, in this specific context, both apparent and real time data show a clear pattern of a change from above towards a normative realization of the sibilant. In this article, we will try to explain how it is possible for a stable variable to contain within itself another sub-variable which in turn shows signs of a change in progress.

The data used in this paper come from our sociolinguistic study of the variety in question. In this investigation, quota sampling with the same number of informants in each of the cells was employed. In accordance with this procedure, the population of Ciudad Real was divided into three age groups (18-35, 35-55 y 56>), three groups according to the educational level of the informant (primary, secondary and tertiary education), and two groups according to the variable sex/gender. In this way 18 subgroups were obtained (for instance, young males with primary studies, elderly women with high-school education, middle-aged women with university degrees etc.), with each of them containing three informants.[1] Consequently, the total number of informants was 54, which constitutes a 0,072% of the Ciudad Real population (of about 75000 inhabitants). This percentage is almost three times as high as the minimum (0,025%) recommended in sociolinguistic literature (Labov 1966:170—1),[2] and can be considered representative of the community in question.

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[1] The number of three informants per cell seems to be ideal for assuring representativeness without exceedingly increasing the quantity of data to be processed.

[2] In total, according to the census of 2011, our study includes one in 1389 speakers. If we were to exclude minors and people living in Ciudad Real who were not born there, this ratio would be even better.

# Lexical Borrowings in Greek: Domain-dependent Variation in Vowel Realization

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In this study will be examined the adaptation of Turkish loanwords in Greek and specifically the repair of non-native vowels and the variation observed in their realization. The Turkish loanwords were incorporated in the native vocabulary due to a long-lasting language contact (15th – 19th century A.D.) and they are still in use, particularly in the Greek dialects. In many cases, these loanwords were repaired, in order to match the Greek phonological and morphological system.

The Greek phonological system includes the 5 primary vowels /i, e, u, o, a/, whereas the Turkish one has 8 vowels: /i-ü, e-ö, ɯ -u, o, a/ (Zimmer & Orgun, 1999:155). Three of the Turkish vowels, namely /ü /, /ö/, /ɯ /, are not present in the native Greek, therefore they have to be repaired in order to match the Greek phonological system, see data (1-4) drawn from Ksanthinakis (2000).

|  |  | Turkish | Greek | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) [ü] → [u] |  | [müšteri] | [muste''ri-s] | client/buyer (Masc. Nom. Sg) |
| 2) [ö] → [o] |  | [dört] | [''dort-i] f | our (Neu. Nom. Sg.) |
| 3) [ɯ]→ [u] |  | [vakɯf] | [va''kuf-i] | estate offered to a monastery |
| 4) [ɯ]→ [i] | a) [kadɯ] | [ka''ti-s] *[ka''tu-s] | Muslim judge (Masc. Nom. Sg.) |
|  | b) [japɯ] | [ja''pi] *[ja''pu] | skeleton building (Neu. Nom. Sg.) |

Research Questions: (i) Which factors influence the repair of Turkish vowels and (ii) which constraints determine the attested variation in (3) vs. (4 a, b)?
Discussion:

(i) The Greek data support the view that phonological factors and not the perceptual ones influence the loanword adaptation (e.g. LaCharité & Paradis, 2005, a.o.). If the perceptual factorswould play a role, then the Turkish vowels [ü], [ö] should be realized as [-back, -round], i.e. as [i], [e] respectively, which are acoustically the closest sounds, but this is not the case. The Turkish vowels are minimally repaired (Preservation Principle, Paradis & LaCharité, 1997) by the language-specific constraint [α back, α round] -for acceptable feature combination for Greek vowels- which prohibits the realisation of Turkish front, round vowels (1-3).

(ii) We claim that the variation attested in the phonological realization of source vowels in (3) vs. (4a/b) is domain-dependent and it is driven by different, domain-specific, constraints namely:

(a) word initially or internally is driven by the phonological constraints of Greek (1-3),

(b) word-finally is driven by the morphological constraints for gender assignment, which override the phonological ones, i.e. [ɯ] has to be realized as [i] due to the morphological requirement for the inflectional ending [-(i)s] in Masc. (4a) and [-i] in Neu. (4b).

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# Minority languages in Europe
# Convergence and divergence in Francoprovençal: new speaker networks as sources of linguistic innovation in obsolescent dialect communities

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Variationist studies that employ a social network methodology have demonstrated that close-knit ties support highly localised norms and intercommunity distinctiveness in a unilingual context, whereas 'weak ties' lead speakers to be more readily susceptible to processes of levelling and linguistic change (Milroy and Milroy 1985). Further, it has been shown that, in a bilingual community, similar methodological principles can be applied that might account for language obsolescence, where loose-knit ties would likely bring about language shift (Wei 1994). However, Milroy maintains that, while of considerable theoretical interest, in this under-studied context it is much less clear how the parameters of social networks can be adequately operationalized to account for socially and geographically mobile speakers, whose ties are considered 'weak' (2004: 562). Moreover, few studies have attempted to apply this model to account for variation in minority variety speech communities, where conflict and linguistic divergence arises between native speakers and so-called 'new speakers' (*e.g.* O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013).

Francoprovençal is an endangered language spoken in France, Switzerland and Italy by < 1% of the total regional population. Through an analysis of data collected in 2012, this paper will examine the current sociolinguistic situation of Francoprovençal spoken around Lyons (France) and Valais (Switzerland). While Francoprovençal has long been losing ground to the dominant language, it is also nevertheless experiencing revitalization, due, in part, to an emergent community of new speakers, who are springing up out of renewed efforts to reverse language shift (*e.g.* Bert *et al.* 2009).

Emerging largely where traditional linguistic practices are in a state of flux, new speakers are often found to acquire the minority variety as an intellectual exercise, rather than by intergenerational mother-tongue transmission. The variants employed by new speakers can be significantly removed from the norms associated with traditional native speakers. New speakers often tend to be concentrated in areas that may be very different in socio-economic terms from the traditional rural communities. Owing to underlying sociolinguistic differences, these groups can sometimes perceive themselves as being both socially and linguistically incompatible (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013).

In the context of Francoprovençal, new speaker networks are characterized by weak network ties, for they are few in number, geographically dispersed over a large area, and maintain contact – through the use of a neo-variety which they term *Arpitan* – via the Internet, and come together only occasionally for the purpose of language activism. Further, these new speakers form and maintain bridges between a number of close-knit, multiplex traditional speaker networks, where, the data will show, new vernacular forms might be emerging in competition with traditional variants. Therefore, these new speakers fit the parameters of 'linguistic innovators', who, it has been argued, might 'figure prominently in a socially accountable theory of linguistic diffusion and change' (Milroy 2004: 563). This paper will, therefore, demonstrate how weak ties between differing speaker-types, within the same obsolescing dialect communities, can both prevent language shift and bring about linguistic change.

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# The shapes of the vertical variation spaces in Germany

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The investigation of language dynamic processes on the vertical dimension between the old local dialects and the much younger German standard language is currently being carried out in several projects in Germany. One of these is the *regionalsprache.de* (abbrev.: REDE) project funded by the Academy of Science and Literature from 2008 to 2026. For this project speakers from 150 locations were recorded in five standardized communicative situations, each requiring a specific style in order to meet the communicative demands. The speakers represent three generations: the oldest generation might be considered NORMs (in Trudgill's sense), the second, a middle generation is made up of 45 to 55–year–old speakers and, finally, the youngest generation of speakers are about 20 years of age. The different communicative contexts include on one hand translation tasks and on the other hand free conversation. For the translation tasks the speakers are asked to render 40 sentences presented in standard German into the deepest local dialect known by the speaker (investigation of individual dialect competence) as well as translate the same 40 sentences from the local dialect back into their best standard German. Additionally, a read–aloud text, "The North Wind and the Sun" (investigation of the individual competence of standard German) is recorded. For the free conversation component the speakers were observed in informal communication with friends and in an interview with an interviewer of higher social rank (a formal situation). On this empirical basis the structures of the vertical variation spaces of Germany are studied applying the methods of phonetic distance measurement, analysis of variables and listener judgements of the dialectality of speech samples.

The studies which have already been conducted show some clear results:

– The structures of the vertical spectra differ according to the dialect area under investigation.

– These different shapes can be explained by a number of linguistic factors affecting the language dynamic processes on the vertical dimension.

– In addition, reciprocal effects between linguistic and extralinguistic factors can be observed resulting in a high amount of stability of the intermediate regiolect varieties.

# The language of last speakers of Slovenian in *Lipalja vas* (Laglesie-San Leopoldo, Valcanale, Italy)

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*Lipalja vas* (It. Laglesie-San Leopoldo) is the smallest of the three villages in the linguistically mixed area of the Canale Valley, which were, from their appearance in the 12th and 13th centuries, and until the end of the 19th century, ethnically almost exclusively Slovenian. The structural relationship between the Slovenian, German and Romance populations of these places began to change only after World War I, when a territory that was formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was annexed to Italy. The former Slovenian-German bilingualism began to be overtaken by Slovenian-Italian bilingualism (alongside a potential Slovenian-German-Italian-Friulian quadrilingualism). In parallel with the reduction of the population of *Lipalja vas* (the number of inhabitants fell from approx. 400 in the mid-19th century to below 200), at the turn of the millennium we can see the gradual but progressive loss of Slovenian speakers – in the 1980s there were around 45 speakers, in the 1990s around 25 speakers, and in 2005, during systematic linguistic research conducted at the 'Canale Valley 2005' research camp there were only five members of the indigenous Slovenian minority.

Two locals (Leopold Willenpart (1923–2012) and his sister Marija (1920–) were prepared to take part in this linguistic research. Face-to-face conversations were held mostly in the form of a sociolinguistic interview. Linguistic analysis, created on the basis of a phonetic transcription of approx. ten hours of recorded material, supported the brief remarks made by previous researchers: that the local micro-dialect of *Lipalja vas*, at least at the lower linguistic levels (in phonetics, morphology and lexica) differed systematically from the other micro-dialects that formed part of the Slovenian Gailtal/Zilja dialect in the Canale Valley. Some phonological specifics connect this westernmost Gailtal/Zilja micro-dialect with the Gailtal/Zilja micro-dialects in Austrian Carinthia.

In this paper, the micro-dialect of both informants has been analysed from the standpoint of language/dialect loss, with particular attention placed on two phenomena: (a) the frequency and typology of code-switching (from dialect to the regional Standard variety of Slovenian, into Italian and, more rarely, into German; (b) the variability of the phonetic, morphological and lexical elements in the idiolects of both speakers, pointing to the phasing-out of phonological oppositions and of certain grammatical categories, and the replacement of vocabulary. Since the language shift in this area took place quickly, the early phase of the obsolescence processes could be observed. The results are compared with previous data on *Lipalja vas*, lexical material from the ASLEF (1–6,1972–1986) and the 'Lexical inventory of the Slovenian folk language of Carinthia' project (LISVK 1980), as well as with the findings regarding the linguistic situation in the neighbouring local micro-dialects.

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# Boundaries and intersections: Class, ethnicity and identity in a multiethnic school

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In this paper I explore how adolescents use language in order to construct boundaries between different communities of practice. In particular, I focus on how these boundaries are influenced by a complex intersection between ethnicity, social class and social practice. Previous research has noted some of the difficulties of developing a systematic method for identifying intersections (Levon 2011), but in this paper I propose that the community of practice (CofP) is ideally suited for such a goal, because it is claimed to represent a site at which individuals experience macro-level social categories through everyday social practices (Eckert 2006; Mendoza-Denton 2008).

I report on a sociophonetic ethnography carried out over a period of fifteen months at a multiethnic school in Sheffield, a city in the north of England (Kirkham 2013). The phonetic analysis focuses on on the realisation of the HAPPY vowel, which is reported to be a lax variant [ɛ̈] amongst working-class speakers in Sheffield English, but is undergoing change towards a tense variant [i] amongst middle-class speakers (Beal 2004). I analyse the acoustic realisation of the HAPPY vowel across four female communities of practice in the school and find that the variable's community-wide associations of social class are projected onto the category of school orientation, which I suggest is a more local reinterpretation of class relations in this context. In turn, this represents an instance of *fractal recursivity* (Irvine & Gal 2000), in which oppositions at one level (e.g. socioeconomic class) recur at other levels of social structure (e.g. ethnographic categories).

Further discourse analysis of HAPPY variation in concrete international moments supports some of the meanings identified by the quantitative analysis. However, there are also subtle degrees of indexical reanalysis, which interact with different CofP styles and contextual priming in discourse. I suggest that these differences in meaning are influenced by how ethnicity, social class and social practice intersect in producing unique configurations of social organisation. The results are discussed in terms of the construction of ideological boundaries between communities of practice and how this impacts upon the negotiation of sociolinguistic meaning.

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# An ultrasound study of language contact in Bradford English liquids

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Increasing attention is being paid to the development of contact varieties in the UK. This talk will consider articulatory variation in liquids in 'British Asian English', a contact variety spoken by British-born speakers with Indic heritage language background. Liquids are often reported to be a distinctive characteristic of British Asian English, with British Asian speakers typically producing clearer /l/s than Anglo speakers from the same geographical region (Heselwood & McChrystal 2000; Sharma 2011; Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). Research on /r/ is less conclusive, despite considerable auditory differences that suggest devoicing and potential retroflexion for British Asians. In order to better understand the articulatory basis of this variation, we report an ultrasound study of /l/ and /r/ in Anglo and Asian speakers of Bradford English. In particular, we examine the articulatory correlates of /l/ and /r/ variation, and also examine the extent to which speakers maintain the /l/-/r/ phoneme contrast through lingual timing (Sproat & Fujimura 1993).

Ultrasound tongue imaging data were collected from five Bradford Asian and three Bradford Anglo speakers (all female; aged 21–36). 576 tokens of /l/ and /r/ across six positional contexts were elicited from each speaker under experimental conditions. We report two analyses of the ultrasound data: (1) tongue contours at liquid midpoints; (2) timing of the tongue tip and tongue dorsum gestures. In doing so, we test the hypothesis that differences between Asian and Anglo speakers in /l/ and /r/ are evidenced in lingual shape, and also investigate the extent to which lingual shape and timing are involved in maintaining phonemic contrast between /l/ and /r/.

The results partly confirm previous acoustic studies, with Asian speakers showing some expected articulatory correlates of 'clearer' /l/s, such as a more advanced tongue dorsum and a stronger tongue tip gesture. However, the results for /r/ are more complex. Most Asian speakers tend to realise /r/ with a smaller constriction degree, with most Anglo speakers producing a more pharyngealised /r/. There is also within-group variation amongst the Anglo speakers. We additionally find that /l/-/r/ contrasts vary depending upon the degree of tongue body retraction in /l/. We discuss this variation in terms of the acquisition of a contact variety of English, rather than as a straightforward effect of within-speaker bilingualism or heritage language proficiency. This perspective could potentially account for the cross-regional consistencies in British Asian liquid production observed in other research.

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# Double Definiteness and Danish Influence in Faroese

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Faroese is the first language of the 50,000 inhabitants of the Faroe Islands. Danish is acquired as a second language in the islands at a very young age, and research has shown convergence between the two typologically and structurally similar languages in particular after World War II, as native Danish models have become more readily available. Danish influence is most markedly present in the lexicon, but there are also contact-induced changes in Faroese morphology and syntax (for an overview, see Petersen 2010).

This paper charts the effects of Danish-Faroese bilingualism on the expression of definiteness in the Faroese NP. Definiteness can be expressed morphologically in three places: a preposed determiner or demonstrative, a definite article suffix on the noun, and weak inflection on the adjective, if present. Abandoning Lundeby's (1965) five-part categorisation for the sake of simplicity in this overview, there are four logical possibilities for expressing definiteness in Adj-N phrases (1), and two in demonstrative phrases (2):

(1) a. *tann svart-i hestur-in*  the black-WEAK horse-DEF
    b. *tann svart-i hestur*  (Faroese)
    c. *svart-i hestur-in*
    d. *svart-i hestur*
(2) a. *hesin (svart-i) hestur-in*  this (black-WEAK) horse-DEF
    b. *hesin (svart-i) hestur*

All possibilities in (1) and (2) are grammatical in Faroese, although there is a preference for so-called 'double definiteness' (1a, 2a) as the unmarked form (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 96, 125). In Danish, by contrast, double definiteness is as good as unknown and only the forms in (1b, 2b) are possible (Lundeby 1965: 179). A convergence hypothesis predicts an increase in frequency of these latter forms at the expense of double definiteness.

In this paper, I give a quantitative variationist analysis of definiteness patterns in three Faroese corpora: the newspapers *Føringatíðindi* (1890s, written) and *Sosialurin* (2000s, written; http://corp.hum.sdu.dk/cqp.fo.html) and the Nordic Dialect Corpus (2000s, spoken; Johannessen 2009).

The data shows relative stability over time and genre in both frequency and constraints, with the only major change being the introduction of complex demonstratives *hesin her* 'this' and *hasin har* 'that' (pace Delsing 1993), arguably from Danish. I suggest reasons why this particular morphological feature has remained stable in the face of Danish influence.

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# Variations in Rhythmical Structure of Phonological Word as a Function of Timing in Modern Standard Russian

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One of the most distinctive typological characteristics of Modern Standard Russian (MSR) is the rhythmical structure of the phonological word. Its significant difference from almost all other languages is primarily associated with the so-called 'prosodic nucleus' which consists of the stressed syllable and the first pretonic syllable. The vowels in these two syllables are distinctly contrasted with the rest principally in terms of length and spectrum.

However, some regional variants (RVs) of MSR are characterized by the absence of the 'prosodic nucleus', i.e. the vowel in the first pretonic syllable is less prominent. It can be assumed that such difference between the RVs mentioned above and the so-called Moscow RV depends on the position of the pitch accent in a word. This paper reports the results of experimental study of the pitch accent's timing in six variants of Modern Standard Russian, namely Moscow, Sochi, Kaliningrad, Chelyabinsk, Stavropol and Nefteyugansk. At the preliminary stage of the study the rhythmical structure of the word in the selected RVs was analyzed in order to make sure that all of these RVs differ from the Moscow variant in the rhythmical structure.

The text, formulated as experimental material, comprised of 22 words with the rising-falling accent and the following parameters were used for measurement in each word:

1) the starting point of the beginning of the pitch rise in regard to the boundary between the stressed vowel and the consonant preceding it;

2) the point of the pitch maximum in regard to the boundary between the stressed vowel and the consonant following it;

3) the starting point of the pitch fall (if it does not coincide with the pitch maximum and there is a tonal plateau) in regard to the boundary between the consonant following the stressed vowel and the next segment.

| Region | 1 (ms) | 2 (ms) | 3 (ms) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Moscow | -38,6 | -25,2 | -51,2 |
| Sochi | -19,2 | +22,3 | -5,8 |
| Kaliningrad | +40,0 | +36,4 | +11,5 |
| Chelybinsk | -13,1 | -7,4 | -29,4 |
| Stavropol | -9,4 | +40,2 | -13,4 |
| Nefteyugansk | -5,0 | +26,8 | -22,2 |

Table 1. The timing of the rising-falling pitch accent in regional variants of Modern Standard Russian

Aggregate data are shown in Table 1.

This data permits the formulation of some preliminary conclusions about the Moscow variant: it's position of the pitch accent in a word is far to the left of the stressed vowel when compared with all other studied RV. The findings on the timing have clear correlation with the data on the rhythmical structure of phonological word. The greater pitch accent shift to the right (to the stressed syllable and the syllable following it) in non-Moscow variants can be associated with the shorter length and the lesser prominence of the vowel in the first pretonic syllable (due to the absence of the 'prosodic nucleus') when compared with the Moscow variant.

# There's an app for that: documenting language change with smartphone applications

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Crowdsourcing linguistic phenomena with smartphone applications is relatively new. Apps have been used to create pronunciation dictionaries (Schlippe et al. 2014), to train acoustic models for automatic speech recognition (de Vries et al. 2014), and to archive endangered languages (Iwaidja Inyaman Team 2012). Leemann and Kolly (2013) developed a smartphone app – Dialäkt Äpp (DÄ) – to document language change in Swiss German. DÄ was the most downloaded free app in Switzerland for a week after its launch in March 2013 (>70k downloads). In this contribution, we present results of linguistic analyses of DÄ data. We also want to call attention to caveats of the applied method.

DÄ's main function is the prediction of users' dialects. For 16 variables, users select their dialectal variant from a drop down menu. For the concept 'Apfelüberrest' (apple core), for example, users pick their variant from 39 variants. DÄ then tells users which dialect they speak. Underlying this prediction are 16 maps from the Linguistic Atlas of German-speaking Switzerland (SDS, 1962–2003), which documents the linguistic situation around 1950 in 566 Swiss localities. In case of a wrong prediction, users indicate their actual dialect. With this information, the 16 variables can be assessed for language change (historical SDS data vs. contemporary DÄ data).

Results revealed relative robustness of phonetic variables, while lexical and morphological variables seem more prone to change. This is in line with previous research attesting stability of show only 53% agreement with the SDS. Phonetic variables like to lift (/lupfə, lʏpfə, lipfə/) revealed SDS agreement scores of nearly 85%. Not all phonetic variables are equally robust, however. Ladle (/xælə, xællə, xæuə, xæɫə, xæɫɫə/) exhibited significant change, with agreement scores of only 58%.

This contribution presents an innovative approach of documenting language change. However, methodological caveats include the sparse knowledge of users' linguistic backgrounds (users only indicated age, sex) and users' self-declaration of their dialect. The findings remain intriguing, nevertheless: traditional dialectological methods revealed similar trends in the change of ladle (Leemann et al. 2014), results that are congruent with the findings presented here. This speaks for the validity of the crowdsourcing method. We are presently extending DÄ architecture to American and British English, German, and Japanese.

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# A comprehensive analysis of phonemic variation and sound change

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A growing body of work on phonological change suggests the possibility of near mergers [Labov 1994, Yu 2007]. Near merger may appear as an array of competing realizations of a given phoneme in one position. At the same time, incomplete mergers may appear as a result of mismatch between the perception and production during a sound change [Harrington 2013]. The main purpose of this paper is to shed light on the conversion from the vowel system with variation to a system without phonetic variability. The object of the study is the merger of stressed /ʊ/ and /o/ in one of the Russian dialects (North-East of European Russia) that revealed a dramatic split between age groups with respect to variation patterns. The investigation showed how this process reflects on the different levels of speech.

| Type of idiolects | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| */ʊ/ | [kʊt] "cat " [bʊlʲʃe] & [bolʲʃe] "more" | [kot], [bʊlʲʃe] & [bolʲʃe] | [kot], [bolʲʃe] (occasionally [bʊlʲʃe] ) | [kot] & [bolʲʃe] |
| */o/ | [got] "year" [bolʲ] "pain" | [got], [bolʲ] & [bʊlʲ] | [got] & [bolʲ] | [got] & [bolʲ] |

**Perceptual level**. The perceptual experiment showed a misalignment between production and perception in the 1st type of idiolects. Variation in production of [ʊ] and [o] in one morpheme coexists with the ability to mark the acoustic differences between these vowels in minimal pairs. Members of the other types don't perceive this difference. The experiment showed that perceptual ability is firstly lost in trigger environment ([o] is replaced by [ʊ] in a context of labial and lateral consonants).

**Phonetics level.** Analyses of every morpheme with variation (42 morphemes, 456 realizations) revealed that speakers' choices depend on several conditions. In 1st and 2nd types the choice of [o] or [ʊ] may be probabilistically predicted on the basis of the following factors: phrasal position, speech style, consonantal context, vowel duration. In contrast to this, in the 3rd type of idiolect vowel quality correlates with phrasal position. The impact of other factors is gradually diminished as speakers gradually generalize one pronunciation variant.

**Acoustical level**. Acoustical analyses showed that vowel space in the innovative systems (3rd and 4th types) is gradually shrunk in correlation with loss of phonological distinction. Moreover the areas of [o] and [ʊ] are shrunk in correlation with reduction of the relative magnitude of factors conditioning variation.

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# Variation in perfective expression in Modern Greek: Another look at the Greek Present Perfect

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The existence of an extensive body of literature on the Present Perfect (PP), both Greek-specific (cf. Agouraki 2004, Moser 2003, Iatridou et al. 2001, Hedin 1987) and cross-linguistic studies (cf. Portner 2003, Bybee et al. 1994, Klein 1992, Comrie 1976) attests to the complexity of describing the uses, meanings and functions of the PP. Cross-linguistically, the PP has been described as performing a variety of functions, including: (i) *result*, (ii) *continuity*, (iii) *current relevance,* (iv) *experience,* and (v) *hot news.* Similar analyses based on the same assumption are available for Modern Greek. According to Moser (2003), the Modern Greek PP lacks the uses of (ii) and (v), and is interchangeable with the Greek Preterit in virtually every context except in the presence of certain definite past time adverbials.

The present study adds to the growing body of research on the linguistic variation of the Present Perfect (PP) and Preterit (PRET) in Standard Modern Greek and adopts the stance that a multivariate analysis is needed to track the distributions of the PP and the PRET in Standard Modern Greek and to determine what linguistic variables contribute to variation of the two forms. The research questions posed for this study are:

1. What is the frequency of selection of the present perfect for Greek native speakers?
2. What are the constraints that determine the distribution of the PP in contrast to the Preterit?

To achieve this goal, data on native use of the PP and PRET forms is collected based both on a written preference task (written questionnaire) and casual conversations (10 hours). The instrument is coded for several linguistic factors such as lexical aspect (stative, activity, telic events), presence of temporal adverbs (adverbs of frequency, definite past, hodiernal, etc.), clause type (interrogative, matrix, relative, etc.), negation, and temporal reference, which have been found to influence native speaker selection of these forms cross-linguistically (Howe & Schwenter 2008; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos, 2008).

Our preliminary results indicate that the PRET prevails over the PP. Moreover, polarity and interrogative sentences are significant factors in the prediction of both forms. Similarly, the lexical aspect of the verb has a significant effect. Finally, this type of multivariate analysis provides a clear overall picture of general trends in the use of PP and PRET in Standard Modern Greek, allowing for an accurate definition of the variable context.

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# What comes first, what comes next? A Corpus Analysis of Verb Cluster Serialization in Early New High German

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Verb clusters in Germanic languages like German or Dutch are subject to a high degree of synchronic and diachronic variation and hence much discussed in the linguistic literature (e.g., de Sutter 2009, Sapp 2011). This paper contributes to the debate by applying corpus linguistic methods to historical texts and giving a usage-based account to verb cluster variation. The paper focuses on two- and three-verb clusters in subordinate clauses in two corpora of Early New High German legal texts (approx. 11,000 sentences). The corpora contain texts from two dialectal regions, Upper German (Amberg) and Middle German (Leipzig). Both corpora show considerable variation regarding the serialization of the verbs involved, as illustrated in examples (1) and (2).

. (1) *Czu wissen, als Hans Herrer sich beclagt, das er in seiner zukunfft alher gein Leiptzk het₁ mußen₂ gehen₃*

  '[It is] to be recognized that Hans Herrer complained that he has to go to Leipzig (lit. verb cluster: 'has₁ must₂ go₃')

. (2) *... von solicher untat wegen, das das frewelein von dem Kromerawer geslagen₃ ist₁ worden₂*

  'because of such misdeed that the miss was beaten by Kromerauer' (lit. verb Cluster: 'beaten₃ has₁ been₂')

The corpus analysis reveals dialectal differences between Upper and Middle Early New High German, e.g. when it comes to the positioning of the finite verb ($V_1$) in three-verb clusters. The Middle German corpus contains a high percentage of verb clusters with initial finite verbs, whereas the Upper German corpus is dominated by clusters with final finite verbs. Hence, the latter one behaves more similar to contemporary Standard German. Intra-dialectal variation is attested as well: e.g. verb serialization is dependent on the category of the verbs involved (i.e. auxiliary, modal or full verb).

The aim of this paper is to give a quantitative account of which factors explain serialization in verbal complexes in Early New High German best. To analyze the simultaneous contribution of multiple factors to serialization choice, a logistic regression model was build. First results reveal that cluster-internal factors like the category of the finite verb influence the ordering of the verbs but also factors like the category of the preceding constituent and diathesis of the cluster. A usage-based account (Langacker 2000, Bybee 2010) of the findings will be given; special emphasis is put on frequency effects influencing verb serialization by different degrees of entrenchment into the linguistic system.

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# The social meaning of Russian varieties: perceptual data from inside and outside Russia.

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Russian language ideology is characterized by strong orientation towards standard language which traditionally is bound to the country's capitals Moscow and Sankt Petersburg. Consequently, regional dialects as well as the so-called *prostorečie*, an idiom, characterized by frequent and rather nonsystematic deviations from the linguistic standard, had been downgraded not just in Soviet time but already during the Russian monarchy (Kasatkin 1997). However, the ruling Soviet ideology reinforced the orientation towards a unified standard language and went further in stigmatizing deviating variants by using different strategies at different time. Despite the official language policies and all the prophecies of doom, nonstandard and particularly regional varieties have not disappeared until today (cf. Krause/Sappok 2014). But they underwent und still undergo remarkable modifications activated by different domains of language contact, such as education, mass media, mobility, multilingualism. In certain social settings non-standard varieties seem to be preferred because they convey prestigious social in-group meaning (Kalnyn'1997).

The vitality of non-standard idioms as well as the acceptance of regionally colored varieties of standard Russian and transregional and -social regiolects (cf. Krause 2010) lead to ask the following question: Which effect do both the dominant official language ideology and the diverse individual language experience have on the social meaning of linguistic variance and varieties in contemporary Russia? The evolving sociolinguistic research agenda should be seen against the background of conflicting tendencies of centralism and regionalism in politics, economics, and society (Sakwa 2013).

The investigation aims at the awareness of variance and its semiotic functions within the language space of contemporary Russian. We will examine the capability of native speakers of Russian to discriminate, identify, localize and qualify regional and social varieties of their mother tongue. Furthermore, their attitudes towards certain varieties will be analyzed. Using a unified verbal-guise methodology (Garrett 2010) with different research settings, our data enable us to compare the ascription of social meaning by people living in and outside contemporary Russia and differing both in linguistic biography and experience. Therefore, special attention will be paid to the commonalities and differences in constructing the social meaning of varieties. Beside a discussion of a quite stable, linguistically mediated auto-stereotype,we will shed light on the differences in metalinguistic knowledge and social attribution which seem to derive from different (linguistic) socializations.

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# Variation and linguistic stratigraphy of the alpine region

## Thomas Krefeld | University of Munich

The term of borrowing is synchronically motivated and does not say anything about the specific contact situation. For the history of particular loanwords it is nevertheless important to know whether it was borrowed in a substratic or maybe superstratic constellation. Fulfilling this purpose, however, is not always easy: in regions where languages are in contact during millenaries but within changing areas (retracting and/or expanding), the same lexical type might have been borrowed and distributed independently in different times and in quite different strata constellations, e.g. from local substrate or superstrate. Any isolated diachronic reconstruction which is restricted only to one language or one variety will produce misleading interpretations. An illustrative example is the etymology of the romance alpine term *bait/baita* 'cabin on mountain pasture' which was attributed to Germanic superstrate (< old high german *wahta*) by the well know *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana* (DELI). This etymology doesn't take care of alem. *Beiz,* bav. *Boazn, Beisl* 'popular restaurant', for which a Yiddish/Hebrew origin was proposed in German lexicography (Kluge 2011, 106: < yidd. *bajis* 'house' < hebr. *bajit* 'house') -- without any reference to the adjacent romance type. Neither the first nor the second approach considers the existence of the same type in slovenian (*bajta* 'simple house, hut').

We are in other words confronted with a typical *Alpenwort* which seems to belong to a prelatin (or pre-indoeuropean?) substrate in romance and in Germanic (like the more or less synonymic types *tegia* and *barga*, also distributed in romance and German alpine varieties). In any case, the above mentioned Germanic etymon doesn't fit phonetically with the German dialect forms. The Slovenian case has to be studied in the light of the areal distribution of Slovenian dialect forms: it could be as well of substrate as or adstrate origin (< friul. *baite*).

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# Language ideology in sociolinguistic change: Quantitative and qualitative studies in Denmark

**Tore Kristiansen | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen**
**Nicolai Pharao | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen**
**Marie Maegaard | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen**
**Janus Møller | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen**

The LANCHART (Language Change in Real Time) project studies how the Danish society changed during the 20th century from being a traditional European dialect society to becoming, arguably, Europe's standard language society par excellence. The object of study is understood as a complex of interconnecting processes involving societal change, language-ideological change, and linguistic change – i.e. sociolinguistic change (Coupland 2009). Large amounts of language-ideological data have been collected by the project, both in experimental situations and in interviews.

The results of the experimental studies, which operationalize a distinction between consciously and subconsciously offered attitudes and shed light on the role of language-ideology in the macro-level social and linguistic changes of Danish society, have been published quite extensively (e.g. Kristiansen 2009; Maegaard, Juel Jensen, Kristiansen, and Jørgensen 2013). We have argued on the basis of these results that the language-ideological climate in Denmark has not changed in the sense that the idea of (the need for) a 'best language' has weakened; there is no destandardisation happening in that sense. What has changed, is the idea of what this 'best language' is; and since it is a 'modern' version of Copenhagen speech containing quite a few features which used to be associated with the working class of Copenhagen, we have talked about demotisation of the standard (presentations and discussions of this can be found in articles in Kristiansen and Coupland 2011; Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013).

The interview data include a combination of linguistic self-evaluation and talk about language. These data are amenable to both quantitative and qualitative analyses, and allow for comparisons that draw on results from both approaches. The LANCHART corpus contains such data for hundreds of informants that are now being analysed. The results will be reported in our prepared contribution to the panel. From our experience with a few previous investigations along these lines (Kristiansen 2004, Møller 2009, Svenstrup and Thøgersen 2009), we anticipate that the results will shed further light on the nature of contemporary language standardisation processes in Denmark, as well as make a contribution to illuminate the language-ideological aspect of sociolinguistic change in general.

# Spreading of Norwegian contrastive tonal accent into a dialect with no former accentual contrast

**Gjert Kristoffersen | University of Bergen**

Most Norwegian and Swedish dialects are characterized by a restricted tonal contrast usually referred to as tonal accent (Kristoffersen, 2000; Riad, 2014). In this paper I shall discuss how an isolated group of dialects that until now have lacked this contrast, have acquired it under the influence of a neighboring urban variety where the contrast has been part of the system as far back as we have sources. The discussion will be based upon a quantitative study of recordings of speakers born between 1907 and 1996, with a special focus on speakers born between 1955 and 1975, in whose speech the accentual contrast starts to appear. In speakers born in the 1990s the change appears to be completed.

An important aspect of the paper will be methodology. Quantitative studies of intonation based on sociolinguistic recordings are rare, probably due to the difficulties in controlling for structural and emotional factors influencing intonational patterns. I shall show that a quantitative study of variable F0-realization is indeed feasible with respect to the Norwegian and Swedish tonal accents, probably due to strong and quite stable constraints imposed by the accentual system on how a stressed syllable can be realized tonally in the two languages. This makes it possible to investigate variable patterns in the speakers who belong to the generation where the contrast starts to appear, especially whether there are structural constraints that characterize the change. Are for instance the predictable parts of the distribution acquired before the more lexicalized patterns? Special attention will be given to the concepts of *semi-tonality* and *partial tonality*, introduced by Jensen (1961) and Kerswill (1994) respectively, based on studies of the same dialect group.

The dialect investigated is the Ytre Arna dialect spoken near the major West Norwegian city Bergen. This is a local community about 20 km. by road from the old city center, which until a few decades ago was dominated by textile industry, and before that by small farms. Today, it is an integrated suburb of greater Bergen with quite a few of its inhabitants commuting to other parts of Bergen on a daily basis. Hence, the introduction of the accentual contrast is part of a more comprehensive process where the city dialect of Bergen is spreading as part of this urbanization process. Its place in this more comprehensive change will also be discussed.

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# Language maintenance and language change in migrant groups. A case study of Danish emigrants in North America

**Karoline Kühl | University of Copenhagen**
**Jan Heegård Petersen| University of Copenhagen**

The United States of America has been the main goal for emigration from Denmark during the early decades of the 20th century; altogether, ca. 200.000 Danes crossed the Atlantic 1900-1930 to become Danish-Americans. In our talk, we will identify factors promoting language maintenance and language shift, respectively, within this Danish-American population. In particular, we zoom in on ca. 60 speakers (original emigrants or 1st generation descendants) who were recorded in the US in the 1960's and 1970's. The talk summarizes the speakers' personal reports on language use patterns as well as contemporary general demographic information on the Danish-American group (US census, Grøngaard Jeppesen 2005). With these data, and referring to Kloss' (1966) distinction between factors clearly promoting language maintenance and ambivalent features which can lead to either maintenance or shift, we aim to renew the discussion on language change particular to diaspora language groups.

The talk sets out from a case study of a particular Danish-American group that has the advantage that the outcome for this specific group is known (language shift in the following generation). However, we aim to sketch a more general picture of which factors leads to linguistic stability, or linguistic change, in language contact situations particular to diaspora groups. In these non-indigenous groups with no historically defined territory, language maintenance seems to be particularly sensitive to certain extra-linguistic factors like settlement patterns, internal network structures and the recognition of the group within the host country. Further, sociopsychological factors like the usefulness of the migrant language and its status as a core value in the group's cultural value system seem important. However, as intense language contact between the host country's language and the minority's language is rather the rule than the exception for migrant diaspora communities, linguistic factors like the typological-genetical relationship between these languages seem to be decisive: The easier the recognition of equivalent patterns across languages, the more effort the separation of languages will require (Braunmüller & Kühl 2014). In our talk, we will try to connect the macro-sociolinguistic processes of language maintenance and language shift with exemplary linguistic analyses of structural change and stability in language contact.

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# Reduction of consonants in connected speech of Lancashire

## Malgorzata Kul | Adam Mickiewicz University

Meanwhile vowel reduction in connected speech has been widely studied, reduction of consonants receives little attention. Typically, the latter is examined in the context of dialectal features without any systematic analysis (e.g. Beal 2010). Thus, the study seeks to fill the gap by discerning patterns of consonant reduction in a dialect of English. In defining reduction, the study follows Johnson: "a large deviation from the citation form such that […] a large proportion of the phones in the form are changed" (Johnson 2004: 1), taking assimilation of place, Yod coalescence, fricativization and /t, d, h/ deletion as reduction.

The first aim is to establish the frequency of occurrence for reduction to quantify it and to validate statements such as "above figures may not indicate that d-loss is at all a frequent process" (Shockey 1974: 12) or "there is little or no lenition of the type stop → fricative" (Lodge 1984: 89). The second objective consists in correlating categorical reduction (deletion) and the gradient one (fricativization, assimilation, Yod coalescence) with rate on the assumption that gradient reduction is more rate-sensitive. Correlating reduction with speech rate, age and education of the speakers is the third aim, hypothesizing that high rate, unlike age and education, fosters reduction. Auditory and acoustic analysis was performed on 4.5 hrs of formal and informal interviews with 9 Lancashire speakers (Phonologie de l'Anglais Contemporain, Durand and Pukli 2004). Correlation between reduction, rate (measured as WPM), age and education was operationalized with multivariate regression.

The results for the first aim reveal the following frequency hierarchy:
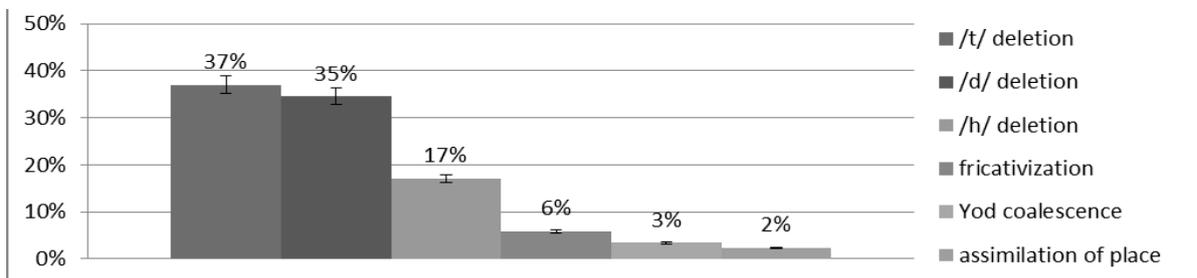


Lexical frequency explains high results of /t, d/ deletion: for example, *isn't it* accounts for most of /t/ reduction, so does *and* for /d/ elision. Concerning interspeaker variability, an interesting pattern emerged: categorical processes appear to be the most consistent and least varied reduction. Gradient processes, in contrast, were not evenly distributed among speakers.
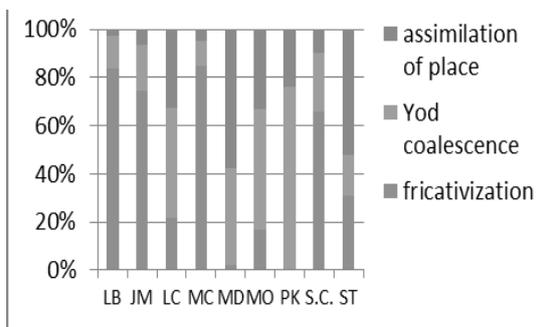
As for the second aim, the hypothesis was verified negatively: gradient reduction was not sensitive to rate at all (r = .14, Pearson correlation). Instead, relationship between categorical change and rate was negative (r = -.59), implying that the slowest speakers exhibited the highest percentage of elision. With regard to the third aim, rate, surprisingly, seems to be less relevant than age, whereas education plays little role in reduction.

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# AUX-Variation in Danish: the case of 'gå'

## Anu Laanemets | University of Copenhagen

This paper discusses the variation and change in the use of perfective auxiliaries *have* and *være* (be) in Danish, focusing on the verb 'gå' (*go, walk*). Previous investigations of AUX-variation have mainly focused on linguistic factors (Sorace 2000, 2004). Within the variationist sociolinguistics approach, however, both linguistic and social factors are considered as determining language variation and change. On the other hand, not all linguistic variation seems to be equally strongly correlated with social factors. This paper aims to contribute to the discussion of the interplay between linguistic and social factors as explanatory factors of different linguistic variables.

According to Danish reference grammars, there is a rather definite and systematic division of labour between the two AUXs. The selection criteria are described in terms of transitivity and aspect. Thus, with transitive verbs *have* is used, while the choice is to be made with intransitive verbs, and is in this context sensitive to aspectual properties. In actual use, however, the systematic alternation between *have* and *være* does not seem as clear and concise. To investigate this I have selected one verb (*gå*) and examine the choice of preferred AUX in both apparent and real time. The empirical investigation is based on the LANCHART spoken language corpus (Gregersen 2009). The data selection has been regionally restricted and contains only data from the capital, Copenhagen, including four age cohorts and different recording points.

| Table 1. | Group 1 | Group 2 | Group 3 | Group 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | born 1915 | born 1946-62 | born 1965-73 | born 1993-95 |
| Recorded | 1970 | 1987-89 | 1987-88 | |
| Recorded | | 2005-06 | 2006-07 | 2010 |

The analysis of the AUX-selection with the verb 'gå' reveals an interesting distributional pattern, cf. Figure 1. The oldest speakers (Group 1) predominantly use AUX *være* (80%), whereas the youngest speakers (Group 4) equally frequently use AUX *have* (82%). Additionally, the use of AUX *være* continuously declines across the three age groups recorded at the same point in time (Gr2-rec2, Gr3-rec2, Gr4). Hence, the results indicate a change in apparent time; whereas there is no significant variation in real time data (cf. Gr2-rec1 vs. rec2 and Gr3-rec1 vs. rec2). The cohort Groups 2 and 3 are extremely stable in real time.

This variable, then, is a textbook example of a variable changing with successive generations while the generations themselves are stable.
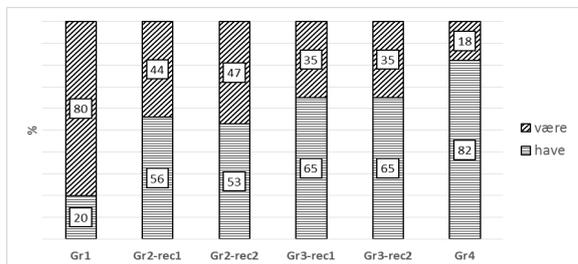


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# Communities divided: convergence and divergence across a political border

**Carmen Llamas | University of York**
**Dominic Watt | University of York**

The extent of the role played by social context in the progression of a sound change is one of the central concerns of sociolinguistics. One of the major ways in which we are able to isolate the specific factors that are involved in this role is through community-based studies. Each community has a history and demography that is unique. It is through looking for factors which correspond, as well as those which differ across communities separated by time or space that we come closer to knowing how and to what extent the social context influences language change.

In this paper, we compare four separate communities which share the common experience of being situated close to a political border. The effect of lying close to a border can result in a strong sense of affinity with localities across the divide, or a heightened sense of difference. Even given these generalisations, each community is different. By investigating the history of each locality and the relationship its inhabitants have with the border, we can examine how these factors might correspond to patterns in speech production. By examining age-correlated variation in certain key phonological variables within each community and comparing the patterns across the different communities, we are able to build a picture of what community-based factors influence the behaviour of the speaker and thus affect the progression of sound change.

The four localities include two on the Scottish side of the border, Eyemouth and Gretna, and two lying in England, Berwick-upon-Tweed and Carlisle. The localities are paired at the eastern and western ends of the border, and are separated by a mere nine miles across the divide. The significance of the border to the inhabitants both in terms of the frequency with which they cross it and the effect it has on their sense of Englishness or Scottishness is explored along with their use of particular forms which may be indexical of the two social categories, English and Scottish. Within each locality we examine the degree of variability in production patterns and also in affiliation with the national categories that serve to separate the localities across the border. Why some communities demonstrate consensus in production patterns and attitude towards the social categories, while others are more diffuse is considered in the context of the historical and social development of each locality. We then reflect on what effect these community-based differences may have on the progression of sound change.

# The English Dialect App

## Adrian Leemann | University of Cambridge

Smartphone applications are a promising tool for crowdsourcing dialect data (see Kolly/Leemann 2013, in press). Here we introduce *The English Dialect App (EDA)* – its functionalities and potential for linguistic analyses.

EDA's principal functionality is to guess a user's English dialect: users indicate their dialectal variant for 24 words and the application guesses where they are from. For example, users see the phrase 'A small piece of wood stuck under the skin is a ...' and are prompted to select their own variant from a drop down menu. This is one of 24 variables that we retrieved from the Survey of English Dialects (SED) (Orton/Dieth 1971), a mid-20th century nationwide dialect survey. The second core functionality allows users to record themselves reading the fable 'The boy who cried wolf'. Recordings are displayed on an interactive map for users to explore.

Both functionalities allow for hitherto unprecedented analyses. Users' variant choices will provide an up-to-date snapshot of the geographical distribution of many salient linguistic variables. The prediction function enables analyses of language change, comparing present-day use with that 50 years previously from the SED. Recognising that predictions of user's dialects will possibly be erroneous, given the age of the SED, our evaluation function prompts the user to feedback on prediction accuracy and self-declare their own geographical origins. We can thereby evaluate how the 24 variables have changed over the past 60 years. The recording function will facilitate the crowdsourcing of high-quality audio data (cf. de Decker/Nycz 2007) from right across England. We recognise that while such crowdsourcing optimises both scale and spatial coverage of data at low costs, one trade-off is data quality. Since users may 'switch off' if asked too much, only a restricted amount of biographic information can be elicited.

We expect the app to be well-received and thus generate a large corpus of dialect data. A comparable app for Swiss German (Leemann/Kolly 2013) as well as a similar web-app on the New York Times site (Katz/Andrews 2013) triggered significant media and user impact. EDA is currently undergoing alpha-testing and will be freely available in both the Google Play and iOS App Store in spring 2015. By the time of the conference, we will be able to present a demo of the app and show the first user statistics.

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# The impact of diglossia in South Tyrol: Evidence from preschoolers

**Mara Leonardi | Bangor University**

The present paper addresses a very often neglected issue in (first) language acquisition: diglossia. In a diglossic situation, *High* and *Low* (Ferguson, 1959) often differ in a number of ways. Evidence indicates that a diglossic situation has indeed a similar impact on children's linguistic development as in L2 development. Studies about the nature of Arabic diglossia have focused mainly on the field of education, since it is the discipline where the impact of diglossia has been perceived mostly. Several authors claim, for instance, that the Arabic diglossic context hinders the acquisition of basic academic skills (e.g. Ayari, 1996).

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the difference between children growing up in a diglossic situation compared to their native German peers and what factors predict individual differences. South Tyrol is situated in Northern Italy and it is officially considered a bilingual province by labelling its inhabitants as 'German-Italian bilinguals'. This is an oversimplification of the current linguistic reality, however, as people's native language is Bavarian. German and Bavarian are related with each other, but there are also differences in phonology, syntax, lexicon and convention of usage. Even though it has been shown that a diglossic situation has a similar impact on children's linguistic development as in L2 development, Bavarian-speaking children in South Tyrol are still considered and treated as monolinguals.

Despite the fact that almost all speech directed to children prior to preschool entry is in Bavarian, German is the main language taught and addressed to these children within educational institutions. Therefore, the present work addresses two research questions:
1. How do Bavarian-speaking preschool children perform on a standardized assessment test? How do they compare with their German peers?
2. What is the relationship between children's performance on the standardized task and extra-linguistic variables (educational background, siblings)?

Children's receptive vocabulary and grammar abilities were assessed by using the TROG-D (Fox, 2013). This sentence-picture matching task involves presenting the child with four pictures while the experimenter says a word/sentence in German. The task is to show which picture goes with that word/sentence. In total, 54 Bavarian-speaking preschoolers (aged 3 to 4) from South Tyrol and a control group of 44 German age-matched monolingual German-speaking children participated in the study. Preliminary results show that the diglossic context in South Tyrol interferes with children's performance. Native German preschoolers performed significantly better than their Bavarian-speaking age-matched peers. Bavarian-speaking children's age, higher levels of mother's education, and age of siblings were associated with better performance on the TROG-D. Other factors such as German use in the home, parents' language proficiency, literacy activities and television programs do not seem to have significant effects on Bavarian-speaking children's performance.

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# Gender and Interactional Meaning: High Rising Terminals in London

**Erez Levon | Queen Mary University of London**
**Christian Ilbury | Queen Mary University of London**
**John Weston | Queen Mary University of London**

High Rising Terminals (HRT), or utterance-final rising pitch movements on declarative statements, have long been recognised as an incipient feature of London English. Cruttenden (1995) traces the emergence of HRT in London to the early 1990s, when it was typical in the speech of what he terms "New Yuppies". Since this time, the feature has generated a large amount of popular discussion (see Foulkes & Docherty 2007) despite scholarly reports that average rates of HRT in London do not exceed five percent (Grabe 2003; Fletcher, Grabe & Warren 2005; Barry 2007). In this talk, we provide an updated overview of the prevalence of HRT in London English, as well as an initial exploration of the feature's current social and interactional distribution in the region. In contrast to prior studies, we find frequencies of HRT in London that are comparable to those identified in North American and Australasian English varieties (Guy et al. 1986; Britain 1992; Barry 2007). Moreover, our analyses reveal previously unreported patterns of social differentiation by speaker ethnicity, speech context (single- vs. mixed-sex) and interactional function.

Data are drawn from 26 small-group interviews with 71 speakers of London English (47 women and 24 men), resulting in a corpus of over 15 hours of recorded speech. Interviewees are all between 18-25 years old and were born and still live in the Greater London area. Within the corpus, 10,535 declarative intonational phrases were identified, and each of these was auditorily coded for whether it contained HRT or not. Tokens were additionally coded for a range of potential conditioning factors, including text type (i.e., Fact, Opinion, Explanation, Description, Narrative; Guy et al. 1986), speaker sex, speaker ethnicity (South Asian, Black, White) and speech context (single- or mixed-sex). Data were subjected to mixed-model regression analyses in order to determine which factors, if any, constrain the appearance of HRT in the sample.

Results indicate an overall frequency of HRT in the corpus of 9.4%, with men using marginally more HRT (10.2%) than women (9.0%). Subsequent tests reveal that HRT is primarily a characteristic of the speech of White Londoners, with Black and Asian speakers using the feature on average only 5% of the time while White speakers use it 15% of the time. Moreover, among White speakers we find significant differences in both the frequency and the function of HRT between women and men. White women do not differentiate their use of HRT across single- versus mixed-sex contexts, and in both cases use the feature to take extended turns at talk and so maintain control of the conversational floor (e.g., Guy et al. 1986). White men, in contrast, do not use HRT at all in single-sex speech but show very high rates of use in mixed-sex talk (up to 25%), where we argue they use the feature as a positive politeness device (e.g., Britain 1992). In this talk, we discuss the ramifications of these findings for current understandings of HRT, a variable which we argue has become firmly entrenched in London English.

# On the social meanings of palatalized /t/ and fronted /s/ among adolescent Copenhagen speakers

**Aleksandra Lillelund | University of Copenhagen**
**Nicolai Pharao | University of Copenhagen**

The aim of this paper is to examine the effect of palatalized /t/ [tʲ] alongside fronted /s/ [s⁺] in two different prosodic contexts of contemporary Copenhagen Danish. Both palatalized /t/ and fronted /s/ are sociolinguistic features that have different social meanings depending upon linguistic and social context. Previous research (Quist 2005, Maegaard 2007, Pharao et al 2014) has shed light on the indexical fields and social evaluations associated with fronted /s/. This paper builds on that research by examining how fronted /s/ and palatalized /t/ interact with each other within two prosodic frames known as *modern Copenhagen speech* and *street language*. This is achieved through a speaker evaluation experiment performed among Copenhagen high school students, who evaluated four teenage males' use of palatalized /t/ versus non-palatalized /t/ in combination with fronted /s/. The stimuli were carefully controlled using cross-splicing of the variable segments into recordings of spontaneous speech.

The results show that no combination of fronted /s/ and any kind of /t/ is very salient when occurring in *street language*. *Modern Copenhagen speech,* however, is heavily influenced by the presence of palatalized /t/ in terms of adding to perceived toughness and diminishing homosexual and feminine connotations, but only when it is not prefaced by a fronted /s/. The study thus contributes to the growing body of research showing how variants of sociolinguistic variables are associated with multiple social meanings, and that specific meanings are made relevant partly as a result of the combination of linguistic variants in the context.

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# How text frequencies reflect language contacts: the use of perfect and pluperfect in Estonian dialects

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Perfect and pluperfect are analytic tenses which are characteristic to Estonian and other Baltic-Finnic languages but not to other Finno-Ugric languages. The rise of analytic tense forms in Baltic-Finnic languages has been seen as a result of language contacts, either with Baltic or Germanic languages (Serebrennikov 1959). Moreover, language contacts have reinforced the use of perfect and pluperfect also in later periods: for example, German influence has been regarded as the main factor in frequent use of perfect and pluperfect in the corpus of written Estonian from 1890s (Metslang 1997).

Contacts especially with Baltic language Latvian, Germanic languages (mainly Swedish and German), and also with Russian have been sustained for a long period and thereby induced many changes in Estonian. The whole Circum-Baltic area has been described as an area with many micro- and macro-contacts and mutual influence among the languages (Koptjevskaja-Tamm&Wälchli 2001). Different linguistic contacts are also reflected in Estonian dialects: although Estonian is spoken on a rather small area, the differences between dialects are substantial.

In this paper, we aim to demonstrate that the contact-induced phenomena (in this case, analytical perfect and pluperfect forms) clearly shows uneven distribution across dialects, and text frequencies of the analytic structures in question reflect which language(s) have had most influence on the variety spoken in some particular area.

We look at the frequency and distribution of perfect and pluperfect forms in Estonian dialects. The data is obtained from the Corpus of Estonian Dialects (www.murre.ut.ee/murdekorpus). We have extracted all the occurrences of the finite *olema* 'be' + past active participle (*nud*-participle) from the morphologically annotated part of the corpus. After excluding accidental co-occurrences of the verb 'be' and the participle, we were left with more than 6100 instances of perfect and pluperfect forms. The data was coded with respect to its morphological form (perfect or pluperfect), polarity, dialect, sub-dialect, speaker, etc. The results reveal that the frequency of use of perfect and pluperfect forms varies remarkably across dialects. Perfect and pluperfect are used most often in Insular dialect that is spoken in the area where a lot of Swedish speakers have been living; they are notably less often used in North-Eastern and Seto dialects that are the most conservative in many respects and have had more contacts with Russian and other Baltic-Finnic languages.

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# A study of Galician-Castilian contact based on the verb morphology of dialects of the Ribeiro district

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For Galician language specialists, contact between Galician and Spanish and the ways in which the latter is influencing the former is a cause of constant concern. Although there is a literature on the subject, nearly all of it addresses prescriptive issues and focuses mainly on the lexicon. In addition to widening the scope to include other parts of the language system, I would make a case for broadening the perspective of language contact studies to cover inter-generational variation, which is an insufficiently studied area where Galician is concerned.

In this paper I will present some of the results of an ongoing project to study the varieties of Galician spoken in the Galician district of Ribeiro. The corpus consists of the answers given by thirty informants from the area to a 200-item questionnaire covering different aspects of grammar and lexicon. This data base was supplemented by around thirty hours of transcribed semi-controlled interviews. The thirty informants come from ten different localities within the district and belong to three different age groups: adolescent, adult and elderly speakers.

Most research on Galician-Castilian contact plots the varieties spoken in Galicia along a scale that ranges from standard Spanish to standard Galician. Different varieties of Galician or Castilian are placed at various points along this continuum depending on the degree of influence of the other language. In that approach, Castilian occupies the position of *ceiling language* for Galician speakers, and determines the direction of language change. In this paper, however, I will view Castilian as just one more variety which interacts with varieties of Galician in the area, and look at how it affects the direction of change.

I have pursued two objectives. One is to carry out quantitative and qualitative measurements of dialect variation as evidenced in the variables that were studied in three different generations of speakers. The other question I have tried to answer is about the extent to which contact with Castilian is a determining factor for variation and change that is found in the variables that are analysed.

Verb morphology provides numerous options for studying dialectology, variation and language change in Galician. In this paper I shall look at about twenty verb-related variables in which the occurrence of certain variants seems to depend crucially on the factor of age. In every one of these cases, one of the variants turned out to be either identical or similar to the corresponding Castlian form, e.g. *vallo*/*valgo* 'I am good at'*, souben*/*supen* 'I knew', *dis/dices* 'you say', etc.

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# A Tale of One City (and One Town): Using Conceptual Metaphor Theory to understand Conceptualisations of Dublin and Navan

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Over the past 20 years, we have seen much research into how spatial language varies between languages (see, inter alia, Bowerman 1996a, 1996b; Levinson 1996, 2003; Levinson and Wilkins 2006), we seen very little of that variation within a language. Where we have seen variation within a language is in the application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses 2004, 2005). We have not seen the application of this variation in Conceptual Metaphor to actual spoken data.

The following study takes spatial language as a variable system that is used by a group of Participants who live in the same town in Ireland. Analysing the spoken data used by 20 Participants who come from different parts of Ireland, we see that they group themselves into age, sex, and place of birth cohorts in relation to how they conceptualised the place where they live (Navan) and the nearby capital city (Dublin). The data is analysed by using Conceptual Metaphor Theory which allows us to not just analyse variation in lexicon, but rather variation in cognition. Why is Dublin up from Navan to some Participants but down from Navan to others? When do Participants use up/down metaphors to describe conceptualisations of Dublin and/or Navan and when do they use in/out metaphors to describe Dulin and Navan conceptualisations? We apply Conceptual Metaphor Theory as a system that allows for variation within a culture to explore the importance of places.

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# Swiss German at the lemma level - A psycholinguistic approach to language varieties

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**Constanze Vorwerg | University of Bern**

The relation of standard and dialect varieties has traditionally been the subject of sociolinguistic studies, which describe language varieties in terms of social or geographic factors. Very little is known about the patterns and mechanisms involved in the cognitive representation and processing of most dialects as opposed to many standard languages.

The present study contributes to the development of a psycholinguistics of dialect. It aimed at investigating the lemma representation of standard and dialect forms of Swiss German by means of syntactic priming experiments. Initially, syntactic priming was examined within Bernese German – a Swiss German dialect – as well as between Bernese German and Standard German in native Bernese German speakers. We tested priming of pre- and post-nominal attributes, e.g. *der rote Stein (the red stone)* vs. *der Stein, der rot ist (the stone that is red)*. We manipulated noun repetition in order to test for lexical boost effects, which indicate activation of the same lemma.

Priming within Bernese German yielded rather high effects (same nouns: 40%, semantically related nouns: 23%, different nouns: 8%). However, when priming from Bernese German to Standard German or the other way round, the effects were very low (same nouns 4%/9%, semantically related nouns: 4%/6%, different nouns: 3%/2%). These differences in effect strengths and especially the lack of a lexical boost between Bernese German and Standard German indicate that the two varieties are represented separately at the lemma level. However, there appears to be an additional cause for the very low effects found with the standard variety. Standard German is often perceived as a formal, distant and sometimes even foreign language among Swiss German speakers (Siebenhaar & Wyler, 1997). We hypothesise this may cause an inhibition of priming.

This was tested in two follow-up experiments using the same design. Firstly, we tested priming within Standard German in Bernese German speakers and found even smaller effects than in between-variety priming (same nouns: 5%, semantically related and different nouns: 0%). Secondly, to test whether we find priming effects between different varieties of Swiss German at all, we conducted an experiment with the rather popular Valais German dialect and Bernese German. Although Valais German is not an active language for our participants, this experiment showed considerable priming effects (same nouns: 18%, semantically related: 3%, different nouns: 1%). These results further support the separate representation hypothesis and imply that the sociolinguistic status of a language variety can interfere with priming.

In conclusion, the results suggest that varieties of a language are represented similar to typologically more different languages at the lemma level, and at the same time, indicate the importance of combining psycho- and sociolinguistic approaches to the study of language variation.

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# Re-labelling standard speech – Reformulating sociolinguistic values

## Lian Malai Madsen | LANCHART, University of Copenhagen

Naming and labelling are key means of constructing linguistic codes. The understanding that certain speech practices and linguistic forms belong together requires taxonomic labels in the first place, and the metapragmatic labels we attach to such practices contribute significantly to their social enregisterment by hinting at indexical links between speech repertoires, typical speakers, social-interpersonal relationships and associated forms of conduct (Agha 2007:145). Since giving names to speech practices is far from a trivial endeavour, recent sociolinguistic discussions have increasingly been concerned with the political and ideological aspects of professionals' metalinguistic labelling (e.g. Jaspers 2008). But we can also learn a lot about speakers' sociolinguistic understandings by investigating register labels as participant practices.

The focus of this paper is on such participant labelling. I aim to discuss the emergence and change of sociolinguistic structure and ideology by drawing on linguistic ethnographic data from a Copenhagen based collaborative research project. In metalinguistic accounts given by the participants in our study, speech practices associated with respect, politeness, up-scale culture and academic skills are labelled "integrated" (Madsen 2013). I investigate the meaning shift involved in the use of this term as a name for a conservative standard register by comparing these qualitative research findings with quantitative attitudinal studies (e.g. Kristiansen 2009; Maegaard 2005), and I discuss the wider social and sociolinguistic implications of the reinterpretation of the term "integrated" and the corresponding reanalysis of standard linguistic practices that we witness in the data.

The data I present point to interconnections between cultural and ethnic diversity and dimensions of hierarchical stratification in the contemporary sociolinguistic order(ing) of speech behaviours among Copenhagen youth. Thereby I do not show that certain linguistic signs are used in a new way, but rather that giving a new name to a register formulates new indexical values for existing practices. Further, I argue that the label "integrated" does not only add meaning to the standard register it describes, but also to those with which the standard contrasts. Through this case the paper contributes to the discussion of how quantitative and qualitative approaches to linguistic standardisation can inform each other. In particular it demonstrates how speakers' contextual and ideology-invested language usage and metapragmatic commentary adds to and possibly transforms indexical links with the potential of becoming new sociolinguistic presuppositions (Silverstein 2003: 194).

# Where in language complexity is language variation?

## Theodore Markopoulos | University of Patras

There is a growing tendency among linguists to challenge an age-old axiom of –mainly structural- linguistics, according to which all languages are equally complex overall, since simplicity in one level (e.g. morphology) is 'compensated' by complexity in another: it seems that the linguistic community is more willing now to accept that languages are *not* equally complex (cf. for instance McWhorter, 2011 and the papers in Sampson, Gil & Trudgill, 2009). Obviously, this has raised the difficult question of defining what complexity itself is, a daunting task. But among the efforts to define this notion in various ways there is arguably an important oversight: the notion of linguistic variation is largely absent, despite occasional comments (cf. e.g. Trudgill, 2009). The paper aims to address this issue and provide some preliminary answers to the following basic questions:

Is there any place for linguistic variation in the notion of language complexity?

From a diachronic perspective, if variation constitutes an integral part of language complexity, what can variation in older texts tell us about the changes towards complexification / simplification?

Regarding the former, it will be argued that variation can be considered by itself a manifestation of complexity. Since dialects can be regarded as separate linguistic varieties that might be contrasted in terms of their complexity (or lack thereof), it follows that sociolinguistic variation constitutes the type of variation that should be integrated in any attempt at quantification of linguistic complexity. Crucially, this implies that not only allomorphic / allophonic, but even 'free' variation with largely 'social' meaning should be seen as a contributor to the complexity in a linguistic domain.

The diachronic side of this issue is much more complex, and will be the main focus of the paper. The attestation of sociolinguistic variants in older texts (as in contemporary ones) does not only depend on their occurrence at the various spoken registers, but also on the nature of the norm at any particular period and the way it was enforced (or not) on the speakers, the spread of literacy in a linguistic community, the emergence of 'dialects' etc. Therefore, it is suggested that variation in older texts should be carefully evaluated on the basis of the sociolinguistic factors mentioned, in order to discern its place in the overall variety of its time. Then, it can be a valuable tool in assessing the possible tendency towards complexification / simplification argued for several languages (e.g. English). The examples for this diachronic investigation are drawn from the history of various European languages, including Greek and English.

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# Contemporary urban vernaculars and language ideologies in Flanders: the case of Cité Dutch

**Stefania Marzo | University of Leuven**
**Dorien Van De Mieroop | University of Leuven**
**Eline Zenner | University of Leuven**

Contemporary research on the social meaning of varieties insists on studying the different functions of the linguistic variants under scrutiny in performing social action (Jaffe 2009). Social meanings are thus not considered to be stable indexes, but rather fleeting interactional moves through which speakers take stances and make ideological moves (Bucholtz 2009).

Set against this background, this contribution aims to get a better grip on the way in which youngsters from Limburg, the easternmost region of Flanders, construct social meaning in their everyday interaction through their use of a contemporary urban vernacular and on how these meanings-in-action are connected to a larger social and ideological scale. A previous perception study (Author forthc.) has shown that some linguistic variants of this urban vernacular have become enregistered (Agha 2007), constituting a multilayered indexical field (indexing, among others, local identity, ethnicity, social class).

This paper will complement this previous study with interactional data, in order to verify how users of the vernacular pick up different social meanings, depending on their experiences and on the larger ideological values they relate to. We draw on a corpus of naturally-occurring interactions of 20 youngsters in several contexts (school, home, leisure) in Limburg (collected between 2011-2014). These interactions are coded for a series of social and interactional factors (e.g. speaker, hearer, emotional involvement) and for four linguistic variables.

We investigate the alternation between Cité Dutch, the regional Limburg Dutch variety and Standard Dutch. In particular, we looked at two Cité Dutch variants (viz. the palatalization of [s] and [z] in [ʃ] and [ʒ] in first syllable position - e.g. *stijl* 'style', pronounced as [ʃtɛil] instead of [stɛil] - and the generalization of the masculine article *de* instead of the neuter article *het* - e.g. *de boek* 'the book' for *het boek*) and two regional Limburg Dutch variants (viz. the deletion of final –*t* in postconsonantic positions and cases of regressive assimilation).

The alternation between Cité Dutch, regional Limburg Dutch and Standard Dutch is analyzed with a mixed method analysis: a qualitative discursive analysis (focusing on how speakers construct and negotiate identities) is complemented with a quantitative analysis of the distribution of the variants across speakers (relying on mixed effect regression modeling). This allows us to integrate *in situ* patterns of intra-speaker variation with aggregative patterns of inter-speaker variation.

This study offers a new and more comprehensive insight on standard and non standard language use among youngsters in Flanders and on the relationship between prevailing language ideologies and the emerging urban vernaculars.

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# Recent Tendencies in Language Change in South-West-Germany

## Andrea Mathussek | University of Freiburg

South-West-Germany is one of the areas in the world, for which an extremely high density and amount of speech data from different periods of time is available. Starting with Wenker in the 1880s, we can use among others the Zwirner corpus, the material of Südwestdeutscher Sprachatlas (SSA) and more recent data having emerged for example out of the projects ReDi (Regionaldialekte im alemannischen Dreiländereck, cf. Stoeckle 2014) and Flars (Frontière linguistique au Rhin Supérieur – Auswirkungen der Staatsgrenze auf die Sprachvariation am Oberrhein).

In the course of the project "Phonologischer Wandel am Beispiel der alemannischen Dialekte Südwestdeutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert" Tobias Streck and Christian Schwarz have already been able to point to different phenomena of linguistic change between Wenker and the SSA-data using methods of real and apparent time comparison (cf. Streck 2012).

I will try to tie in with their methods and results and to adapt them to the current data sets of questionnaire and free speech data. The point here will not only be to investigate the most recent tendencies in (sociolinguistic) speech variation and linguistic change in the area under investigation but also to find out about general trends and mechanisms in language change over longer periods of time.

In my talk I will present a few examples (like the development of Middle High German ou) and show on that basis how one can determine, visualize and interpret language change in large diachronic corpora. Moreover I would try to give some insights about which spatial patterns have evolved over the last ten years in the area under investigation by doing dialectometric analysis of the data.

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# Variation and change in comparative constructions as a conspiracy of language-internal and language-external factors: evidence from Modern Greek dialects

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**Angela Ralli | University of Patras**

In modern linguistic research variation in comparison and gradation has been mostly treated in a typological perspective (cf. Stassen 1985; 2008, Xerberman 1999, Cuzzolin & Lehmann 2004 and references therein) providing classifications of the occurring strategies and formulating relevant universals.

This paper sets to put prominently under scrutiny variation and change in the realization of comparative constructions in the light of the evidence provided by Modern Greek dialectal variation, the standard form included, aiming at accounting both for the reasoning behind the observed divergence, either as a result of interna l developments or as the result of language contact, and its implications to language change.

Comparison, following some of the observed tendencies in European languages (Stassen 2008: 993-995), is realized in Greek either morphologically with the addition of the suffix -*ter(os)* which conveys the meaning more to the predicative word (e.g. *eksipnos* 'clever' > *eksipn-oter(os)* 'cleverer') or lexically with the use of an unbound marker in the graded form (e.g. *eksipnos* 'clever' > *pjo eksipnos* 'more clever').

Modern Greek dialects show variation in the realization of comparison. More specifically, in several dialects comparison is realized mainly analytically with the use of the markers *pjo* (realized also as *pleon, plon, pi, pʎo, pçon, or pça*) or *kom(i)* or *c(i) alo* in the graded form plus a prepositional phrase to realize the standard form. E.g.: pʎo kalos ap icinuna (Thrace) c alo meɣas ne op tun citino (Silli) more good than other more big is than the other. 'He is better than the other one' 'He is bigger than the other one'

In some Asia Minor varieties however, an unusual pattern is attested for the realization of comparison involving the absence of any element marking the comparison in the graded form. E.g.: Ito ap ecino mea ne (Cappadocia) this than that big is 'This is bigger than the other one'

Interestingly, opinions in the existing grammatical descriptions diverge with respect to the emergence of this structure either as a result of language contact (Dawkins 1916, Papadopoulos 1955) or as a mainly internal development (Dawkins 1921, Andriotis 1948).

Our data show that while the tendency towards replacement of the synthetic constructions by analytic ones is mainly internally motivated cross-cutting the various dialectal forms, its realization, i.e. the specific form it will take, either in terms of pattern or of matter replication (cf. Ulaghátsh Cappadocian) may be heavily influenced by the language contact factor. Moreover, in fusional languages like Greek when both syntax and morphology compete over the realization of the same inflectional category, syntax wins the rivalry (cf. Ackema & Neeleman 2004).

Findings contribute to the research on the role and the limits of the contact factor to variation and change lending further support to the thesis that combinatorial accounts, addressing both internal and external developments, widen the perspective and offer the most plausible explanations for linguistic innovations (cf. Heine and Kuteva, 2006; 2010, Matras 2010, Azucena 2013).

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# Letting the community lead

## Miriam Meyerhoff | University of Wellington

I will discuss the output of a sociolinguistic survey of Nkep, a language spoken by about 1000 people in Hog Harbour Vanuatu. What started out as a fairly straightforward data collection exercise, combining methods of language documentation and variationist sociolinguistics, ended up producing a rather unusual output. The community decided to work with the narratives being collected as part of the research project and turn them into a DVD with full scale re-enactments of a historical event important to the village's communal identity. This ended up involving a much wider range of participants than is typical for a sociolinguistics project and relied on the goodwill and expertise of many people outside of linguistics. The end product is something that manifestly satisfies our current emphasis on knowledge exchange and responsive research models.

# Lexical Selection in Bivarietal Speakers

**Marie-Anne Morand | University of Bern**
**Constanze Vorwerg | University of Bern**

Stroop-like interference in picture naming has aroused researchers' interest since the 1970s. In this paradigm, participants name a picture while being presented with a distractor word that is to be ignored. Semantically related distractors have been found to slow down the naming response, suggesting that both words are activated in parallel during lexical access. Picture-word interference (PWI) experiments have mostly focused on lexical processing of either mono- or bilingual speakers. There have hardly been any studies that looked into lexical selection for speakers of two discrete, but closely related language varieties (e.g. Kambanaros et al. 2013).

Using an experimental design developed by Costa et al. (1999) for studying Catalan-Spanish bilinguals, we have conducted a picture-word interference experiment with written distractors in either (Swiss) Standard German (SSG) or Bernese German (BG). The latter is a dialect of High Alemannic German (mostly) spoken in the region around the capital city of Switzerland (Bern). The aim was to study bivarietal lexical processing with respect to the question of whether words of both varieties of German compete for selection in language production.

Participants were asked to name the pictures as fast as possible in Bernese German. The distractors were either identical (iden) with the picture name, semantically related to it (sem) or unrelated (unrel). In contrast to semantic interference, an identical distractor usually leads to facilitation. Cross-language identity was investigated in Costa et al.'s study, which found an identity effect for same- and different-language pairs. This facilitatory effect was interpreted as evidence *against* competition for selection between languages in bilingual speakers and in favor of a language-specific selection mechanism. The question addressed by this study was, whether there might be competition between the two varieties of German investigated, or whether they would behave like different languages.

The twenty participants of our experiment are Bernese German speaking students (mean age: 23.6). Distractor variety (BG, SSG) and type of distractor (iden, sem, unrel) were within-subject variables. We carried out an ANOVA by participants ($F$1) and by items ($F$2). Main effects in both analyses were significant, as well as the interaction in $F$1 ($p = .014$). Faster responses were observed with BG distractors than with SSG ones (mean: BG = 692 ms, SSG = 712 ms). This difference was significant ($p < .05$). Pairwise comparisons reveal strong identity facilitation and slight semantic interference within Bernese German, but no cross-variety identity facilitation, with a clear semantic interference between SSG and BG. These results suggest that there is no cross-varietal competition in lexical selection between Bernese German and Standard German, but an inhibition of Standard German when accessing Bernese-German lexical items.

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# Examining historical convergence and synchronic variation in situations of long-term contact

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It is widely known that structural convergence between two languages in contact may occur as a result of sustained synchronic mechanisms such as code-switching (Backus 2004). In the case of northern Welsh and Welsh English, many structural similarities have been reported which could be attributed to such convergence historically, but which have not been compared systematically. This paper examines phonetic variation in the production of /l/, assumed to be phonologically dark in both varieties (Jones 1984: 49; Wells 1982: 390), in order to investigate claims of historical convergence and assess the role of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors on synchronic variation.

The data under discussion is a subset of tokens elicited for a wider sociolinguistic study of bilingual speech in North Wales. It comprises wordlist and interview tokens (n = 5329) from 32 Welsh-English bilinguals, aged 16-18. The dataset was further stratified by speaker sex, home language, and area. The areas chosen are comparable in terms of population but differ in terms of level of bilingualism.

The F1 and F2 values at the midpoint of the /l/ were obtained using Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2014). F2 values at 30ms of the preceding and/or proceeding vowel were taken as a measure of degree of influence (Van Hofwegen 2010). These values were transformed to Bark (Z1 and Z2), and a degree of velarisation was calculated (Z2-Z1). The degree of influence of the neighbouring vowel was calculated by subtracting the Z2 of the vowel(s) from the Z2 of /l/. The data were analysed statistically using a series of two-way ANOVAs and mixed-effects models with speaker and word as random factors.

The results confirm that /l/ is dark in both varieties. A number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors were found to influence phonetic variation in both languages and, interestingly, cross-linguistic differences between Welsh and English were found for female speakers. Further analysis of individual speakers showed that the females who differentiated between Welsh and English all came from the Welsh-dominant area.

The paper discusses these results in relation to similar studies of sociolinguistic variation in the Welsh context and attempts to highlight potential issues surrounding the notion of convergence in situations of long-term contact. In particular, it argues that assuming historical convergence is problematic and that fine-grained phonetic differences may exist in phonologically identical categories which are susceptible to extra-linguistic influences.

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# Cross-dialect vs. cross-linguistic contact in Southern Italy

**Naomi Nagy | University of Toronto**

We examine variable subject pronoun presence ("pro-drop") in two languages: Italian and Faetar. Faetar is a Francoprovençal isolate spoken by $<700$ people in Italy since ~1300ad. Data comes from Faetar recordings made in Apulia in the 1990s and in Toronto in the 2010s, and from Calabrese Italian recordings made in both Toronto and Calabria in the 2010s.

Pro-drop is a *conflict site* (Poplack *et al.* 2012): it distinguishes Italian, Faetar and English. While subject pronouns may be present or absent in finite clauses in all these languages, rates of presence are quite different. Moreover, different constraints govern the distribution of forms in each language, making this variable a good diagnostic for measuring convergence or divergence as effects of language contact.

Thomason & Kaufman (1998), *inter alia*, note that a viable conclusion of contact-induced change requires establishing pre-contact differences that then diminished during contact. To this end, we compare parallel analyses of first and second generation Heritage speakers of Faetar and Italian to homeland speakers of both varieties. A sample from English provides information about a possible source of contact effects on null subject variation in the heritage situation.

| Sample: | Language | # Speakers | # Tokens |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Heritage Faetar | 13 | 837 |
| | Homeland Faetar | 20 | 1582 |
| | Heritage (Calabrian) Italian | 12 | 1047 |
| | Homeland Italian | [10-20 - Data collected July 2014] | |
| | Toronto English | 24 | 2400 |

All samples were collected by recording conversational speech for ~1 hour from each speaker, then coding the presence or absence of overt subject pronouns in ~100 finite clauses per speaker. Multivariate analyses of conversational speech data incorporate social factors (generation, age, sex, ethnic orientation) and linguistic constraints (person, number, and gender of the subject, the subject's clausal position, negation, presence of a non-subject proclitic, information status and tense) into a Mixed-Effects multivariate logistic regression analysis.

Recent analysis of both homeland and heritage Faetar shows cross-generational stability in probabilities of pronoun presence and in the linguistic factors constraining the variation.

Analysis of Heritage Italian also suggests stability (no significant differences between the immigrant generation and their offspring), but there is not yet any directly comparable homeland Italian analsyis from the same region. This is ongoing and its outome will both show
- whether Italian is changing in Calabria
- whether Heritage Italian in Toronto has diverged from its Homeland source
- and, most relevantly to this panel, whether Faetar and Italian are underging structural convergence or divergence.

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# Communities-based research

## Naomi Nagy | University of Toronto

Thomason (2001) makes the important point that in order to analyze the effects of language contact, data from pre- and post-contact varieties must be compared. Nichols (2008) adds that best evidence for language contact includes findings that *several structural features* have been influenced. Variationist sociolinguists interested in contact effects adapt this approach, replacing "structural features" with "stochastic patterns of variables," thereby necessitating that we collect and utilize appropriate information about both the linguistic varieties and the social contexts of their use. The Heritage Language Variation and Change Project (HLVC, Nagy 2011), a large-scale study of the connections between linguistic variation and linguistic change in heritage varieties spoken in Toronto requires, therefore, documentation of the relevant sociolinguistic and linguistic facts, both in Toronto and in the homeland communities providing the input sources of the heritage varieties.

HLVC is systematically describing and comparing variable usage and change in several heritage languages (Cantonese, Faetar, Hungarian, Italian, Korean, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian) spoken in Toronto, a city where half the residents report a mother tongue other than English. Using traditional Labovian (1984) community-based interview methodology, we document and describe heritage languages spoken by immigrants and two generations of their descendants, contrasting grammars at various degrees of contact to homeland varieties and to English spoken in those communities. This multilingual and multi-level project aims to push Labovian variationist research beyond its monolingually biased core by synthesizing a method examining both intra- and interlanguage choices made by multilingual speakers.

This talk will describe methods of community-based research which span several continents. Countries in which HLVC data has been collected and/or analyzed include Canada, the US, Italy, Ukraine, Russia and Korea, to date. Native-speaker experience and status is commonly assumed in the tradition of research stemming from Labov's earliest studies, but here this work must necessarily be under the direction of researchers who do not have that status in most of the languages and communities under investigation. Methods of mitigating this shortcoming will be discussed, including establishing mutually beneficial partnerships with students and professors in several countries and incorporating research into student learning experiences, both in the classroom and in other independent-study, experientially-oriented contexts. These approaches have meant, in turn, that we have needed to adapt our methodology to allow for continuity among the research stages contributed by the large number of researchers (well over 50 to date) involved in the project. In the Toronto context, many speakers are interested in contributing to this research but are not linguistic scholars. Ways to benefit from their contributions and, in turn, allow them to benefit from the project, will be discussed.

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# New speakers and language contact: Scottish Gaelic in Glasgow and Edinburgh

**Claire Nance | Lancaster University**
**Wilson McLeod | University of Edinburgh**
**Bernadette O' Rourke | Heriot-Watt University**
**Stuart Dunmore | University of Edinburgh**

Recent work has described the growth of non-traditional speaker communities of minority languages in Europe. Such speakers are referred to as 'new speakers', and although fluent speakers of the language in question, they have not usually learned it through the traditional method of community transmission (e.g. O' Rourke & Ramallo 2013). New speakers are often multilingual; in this paper we investigate the potential effects of the multilingual nature of speakers on the development of new varieties.

Here we consider data from interviews with 20 adult new Scottish Gaelic speakers, living in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The majority of speakers learned Gaelic as adults and can now be considered expert users. Due to the nature of the adult new speaker community, this is not a homogeneous sample: speakers are from a variety of locations within and outwith Scotland, and are a variety of ages. We therefore explore individual patterns of variation within their speech and look for common themes emerging from their phonetic behaviour.

The phonetic analysis is an auditory consideration of word-final rhotics. Gaelic is reported as having three rhotic phonemes: /r rˠ rʲ/ (e.g. Ternes 2006). These are subject to substantial dialectal variation (O' Dochartaigh 1997) and were therefore selected for analysis here, as several of the participants reported speaking a dialectally 'mixed' variety (McLeod, O' Rourke & Dunmore 2014). The interviews were transcribed and then rhotic tokens identified and coded for word and position in ELAN. The analysis considers 15 tokens (where possible) of each rhotic phoneme for each participant. Tokens were transcribed auditorily.

Results suggest that a variety of production strategies are used in the production of Gaelic rhotics. For example, some participants consistently opted for one traditional dialectal variant or another, others were less consistent in their productions. There was some evidence to suggest phonetic influence of the participant's first language, for example some participants of Glaswegian origin produced (auditorily) voiced retroflexes where traditional descriptions of Gaelic would predict velarised trills.

These results are discussed with reference to adult second language acquisition, new dialect formation, language contact, and phonetic studies of language revitalisation. We aim to advance an account of the phonetic outcome of language contact among urban minority language communities.

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# To come to an end. On closings in career counselling meetings in Sweden and Finland

**Marie Nelson | Stockholm University**
**Sofie Henricson | University of Turku**

The paper presents a case study of how career counselling meetings are closed in Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish academic settings. Both length and agenda are strongly affected by the institutional frame of the meeting and by the assigned roles with a giver and a receiver of advice. The duration of the scheduled meetings varies between 30 and 60 minutes and there is no negotiation of the agenda. Closings are initiated by the career counsellor, employed by the university, and accomplished in collaboration with the student. Although the structure of the counselling meetings is standardized, each meeting is adapted to the institutional requirements in its own specific way (Erickson & Schultz 1982:5).

Closings of three naturally occurring audio- and video-recorded career counselling meetings in Sweden and three meetings in Finland will be examined using conversation analysis (Schegloff & Sacks 1973, Sidnell & Stivers 2013). Here, we strive at a multimodal analysis and pay attention to verbal and nonverbal conversational resources that participants use to move from one conversational phase to another, inspired by e.g. Goodwin 2000, Robinson & Stivers 2001 and Mondada 2006. The use of computer screens, business cards and other artefacts in order to facilitate a smooth closing is also included in our analysis. The research questions addressed include:

- How do closing sequences unfold in the studied career counselling meetings and are the same sequential patterns found throughout the data?
- How are closings negotiated and which conversational cues are used for signalling the ending of Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish career counselling meetings?

The study is conducted within the research programme *Interaction and Variation in Pluricentric Languages – Communicative Patterns in Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish.* In accordance with the pluricentric approach of the programme, we compare the patterns found in the Sweden-Swedish and the Finland-Swedish data throughout the paper.

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# Two fieldworkers' effects on a respondent's language use in Szeged, Hungary

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**Mária Molnár**
**Miklós Kontra | University of Szeged**

The Szeged dialect of Hungarian is a nationally conspicuous one, using *ö* [Ø] in place of standard *e* [e] in certain syllables, e.g. *köröszt* for *kereszt* 'cross'. Most of its users are bidialectal and very skillful code-switchers ("bidialectals in hiding") who use local speech only with others whom they know as its users. As a methodological exercise in our Szeged Sociolinguistic Interview project (funded by OTKA, grant 105720), we tested Bell's audience design (1984) by having the same dialect speaker interviewed first by a dialect speaking (*ö*-ing) fieldworker, then, weeks later, by a standard speaking (*e*-ing) fieldworker.

By analyzing comparable parts of the two interviews (certain conversational modules, subjective reaction tests, the reporter's test), we seek to answer the following questions:

1) Are there differences in the use of *ö*-ing between the two interviews?
2) If yes, is there any correlation between the fieldworkers' speech (*ö*-ing vs. *e*-ing) and the respondent's speech?
3) Is there an increasing use of *ö*-ing in the respondent's speech with the standard speaking fieldworker as a result of decreasing audiomonitoring and more trust felt towards the fieldworker as the interview progressed?
4) Are there differences in the frequency of use among different local variables (*e* vs. *ö*, *-hoz* vs. *-hon* 'to' and *-ból* vs. *-búl* 'from'), or: are some local variants more resistant to standardization than others?

The variables have been subjected to quantitative analyses in the two interviews. While our results must not be overgeneralized, they may be useful in showing the extent to which the fieldworker's persona can have an effect on the respondent's language use.

# Foreign Languages and Borrowings in Lithuanian Advertising: Prevalence and Functions

**Laima Nevinskaité | Institute of Lithuanian Language**

Lithuania has an extensive system of institutionalized language standardization, which accepts variation only to a small degree (Vaicekauskienė 2011). However, there are areas of language use that need greater variability than would be allowed by strict regulation rules, and one of them is advertising.

This presentation analyses elements of other languages and borrowings in print advertisements in Lithuania. The use of foreign languages (mostly English) in advertising in many other countries is pretty widely presented in the international literature (e.g. Ruellot 2011, Gerritsen et al. 2007, Griffin 2001, etc.). This presentation aims to introduce the Lithuanian case to the international public and compare it with the situation in other countries. The Lithuanian case might be interesting because of the relatively late opening of the country to the influence of global marketing, relatively strict language regulations, and competition of English with other widely used foreign languages (Russian).

The presentation uses data from two empirical studies: (1) quantitative analysis of foreign language elements in advertisements in Lithuanian magazines from years 1993, 2003 and 2013; (2) qualitative analysis of new lexical borrowings in print and internet advertising from 1991 up to now.

The amount of foreign elements in Lithuanian advertising has drastically increased during the last decade. English is the dominant language, although very occasionally other languages are used too. English is used by advertisers of products/services for symbolic reasons mostly, in order to link the product with such values as modernity, dynamism, globalism etc. Borrowings comprise wider geography (French, Italian, Japanese and some other languages, besides English); however Russian, which is still more widely used in many areas of everyday life (Nevinskaité 2010) and whose elements still penetrate spoken language is almost non-existent in advertising. Borrowings are used in advertisements for a wide range of reasons: designative and semantic, metalinguistic, stylistic, symbolic, identity construction. They are all discussed in more detail in the presentation with examples from advertisements.

In summary, the analysis of Lithuanian advertisements confirms most of the reasons for use of foreign languages or borrowing, found in studies on multilingual advertising in other countries. They do not only serve a supplementary role when they are needed to fill a lexical gap or are difficult to translate, but are intentionally used as a stylistic, symbolic, identity construction tool in order to enhance the effectiveness of advertisements.

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# Language contact and intonation patterns: the case of Frisian and Dutch

**Amber Nota | University of Groni**
**Matt Coler | INCAS3**
**Nanna Haug Hilton | University of Groni**

Frisian is a West Germanic minority language in the Netherlands, almost exclusively spoken in the province of Fryslân by some 450,000 people (Province of Fryslân, 2011). Whilst the majority of the Dutch population considers Frisian to be separate language from Dutch (Gorter and Jonkman, 1995) previous studies have indicated that there are contact features from Dutch on all levels of the Frisian grammar (de Haan 1997/2010). All speakers of Frisian are, generally speaking, also speakers of Dutch.

In this paper, the influence of language contact between Frisian and Dutch on the intonation contours of declarative utterances is investigated. With the exception of Hoekstra (2001), no previous research has taken Frisian prosody into account. By using an apparent time approach we consider whether the prosody of Dutch (a spoken in Fryslân) and Frisian is undergoing change in progress. More concretely, we consider to which extent Frisian intonation contours are converging to intonation contours in equivalent Dutch utterances. We also consider to which extent social and linguistic factors significantly constrain this convergence.

For the study, intonation contours are extracted from two corpora of recordings. One consists of speech from 31 native Frisian speakers recorded in Fryslân, whilst the other consists of recordings of 55 Dutch monolinguals from the north of the Netherlands. Intonation contours are calculated using the Melodic Analysis of Speech method (MAS) (see for instance Font-Rotchés & Cantero Serena, 2005), which allows for intonation contour standardisation. The approach enables us to compare contours between speakers, regardless of gender, age or other potentially influencing background factors. The MAS is particularly applicable to the Frisian-Dutch language combination, as previous research has successfully employed the method on other, typologically closely related, language pairs (Cantero & Font-Rotchés, 2013; Font-Rotchés & Cantero, 2005; Planas-Morales & Villalba, 2013).

Preliminary results show evidence of convergence in Frisian and Dutch prosody. These findings are discussed in the light of the sociolinguistic theory of language change. Furthermore, we consider our data in light contact-linguistic work on convergence in the linguistic system (cf. Thomason & Kaufman, 2001) and make some preliminary remarks about the durability of marked prosodic features in situations of intense language contact.

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# Language Use and Language Attitudes in German-speaking Switzerland. An Empirical Study of Dialect and Standard German in Churches

**Susanne Oberholzer | University of Munich**

This paper presents results of an empirical project, in which the language use and language attitudes in German-speaking Switzerland were surveyed. How do German-speaking Swiss deal with the two varieties of German that are available to them – Swiss German and Standard German – at the beginning of the 21st century, how do they use them in oral contexts especially and what are their language attitudes towards the various varieties of German they come in contact with?

These questions were investigated drawing on a case study of pastors of the Protestant Church and priests of the Catholic Church, who employ both dialect and Standard German as spoken varieties in their professional life. This holds true especially in the case of church service, a context for which the conditions have changed over the past 100 years: While the standard variety used to be (nearly) the only legitimate variety for service[3], there has been an increase in the use of dialect (cf. i. e. Schwarzenbach 1969: 188, Rüegger et al. 1996: 19, Haas 2000: 84).

In the project a set of direct and indirect methods were applied. The following research questions were answered on the basis of the results of big corpora:

- Which role do the two varieties, Swiss German and Standard German, play in the professional life of pastors and priests?
- Do rules issued by the cantonal churches or the bishoprics exist that define which variety has to be used in services or religious education?
- How do pastors and priests deal with the varieties in Sunday services? At which places of the service does code-switching between dialect and Standard German take place? Are the switchings classifiable?
- Which varieties do pastors and priests use according to their own statements for their professional life (services, religious education, weddings, funerals, conversations of spiritual welfare etc.)? Which reasons do the elicit for the choice of variety?
- Which role do songs and bibles that have been translated into the dialect play in the services?
- Which role does the question of language varieties play in the (continuous) training of pastors and priests in German-speaking Switzerland?
- Which language attitudes do pastors and priests display towards the different varieties?

In this paper the results of the research project will be presented in their entirety.

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[3] Church services are a highly formal situation and therefore a possible context for the so- called situated use of the standard, situationsinduzierter Standardgebrauch (cf. Christen et al. 2010: 13f.) as well as school lessons and some programmes in radio and television.

# Upper-class Stockholm Swedish

## Jenny Öqvist | University of Linköping

In this paper I describe the phonetic, prosodic and discursive features of upper-class Stockholm Swedish during the 20th century. The data for the study consists of dialect recordings of Stockholmers born 1860–1940, media recordings of the Swedish royal family, and of members of Sweden's most influential business dynasty, the Wallenbergs.

Like other urban varieties, Stockholm Swedish has long been characterised by social variation. Research on Stockholm Swedish dates back approximately a hundred years and since the beginning, Stockholm Swedish has often been divided into two social varieties: one connected with lower class speakers, the other with upper class speakers (cf. Uhrström 1911, Bergman 1951, Gjerdman 1954, Ståhle 1975, Kotsinas 1989). Upper-class Stockholm Swedish has primarily been associated with three features: front/open pronunciation of /ɑ:/, centralised pronunciation of /i:/ and /y:/, and front pronunciation of /ɧ/, all described first in the 1950s (cf. Bergman 1951, Langenfelt 1953, Gjerdman 1954). However, with the exception of Kotsinas' (1994) study of young people's language in three Stockholm suburbs, upper-class Stockholm Swedish has not been investigated in any detail. This is presumably partly due to it being a high prestige variety, closer to the standard language than low prestige varieties, and therefore regarded as less interesting from a linguistic perspective. The situation is by no means unique for the Swedish language – studies of upper class varieties are scarce in language variation studies in general, with Kroch's (1996) study of the speech of upper class Philadelphia being one of few exceptions.

In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in social class in sociolinguistics (cf. Rampton 2006, Block 2014). Block (2014) argues that social class has been undervalued and neglected in studies of language and identity in the last decades, and advocates that the interplay between social class and language practices should be brought (back) centre stage into sociolinguistic research. In light of this, I also discuss possible explanations (other than linguistic ones) for the lack of interest in studying high prestige varieties such as upper-class Stockholm Swedish – a lack of interest characterising not only sociolinguistic research during the last decades, but the field of language variation studies as a whole.

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# Social factors and acoustic variability in the realization of postvocalic /r/ in East Thuringian

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Sociophonetic research suggests that speakers index their social and regional identity by varying in small phonetic detail (e.g. Foulkes et al. 2010). The aim of the present study is to understand the use of regional variants based on social factors such as speakers' social and regional identity or attitudes and stereotypes towards East Thuringian, particularly in light of the stigmatization often attached to east central German varieties. The structure of this vertical spectrum has been the subject of recent dialectological studies that suggest a reduced complexity of the verbal repertoire once the base dialects, which represented the extreme pole of the vertical spectrum, disappeared. However, acoustic or articulatory studies are scarce (Siebenhaar, submitted).

The present study focuses on acoustic variability of the vocalic variant of coda /r/ in East Thuringian. Correlates of coda /r/ are characterized by pharyngealization of the preceding vowel, but also of adjacent consonantal material. While the 'dark' and 'muffled' quality is described as a distinct and salient feature of east central German varieties (Khan & Weise 2013), it has generally been excluded from analysis because of its obscure phonological status (Auer et al. 1993).

A selection of word pairs containing the short vowels /ɪ ɛ a ɔ ʊ/ were embedded in meaningful sentences (e.g. *Sie ist nach Bonn/Born gefahren*, 'She went to Bonn/Born'). 24 speakers, aged 19-39, from two cities in the East Thuringian dialect region (Naumburg and Zeitz, 15 male, 9 female) were recorded. In a preliminary, we found systematic differences in spectral patterns between /r/ and /r/-less vowels. Significantly lowered F2 and increased F1 values reflect the articulatory configuration of a retracted tongue root which is consistent with pharyngeal constriction (Otto et al. 2014). Acoustic analysis covering duration and spectral measures (F1-F3) of a greater portion of the word indicate acoustic consequences of /r/ extending over a greater temporal range showing /r/ to be a feature of the entire syllable rather than of a single segment (Carter & Local 2007; Stuart-Smith 2007). Possible correlations between the acoustic correlates of /r/ and a range of attributes gathered from speakers in a questionnaire covering items (rating scales) about their regional identification and attitudes towards the local variety are explored.

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# The feminine marker *-sa*: an unnecessary but deep-rooted alien in Eastern Basque

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It is accepted that Basque has no grammatical gender (Corbett 2005). This said, animate and inanimate nouns behave differently in declension (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003). Although there is no morphological gender distinction, Eastern Basque varieties have historically used a few morphemes, particularly the roman-origin suffix *-sa*, to mark the feminine of certain nouns. This suffix is added to nouns denoting profession or social situation (Lafon 1947), such as *botikariosa* 'pharmacist.F', *bürüzagisa* 'boss.F' or *alhargüntsa* 'widow'.

The suffix *-sa* is in a complicated situation today. On the one hand, from a purist view there was no point in borrowing it, since Basque has no need to mark the feminine in nouns. On the other hand, aware speakers associate the use of *-sa* with sexism in language. Thus, to a certain extent, the suffix *-sa* can be regarded as an unnecessary alien with sexist connotations (cf. Davant 2003). Perhaps for these reasons, the still on-going standardization has avoided it. Historical records, however, show that it was extensively used.

Paradoxically, present-day Eastern Basque speakers perceive the *-sa* forms as genuinely Souletin (Eastern Basque); hence some overuses such as *idazkarisa* 'secretary.F', *irakaslesa* 'teacher.F' or even *züportersa* 'supporter.F'. In this paper I shall study the evolution of *-sa* in the light of a corpus of Old Souletin texts (16th–19th centuries). I will analyze the derivation patterns concerning this suffix and its hypothetic semantic nuances. Finally, I shall argue that the problem of *-sa* refers to a particular crossroad between language contact, identity and attitudes toward language.

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# Variation and change in the second person plural forms of address in European Portuguese

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An important phenomenon in spoken European Portuguese system of forms of address is the decreasing of second person plural pronoun *vós* replaced by an increasing use of a grammaticalised former nominal address form *vocês,* mainly in subject function. The pronoun *vós* is not uniformly distributed in the Portuguese territory (Silva, 2010). It is attested particularly in the northern region of the country, considered as a conservation area (Cintra 1972, Hammermüller 2004, Bermejo 2012). The variation between the pronouns *vós* and *vocês* is illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) **vós** *ponde-me isto depois eu • • cá vos agradeço.* (PSFB Corpus, speaker 67)
  you.2pp put.2pp me this then I here you.CL.2pp thank.
  You place this here, and then I thank you.

(2) *O pessoal está aqui,* **vocês** *não veem aqui ninguém da da da gerência* (PSFB Corpus, speaker 18)
  the staff is here, you.3pp don't see.3pp here anyone from the the the direction.
  The staff is here, but you don't see anybody from the direction.

Since European Portuguese is a Null Subject, the pronoun may be unexpressed or overt, and the addressee is given by the inflection of the verb (3) e (4):

(3) *Já* **estais** *todas velhas, todas reformadas e eu com onze aninhos,* (PSFB Corpus, speaker 86)
  already ø are.2pp all old, all retired and I am eleven years old.
  You are already old, all retired, and I am only eleven years old.

(4) *Quando me* **ligaram** *estava lá.* (PSFB Corpus, speaker 12)
  When ø me.CL called.3pp ø was.1ps there.
  When you called.3pp me, I was there

In this paper, we analyse the variable use of *vós* and *vocês* in subject function to show that the decreasing use of 2nd person plural is motivated by linguistic and social factors. The date was collected in a corpus of the project "Sociolinguistic Profile of Braga's Speech", a city located in the north of Portugal. This sample is composed by sociolinguistic interviews with male and female speakers of four age groups (1-25, 26-49, 60-75 and over 76) and four levels of schooling. Our analysis attests that second person plural forms, overt or null, became rare in the oral speech of the region and are restricted to irregular verbs. Moreover, these forms are preserved in the speech of older speakers with low degree of formal schooling.

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# The perception of regional variety by elementary school students, as it is represented in mass culture texts: Evidence from Greek data

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The aim of this paper is to present the results of a perception study on the linguistic attitudes of Greek pupils of the fifth and sixth grade of primary school toward dialectal variation as it is represented in mass media (Kounnapi, 2006). In particular, we will present young pupils' opinions about the geographical loci as well as the communicative events that are considered by them as the most appropriate for dialectal use. We will also show the pupils' attitudes toward the social values of the regional dialects and the ways in which these attitudes are grouped into non pre-fixed categories which reveal a multilevel evaluation. Furthermore, we will present the results of statistical analysis that show which social parameters indicate a significant statistical correlation with the previously mentioned groups of attitudes.

According to Van den Bulck (2001: 55), TV commercials make use of the dominant linguistic ideologies and rely on the already formed metapragmatic stereotypes (Agha 1998) of speakers – spectators. In line with this approach, we consider that TV commercials are particularly amenable to investigation of the perception of linguistic variation. Therefore we used as a stimulus a Greek TV commercial, which uses instances of regional variation and we asked pupils to answer questions concerning the appropriateness of dialect use in specific regional and communicative contexts. We further conducted a modified version of the matched-guise technique (Lambert et al. 1965). The research was held in four primary schools of the prefecture of Achaia in Greece, in areas of different social background.

According to the results of the research, the pupils consider dialect use appropriate in provincial areas and in informal communicative contexts, while they consider it inappropriate in formal communicative contexts. The answers of the pupils in the matched-guise test were grouped with the help of factor analysis and the results of this quantitative analysis reveal the total absence of overt prestige of the dialectal variability, and at the same time the existence of different aspects of covert prestige. Further statistical analysis shows that pupils' attitudes are related to independent variables, such as the social stratification of the schools' areas as well as the pupils' language performance in school.

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# "Going back to the farm:"
# a report on how the economic crisis is affecting dialect usage in Greece

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I will report on a project that investigates whether the Greek economic crisis, which is forcing young people to return to their rural areas of origin, is also affecting the use of local dialects. I will present a sociolinguistic analysis of phonological variables that have been identified as stereotypes of the Northern Greek variety: the raising of unstressed mid vowels /e/ and /o/, the deletion of unstressed high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the palatalization of the dental sonorants /l/ and /n/ in when they are followed by the vowel /i/ and, optionally, a consonant (/li(C)/ and /ni(C)/, cf. Newton 1972). Although these patterns are stigmatized, only palatalization has been analyzed from a sociolinguistic perspective, and that only for the area of southwestern Greece (Papazachariou 2004; 2006, Pappas 2006; 2008).

The dataset of 2,880 tokens is constructed from recorded interviews with 24 speakers between the ages of 20 and 35, both male and female, and of two different educational levels: Those who have a high school diploma and those who have pursued at least two years of post secondary education. The participants have also been categorized according to their residence in the community: 12 of the speakers have only lived in the community, while the other 12 have lived in large cities for at least 3 years, and have returned because of the crisis.

The tokens were collected and analyzed using Praat 5.2.17 and the data were quantitatively analyzed using Goldvarb X. The results of the analysis show that gender and residence are the two most important factor groups for both variables, with local men using the rural variants the most, and migrant women using them the least.

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# Swedish word order in Stockholm Low German

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Petzell (2014) maintains that the usage in older Swedish of the word order VfOVi, whereby the finite verb (Vf) comes before, and the non-finite verb (Vi) comes after the object (O), was adapted to Middle Low German (MLG) during the 15th and 16th centuries. However, in Petzell's view, the adaptation was incomplete: the over-all frequency of VfOVi, which was lower in MLG than in Old Swedish (i.e. pre-15th century), appears to have been transmitted, but not its distribution; in MLG, unlike any variety of older Swedish, VfOVi was, by and large, a main clause phenomenon.

In this talk, I will argue that it is misleading to thus characterise the MLG syntactic influence as incomplete, since it presupposes a poorly reconstructed contact situation. Anyone who is interested in contact induced change in the past, must, of course, first of all determine what varieties were involved. In 15th century Stockholm, for instance, the MLG variety that the Swedish speaking locals faced in their everyday life would have been a local form of MLG, not the continental MLG investigated by Petzell (2014). Consequently, I have conducted a pilot survey of OV word order in six MLG documents written in 15th century Stockholm (Styffe 1875; cf. also Mähl 2008). In this sample of Stockholm MLG, VfOVi is used in the same fashion as in contemporary Swedish: it is almost as common in subordinate clauses as it is in main clauses.

This local anomaly, as it were, can in turn be analysed as a contact induced simplification, having originated in L2-learning. Similar forms of word order simplification are well known from the literature on second language acquisition (at least since Meisel et al. 1981). If L2-traits were indeed incorporated in the MLG contact variety of Stockholm, active bilingualism must have been commonplace. Such a conclusion is quite contrary to what has been the prevailing view among contact linguists during the last decades (Jahr & Elmevik 2012).

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# Regional and social variation in zero articles in northern Dutch varieties: evidence from the Wenker surveys

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Some northern Dutch dialects show a propensity for not realizing the common gender definite article *de,* and sometimes the neutral definite article *het* (cf. Oosterhof 2008). This phenomenon, however, has not been sufficiently researched, being left out for example in modern atlas projects such as SAND (Barbiers et al. 2006) or being mentioned almost en passant in the literature (cf. Oosterhof 2008). In this presentation, I will take a look at the regional, social, and internal variation of zero definite articles in some northern Dutch varieties using the Wenker sentences. Keeping in mind that the Wenker sentences are not limitless, a few different contexts in which the zero article appears will be considered. (1–3) below illustrate this phenomenon. 'Ø' refers to the lack of the definite article in the sentences.

1. k    bèn    bí    Ø          vrau         wèst (Mensingeweer)
   I    be–1S    at    Ø–DEF      woman        been–PTCP
   ‚I was at the woman's (house)'.

2. Ø          vuur    was    te     hait (Wagenborgen)
   Ø–DEF      fire    was    too    hot
   ‚The fire was too strong'.

3. Wat  zittn  doar  veur  voogltjes     op    Ø          muurke (Uithuizen)
   What sit–3P  there for   little.birds  on    Ø–DEF      little.wall
   ‚What are those (little) birds sitting up there on the (little) wall'?

The Wenker surveys contain 40 Standard German sentences that were originally sent out beginning 1876 by Georg Wenker to the village schools of Germany. Teachers were asked to have the sentences translated by themselves or by a school student. About 50 years later, in 1934, the sentences were also collected in the Netherlands by P.J. Meertens (cf. Meertens 1936). Generally, the Wenker sentences were ignored with regard to syntax. However, recent publications (e.g., Fleischer 2012) have shown that the Wenker sentences can be useful for dialect syntax. The Dutch material, however, has barely ever been touched, disregarding a few early exceptions.

There are a few differences in the data collection methods used in the Netherlands and Germany. Unlike the collection of the sentences in Germany by Wenker, not only could multiple surveys be gathered from some villages in the Netherlands with some places like the city of Groningen sending in 15 surveys or Hoogezand and Sappemeer with four and five surveys respectively, but also informants' personal information such as age, sex, and profession. This means that it is possible to look beyond just isolated attestations in a given place, but also to consider the variation within the village itself.

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# Linking perception and production in sound change

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In this paper we report the results of a study on the link between the perception and production of two sound changes in progress in Dutch, at both the group (region) and the individual level.

The devoicing of word-initial labiodental fricatives and bilabial stops both show patterns of regional variation in the degree of devoicing, but crucially differ in their degree of completion (advanced change vs. incipient change). Completed changes might result in a merger of /v/-/f/ and /b/-/p/. Five regions in the Dutch language area were selected, geographically representing different stages of sound change (West-Flanders, Flemish-Brabant, Netherlands Limburg, South-Holland and Groningen). For each region, 10 men and 10 women, highly educated, and between 18 and 28 years old were selected (n = 100) and participated in a series of production and perception experiments.

First, we discuss the results of two forced-choice categorization tasks, in which participants respectively had to categorize 405 labiodental fricatives and 405 bilabial stops as being either voiced or voiceless. Fricatives were phonetically manipulated along the dimensions voicing and duration on the continuum from [v] to [f], and stops ([b]-[p]) along the dimensions voice onset time and duration. The data were analysed with a mixed effect logistic regression and showed regional differences in the perception of fricatives. Fricative perception was the most categorical in regions where the devoicing process is still in an incipient phase, and the least categorical in regions where the process of devoicing is almost completed, in line with the stages of the sound change. However, the perception of stops did not yield regional differences.

Second, we discuss the production data. Each participant was recorded in a range of different speech styles, with different degrees of monitoring (word reading, sentence reading, semi-spontaneous speech and spontaneous speech). All fricative and stop tokens were measured along the same phonetic dimensions as in the perception task. The production patterns were analysed between regions and compared to the results of previous production studies.

Finally, we investigate the link between the production and perception of variation at the individual level. More specifically, we focus - within each region - on the most progressive and conservative individuals and on the innovators and leaders of change, and investigate how their production patterns relate to their perception. When putting the results of fricatives and stops together, we observe that changes in perception precede changes in production.

# Broadened linguistic repertoires: Elements of talk adult Lithuanian city dwellers choose to use at work

**Dalia Pinkeviciene | University of Vilnius**

With the opening of the borders and the increase of intercultural interaction the everyday adult speech in contemporary (20 years post-soviet) Lithuania is undergoing evident changes. This is particularly true in urban surroundings where abundant multiple language resources have become widely available due to the influence of the spread of urbanization, globalization and new technologies. Language users draw on the linguistic resources they have available to them to achieve their communicative aims (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), often they employ language features that are at their disposal and combine several different languages regardless of how well they know the involved languages (Jørgensen et al., 2011, Blommaert & Backus, 2011), i.e. speakers sometimes pick up phrases or words of a language that can only be used if another language is used as well. Different terms have been coined for such practices, for instance, Otsuji & Pennycook use the term *metrolingualism*, and Jørgensen et al. use the term *polylingualism*. How adult speakers manipulate language resources in their increasingly multimodal linguistic repertoires, and why they prefer one linguistic variant over the other in certain social situations at work are the issues that this study focuses upon.

The paper is based on an ongoing sociolinguistic investigation of Lithuanian urban workplace discourse. The paper draws on digital audio recordings of naturally occurring spontaneous conversations between employees collected in several companies in Vilnius (a media-related company, an IT company, and a laboratory). The recordings have been transcribed and analysed using Interactional Sociolinguistics methods. Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) is an in-depth qualitative approach that combines the application of the interpretive methods of discourse analysis with insights into social/cultural issues (Gumperz & Gumperz, 2007). Elements of talk help speakers to negotiate meanings of their interaction, and some elements become symbolic signs of certain meanings. What matters is how language is used and what meanings are produced by describing something one way over an alternative way. Particular attention has been paid to the function of embedded vocabulary or inserted phrases in languages other than Lithuanian, mostly English and Russian.

The preliminary analysis of the data shows that embedded English and Russian vocabulary elements in Lithuanian workplace discourse are used as group or individual stylistic choices to construct certain social images. English and Russian elements are patterns of verbal behaviour that are employed in different workplace situations and serve rather dissimilar purposes. The most prominent cases will be illustrated with transcribed examples of workplace conversations.

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# Individual variation according to social setting among Russian dialect speakers

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Previous studies have shown that Russian dialects have low status, at least among urban students (e.g. Andrews 1995; Krause, Sappok & Lublinskaja 2006; Dahlberg 2008), but little is known about their social status among dialect speakers themselves.

One way of finding out more about this is by studying how individual dialect speakers vary their use of dialect features. The social status of a speech variety depends on the social setting it is used in. Many Russians must be varying the number of dialect features in their speech, speaking closer to standard Russian in formal settings than, for instance, in conversations with relatives at home. Honselaar 1997 provides an example, but such individual variation among Russians has, to our knowledge, not yet been object of study (cf. Krause (2010) for a general discussion of geographically conditioned linguistic variation in Russian).

Unfortunately, almost all available data about Russian dialects are obtained in a single social setting: villagers interviewed by researchers speaking standard Russian. This does not give a complete picture of dialect usage in Russia. Recently, the social stratification of dialect features has been studied in a few remote North Russian villages and a small town (e.g. Kochetov 2006; Vaahtera 2009). These studies show generational differences at the community level, but they give no information about the variation of individual speakers, nor about real-time changes.

We have been lucky to obtain a variety of sound recordings of the dialect of Varzuga (Murmansk province), including a few older recordings (samples of these recordings will accompany Author, Pineda and Sappok, forthc.). A case study of the speech of one of the speakers shows that changes in social setting had more effect on the "dialectality" of her speech than a 14 years' time-lapse.

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# A quadrangulation of attitudinal study: Qualitative-Quantitative-Conscious-Nonconscious

**Dennis R. Preston | Oklahoma and Michigan State Universities**

Often masked in arguments over the appropriateness of qualitative versus quantitative research is the apparent conscious-nonconscious dichotomy. Many styles of quantitative research employ methods that attempt to elicit nonconscious responses, but much qualitative research (especially that based on discoursal data) appears to deal with conscious material. That association is demonstrably false. First, a great deal of research that has dealt with attitudes to varieties makes use of methods that directly access predominately conscious mechanisms. Second, everything that appears in discoursal or other sorts of qualitative evidence does not directly involve conscious or asserted material on the part of the respondent. The study of presuppositions, for example, allows an analyst to glimpse nonasserted but powerful beliefs about language and variety that surface in interviews.

As suggested above, this dichotomy is also treated as "apparent" in this presentation due to 1) the fact that conscious and nonconscious operations my be activated in a single response, and 2) the possibility that the dichotomy is a cline and that positions along the cline may manifest different characteristics. Since responses derive from a complex attitudinal structure, it should be no surprise that they will surface on one occasion as one aspect of a respondent's attitude and on another as a different one. This presentation assumes that all such responses are of value.

Methodological concerns have come to the fore especially in the work reported from Denmark in which verbal guise quantitative work (said to elicit nonconscious responses) is contrasted with conscious evaluation of Danish varieties. In the latter, respondents preferred their own area's speech, but in the former they showed a decided preference (even along solidary dimensions) for the modern Copenhagen variety which has been shown to be the primary target in modern Danish language change. This finding has led to the claim that nonconscious responses are the only ones that will accurately mirror ongoing language change.

This presentation outlines a program of research (and offers illustrations from an area where a standard language ideology is strong) that makes use of quantitative data along the conscious-nonconscious continuum and qualitative data along the same cline. The program allows explanatory interpretation of quantitative data (that do no speak for themselves) as well the empirical observation of trends in nonconscious evaluations. This program allows for a fuller construction of a local language ideology, one that shows in the case outlined here that the emerging local standard is one that is more difficult to establish but finally may be elaborated on by appealing to both quantitative and qualitative methods that tease out both conscious and nonconscious modes of cognitive processing.

# Combining methods in interactional sociolinguistics – analyzing the variation of spoken Finnish third-person pronouns on micro and macro level

**Katri Priiki | University of Turku**

In casual, spoken Finnish, four pronouns—*hän* (he, she), *se* (it, [he, she]), *tää* (this) and *toi* (that)—can be used to refer to people. The most common and the most neutral of them is *se*. However, in standard Finnish, the third-person pronoun which refers to people is *hän*, while *se* is only used with non-human referents. In the spoken language, *hän* mainly acts as a logophoric pronoun referring to the original speaker in a quoted utterance, while in written standard Finnish, *hän* has no such function. In some dialects, *hän* is also used for purposes other than the logophoric function. This paper examines the use of *hän* in a regional dialect of the province of Satakunta in southwestern Finland from the viewpoint of interactional sociolinguistics. In this variety of Finnish, speakers use the standard third-person pronoun widely, even in the most casual of conversations. What then can explain its use?

The research questions are as follows: Who is likely to use *hän*, and who is likely to be referred to with *hän* instead of *se*? What are the conversational and clausal contexts where *hän* occurs in casual everyday talk? What is the strongest tendency for predicting the use of *hän*?

The data consist of 24 hours of recorded conversations, in which 33 speakers produced 677 occurrences of *hän* while referring to a person. To keep the analysis simple enough for a short presentation, the demonstrative pronouns *tää* (this) and *toi* (that) are excluded from the analysis and a comparison is only made with *se*. Logophoric pronouns and cases in which the features of the referent are impossible to determine are also left out. The data are examined quantitatively using statistical methods and qualitatively from the viewpoint of interactional linguistics.

Beyond increasing knowledge about the variation of third-person pronouns, the aim of the study also is to reflect critically on the benefits and challenges of combining quantitative and qualitative micro- and macro-level analysis, statistical methods, and conversation analysis. Is it possible to create a comprehensive picture of all the factors affecting the variation of a linguistic feature and to predict when the standard pronoun *hän* occurs in informal talk?

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# Combining folk linguistics with variationist sociolinguistics: Language variation in Vaasa Swedish

**Viveca Rabb | Åbo Akademi University**

Traditional sociolinguistic studies focus on group differences, whereas the individuals drown in the material and never come to the surface. The variation paradigm has been criticized with arguments such as that it gives only a superficial understanding as the researcher loses the closeness to the material (Mæhlum 1992:99 ff.). It has also been noted that the traditional independent variables sometimes fail to explain all the variation seen in the material. An approach centered on the individual has been tried for analyzing dialect variation in recent years (e.g. Røyneland 2004, Bockgård & Nilsson 2011 with references). Looking at the individual may give new perspectives and new blood to the variationist research.

I study dialect variation from different methodological perspectives in the town of Vaasa in western Finland and the research belongs to a project called *Urban dialects in the Swedish-speaking Finland*, carried out at Åbo Akademi University. Vaasa has roughly 61,000 inhabitants, of which 23 % have Swedish as their mother tongue. I have interviewed 20 Swedish-speaking informants, 10 women and 10 men, born between 1936 and 1997. In a previous study (in press), I have done a cluster analysis where these 20 informants establish three different clusters regarding 9 linguistic variables. Concerning the traditional sociolinguistic independent variables, however, most of the informants share roughly the same background. Still, they speak differently.

The objective of this paper is to offer results about the identity and the linguistic perceptions of these informants and how these factors relate to and explain their linguistic differences. Together, the informants give a picture of the linguistic variation in Vaasa, where class is replaced by a combined factor of age, gender and devotion to football together with context, explaining who speaks more or less dialect. This picture certainly offers new perspectives to my cluster analysis, and it seems that a folk linguistic approach is a fruitful complement to a variationist study.

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# 'Never trust English spelling' or what can be learnt/learned from the analysis of past tense and past participle forms

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Cases such as *learned/learnt* or *burned/burnt* used as past tense or past participle forms are one of the most frequently cited grammatical differences between (Standard) American English and British English, with *–ed* being regarded as more American and *–t* as typically British. A number of studies in corpus linguistics have examined the variation of these forms. Levin (2009) shows that certain syntactic and semantic factors have contributed to the maintenance of the variation in British English, for example the transitive or intransitive use of the verbs or a difference in aspect (durative vs. punctual). As the variation between *learned/learnt* or *burned/burnt* is based on a phonological difference in the spoken language (voiced vs. voiceless ending) it is rather important to ascertain whether the forms to be found in corpora reliably represent the pronunciation of the verb-forms. Therefore, it will be a major aim of this paper to explore the relationship between the written verb-forms and their actual pronunciation in the spoken language. Surprisingly, there is rather little information in the literature on phonological factors that may affect the variation. Indeed, it can be hypothesized that the phonetic environment exerts an important influence on the verb-forms in spoken English. For this purpose, I carried out a study with 20 native speakers (undergraduate students) and the results clearly reveal such an influence. Forms of the following verbs in different phonetic contexts were examined in more detail: *burn, learn, kneel, dream, leap, lean, spell, spoil.*

Moreover, the paper will generally consider the complex relationship between spelling and pronunciation that may cause problems in the analysis of linguistic variation. Thus, for example, the pronunciation of < *leaped* > in (Standard) British English is not necessarily /liːpt/, but the form is frequently pronounced as /lept/, which calls for a supplementary analysis of spoken data. Finally, I will take a closer look at more varieties of English (both traditional and modern) to demonstrate the relevance of a phonetic analysis of the verb-forms involved.

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# Internal push or external pull? Real-time variation and change in the Scottish Vowel Length Rule in Glasgow

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One of the most compelling features of Scottish English is the systematic variation of vowel duration. In contrast to many varieties of English, Scottish dialects have word pairs like *crude* vs. *crewed, brood* vs. *brewed* that differ in the duration of the vowel (/u/, short vs. long). This variation is described by the famous Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR) according to which vowels bearing primary lexical stress have long allophones before voiced fricatives, /r/ and morpheme boundaries, and short allophones in other contexts (Aitken 1981). SVLR has recently been attested to undergo change in some communities of Scotland (e.g. Hewlett et al. 1999). Particularly high levels of exposure to Anglo-English seem to make SVLR disappear in younger Scottish speakers. The present study tested explanations to the process of sound change, using examples from Glasgow where dialect contact with Anglo-English has been rather low (Scobbie et al. 1999). We also considered the relative contribution of dialect-internal factors to the possible erosion of the Rule. Our study drew upon a longitudinal corpus of spontaneous Glaswegian speech recorded in the 1970s and 2000s. The corpus consisted of sociolinguistic interviews and informal conversations amongst close friends and combined a real-time and an apparent-time stratification.

Conducting the first study of the implementation of SVLR in spontaneous speech, we concentrated on the monophthongs /i u/ only (Scobbie et al. 1999). We compared productions by four speakers groups, two of middle-aged men (1970M and 2000M) and two of adolescent boys (1970Y and 2000Y). Each speaker had either a high or a low level of contact. Manual annotations were carried out on all tokens bearing prominence and containing /i ʉ/, distinguishing between three levels of prominence (stressed, accented and nuclear) and two phrasal positions (medial vs. final). Segmental and morphological environment of each vowel was annotated for SVLR constraints (long vs. short) and consonantal voicing. The dataset was then subjected to a linear mixed effects analysis.

Overall, the results showed a robust durational allophony in line with the SVLR-constraints in all speakers. There was only weak support for SVLR-weakening due to dialect contact in these speakers ($\chi^2$ (2) = 9.0, p = 0.011). However, the main finding indicated that a system-internally driven sound change may be in progress involving a weakening of SVLR at phrasal boundaries ($\chi^2$ (3) = 19.55, p < 0.001). Given that the change was observed in speakers who had acquired their vernacular during the time of urban regeneration happening in Glasgow between 1950 and 1970 (i.e. speakers from the 1970Y and 2000M groups), we argue that the results align with a key postulate of the social network theory (Milroy and Milroy 1985). Loosening of network structures reduces the stability of vernacular norms, facilitating language change towards a new, system-internally plausible form.

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# Language change in the post-colonial context: the individual and the community

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This paper explores the role of the individual and the community in language shift, that process by which a speech community in a contact situation gradually stops using one of its languages in favor of another. Using case studies from two post-colonial societies, Belize and Indonesia, this paper compares two approaches to the study of language shift – a 'big data' approach, and a more ethnographic approach. Both approaches treat language choice as a sociolinguistic variable, following Gal (1978), and the goal of both approaches is to examine the social factors that correlate with a breakdown in intergenerational transmission of the heritage language – the single most important parameter in the process of language shift (Fishman 1991).

Sankoff (2005) lays out four possible interpretive outcomes when a sociolinguistic variable is plotted against speaker age: stability, age grading, generational change, and communal change. A big data approach to language shift, using national level census data, allows us to see language shift as a communal change that happens in less than a generation, and from this perspective we gain insight into the demographic factors that correlate with rapid shift toward the dominant language, including gender, class, education, religion and urbanization. While the effects of the different social factors are largely consistent with what has been found qualitatively, we find that the effect of urbanization amplifies the effect of the other social factors, a conclusion that is only possible from a large-scale study. At the root of community-level decisions about language choice, however, are the choices that individuals and families make over the course of their own lives, and most notably the choices that parents make when talking to their children (the central problem of intergenerational transmission). From this perspective language shift is a generational change, and from this perspective we gain insight into the characteristics of the transitional generation of speakers who push the shift forward (Ravindranath 2009).

A comparison of these approaches allows us to "examine what may result from combinations of … how individuals change or do not change during their lives [and] how communities change or do not change over time." (Labov 1994: 83). By examining the role of the individual in communal language shift, I address the broader panel questions of whether community studies are still worth it, and what observation of the speech community can still contribute to our understanding of language change.

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# Indexicalization of ethnolectal features in performed language: an analysis of the film "Fack ju Göhte"

**Gertrud Reershemius | Aston University**
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Sociolinguistic discussion over the last years has increasingly included performed language as a topic of interest (for example Bell and Gibbon 2011 or Androutsopoulos 2012). In our paper we focus on the role of performed language in processes of linguistic variation and change. Is performed language as presented in media such as TV or film mainly affirmative or does it allow new concepts or even trigger innovation? Analyzing the 2013 film "Fack ju Göhte" we examine dialogues which show the embedding of indexicalized ethnolectal features in spoken German. We ask the question which social and linguistic concepts underlie the carefully crafted dialogues of the film and which role ethnolectal features play in these constructions. We will finally include an analysis of reactions to the language of "Fack ju Göhte" by film critics and parts of the audiences as found in blogs and commentaries in order to capture  metalinguistic dimensions and to complete a process of research integrating production, performance and reception.

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# "That was a bit, um, British, wasn't it?" –
# Scripted Britishness on American television and its comparability with British based media

## Susan Reichelt | Cardiff University

Sociolinguistic research on scripted television dialogue has been on the rise over the last few decades. Realising its potential to provide language data over a considerable time frame, linguists have started to embrace scripted dialogue as a way to track variation and change in various shapes and forms (e.g. intensifiers in the American sitcom Friends (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005), identity-patterns in The Big Bang Theory (Bednarek 2012), gender representation in Star Trek (Rey 1996), etc.). A focus article by Sayers (2014) and corresponding comments in a recent edition of the Journal of Sociolinguistics (18/2) further highlight the academic interest this medium sparks within sociolinguistics.

This study emphasizes the variability of character representation with a focus on geographical background. It aims at presenting linguistic stereotyping of British characters on  an American television series and similarities regarding Britishness as portrayed on two recent BBC series, as well as studies on natural occurring language. The research is based on a corpus consisting of the complete dialogue of three television series (Buffy the Vampire Slayer (USA), Sherlock (UK), and Torchwood (UK)) and their characters' usage patterns of pragmatic markers (mainly intensifiers, hedges, and discourse markers).

My results show that the presented characters in an American based show have definite overlap with natural language as well as British based media in the use of certain features (such as frequent use of very and really as intensifiers, preference of sort of over kind of as hedges, etc.), but that frequencies are quite different depending on the series' background.

Linguistic character profiles further show that Britishness in American media is not bound  to one set of features, but rather a diverse sample that goes well beyond the easily recognizable accents and Briticisms. While not always fully authentic in regards to natural occurring  language, British English on American television is indicated in manifold ways and supports speaker identity and individuality of each character. So while one of the characters is prone to slightly outdated and posh expressions, the other discovers his Britishness in slightly different ways: *'Bloody hell. Sodding, blimey, shagging, knickers, bollocks. Oh God, I'm English'*.

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# Probabilistic constraints on linguistic choice-making: the dative alternation in varieties of English

## Melanie Röthlisberger | University of Leuven

The present study explores variability in the hidden probabilistic constraints that fuel the variation between the double object (*I give him a* book) and prepositional dative construction (*I give a book to him*) (the well-known "dative alternation"). Situated at the crossroads of the probabilistic grammar framework (which assumes that variation in language is probabilistic rather than categorical, see Bod et al. 2003) and the "English World-Wide Paradigm" (which is concerned with the sociolinguistics of, and linguistic variation across, post-colonial English-speaking communities around the world. e.g. Schneider 2007), the present study investigates the extent to which language users' grammatical knowledge differs across dialects and varieties of English. Specifically, the study is interested in the extent to which core predictors of the dative alternation (e.g. length) are stable across regional varieties, registers, and dative verbs.

Previous studies have posited that varieties of English share a stable set of predictor variables due to the fact that all of the factors can be related to cognitive processing efforts (see, e.g., Bernaisch et al. 2014). Other studies (e.g. Bresnan & Hay 2008) report significant cross-varietal differences (e.g. animacy in New Zealand and US English). Despite those apparent disparities in their findings, the existing body of research fundamentally agrees that processing-related factors apply universally to all varieties. However, most of these studies focus on the prototypical dative verb GIVE for their analysis, and employ a limited set of registers (e.g. newspaper or spoken data). The current study is thus the first of its kind that analyses the dative alternation across different genres, modes and varieties, taking a wide amount of alternating verbs into account.

By tapping into six different varieties of Englishes, namely British English, Canadian English, New Zealand English, Singaporean English, Indian and Philippines English, thereby including spoken as well as written mode, a total of 15 different genres and a wide range of alternating verbs, this study's comprehensiveness fills a gap in the literature.

The main linguistic constraints tested in contemporary studies were operationalized and the complete dataset of 6'034 instances of double object and prepositional dative constructions accordingly annotated. The study relies on mixed-effect logistic regression analysis to infer linguistic knowledge from observations in naturalistic corpus data. The resulting models show, that on the one hand, the six varieties under scrutiny share a core set of probabilistic constraints on their linguistic choice-making; on the other hand, cross-varietal differences can be identified.

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# Implicit measures of automatic evaluation: Exploring new quantitative methods to measure the perception of language varieties

**Laura Rosseel | University of Leuven**
**Dirk Geeraerts | University of Leuven**
**Dirk Speelman | University of Leuven**

Over the past two decades, an abundance of new methods to explore attitudes have been developed in social psychology (Petty et al. 2009). Implicit measures of automatic evaluation in particular have been studied extensively and are widely used in this field. The application of these techniques in linguistics has been limited so far. Recently, however, linguists have begun to adapt these measures to study language attitudes. Examples are Speelman et al. (2013) who developed auditory affective priming and Pantos (2012), Redinger (2010) and Campbell-Kibler (2012; 2013) who amended the Implicit Association Test for use with linguistic materials. Both methods use response latencies to measure participants' attitudes towards a set of associated stimuli. In auditory affective priming, for instance, respondents need to categorise a target stimulus as negative or positive after being presented with a prime stimulus. If the prime has the same polarity as the target, it has been found that the reaction time is shorter than when prime and target are contrastively polarised. Analysing reaction times, then, allows to determine whether a stimulus is experienced positively or negatively. By using auditory prime stimuli, Speelman and colleagues (2013) have been able to use affective priming to measure attitudes towards regional varieties of Dutch.

Given the relative novelty of implicit measurements of automatic evaluation in linguistic research, the paper will present a systematic survey of the possibilities and difficulties of implementing these techniques in linguistic attitude research. The survey will specifically focus on how these techniques can complement existing quantitative and qualitative methods in attitude research, and how these experimental methods can be enhanced using insights from qualitative research paradigms. In addition to discussing the potential of measures such as auditory affective priming and the Implicit Association Test which have recently been introduced to linguistics, we will explore what implicit measures not previously used in language attitude research, such as the Affect Misattribution Procedure and the Single Target Implicit Association Test, have to offer. This overview will be illustrated by results of our ongoing research on attitudes towards different regional varieties of Dutch in Belgium.

# Regional varieties in Norway – fact or fiction?

## Unn Røyneland | University of Oslo

Over the last decades the Norwegian language space has undergone substantial restructuring partly due to increasing urbanization and globalization. More dialect and language contact has lead to increasing dialect levelling, dialect shift and emergence of koines, multiethnolectal speech styles and possibly also intermediate regional varieties. Young Norwegians tend to have more complex and fluid linguistic repertoires. However, there seems to be different linguistic developments in different parts of the country. In western regions horizontal convergence seems to dominate whereas vertical convergence is clearly the dominating force elsewhere (cf. Røyneland 2009; Sandøy 2004).

Although developments vary geographically, tendencies towards vertical convergence may be detected in all areas. The result, however, often differs from the converged-to variety and may contribute to the emergence of new intermediate variants and to the creation of new distinctions (cf. Røyneland 2010). Many studies demonstrate that local varieties deviate substantially from the high-status variety at the level of the lexicon, and suggest that this is where we find the most pronounced vertical convergence. At the level of morphology, by contrast, we may find system internal simplifications that deviate from the high-status variety. The result of these changes is in many cases increased intra-structural variation and a range of non-discrete structures within the dialect-standard continuum. But new intermediate regional varieties may also be the result.

In my presentation I will examine whether and to what extent such intermediate regional varieties are in the process of being established – both at the level of language use and at the level of perception. Norwegian socio-dialectologists began to examine the question of regional Norwegian varieties in the 1980s. These previous studies suggested that while regional lects are emerging, they remain relatively unfocussed and unstable and have little symbolic significance (cf. Akselberg 2005). Whether this remains the case, however, needs to be considered. It is possible that regional varieties are becoming more important as means of signalling regional affiliation and identity. How far this is the case is one of the central topics of a national study that I am currently undertaking. My argument will draw on the results of this study, as well as other recent work.

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# Variation of Rhythmical Structure of Phonological Word in Standard Russian (Post-tonic vowels)

**Anastasiia Safonova | Higher School of Economics**

One of the most salient typological peculiarities of Modern Standard Russian is its rhythmical structure: any phonological word consists of so called prosodic nucleus (formed by the stressed and the first pretonic vowels) and marginal part consisting of highly reduced unstressed vowels. The realization of vowels in some Russian dialects may differ from realization in Standard language: the prosodic nucleus consists there of stressed syllable only and the second pretonic or initial/final syllables may receive the additional prominence. These dialectal phenomena are hardly controlled by speakers, and therefor often retain in the Standart Russian in the regions in question.

Nowdays one can find some descriptions of the dialects [Vysotsky 1973] and regional variants of Modern Standard Russian [Grammatchikova et al. 2013] from the point of view of their pretonic rhythmical structure. Post-tonic part of the word has been not studied propely yet.

The main goal of the research is a comparative analysis of post-tonic rhythmical structure of phonological word in the pronunciation of Moscow speakers originating from northern, southern and central part of Russia.

27 different phonological words positioned in a text were studied, each of them the first syllable stressed, the number of syllables in post-tonic part varied from one to two, the type of the final syllable - from open to closed. The text was read by speakers from Moscow, Belgorod (southern) and Karelia (northern regional variant), then the duration of the stressed and post-tonic vowels test words was measured using the PRAAT program for the phonetic research.

The results are shown in Figure 1. It is possible to conclude that in all three regional variants post-tonic vowel in two-syllable words is significaly longer than the first vowel in post-tonic trisyllabic words, but shorter than the second post-tonic in trisyllabic words. In the Karelian and Belgorod regional variants vowels in open post-tonic syllables are longer than in closed one. In Moscow regional variant difference between these vowels is almost negligible.

In general, in the Karelian regional variant the post-tonic vowel's duration is the greatest: it is about 50% of the duration of the stressed. In Moscow this value is the lowest (26% of the duration of the stressed). In Belgorod regional variant intermediate situation may be observed.

The data provided suggest that the changes in the realization of vowel in post-tonic syllables, observed in Modern Standard Russian [Knyazev, Pozharitskaya 2012: 245] are the result of the interaction between Moscow and regional variants.

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**Figure1.** The relation of the duration of the stressed and post-tonic vowels in two-syllable and trisyllabic words in Moscow, Karelian and Belgorod regional variants.
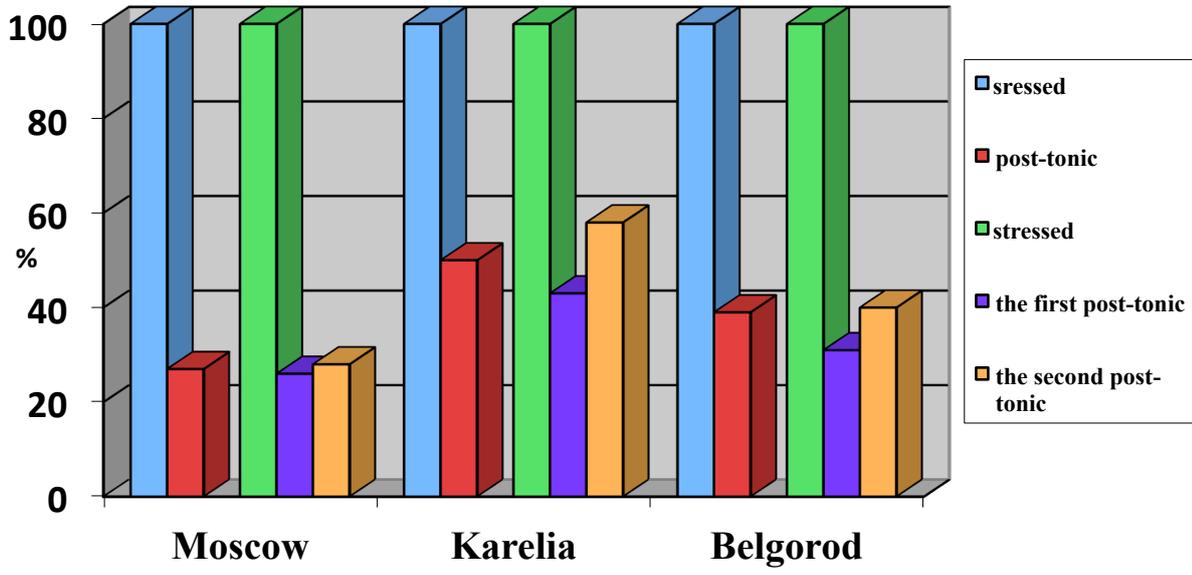
# Perceptions on dialectal variation: A study on both sides of the Galician-Portuguese border

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**Soraya Suárez Quintas | University of Santiago de Compostela**

The aim of this study is to learn about speakers' metalinguistic perceptions in an area on the border between Galicia and Portugal. An analysis will be carried out on what knowledge and impressions speakers have of these two languages: Galician and Portuguese. Also, the intrinsic variations noticed on each language by the inhabitants. Our theoretical framework is Perceptual Dialectology, which is a branch of studies on dialectal variation that focuses on how the language is perceived, as well as people's attitudes.

The methodology for this study consists of twenty-eight oral interviews recorded between late 2012 and early 2014 in twenty-one rural locations in the South of the Galician province of Ourense and other seven in the North of Portugal. The locations were chosen according to geographical and demographic criteria.

The study focuses on two specific aspects of speakers' perceptions. One goal involves identifying how the local population in these areas perceives dialect variations; the second one is to ask their opinion on these dialect varieties. According to these two objectives, firstly interviewees are urged to reflect on the varieties distribution of their own language and their Galician and Portuguese neighbour's and also on their mutual comprehension. On the other hand, informants are asked to assess which variety would find more appropriated and more pleasant on their own language.

After an initial analysis, the following conclusions are drawn:

1. Informants show a vague knowledge on the varieties distribution.
2. Galician as well as Portuguese interviewees state that there are not issues in understanding the different varieties at both ends on the Galician-Portuguese border.
3. The variety viewed as more adequate is usually distinct from the informant's own dialect.
4. Several sources agree that their own language is the most pleasant. This is one of the concepts that underpins community identity.

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# The memorization of complex items – a cross-linguistic comparison

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Whether or not morphology represents a separate grammatical domain distinct from syntax has been a controversial issue for a couple of decades. While some researchers emphasize contrasts between the two (cf. Bisetto & Scalise 1999; Di Sciullo & Williams 1987), others deny a funda- mental distinction between morphology and syntax (cf. Kremers 2011; Lieber 1992). In a recent study, Kotowski, Böer and Härtl (2014) compared German adjective-noun compounds (morpho- logical products) and adjective-noun phrases (syntactic products) and revealed stronger memori- zation effects for compounds, which the authors interpreted as a reflex of compounds to be more prone to be memorized/lexicalized in comparison to phrases.

The current paper explores the question in how far the hypothesized difference between com- pounds and phrases can also be speculated to have cognitive implications from a cross-linguistic perspective. We investigate the process of memorization of adjective-noun/noun-adjective con- structions in German, English, and French. German has been claimed to prefer a *morphological route* to realize new lexical concepts, that is, it utilizes compounding in that respect (cf. Bücking 2010; Hüning 2010), whereas French can be argued to favor a *syntactic route*, that is, it primarily employs phrases here (cf. Van Goethem 2009). English might be prone to use *both* routes (cf. Carstairs-McCarthy 2005; Di Sciullo 2005).

In the study we will report on, native speakers of the above-named languages participated in an auditory memorization experiment on three days. On each day, the experiment consisted of a memorization and a recall phase. In the memorization phase, subjects were asked to memorize novel complex items (adjective-noun for German and English, adjective-noun or noun-adjective for French, e.g. *Blaumotor/blue motor/moteur bleu*) and, as a baseline, real nouns (e.g. *Archi- tekt/architect/architecte*) of their respective native language. In the recall phase (lexical-decision paradigm), subjects responded to items that they memorized in the memorization phase (response = yes) and to items that they did not memorize (response = no). We examined RESPONSE TIME and RESPONSE ACCURACY as dependent variables. Our independent variables were LAN- GUAGE (German, English A (= complex items with initial stress), English B (= complex items with non-initial stress), French), ITEM TYPE (complex, real nouns), DAY (1, 2, 3), and LEARNING STATUS (learned, unlearned). However, it turned out that many unlearned items showed high error rates. Therefore, all unlearned items were excluded from the ANOVAs, i.e. the independent variables LANGUAGE, ITEM TYPE, and DAY were analyzed for learned items only.

We hypothesized only complex items to reveal a significant difference across languages but not real nouns. Considering response times of real nouns, we found no significant difference be- tween German and French and no significant difference between the two English groups. Further, response times for the complex German items were shorter than for the complex French ones and the complex English items bearing non-initial stress were responded to faster than the complex English items carrying initial stress. We will discuss our results against the background of a dis- tinction between compounds and phrases as well as its cognitive implications across languages.

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# Stylistic and functional variation of adverbial connectives: although, though and even though in British English

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While concessive adverbials have been extensively discussed in theoretical terms (see König 1991), they have featured less in usage-based quantitative research (but see Aarts 1988 and Hilpert 2013). This paper aims to shed new light on the usage of the connectives *although*, *though* and *even though* in British English.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1097) present *although* and *though* as the central markers of concession. The latter is described as "more informal", and *even though* is interpreted as a variant that adds nuances of unexpectedness and emphasis. As pointed out by Aarts (1988: 41), *although* and *even though* function exclusively as subordinating conjunctions as in (1), while *though* can also be used as a conjunctive adverb, or conjunct, as in (2):

(1) <u>Although</u> / <u>Though</u> / <u>Even though</u> *John tried hard, he was unable to convince his sister.*

(2) *John tried hard to convince his sister. He was not successful, <u>though</u>.*

Using the *International Corpus of English* (ICE), this paper provides a detailed picture of the ways in which the concessive connectives under investigation partake in morphological and syntactic variation between genres of spoken and written British English. Results suggest that there is a clear division of labour between the conjunctions (*although*, *though*, *even though*) and the conjunct (*though*). The former are frequent in writing, while the latter has an important function in speech, as shown particularly in the private dialogue data of the corpus. It will also be argued that conjunct *though* is relatively frequent in text types characterised by paratactic syntax and particular argumentative strategies, shared by such diverse genres as conversation, business transactions, and spontaneous commentaries. The conjunction *even though* takes an interesting intermediate position, appearing in text types that share characteristics with formal and informal discourse. Finally, the paper applies a new measure of formal specialisation based on the added log-frequencies of variants. This quantifies the extent to which particular text types make use either of a relatively balanced mix or a more limited range of connectives. In the data selected for this paper, there is some evidence that high frequency of the three connectives in a text category correlates with higher degrees of specialisation. However, the notion of specialisation will become more relevant when concessive markers are compared across several varieties of English. This larger project, of which this paper is a small part, will also be discussed in brief.

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# Norm and identity. Spoken standard German in a minority context: The case of South Tyrol (Italy)

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In most of Europe's linguistic communities the diglossic constellations of rural dialects vs. standard varieties has turned into diaglossic constellations accompanied by phenomena like dialect loss and the development of regional standards (cf. Auer 2005). Within the German speaking community the use of these regional standards is (perhaps with some exceptions) rarely socially stigmatized and thus leads to their fairly relaxed use in various informal and formal situations.

A different, more normative attitude towards the use of spoken standard can sometimes be observed in areas where German is in a minority context and finds itself beneath the roof of an exogenous standard. This is for example the case in South Tyrol where Italian represents the exogenous and German the endogenous standard. The use of standard German is mainly restricted to written language, formal situations and interaction with German tourists whereas in everyday life a South Bavarian dialect is basically the only way of communication among German speaking South Tyrolians. Nevertheless, standard German, rather than dialect, is seen as an essential factor for keeping up the connection to the German speaking communities outside Italy and for preserving ones own ethnic identity.

In my paper I will discuss the linguistic manifestations of this attitude towards standard German on the basis of a spontaneous speech corpus that was assembled among school and university students in formal contexts (e. g. in interviews, oral exams). The results show strong influences of the underlying dialects on the one hand and the use of hypercorrect forms (cf. Lenz 2003, 211-217) and an overly orientation to written German on the other hand. On the basis of these findings the question will be raised whether the spoken German standard in South Tyrol can be seen as just another regional standard among many or if it possesses exclusive linguistic features that reveal its minority status.

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# Negotiating conflicting ideologies: Sociolinguistic identity in the Ukrainian conflict

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Language choice and use have long been a site of political contestation in Ukraine. In the 1930s, Soviet Russification policies required that all residents of the former Ukrainian territory adopt Russian as their official language, leading to the stigmatization of Ukrainian language preference. After the reestablishment of Ukraine's independence in 1991, Ukrainisation became the dominant ideology, promoting the Ukrainian language to the status of sole official national language, simultaneously stigmatizing any individual's preference for Russian. This contestation over language has continued into today, as is evident in the ongoing Ukrainian conflict, the contestation over borderland regions of Ukraine, and the fights in Ukraine's Parliament over national language policy reform.

As previous linguistic research has established, ideologies of linguistic and national identity can be connected to linguistic production. Membership to particular communities can be signaled through linguistic accommodation to variables associated with those communities; likewise, nonmembership can be signaled through non-accommodation to these same variables.

The current research further expands upon these findings by arguing that linguistic styles be a combination of socioculturally relevant variables of ideologically conflicting communities. To make this argument, I present interview data from a group of trilingual (Ukrainian, Russian, and English) young adults who have grown up in Ukraine during the national language policy shifts and ideological contestations involved in language choice and use throughout the country. Their patterns of palatalization are examined, as palatalization is a socially significant variable, occurring in different phonological environments for Ukrainian speakers than for Russian speakers, and marking individuals as native or non-native speakers of each language.  By interviewing the participants in English, they have access to both the Ukrainian and Russian systems of palatalization, allowing their use of one system or another to sociolinguistically mark them as speakers of Ukrainian or Russian in turn.

A total of 36 young adults (18-30 years old) from ideologically diverse regions of Ukraine were interviewed about their lives, their experiences in Ukraine, and their views on the current Ukrainian conflict. 12 of the participants still live in Ukraine, 12 live in North America, and 12 live in Australasia. Within each group, 3 participants identify as coming from the capital region of Ukraine, 3 from Western Ukraine, 3 from Eastern Ukraine, and 3 from the Crimean peninsula, each location representative of differing views on the Ukrainian conflict and language debate.

The findings show a consistent use of topic-based variation in palatalization by the individuals, consistent with their regional Ukrainian identities of origin and their distance from the conflict. When the individuals align with pro-Ukrainian language ideologies, they make greater use of the Ukrainian system of palatalization. When they disalign with these ideologies, they make greater use of the Russian system of palatalization. The same pattern is found for Russian language ideologies. These patterns allow them to shift alignment with their stated national identity depending on their ideologies about the topics being discussed and how far they wish to distance themselves from particular events and people of the Ukrainian conflict.

# Swahili loans in 'London Gujarati': Linguistic traces from the East African past

## Sheena Shah | University of Cape Town

Gujaratis living in the London diaspora generally speak a distinct Gujarati variety in which Swahili loans feature to different extents. While the older generations grew up in East Africa – for most Gujaratis in this study in Kenya – the younger generation acquired Gujarati from their parents and grandparents in London. In my discussion, I distinguish between the East African Gujarati as spoken in East Africa, and London Gujarati spoken in the Gujarati diaspora in London today.

In the following, I discuss the Swahili influence on the Gujarati as spoken by members of different generations of the Gujarati community in London. In addition, I look at the Swahili loanwords in London Gujarati and discuss these in light of the social and historical contexts in which they were borrowed.

Even among members of the older generations, the Swahili influence in their Gujarati differs. In my study, I collect Swahili terms from the most "conservative" speakers and supplement these with data provided by East African Gujarati language consultants from Kenya. This exhaustive compilation of Swahili loans serves as the basis for my discussion of the terms and semantic fields in which they occur. This analysis allows for reconstructing the specific social and geographical peculiarities of contact between Swahili and Gujarati speakers in East Africa.

Swahili, being a lingua franca of East Africa even before the colonial times, was the language used also by Gujaratis on a daily basis. The living conditions of Gujaratis as middle class citizens in the British colonies determined the kind of Swahili spoken with local customers and domestic workers. Most members of the present London Gujarati 'grandparent generation' and 'parent generation' were born in Kenya and family ties between Kenyan and London Gujaratis are still strong. The 'child generation' was born in London and acquired Gujarati from their parents and grandparents. East African Gujarati remains to be used as the main language of the community in Kenya and London Gujarati is still the language used at homes in the UK.

Quite a number of Swahili words are fully integrated in the London Gujarati. The Standard Indian Gujarati terms are often unknown to older and younger speakers. However, Swahili loans in modern London Gujarati are fading to some extent as a result of formal Gujarati language instruction provided to children; in emphasising Indian Gujarati in language classes, interference from English as well as Swahili lexemes are flagged and corrected by the teachers.

Swahili loans in the Gujarati of Londoners emphasise an East African identity. They serve as markers for belonging to the London Gujarati diaspora, but mainly among the older generations, who maintain stronger family and emotional ties to East Africa than to the "Indian motherland". The younger generation by contrast identifies predominantly as London Gujarati and for them the East African past becomes less and less relevant. In addition to the impact of the teaching mentioned above, this might further enhance the replacement of terms of Swahili origin by respective lexemes from Standard Indian Gujarati among the young London Gujaratis.

# Variation in Croatian-Čakavian: the Construction of the Rural Speaker's Identity in the Urban Speech Community

## Ivana Škevin

Croatian language has three main groups of dialects: *Kajkavian, Čakavian* and *Štokavian.* The standard Croatian is based on the Štokavian. The Čakavian dialect, subject of this research, is spoken along the East Adriatic Coast, it has many local varieties that vary in accent, morpho-syntax or in lexicon. The paper attempts to individualize the linguistic and the extra-linguistic factors of language shift and change of Croatian-Čakavian varieties. The hypothesis is that speakers of less dominant varieties, i.e. of rural Croatian-Čakavian varieties, while socializing and communicating with speakers of urban varieties or of the Croatian standard variety, as a consequence of their language attitudes, tend to accommodate and converge linguistically. It means that, they consciously or subconsciously, opt for the substandard urban or standard Croatian (lexical or phonetic) variant, instead of the rural one, even in informal situations. Through a short-term accommodation they are constructing their own identity in discourse or at least the identity they would like to present to others and the identity of the group they want to be identified with. This, on the long run, may cause the rural and the urban variety language shift, and it may, over time, lead to dialect levelling and change. The research will be conducted among students of the University of Zadar and it will be based on a questionnaire consisting of a series of questions about their local identity recognition and about their language behaviour in certain formal or informal situations and domains. Since the dialect levelling in Croatian-Čakavian varieties manifests mostly in accent levelling and in lexical levelling concerning the reduction of intrasystemic, especially 'quantitative' lexical variation, the questionnaire will also contain lexical and phonetic aspects of a corpus specific to a certain rural variety and to Zadar urban variety.

# Building a corpus of Swedish spoken in Finland

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Compiling a speech corpus is very different from compiling a corpus consisting of texts. In a speech corpus, different levels of annotation are crucial for improving searchability. Talko – corpus of Swedish spoken in Finland is a new research tool consisting of audio files linked to annotation, i.e. transcriptions in two parallel levels and part-of-speech tagging. The corpus is searchable through a web-based interface. Talko is being developed by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland in cooperation with the Text Laboratory at the University of Oslo.

The corpus contains recordings that were made in 2005-2008, during the project Preserve the Finland Swedish Speech [Spara det finlandssvenska talet]. Interviews were made with both younger and older speakers, male and female, in all parts of Swedish-language Finland in order to document the Swedish vernacular.

The recordings have been transcribed in a broad phonetic transcription as well as a standard orthographic transcription. The standard orthographic transcription is tagged with POS tags, lemma and some morphological features. The POS tagging is done with TreeTagger trained on the Stockholm-Umeå Corpus of written Swedish. The automatically produced POS tags are manually corrected for subsets of the data, and the manually corrected data is subsequently added to the training data of the tagger. This will gradually improve the result of the automatic tagging and compensate for differences between spoken and written Swedish and between Finland-Swedish and Sweden-Swedish.

Version 0.1 of the Talko-corpus was launched in August 2014 but it will be updated continuously with more data. Information about the corpus and instructions for user registration can be found at www.sls.fi/talko.

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# Aggregate analysis of lexical variation in Galician dialects

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Traditionally, Galician dialects have been identified and characterized on the basis of phonetic and morphological variables. These two types of variable are particularly useful in Galician linguistics in that they point to fairly similar and homogeneous dialect areas, since phonetic and morphological variants appear to be distributed in accordance with similar spatial patterns.

Although one usually thinks first of lexical variables in connection with the methods of traditional dialectology and linguistic geography, the latter are rarely subjected to an aggregate analysis as a means of identifying dialect areas. The famous dictum *chaque mot a son histoire* has often been behind the decision not to employ such variables to identify and characterize dialect varieties. It is rarer for coincidences in the territorial distribution of lexical variants to exhibit coincidences and overlapping than in the case of grammatical variables. The resulting maps of lexical isogloss boundaries present a tangle of criss-crossing lines where it is impossible and pointless to try to recognise areas that might be identified as sharing variants and can therefore be identified as lexical areas. In Romance linguistics it is rare to find lexical areas identified and then only on a word-by-word basis or restricted to a limited range of concepts (Rohlfs 1979, 1986; Cintra 1983; Fernández Rei 1990).

Our paper will present the results of an aggregate analysis of over 250 lexical maps from *Atlas Lingüísto Galego* (ALGa). The Gabmap software programme was used to process and analyse this material after it had been classified and checked. Aggregate dialectology makes it possible to analyse a large set of data and identify in it behaviour patterns (Nerbonne 2009; Goebl 2008) which help to account for territorial nuclei of spatial distribution. Using this procedure we were able to identify in the Galician linguistic territory a set of linguistic areas showing internal similarity and some degree of contrast with other lexical spaces or areas within the territory. Our analysis also makes it possible to discover areas where one may identify linguistic proximity to other zones belonging to adjacent, closely related linguistic domains within Galician. This study yields conclusions that are sufficiently solid to suggest that henceforth a focus on significant lexical variations over space ought to be incorporated into descriptions of language varieties within the domain of Galician.

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# A study of sociophonetic variation in Russian: palatalized vs. velarized [t] followed by /e/.

**Daria Staferova**

In Russian, the opposition between palatalized and velarized consonants is a regular phonological opposition ricly represented in the native vocabulary. In recent loanwoards, however, consonants often are not subject to the palatalization. The sociophonetic experiment described in this paper establishes whether respondents (80 speakers, 1600 utterances) use palatalized or velarized [t] followed by /e/ in ten loanwords: *termin* 'term', *termos* 'thermos', *terakt* 'act of terrorism', *terapevt* 'therapist', *buterbrod* 'sandwich', *terrarium* 'terrarium', *termometr* 'thermometer', *sviter* 'sweater', *strategija* 'strategy', *komp'juter* 'computer'. All respondents were divided into three age groups: younger (17-33), middle age (38-54) and older (56-77). My aim is to find correlations between the realization of [t] and the respondents' age, gender and speech style. Two methods of interviewing respondents have been used:

- **crossword task**: solving a crossword with the images of objects and definitions of the words by pronouncing the answers;
- **adjective task**: reading words from the list and adding an adjective.

This is an apparent time study examining differences in the speech of different generations. The main variable with which the distribution of palatalized vs. velarized [t] correlates is the age of the respondent. The younger is the respondent, the more often he or she chooses the palatalized variant. The study shows that within the younger group variability is higher than in the middle age and older groups.

I controlled the results of the apparent-time study by using Multimodal Russian Corpus (http://ruscorpora.ru/search-murco.html) that includes recordings of spoken Russian over the 20th century. Its data, though very limited, confirms that the velarized variant prevails in the older group.

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# Lavender Linguistics, an overview

**Katharina Sternke | University of Düsseldorf**
**Dana Römling | University of Düsseldorf**

The poster shall give a general overview on the sociolinguistic subfield of Lavender Linguistics. Lavender Linguistics is a cover term for linguistic research connected to the speech of LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer) individuals and communities. The term was first coined in the 1950's whilst the gay lexicon was researched in the context of Polari - a secret language used in the U.K.. Polari was mostly spoken among gays but also by people connected to theatres and sex workers. The term was chosen due to the association of the colour lavender with gay individuals. Today Lavender Linguistics is also connected to heteronormative/heterosexist, homophobic and transphobic language and discourse. Topics can range from discourse analysis to phonetic examinations of e.g. gay speech or target the intersection of language, sexuality and gender identity. Most focus of research in lavender linguistics used to be on male-gaeech but this focus is slowly shifting towards a broader range of individuals. The claim that (stereotypical) gay language mirrors female speech has also been proven wrong, since stereotypical female speech patterns are adopted.

This poster, in addition, will show the impact of heteronormative standards on language. People react in different ways to individuals who do not fit binary gender categories, sometimes in very violent terms. The language used in these reactions can be classified as hate speech, which, if directed towards members of the LGBTQ communities, is also part of the research area of Lavender Linguistics. Our poster will, therefore, give a brief introduction to our study on online communication directed towards Conchita Wurst.

# Co-Occurrences of Doubling Verbs in Swiss German

## Philipp Stoeckle | University of Zurich

In my talk I want to present results from the interdisciplinary project "Modelling morphosyntactic area formation in Swiss German (SynMod)", which is located at the University of Zurich and which combines questions and methods from both Linguistics and Geography. One of the main goals of the project is to test linguistic hypotheses which are based on the inspection of maps from the "Syntactic Atlas of German-speaking Switzerland (SADS)" (cf. Bucheli & Glaser 2002) by using methods from geography and geostatistics.

One class of phenomena considered to be typical for Swiss German are the so-called verb-doubling constructions (cf. Lötscher 1993) affecting the motion verbs *gaa* ("to go") and *choo* ("to come") as well as the raising verbs *laa* ("to let") and *aafaa* ("to begin"). In this type of construction, a reduced variant of the verb is repeated before the infinitive, as illustrated in the following example:

(1) [dann]     *fangt*     *s Iis*     *aafaa*     *schmelze*
     [then]     *begins*     *the ice*     *begin*     *to melt*
     "[then] the ice begins to melt"

However, the different verbs differ with respect to their geographic distributions: While the doubling of *gaa* is obligatory all over German-speaking Switzerland and the doubling of *choo* in the western part, the two other verbs only show optional doubling which is restricted to western Switzerland. So far there have been a number of theoretical accounts dealing with the explanation primarily of the motion verb construction (cf. Brandner & Salzmann 2011), but apart from some smaller surveys (cf. Glaser & Frey 2011), there are still desiderata especially regarding the verbs *laa* and *aafaa*.

In order to provide a comprehensive description of the phenomenon I will use the SADS as primary database, which will be supplemented by data from other sources (like the "Linguistic Atlas of German-speaking Switzerland" (SDS), recently transcribed sentences from the Wenker questionnaires, etc.). The different geographic distributions will be compared to each other and checked for co-occurrences of different doubling verbs and related phenomena like the IPP-construction where the past participle *agfange* ("begun") is replaced by the infinitive *afange* ("begin") (or its reduced variant *aafaa*). A detailed analysis of the possible combinations of features and their geographic distributions shall help to shed light on the nature of verb-doubling in Swiss German.

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# The Conceptualization and Lexicalization of *LOVE*.
# From Old to Early Modern Romanian – a historical perspective

## Gabriela Stoica | University of Bucharest

The paper deals with the diachronic evolution of the conceptualization and lexicalization of *LOVE* in Romanian, from an interdisciplinary perspective: (a) *linguistic* (*lexical-semantic approach*): we shall present the basic Romanian lexicon of *LOVE* and its salient semantic characteristics during the 16th – 19th centuries; b) *cultural-anthropological*: we shall delineate some particular types of *LOVE* that are predominantly conceptualized and lexicalized in Romanian within the period under discussion, based on various psychological and cultural anthropological theories and typologies of love (see Kelley 1983, Sternberg 1986, Lee 1988 etc.). Some cultural characteristics of the old and early modern Romanian cultural affective pattern are pointed out (see the concept of *cognitive model for emotions,* Russell 1991, and its lexical-semantic implications).

In Old Romanian, *LOVE* is a polymorphic, hyperconceptualized prototypic affect; the basic lexemes, frequently selected to designate *LOVE,* were *dragoste, liubov* (love)*, a îndrăgi* (to like, to fall in love, to love)*, a iubi* (love) (polysemantic, conveying various (contextual) meanings).

In the epoch of transition to modernity (end of the 18th century - beginning of the 19th century) important changes emerge within the Romanian collective and affective mentality; accordingly, the concept of *LOVE* is, as well, subject to relevant mutations, transparent through its lexicalization. Culturally, there is an important shift from the old Oriental cultural pattern to a new Occidental one, involving a reorientation from a traditionalist, collectivistic conceptualization of reality to a modern, a more individualistic manner of representing it. At the beginning at the 19th century, the Romanian cultural space undergoes a so-called "crisis of sensibility"; Romanian society gradually adopts a new cultural model, in which the affectivity and the individual feelings are focused on and predominantly exhibited. In this context, love is rediscovered and reevaluated as an individual, profound and complex feeling. The texts of this period bring forward many passages where the concept of *love* is focused on by strong lexicalization (frequently redundant). According to the new needs of conceptualization, the vocabulary of love is restructured, renewed. It tends to become more diverse and more refined, new words and new particular meanings appear: *amor* (*erotic love*), *adoraţie* (*adoration*), *gelozie* (*jalousy*), *idolatrie* (*idolatry*), *mizantropie* (*myzanthropy*), *tandreţe* (*tenderness*) etc.

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# 'We're in it together' – Linguistic practices in a CofP of Japanese expatriate women

**Anna Strycharz-Banas | Meertens Instituut/Warsztat Innowacji Społecznych**

Previous studies incorporating the Community of Practice framework have explored its possible explanatory power with regards to creation and negotiation of identities (gendered or otherwise) (Bucholtz 1999; DeFina 2007), or to the choice of a linguistic variant to delimit membership in a CofP (Eckert 2000; Mendoza-Denton 2008). In this paper, we will look at meanings developed and negotiated for a specific linguistic variant – Osaka Japanese (OJ) negation – in the CofP of expatriate Japanese women living in The Netherlands, whose husbands are working on short-term contracts. The women, for the most part, do not work, do not speak Dutch, and their husbands work on contracts that do not specify the length of stay in The Netherlands (between 1 and 10 years).

We will explore interactional meanings of OJ negation, which for the majority of speakers in this CofP is borrowed, in the sense that it does not belong to their own dialect. Analyzing spontaneous interactions we will answer the following questions: How do these speakers negotiate the conflict between the use of their own variety, Standard Japanese (common medium in this CofP) and Osaka Japanese? How and when do they choose to (linguistically) assert their membership in the conflicting CofPs they belong to? And finally, how do they negotiate their roles and membership types in a CofP, which is essentially fleeting and temporally underspecified? We will also investigate the very real making and remaking of boundaries by members of this CofP – boundaries that both connect them with home, unify them as a CofP, and disconnect them from the Dutch reality they are, perhaps unwantingly, a part of.

Data for the discussion come from a corpus of recorded spontaneous conversations among 12 Japanese expatriate women living outside Amsterdam. Participants come from different parts of Japan, and are all volunteer members of 'Women's Club' – a local organization for Japanese women. All the tokens of negation were extracted from the corpus and coded for category (verb, noun, adjective, nominal adjective); tense; presence/ absence of honorific suffix and speaker's origin. Dialect negation was only found in verbs in the present tense with no honorific marking.

Out of 481 tokens of negation, 301 (63%) constituted verbal negation. 19 tokens (6% of all verbal negation) are in dialect form (OJ) V + *n* and V + *hen*, even though speakers of other varieties are also represented in the CofP. 11 tokens of OJ negation were uttered by OJ users, while 8 – by users of other varieties, suggesting that it has gained social meaning in this CofP.

Combining quantitative and qualitative methods, we will argue that in this CofP the unmarked choice is, perhaps unsurprisingly, SJ negation. However, we will show that OJ negation has come to be used to achieve a specific interactional goal, that is marking the difference between 'us' and 'them', while simultaneously negatively evaluating the 'other'.

# Mapping perceptions and attitudes about Galician dialects

**Soraya Suárez Quintas | University of Santiago de Compostela**

Perceptual Dialectology studies strongly emerged in the 80s (Preston, 1989) and since then, have aroused the interest of many dialectologists worldwide. However, in the Galician domain, there is neither a current detailed analysis on the perceptions of non-linguists on dialectal variation nor an exhaustive assessment concerning correctness and pleasantness from speakers to the different geographical varieties of Galician language.

The main objective of this study is to contribute to supplement this thematic gap. To this end, we carry out an analysis of the speakers' knowledge and perceptive assessments over the geo-linguistic variations in Galicia. Afterwards, we perform a comparison between the dialectal areas demarcated by their own perceptions and those traditionally recognised in Galician language (Fernández Rey, 1990). For this, it is vital to answer the following questions:

- Do the informants recognise the dialect varieties in Galician language?
- What are their own perceptions over those linguistic varieties?
- Are they able to locate them geographically?
- Which ones do they valuate more in terms of correctness and pleasantness?

According to the studies from Preston (1989, 1999a, 1999b) and Montgomery (2007, 2011), this poster develops the methodology and first results obtained from a research in progress. The study was carried out with two different age groups: interviewees aged 14 to 18 and 40 to 50 years old. The method employed to obtain the data is based on Preston's methodological guidelines for Perceptive Dialectology (1999a) and consist in the following steps:

1. Dialectal identification: the informants are offered to listen to recordings from different areas of the Galician dialectal domain and they are asked to assign a specific territory to each of the voices recorded.

2. Qualitative information: interviewees answer questions related to correctness and pleasantness to each of those speaking varieties and establish a gradation to identify a difference level between each of them and their own.

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# Accommodation and other factors influencing linguistic variation in face-to-face interaction

**Eva Sundgren | Mälardalen University**

Accommodation theory plays an important role in interactional dialectology (see Bockgård & Nilsson 2011), where a speaker's intraindividual variation during a conversation is often seen as convergence or divergence to his or her interlocutor, but Nordberg (in progress) suggests that language internal factors are at least as important as interactional ones to explain intraindividual conversation-internal variation.

In this paper I would like to contribute to this discussion, and discuss an investigation of eight of the recordings made in 1996 for the project *Continuity and Change in Present-Day Swedish: Eskilstuna Revisited*. First I present a quantitative self-analysis where the question was whether I accommodate linguistically to my informants, and, if so, how (XX, in progress). A pattern appears that I use more local forms with younger informants and/or with informants I find it easy to sympathise with. Age seems to be an important factor, and I speak more slowly and distinctly with old people. With this self-analysis as a background, I investigated both my and the informants' intraindividual variation in the local context. I analysed all instances of three morphological variables. The variables have two distinct variants, one standard form, which agrees with the written form, and one traditionally used in spoken language in Eskilstuna. The nonstandard forms of these variables are not unique for Eskilstuna; they are or have been common in colloquial speech over larger or smaller areas in Sweden. The length of each recording is at least 45 minutes. I only found about 30 examples where accommodation might be a factor influencing the variation, but it is often difficult to know when to categorise the choice of a specific variant at a specific point in a conversation as accommodation. Most of the 30 examples where the interlocutors (myself and the informant) use the same or do not use the same variant as the one recently produced can be explained by different factors, probably in combination. Internal factors play an important role. My conclusion is that the best way to understand linguistic variation (and change) is to combine investigations on different levels and with different methods.

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XX, in progress: Linguistic accommodation to informants in sociolinguistic interviews – a self-analysis.

# Short and Long Genitive in German: Variation, doubtful cases and linguistic insecurity

**Renata Szczepaniak | University of Hamburg**
**Annika Vieregge | University of Hamburg**
**Eleonore Schmitt | University of Hamburg**

The formal variation between the long genitive -es and the short genitive -s in contemporary German (e.g. des Baumes/Baums 'the-GEN.SG.MASK tree-GEN.SG.MASK') gives rise to linguistic insecurity: Being aware of the variation, language users often doubt which form is appropriate in a particular case of communication. Here, they face a complex case of formal variation, which is known to be determined at least by phonological, prosodical, morphological, lexical factors as well as frequency (see Fehringer 2004, 2010, Szczepaniak 2010, 2014). However, none of the factors in isolation can explain this variation satisfactorily.

In this talk, we will propose a complex variationist model of the distribution of the long and short genitive ending. In our view, the linguistic insecurity in that case is based on the awareness of the stratification of different language varieties depending on the degree of conceptual orality/literacy (see Koch/Oesterreicher 2007 among others). Hence, the formal variation cannot be seen as a doubtful case as defined by Klein (2003), since the short and the long genitive are not perceived as being exclusively formal variant.

Based on previous studies mentioned above and our recently conducted corpus analyses (newspaper corpus in Cosmas II, IDS Mannheim), we will first develop a distributional model of both variants. This model takes adequate account of the internal linguistic variables leading to different degrees of variation (zero/gradual/free variation). Additionally, selected cases of gradual and free variation (i.e. selected lexemes with long/short genitive) will be analysed with regard to their indexical function, i.e. to their potential to refer to different contexts of use (different degrees of conceptual orality/literacy; topics etc.). This distributional model should then be contrasted with the declarative knowledge of language users. For this purpose, we first analyse the comments given by (mostly) lay linguists about the genitive variants on question-and-answer websites. Here, we will concentrate on the repertoire of distributional rules and their consistency. Both, the declarative and procedural knowledge will than be contrasted in the results of our acceptance and correction tests.

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# Probabilistic variation in a comparative perspective: the grammar of varieties of English

**Benedikt Szmrecsanyi | University of Leuven**
**Jason Grafmiller | University of Leuven**
**Benedikt Heller | University of Leuven**
**Melanie Röthlisberger | University of Leuven**

We report on an ongoing project that applies the Probabilistic Grammar framework (e.g. Bresnan 2007) to variation within and across a range of dialects and varieties of English. Through state-of-the-art quantitative analyses of syntactic alternations in corpus data plus supplementary rating task experiments, the project seeks to explore the extent to which language users' grammatical knowledge differs across dialects and varieties of English. In treating variation as a "core explanandum" (Adger and Trousdale 2007, 274) of linguistic theory, the project contributes to the development of usage-based theoretical linguistics by adopting a variational and large-scale comparative perspective.

On the methodological plane, the project explores variability in the hidden – though cognitively 'real' – probabilistic constraints that fuel variation within and across speech communities. Such constraints, e.g. the tendency to place long constituents after short constituents (Wasow and Arnold 2003), are not necessarily tied to surface material but to subtle stochastic generalizations about language usage, which – according to experimental evidence (Bresnan and Ford 2010) – language users implicitly know about. Thus, rather than simply describing probabilistic variation in corpus data, the project aims to illuminate aspects of the linguistic *knowledge* that language users with different dialect backgrounds implicitly command. This objective is accomplished by investigating the probabilistic effects of various constraints on linguistic choice-making as a function of regional variety

The case study which we present to highlight the descriptive and theoretical benefits of the approach explores three patterns of syntactic variation in English that are sensitive to a range of constraints: the genitive alternation (the *president' s speech* versus *the speech of the president*), the dative alternation (*Tom sent Mary a letter* versus *Tom sent a letter to Mary*), and particle placement (*Tom looked the word up* versus *Tom looked up the word*). These alternations we study in three regional varieties of English covered in the International Corpus of English: British English (Europe), Indian English (Asia), and Canadian English (North America). Using advanced statistical methods, such as mixed-effects logistic regression modeling and conditional random forest analysis, we will be specifically interested in (1) the extent to which we see a core grammar that is explanatory across different varieties, (2) the degree to which individual probabilistic constraints are stable as opposed to malleable, and (3) the degree to which the alternations under study exhibit cross-constructional parallelisms.

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# An information-theoretic perspective on complexity variation in learner English

**Benedikt Szmrecsanyi | University of Leuven**
**Katharina Ehret | University of Freiburg**

This paper presents an unsupervised, information-theoretic measure for assessing complexity variation in SLA research. Specifically, we are concerned (1) with how language-internal complexity variation can be approximated by Kolmogorov complexity (see Juola 2008 for pioneering work), and (2) with the applicability of the measure to learner corpus data.

Kolmogorov complexity measures the relative informativeness of text samples and can be conveniently approximated with file compression programmes such as gzip. The idea is basically that text samples that can be compressed efficiently are linguistically simple while text samples that cannot be compressed as efficiently are linguistically more complex. Apart from measuring overall complexity, the method can be combined with various distortion techniques to yield measures of morphological and syntactic complexity.

In this spirit, we investigate if and how Kolmogorov complexity can shed light on complexity variation the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE version 1; Granger et al. 2002). The corpus samples a large number of essays written by higher to intermediate advanced learners of English in instructional settings from 11 different mother tongue backgrounds: Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish. We take particular interest in the extent to which the complexity of learner essays varies and correlates with the amount of previous instruction in English. All other things – such as the content of the essays, for instance – being equal, the amount of instructional exposure in English is considered a proxy for the learners' level of proficiency in English. The results indicate that the overall complexity of the essays increases with higher proficiency in English, as it should if learner essays progress along a maturational path from less complexity to more complexity. Furthermore, increasing proficiency in English leads to more morphological complexity but less syntactic complexity of the essays. This is in accordance with Biber et al. (2011) who show that the measure of syntactic complexity, namely the degree of clausal embedding, commonly used in writing development studies does not at all capture the complexity of advanced writing proficiency (Biber et al. 2011: 10–12).

On a methodological plane, this paper demonstrates that information-theoretic measures can be successfully applied in SLA contexts and could potentially be used as a tool for assessing learner proficiency.

We conclude by sketching directions for further research and point out advantages and drawbacks of the method.

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# Reduction in variation in written Estonian in 1880–1920

## Peeter Tinits | Tallinn University

The transition from mainly non-literate linguistic communities to literate ones that took place in many parts of Europe during the 19th century presents an interesting challenge to historical linguistics: any noticeable changes in linguistic practices lie on the interface of several social phenomena, such as modernization of the society (Ferguson, 1968), the spread of education, standard language ideology, and standard language culture (Milroy, 2001), and the formation of literary networks (Bergs, 2005).

Early literate societies have been particularly connected with a larger variation in spelling in their writings as compared to modern societies (e.g. Scragg, 1974), and the evolution towards uniformity has been seen as a natural counterpart of societal modernization which indicates some universality in the general trend while the particular mechanisms in each society have been claimed to vary by community (Ferguson, 1968).

The writings in Estonian in the second half of the 19th century have been estimated to have displayed variation that is characteristic to a lack of social stigma for dialectal or unconstrained variation (Raag, 1999). Metalinguistic commentaries in the turn of the century indicate an increasing attention to form selection in public and personal writings, which reached a supradialectal codified standard in a few decades. The pathways of standardization for this variation have so far been however described only in general terms.

The current study utilizes a novel corpus of belletristic works and epistolary communication written in Estonian in 1880–1920 to investigate such assumed reduction in variation in greater detail on a number of linguistic variables. The structure of the corpora allow both changes in real time and in age-gradient to be assessed and the results broadly conform to the expected reduction in both inter- and intrapersonal variation. The process is related to other sociolinguistic variables such as education, dialectal background and chosen domicile as to their contribution to the increase in uniformity.

The results of the study are interpreted in the context of qualitative descriptions of social change and contemporary metalinguistic commentaries from the public media. The interpretation is placed in the context of previous findings on the relations of societal structures and spelling variations particularly in the context of early modern and modern communities.

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# A variationist approach to syntactic doubling: the case of Romani

## Aurore Tirard | CNRS Lacito - INALCO

This paper aims to analyse a case of syntactic doubling in Romani: the full doubling of the definite article in nominal phrases involving an adjectival modification, as in the following example:

| Me | bian-dil-om | and=o | kʰeɾ | odotʰe, | kaj |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | deliver-pass.p | in=def.art.m. | house(m.sg) | there | where |

| si | akana | o | lokali | o | baɾo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be.prs.3sg | now | def.art.m.sg | café(m.sg) | def.art.m.sg | big-m.sg |

> 'I was born in the house there, where there is now <u>the big café</u>.'

The Romani definite article is a free morpheme which usually occupies the first place in the nominal phrase (Matras 2002:165-166). However, it is grammatically correct to use two identical definite articles determining a unique noun – a structure which resembles the phenomenon called determiner spreading (Androutsopoulou 1996) or polydefinite (Kolliakou 2004) and described for Modern Greek (LEKAKOU & SZENDRŐI 2012). It also superficially resembles the definiteness agreement of Semitic languages like Arabic or Hebrew (Rubin 2005:83). Contrary to these but similar to Greek, there is no such agreement in Romani, and the structure is optional and in no way required by the grammar. What can trigger such an optional syntactic variation if it is "without any detectable effect on the semantic or pragmatic interpretation of th[e] sentence" (BARBIERS 2013:7)?

Due to the scarcity of this phenomenon in 28 hours of spontaneous speech, we designed an instruction and localisation task that was submitted to 37 Albanian Romani native speakers stratified by linguistic variety, gender, age, socio-economic status, place of birth and residence. The task was conducted at the participant houses during a monolingual fieldwork stay in Albania. The analysis of the data reveals the relevance of two different kinds of variables, namely strictly linguistics ones, i.e. definiteness feature, order of constituents and information status, but also socio-linguistic ones, i.e. gender and age.

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# Language and the diaspora – local versus ethno-national loyalities exemplified by Bosnian migrants in Germany, Austria and Switzerland

**Nataša Tolimir-Hölzl | University of Hamburg**

My research aims at comparatively analysing variants of pluricentric immigrant language in several receiving countries.

The aim is to find out whether linguistic loyalties run along current ethno-nationalistic linguistic parameters originating in the country of origin or local migrant parameters and thus find out more about the groups identity.

After Yugoslavia's break-up two decades ago Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian have emerged as new standard languages in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This linguistic top-down divergence has had its most influential impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina, where neighbours of different religious/or "ethnic" background who shared the same language, were suddenly faced with an ethno-religious linguistic separation. Today, Bosnian Croats are considered to speak Croatian, Bosnian Serbs Serbian and Bosniacs Bosnian. After more than two decades it became apparent that this prescriptive change could influence the population's linguistic behaviour only to some extent. Recent experimental linguistic studies indicate that prestige and modernity are becoming more relevant factors in linguistic behaviour than ethnic belonging. Still, ethnic division in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be denied. Almost twenty years after the Dayton Agreement there are still recurring tensions, which have been favoured by a constitution grounded on ethnic quota.

However, the political system might not be the only hindrance in overcoming ethnic division. So far, little attention has been paid to the influence of the diaspora, which constitutes as much as one third of the nation's population.

Identity is constructed in various complex ways with language being one of its most crucial markers. Additionally, our concept of space and networks has changed dramatically in the past two decades allowing us to maintain contacts easier and far more selectively.

In my research I will analyse Bosnian migrants' language in three different German speaking contexts, namely Germany, Austria and Switzerland. These countries are characterized by some of the largest communities from this area and share one pluricentric standard, i.e. German, which minimizes the likeliness of structural linguistic reasons for differences in the immigrant language.

My main research question would be: Do linguistic loyalties run along ethnic or local migrant group parameters?

Methodically, this question can currently be answered most directly – if not only – via attitude measurement.

It has been observed that often we cannot tell how and why exactly speakers are identified, which features are salient, which is particularly true in this case of extremely close linguistic relatedness.

Thus, a verbal guise experiment, in which samples of young, at least second generation, self-referred Croatian, Bosnian and Serb speaker migrants 'native' language will be played to adolescents of the same groups in the three mentioned countries who will then be asked to rate and identify them. This will be followed by a questionnaire and semi-structured interview about networks and personal details by methodologically following Clyne's pioneering research on pluricentric languages in Australia (1999).

The German results shall be presented at IClaVAE 8 in Leipzig.

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# An analysis of VOT in London English

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**Anita Szakay | Queen Mary University of London**

London has for a long time experienced high degree of dialect and language contact, especially in inner-city areas like Hackney. For phonological features, such contact effects have been documented for vowels (Cheshire et al. 2011) and speech rhythm (Torgersen and Szakay 2012) and these features have been considered elements of Multicultural London English. This study examines whether contact effects can be found for voice onset time (VOT) for voiceless stops. Previous work has found that speakers of Sylheti (Bengali) background who had arrived in London as young adults produced English stop consonants with VOT values that reflected their Sylheti productions, while speakers of similar background who had been resident in London for a long time or had been born there had VOT values for English that were not different from Anglos' VOT values (McCarthy et al. 2013).

Stop segments in a corpus of spoken London English with speakers from Hackney and Havering were forced aligned (Yuan and Liberman 2008) and the segmental boundaries were manually corrected. Then, an algorithm predicted the VOT durations, i.e. from release of burst to the onset of voicing (Sonderegger and Keshet 2012). About half of the predicted VOTs were inside of the segmental boundaries of the stops and were included in the further analysis. For the predicted values inside the segment boundaries, the durations are in line with existing VOT measurements: for voiceless stops, /p/ has the shortest values and /k/ and /t/ the longest. Overall, the female speakers have longer VOT values than the male speakers ($p < 0.0001$, Wilcoxon text). No significant effects were found for particular words. There are also no significant differences between inner (Hackney) and outer (Havering) London and between Anglos and non-Anglos, which supports the finding that contact effects on VOT may only be found among new arrivals to the city, not for speakers born in London regardless of their ethnic background. We therefore argue that having shorter VOT values for voiceless stops is not a feature of Multicultural London English.

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# Variationist typology: null vs. non-null subject languages?

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The distinction between null and non-null subject languages has been a staple of linguistics for decades (e.g. Dryer 2011). Here we ask what "special properties" (Roberts & Holmberg 2010) of unexpressed (or "null") subjects distinguish the postulated types in actual speech, comparing English with Spanish. Overall rates of non-expression are unenlightening, due to extra-grammatical swings: for 3sg specific human referents, overall rate differences can vary as much between genres as between language varieties (e.g. English: conversational Santa Barbara Corpus 4%, N=3,644 vs. narrative Pear Stories 22%, N=748; Spanish sociolinguistic interviews: San Juan, Puerto Rico 61%, N=443 vs. Madrid, Spain 92%, N=286 (Cameron 1992)). Instead, we extend the variationist comparative method (Poplack & Meechan 1998) to linguistic typology:

> Language types are distinguished by the structure of intra-language variability: the configuration of contextual factors contributing to the selection of a given variant, where actors operationalize putative constraints or functions.

The locus of the difference between English and Spanish is the narrower envelope of variation. Prosodically-based transcription enables confirmation that, outside of coordinated contexts, unexpressed subjects in English are restricted to non-contracted declarative main clauses in Intonation Unit (IU)-initial position. In Spanish, contrarily, IU-initial position and main clauses favour pronominal subjects (over unexpressed). Comparison of the linguistic conditioning in the variable context, however, brings to the fore shared constraints, namely subject continuity (accessibility), temporal sequencing and coreferential subject priming: unexpressed subjects in both English and Spanish are disfavoured in non-coreferential contexts and when there is no temporal relationship with the preceding clause, but favoured when the preceding coreferential subject was also unexpressed. These represent cognitive, discourse and mechanical effects, respectively, which we put forward as candidate cross-linguistic constraints. Another candidate cross-linguistic constraint is the favouring effect of 'and'-coordinating environments found in both Spanish and English, challenging VP coordination as a discrete category for unexpressed subjects in English (e.g. Huddleston & Pullum 2002); rather, non-expression is more favoured the more linked the conjuncts, prosodically and semantically, especially in particular constructions as with speech verbs (e.g., *she calls me and Ø talks to me*, SBCSAE 47). Thus, against discrete "null" and "non-null subject" language types, once invariable contexts are excluded, constraints on variation are remarkably similar. Linguistic typology can be enhanced by looking beyond purported occurrence vs. non-occurrence, to consider probabilistic constraints operating in variable contexts.

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# Are newly-emergent varieties 'coherent'? Notes from Cypriot Greek

## Stavroula Tsiplakou | Open University of Cyprus

The Cypriot Greek *koiné*, a system that is emerging concomitantly with the ongoing levelling of local subvarieties, has been characterized as a 'mixed system' in the relevant literature as (a) it displays innovative grammatical structures that indicate grammatical convergence to Standard Greek, the 'H' variety in Cyprus' diglossic sociolinguistic setting (Melissaropoulou et al. 2013; Tsiplakou forthc.), such structures often co-occurring with the Cypriot variants thereof, and (b) it displays patterns that could be placed on a continuum from dense code-mixing between Cypriot and Standard Greek (Tsiplakou 2009) to a 'fused lect' (Auer 1999). This invites an examination of the hypothesis that the *koiné* is in fact 'incoherent', in the sense that the range of variants that speakers have at their disposal is used for different indexical purposes (cf. Eckert 2008; Tsiplakou & Ioannidou 2012 on extreme dialect stylization and/as *bricolage*), and that therefore one ought not to expect consistency in the sense of correlation in rates of occurrence of particular variants. This paper tests this hypothesis in two ways (a) through the examination of four variables, two phonological and two morphosyntactic ones, each with two alternant variants, one more 'Cypriot' and one more 'Standard-like', namely the palatoalveolar vs. palatal alternation ([ʃ] vs. [ç] and [tʃ] vs. [c]), intervocalic fricative elision or non-elision, pronominal enclisis vs. proclisis and non-periphrastic vs. periphrastic perfect tenses in data from sociolinguistic interviews; (b) through the examination of reactions to the co-occurrence or non-co-occurrence of these variables as elicited in focus group interviews. A preliminary look at the data indicates that the use of Cypriot phonological variants induces the use of Cypriot morphosyntactic ones, but the use of Standard-like morphosyntactic variants does not induce the use of Standard-like phonological ones; the data therefore attest to the complexity of the notion of 'coherence' (cf. Guy 2013) but do not suggest its abandonment as a useful analytical construct.

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# Language varieties in Flemish secondary education. Teachers' attitudes towards standard and substandard colloquial Belgian Dutch

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**Annelies Deveneyns | University College Leuven**
**Dirk Speelman | University of Leuven**

Colloquial Belgian Dutch displays an intricate variation between a standard and a substandard variety. The former is the result of the development of a formal Belgian variety based on the exogenous Netherlandic Dutch standard; the latter is the endogenous informal variety resulting from an ongoing (sub)standardization process driven by Flemish regiolects and dialects. The substandard variety has become dominant in informal situations but is also increasingly replacing the standard variety in formal contexts (Geeraerts 2011).

The structural properties of both language varieties as well as their usage settings hav been extensively analyzed. However, there are two important caveats in this body of research. Firstly, relatively little attention has been paid to speakers' attitudes toward both language varieties (Impe & Speelman 2007). Secondly, education has been generally overlooked, notwithstanding its important role in the linguistic formation of young people.

In this paper, we will contribute to bridging both gaps by analyzing the attitudes of secondary education teachers toward both varieties of colloquial Belgian Dutch.
The following research questions will be addressed:

- To what extent are teachers aware of differences between both varieties?
- What are teachers' attitudes toward both varieties?
- With what (in)formal school situations do they associate both varieties?
- To what extent are perceptual and attitudinal differences related to teachers' sociolinguistic profiles?

A field experiment was set up (322 teachers in 42 secondary schools), where an indirect technique, speaker evaluation (Lambert et al. 1960), was used to identify the respondents' underlying attitudes toward both varieties of colloquial Belgian Dutch. They were presented 4 authentic stimuli of male speakers (duration: 20 seconds). In two stimuli, the speaker spoke standard colloquial Belgian Dutch; in the other two stimuli, the speaker spoke substandard colloquial Belgian Dutch. After each stimulus, the respondents evaluated 23 statements measuring:

- Perceived normativity of speaker's language (viz. standard/substandard colloquial Belgian Dutch)
- Speaker's status/competence
- Speaker's dynamism
- Speaker's personal integrity
- Speaker's social status
- Speaker's appropriateness to act in (in)formal school situations

In an exploratory factor analysis (varimax rotation), a 3 factor solution emerged. Those factors can be interpreted as norm sensitivity ($F_1$: proportion variance = 0.42; EV = 8.32), a combination of solidarity and personal integrity ($F_2$: proportion variance = 0.18; EV = 3.69), and a combination of status/competence and dynamism ($F_3$: proportion variance = 0.05; EV = 1.27). The respondent's age and his/her education level significantly constrain the scores for all factors. Furthermore, respondents teaching practical work classes or Dutch language classes co-determine the $F_2$ scores. The $F_3$ scores are conditioned by the respondents' region, the (formality of the) language variety used in class and the subject(s) taught.

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# Variation in acquisition: Problematizing bidialectal child acquisition

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**Ryanne Francot | Utrecht University**
**Elma Blom | Utrecht University**
**Leonie Cornips | Meertens Instituut/Maastricht University**

In this talk we will focus on children growing up in a bidialectal area in the Dutch province of Limburg. In acquisition research, these children would generally be classified as either monolingual (exposed to Dutch or dialect) or bilingual, or rather as *bidialectal* (2L1 or child L2; exposed to both varieties which are typologically closely related). We aim to investigate the justification of such a classification (*cf.* Cornips 2014).

This aim is relevant since children in Limburg, unlike children in bilingual expatriate families, grow up in families whose language choice patterns are reflected in the surrounding wider communities, and who reveal no 'one parent, one language' setting. The selection of varieties or linguistic forms is context-dependent, relying e.g. on particular interlocutors, topics, and activities (*cf.* Smith et al. 2013). Further, the speech repertoire in Limburg is of the so-called intermediate type in which speakers can change their way of speaking without an abrupt point of transition between dialect and standard (Auer 2005, Cornips 2013) and with producing 'mixed' forms (Giebers 1989).

Moreover, recent sociolinguistic research interested in processes of globalization and their socio-cultural consequences questions the concept of *a* language as a discrete object. Parallel to this sociolinguistic thinking, acquisition researchers begin to realise that the bilingual experience constitutes of a continuum with the terms bilingual and monolingual as representing their endpoints (Hornberger 2003, Blom, 2010, Luk & Bialystok 2013). Although simple dichotomies are sufficient for some research purposes, they do not reflect the complex concept of bilingual experience (Grosjean 1998). Similarly, Baker (2011) stresses that using strict, simple, distinctions between monolingual and bilingual children leads to arbitrary cut-off points and consequently a weak foundation for conducting research (see also Gertken et al. 2014).

Therefore, we will adress two specific questions (i) the extent of bidialectism, namely whether a high vocabulary score on Dutch also reveals a high vocabulary score on dialect and (ii) how to develop a gradient, elaborate structure of bidialectism (Gertken et al. 2014) and related methodological challenges.

These questions will be answered by measuring the acquisition of Dutch and dialect vocabulary of 86 children ranging from 4;6 through 9;4 years (in months $\bar{x} = 63.6$, *SD* $= 9.2$) in Limburg. The children's receptive relative vocabulary size in Dutch was measured with the standardised *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-III-NL* (PPVT) (Schlichting 2005). Children's expressive vocabulary in Limburgish was measured with a picture description task, the *Limburg Word Task*, developed for the purpose of this study. This test contains 30 test items and has no cognates between dialect and Dutch. The individual results of both the Dutch and Limburgish vocabulary tasks were compared in order to find out the extent of bidialectism of each child. The results of the dialect production task per child reveal an elaborate continuum of variation per vocabulary item and per child. None of the 86 children produces only dialect or Dutch vocabulary. Most items show realisations that vary between the 'target' vocabulary for Dutch and dialect at all possible levels (lexical, phonological and morphological).

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# Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronouns of address: A variationist-interactional study of child-directed speech in dinner table interactions

**Dorien van de Mieroop | University of Leuven**
**Eline Zenner | University of Leuven**
**Stefania Marzo | University of Leuven**

This paper presents a mixed methods approach to assessing how Flemish mothers and fathers use accommodation strategies and child-directed speech (CDS) to help their children acquire sociolinguistic awareness concerning variants and varieties of Dutch (compare Smith et al. 2013).

The long and complex standardization history of Dutch is responsible for an intriguing tension between norm and use in Flanders. For day-to-day communication, the Flemish rely on Colloquial Belgian Dutch (CBD), a supraregional, yet non standard variety of Dutch. CBD is lexically, morpho-phonologically and syntactically different from the standard language, which is itself characterized by an exonormative orientation on the language of the North (Zenner et al. 2009). Due to extensive efforts from language policy makers, the Flemish in general are very much aware of these differences between their home language and the Northern Dutch norm (Speelman et al. 2013). An important perspective on current language regards towards CBD (and, hence, on its future) can be gained by focusing on the way in which parents use (or avoid) CBD features when talking to their children.

Specifically, we scrutinize parents' alternation between Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch when interacting with their children. By integrating insights and methods from variationist and interactional sociolinguistics, we not only pay attention to macro-social categories (such as the age of the children), but also to the micro-social and pragmatic context of the style-shifts (e.g. frames). As a practical consequence of this combination of course-grained quantitative analyses and fine-grained qualitative analyses, our study focuses on a single case. We rely on detailed transcriptions of three hours of recordings for one Flemish household with four children (age nine months and four, five and seven years old). Our results reveal significant variation in the style-shifts of mother (age 35) and father (age 39) with respect to the four children, which can be interpreted against the background of comments made by the parents during a sociolinguistic interview that followed the recordings.

These analyses allow us to provide a nuanced insight into the social meaning of the two language layers (Standard Dutch and Colloquial Belgian Dutch) as they are distributed across the speakers and situations in this family, revealing a link between the attested patterns of child-directed speech and the acquisition of sociolinguistic norms. As such, our data also provide evidence on prevailing standard language ideologies in Flanders.

# The three-gender system in two varieties of Jämtlandic

**Briana van Epps | Lund Univesity**

The influence of standard language varieties on nonstandard dialects is an important factor involved in dialect leveling, which is currently a widespread process in Europe. In my Master's thesis, I look at how the three-gender system in two villages in Jämtland is changing under pressure from the two-gender system of Standard Swedish. Previous studies of the three-gender system in other Swedish dialects show that this change can either be led by anaphoric pronouns (as in the Eastern Nyland dialect; see Sandström 2010) or by agreement in the noun phrase (as in the Burträsk dialect of Västerbotten, see Thelander 1975). I investigated whether or not the traditional grammatical gender system is disappearing in these two Jämtlandic villages, and if so, how the change is proceeding.

For my study, I used a written questionnaire including nouns of various types (masculine and feminine nouns, both strong and weak, as well as nouns with traditionally feminine suffixes). I looked at anaphoric pronouns and agreement in definite articles, first-person possessive pronouns, and indefinite articles. In addition, I asked informants for information on their social background (age, education level, gender, and place of birth). I used a mixed-model statistical analysis to analyze the results.

The results show, similarly to previous studies, that the three-gender system is losing ground to the two-gender system. However, the three-gender system in Jämtlandic is more firmly entrenched than in other Swedish dialects (c.f. Thelander 1975, Rabb 2007, Sandström 2010). Questions on anaphoric pronouns received significantly more non-traditional responses than the other question types ($p = 0.028$), indicating that the change to two genders is being led by anaphoric pronouns. In addition, nouns with traditionally feminine suffixes have a high rate of non-traditional responses, with $p = 0.014$ for the suffix *-else* and $p = 0.005$ for the suffix *-het*. My study shows that neither age, gender, education or place of birth have a significant effect on participants' responses.

For my PhD research, I will investigate further the mechanisms involved in the change from three grammatical genders to two. I will perform a survey over the entire region of Jämtland, using questionnaires and recorded conversations with profiled stimuli, and adding sociocultural perspectives to the investigation. With this, I hope to contribute to the picture of how and why rural dialects change under pressure from standard languages.

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# Resyllabification of Preconsonantal /-s/ in a Southern Spanish Variety. Acoustic Correlates on an Ongoing Linguistic Change in Malaga

**Matilde Vida-Castro | University of Malaga**

This research focuses on the innovative southern variety of Spanish spoken in Malaga town where deletion of word-final or word-medial /-s/ is nearly accomplished, except for the cases of word-medial /-s/ before a voiceless stop where aspiration is the most frequent realization.

When word-medial /-s/ is followed by the voiceless dental plosive phoneme /t/ (e.g. / pasta/ 'dough'), it is very usual to hear to an allegedly new variant which is perceived as an affricate [ts] ([ patsa] 'dough' instead of the standard [ pasta]). This new realization, which is very commonly used by young university students in Málaga, could be the result of an ongoing linguistic change consisting in the resyllabification of word-medial /-s/.

The aim of this paper is to describe the acoustic features of word-medial /-s/ in this particular context. The hypothesis is that word-medial aspiration of /-s/ influences the following context in such a way that differences between acoustic features of [t] are significant when different realizations of word-medial /-s/ are compared.

Confirmation of this hypothesis will support the idea that these cases of word-medial aspiration should not be analysed as codas but as part of next syllable onsets. If this comes to be true, syllabic well-formedness can be considered a prevailing constraint in this particular context and it could be said that a process of resyllabification is taking place.

Data are taken from a representative sample of speakers designed to obtain social and stylistic variation. The sample has been stratified according to three social variables: age, sex and educational level so that the social dimension of the resyllabification process can be described.

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# Between local and standard varieties: horizontal and vertical convergence and divergence of dialects in Southern Spain

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**Antonio Ávila-Muñoz | Universidad de Málaga**
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**M. Clara von Essen  | Universidad de Málaga**

Research on dialect loss and vitality in southern Spain has particularly focused on phonology proving that the original separation between two sets of regional varieties of Castilian Spanish, namely the northern/central conservative dialects including the standard variety (Madrid) and the southern innovative dialects (Seville), is being filled up through the formation of an intermediate regional variety acting as a buffer between them (Hernández and Villena 2009; Villena and Ávila 2014). This new variety has gradually been emerging in the urban centres of east Andalusia (Granada, Malaga), particularly among young educated speakers, and is gaining prestige in the media. Actually, it has been seen as a sort of koine of central and southern varieties, melting innovative unmarked phonological traits with standard features, some of them representing phonemic split and reallocation (Villena 2008).

This levelled koine includes northern and standard marked /s/ vs. /θ/ contrast, and slows down frequency of use of most of the salient southern phonological variants (particularly, the so-called 'ceceo' and 'seseo' patterns, /ʧ/ fricatization, /x/ deletion as well as other morphological features). However, unmarked erosive consonant changes involving grammar constraints (deletion of final /s/ and intervocalic /d/, the so-called 'Andalusian plural', etc.), as well as certain morphosyntactic variables (use of pronoun clitics) tend to be preserved. As the two supra-regional varieties are undergoing the same changes, it is anticipated that they will meet halfway because they started changing from the opposite edges of a scale of innovation. As expected, bearing in mind the general conditions of this process, the most striking similarities (qualitative and quantitative) between both varieties can be found mainly in informal styles by urban working class speakers from central dialects, and in formal styles by urban middle class speakers from southern dialects. So, a sort of overlap between the respective ends of the stratification scales from both areas is ongoing.

Of course, as expected, convergence or stability is constrained here by stratification and social network variables, but the most relevant factors turn to be small-scale variables (marché linguistique, social history, community of practice, etc.) that act as intermediate variables between the former variables and the individual speech use. The speaker's orientation towards the community prestige has shown to be the most outstanding factor so far. Lexical evidence on dialect words attrition tends to show very similar patterns (Villena and Ávila 2014).

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# Standard language ideology and language learning in Europe

**Ulrike Vogl | University of Vienna**

In my research, I focus on language learners at university level and their language ideologies. During the past decades we have seen a tremendous change to communication, with technological innovations bringing about new forms of oral and written discourse. We have also seen geographical mobility increase which has made traveling for study, work and leisure much easier. Present-day university students grew up in this changing environment. It is not yet clear, however, if this new mobility and flexibility also translates into a more mobile and flexible concept of language and language learning. To what extent is their conception of language and shaped by the dominant ideology of Europe, standard language ideology (cf. Gal 2009 & Hüning et al 2012)? To what extent do they exhibit different ways of conceptualizing language and language learning? In this paper, the focus is on general evaluations of language use and language variation, more specifically on widely held beliefs and general stereotypes regarding language learning. I investigate to what extent students still agree with common stereotypes about language use and language learning which are rooted in standard language ideology. I will present preliminary results of a quantitative survey that targets university students, mainly from the Low Countries, with an additional European comparative perspective.

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# Standard language variation of Slavic: where Slavic differs differently (and where the same way)

**Ruprecht von Waldenfels | Polish Academy of Science**

Building on methodology outlined in Waldenfels 2012, 2014, we use the data from ParaSol, a parallel corpus of mutltiple translations in Slavic, to investigate the variation of multiple variables across eleven Slavic standard languages (Sussex & Cubberley 2006).

The method takes a lemmatized, morphosyntactically annotated (pos-tagged), sentence and word aligned parallel corpus in many Slavic languages as input. The envelope of variation as well as different values are defined for each variable based on language-specific regular expressions over word forms, lemmas, and morphosyntactic annotation in standardized configuration files. The full corpus is then evaluated on the basis of this operationalization: for each candidate word form or sentence, the appropriate variable value is chosen and recorded. Since the corpus is sentence- and word-aligned, we obtain a matrix of evaluations of translational equivalents, which can be directly compared. For example, we can evaluate all verb forms in respect to tense use across translations and thus ask the question how different the Slavic texts, and by extension, standard language varieties, are in respect to this variable.

The result of the evaluation are evaluated twofold: first, they can be inspected in context in a web browser, with the relevant categorizations color-coded for each case. In an aggregate perspective, the overall similarity or dissimilarity is computed using hamming distance of the string of variable categorization, and visualized using neighbor-nets (Huson and Bryant 2006) and other methods. Since the approach is largely automatized, much attention needs to be paid to controlling the errors induced by automatic alignment, annotation and classification and to make sure that the relevant variable values prevail.

For the paper, we take a meta-perspective. We aggregate variables from different levels: morphosyntactic (use of aspect in several different environments, tense, accusative case); morphological (use of suffixed nouns, prefixed verbs); syntactic (use of finite vs. infinite verb forms); lexico-grammatical (use of modal markers, pronouns). We then compare and cluster the variables themselves, to understand which variables behave in similar, and which in different ways. Preliminary results show that the derivational variables of verb prefixation and noun suffixation as well as usage of the reflexive morpheme differ markedly, but are at the same time more similar than to each other than to variables of aspect usage, which stand apart in their clustering of the Slavic standard languages.

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# Indexical Meanings of Russian and English Resources in Vilnius Adolescents' Speech

## Inga Vyšniauskienė | Vilnius University

Although the notion of linguistically diverse practices has emerged as an important keyword in research on adolescents' speech in major European cities (Jørgensen 2008; Leppänen 20007), the linguistic practices of Vilnius adolescents have received sporadic attention (Čekuolytė 2012; Vyšniauskienė 2012). The present research focuses on the indexical values of English and Russian resources in spontaneous leisure-time conversations of Vilnius' teenagers in order to demonstrate how adolescents employ accessible linguistic resources to both maintain and negotiate different types of identities.

The analysis draws on the data from the corpus of Vilnius Adolescents' Language – a collection of 10–16 year old adolescents' samples of language (35 hours, 182 participants), covering the linguistic practices in ethnically marked as well as ethnically unmarked Vilnius neighbourhoods.

Quantitative, i.e. normalized frequencies, statistical analysis, analysis of the distribution of various resources available to Vilnius adolescents has been undertaken. Research of the indexical meanings of linguistic resources used by Vilnius adolescents has been undertaken working within Gumperz's (1982) interactional sociolinguistic methodology. In addition, the indexical meanings of linguistic resources have been investigated as indirectly related to various identities through the level of stances (Eckert 2008).

The quantitative analysis has proved fruitful in showing different distribution of Russian and English across gender categories and ethnic marking of the neighbourhood. It has appeared that Russian slang and swearwords, which are twice more frequent among boys from both types of neighbourhoods than girls, index masculinity, toughness through greeting rituals (using zdarov <EN hey>, davai <EN bye>), through ritual insults and nonchalant stance. Russian slang and swearing serve as a means to establish status and solidarity for boys to their social groups. Interestingly, it is only among girls from ethnically marked neighbourhoods that citations from popular Russian songs have been employed for playful linguistic performance. English resources, e.g. slang (laikinti <EN like>), citations from song, movies, or acronyms (lol, omg, yolo), were frequently employed by adolescents to index modernity and affiliation with the popular American culture as well as playfulness and linguistic creativity. Girls tended to employ English resources to index positive stance with friends, whereas boys turned to the use of English resources to negotiate an identity of an experienced gamer or as a means for verbally competing the other player.

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# Listening with an Attitude: Evaluations of presumed speaker groups (Hood German vs. French learners of German)

**Melanie Weirich | ZAS Berlin**
**Stefanie Jannedy | ZAS Berlin**

*Hood German* is a variety of German spoken by multiethnic adolescents and young monoethnic/monolingual Germans in urban areas (Auer&Dirim 2003), characterized by syntactic, morphological and phonetic/phonological changes (Jannedy&Weirich 2014) and highly stigmatized as reflected in the media.

We are investigating listeners' attitudes in different German cities towards speakers of Hood German (as spoken in Berlin) by exploiting the similarity of features between the multiethnic youth variety and the German spoken by French learners (such as the loss of contrast between /ç/ and /ʃ/). We are exploring the contribution of assumed/attributed speaker characteristics such as cultural/language background or social status on the ratings of *speaker personality* and *German-competency*. According to the *social connotation hypothesis* (Trudgil & Giles, 1976), language external factors are responsible for valuing/devaluing language varieties.

Recordings from 8 boys and 8 girls from a highschool in Kreuzberg, a multiethnic district of Berlin, were used as test-items. Listeners were asked to rate speakers on a scale from 1-6 on personality-traits, (voice)-attractiveness and German-competency. While presenting identical audio-files, we either told the listeners the data was recorded in FRANCE (FR) by learners of German or in KREUZBERG (KB). The online-perception experiment was conducted with 58 listeners from Berlin in different age groups ($</> 40$). Fig.1 shows mean ratings separated by priming (FR/KB) and age (older (dark/younger). Statistical analyses were conducted in R using linear-mixed-models and likelihood-ratio-tests. While we found a main effect of age for *educated, studious, reliable* and the *attractiveness* items (with more positive ratings by older listeners) and a main effect of priming for *attractiveness* (with more positive ratings for KB-speakers), for many items a trend for an interaction of age*priming was found: younger listeners rated KB-speakers more positively, older listeners FR-speakers (blue lines in figure: above green one for older, below green one for younger listeners).
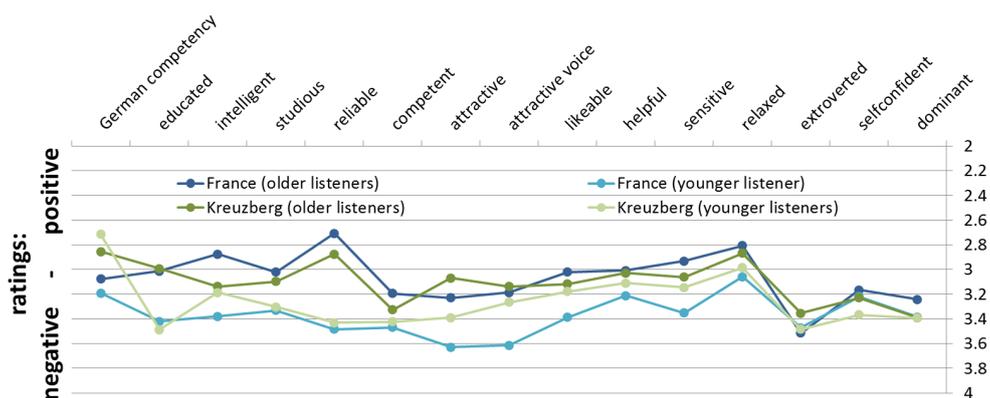


*Fig. 1: Polarity profile of mean ratings separated by priming condition and age of listener.*

We additionally changed the speaker names to be either German and French or German and Turkish. Only for *German-competency* an effect of name was found in terms of an interaction with priming: KR-speakers were rated more positively having German names (than foreign names), while the rating of FR-speakers was not affected by name. This might imply that social-/school-success partially depends on the student's name if listeners have reason to assume the speaker to be of a stigmatized nationality.

We are currently gathering data from listeners from Cologne and Saarbrücken. We hypothesize that the alternation of /ç/→[ʃ] should be less salient to speakers of these cities, since the respective dialects do not contrast /ç/ with /ʃ/. Saarbrücken is additionally interesting due to its proximity to France.

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# The unruly dialect variant [a] – the case of opening of [Q] in traditional Torsby dialect

**Lena Wenner | Institute for Language and Folklore**
**Jenny Nilsson | Institute for Language and Folklore**

Dialects in Sweden tend to level toward standard, as in many other locations in Europe. This is also the case in the small village of Torsby, located in rural Northern Värmland far from larger cities. Here, the project Dialect change in rural Sweden has investigated the dialect in order to explain processes for language change. 54 different traditional dialect variants have been studied in the speech of 3 informants recorded in the 1940s and 18 informants recorded in 2011, in order to explore how the dialect system changes over time. It turns out that there are still some informants who use as much traditional dialect today as speakers did 70 years ago, but there is extensive inter-individual variation and some informants only use a small part of the traditional system.

The use of dialect variants in our data follows a pattern where informants who use many different types of variants also use the variants used by informants who use fewer types. In general, the informants recorded in the 1940s and the adult informants recorded today have a repertoire that includes more of the traditional dialect than the younger informants. Also, informants with fewer types do not use linguistic variants that are uncommon in the data, and the variants that were uncommon in the recordings from the 1940s tend to disappear.

However, one variant is not following the same pattern as the others. In the traditional dialect, [Q] is more open with an [a] pronunciation in front of /r/ and /l/. In the older recordings, the informants use this variant infrequently. Surprisingly, in the new recordings all informants use this variant, and not only in front of /r/ and /l/, but in front of all consonants. It seems that this feature is spreading both language internally as well as in the speech community. This paper presents an acoustic analysis of the vowel pronunciation, and also discusses the spread of this feature by comparing our data with data recorded in the more urban locality of Karlstad, 100 km away.

# Language Use in Aphasia Testing in German-Speaking Switzerland

**Sandra Widmer Beierlein | University of Bern**
**Constanze Vorwerg | University of Bern**
**Laura Lissoni**

This paper presents data on the use of Swiss German dialects and standard High German in situations of aphasia testing. In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, the use of dialect vs. standard language depends on context (Rash, 2002) and does not correlate with the social status of the speaker (Werlen, 2004). Dialect is used in oral communication among Swiss-German speakers, except in contexts such as class, parliament or partly church. The dialect is native language, whereas many speakers feel not comfortable when speaking High German. The fact that standardised tools are only available in High German to assess aphasia raises a number of questions: (1) What does the language use of speech-language pathologists (SLPs) look like? (2) Does code-switching between Swiss and High German occur in SLPs and patients in aphasia-testing situations? (3) Do SLPs see the need for a diagnostic tool that accounts for the Swiss language situation?

Two different methods have been employed to address these questions. To answer the first and the third question, an online questionnaire was sent to SLPs working in German-speaking Switzerland in different settings like hospitals, rehabilitation centres and SLPs' practices. In addition to demographic, working-situation and test-use details, the questionnaire collected data about the varieties used in daily life and in clinical settings, as well as suggestions for relevant aspects for test development for Switzerland. 82 SLPs from 17 cantons completed the questionnaire. The second question was addressed with a case study involving two SLPs testing one client each with the Aachen Aphasia Test (AAT; Huber et al., 1983), a standardised test specifically developed for the German language containing several subtests targeting different linguistic modalities. SLP-patient interactions were video-recorded, transcribed, and analysed with respect to code-switching.

Results show that not only native speakers of Swiss German (81% of participants), but all SLPs indicate to use dialect in clinical contexts (80/82) and in their daily life (77), even though some individual cases might involve a non-Swiss dialect or a light adaptation of High German towards Swiss German. Most SLPs use both Swiss and High German for communication with their patients, and many use also other languages, such as Italian or French. The case studies on variety use in testing situations reveal that both SLPs and patients code-switch between varieties, with patients showing more code-switching, in some instances possibly to bypass word-finding problems in High German. SLPs' code-switching shows some systematicity; in addition the pronunciation of Swiss High German varies. The survey data show that a large majority of SLPs (63/82) regard a taking-into-account of the Swiss language situation as important for aphasia test developments. Most think that all linguistic levels should be included in this.

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# Determiner omission in urban German: multilingual versus monolingual settings

**Heike Wiese | University of Potsdam**
**Ines Rehbein | University of Potsdam**

We present results from research on language use in multilingual innercity neighbourhoods of Berlin that combines qualitative and quantitative analyses. An empirical basis for our work is the 'KiezDeutsch Korpus' (KiDKo), a corpus of linguistically annotated self-recordings (audio files with aligned transcriptions) of spontaneous speech in adolescent peer groups (cf. Rehbein et al. 2014; Wiese et al. 2012). The main part of the corpus, KiDKo/*Mu*, assembles conversations between young people in Berlin-Kreuzberg, a multiethnic neighbourhood with a large proportion of multilingual families who tap into a range of heritage languages in addition to German. A smaller, complementary part of the corpus, KiDKo/*Mo*, provides a basis for comparing language use in this setting with that in a more monolingual one: it assembles informal conversations among adolescents in Berlin-Hellersdorf, a neighbourhood with similar socioeconomic indicators, but a mostly monolingual (German) community.

Crucially, the corpus parts target different speech communities, rather than individual speakers: anchor speakers were not chosen according to multi- versus monolingual background, their family's heritage language or immigration history, but according to their affiliation with a multi- versus monolingual neighbourhood (school affiliation, place of residence). Note that this means, among other things, that KiDKo/*Mu* brings together multilingual speakers with different heritage languages as well as speakers with a monolingual German background. In contrast to that, KiKDo/*Mo* is limited to monolingually German anchor speakers, reflecting the community's linguistically narrower make-up.

In our study, we use KiDKo to investigate linguistic developments in the multilingual community we find in Kreuzberg in comparison to the more monolingual setting in Hellersdorf. We focus on a particular phenomenon as our starting point, namely the option to omit determiners in contexts where they would be overt in standard German, and investigate how this is connected to other, related developments. Central questions will be: What grammatical and pragmatic networks do qualitative analyses indicate? What quantitative distributions do we find? What can our results tell us about tendencies of language change in German, and what is the particular contribution of multilingual speech communities?

By addressing these questions, our paper explores new grammatical developments from the point of view of multilingual versus monolingual speech communities. We believe our results substantially underline the value of community studies which allow us to study not only the interaction between individual linguistic phenomena, but also the status they have in different settings. In particular, our results show that combining qualitative analyses with a comparative, corpus-based approach to speech communities, can provide insights into the linguistic dynamics of multilingual settings and ongoing language change that could not be gained from more individualist methodologies.

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# Rough and posh, blatte and ostermalmare:
# Indexically-charged phonology in multiethnic Stockholm

## Nathan Young

This study contributes to the growing body of research on Suburban Swedish, also known as "Swedish on Multilingual Ground" or the commonly conflated term "Rinkeby Swedish". We address a gap in the research by examining adult male speakers, since almost all prior research has focused on adolescents. The study focuses specifically on the phonology within a formal speech register of eight working-class men from Stockholm, and the perception of their speech by two native-listener groups. Variation in prosodic rhythm and allophones of /y/, /r/ and /ɧ/ trends toward specific indexes of ethnic identity and affective judgements of "rough", "neutral", and "refined" by native-listeners. It is the first study to present quantifiable evidence behind Suburban Swedish's perceived "staccato" rhythm, showing that patterns of vowel durational variability have significant indexical value in the Stockholm region for male speakers. In a regression analysis model, prosodic rhythm measured by the normalized pairwise variability index (nPVI) and speech speed as the independent variables predicted mean listener affective judgements as dependent variables with an $R^2$ of 0.915 ($p < .005$). The data also reveals a larger linguistic marketplace in which Suburban Swedish is one of many speech registers with its own market value. The analysis shows that the listener-assessed "value" of each speaker can be sourced back to specific counts and qualities of phonological features.

# A variation study of third person pronouns in prepositional constructions: a North Russian Dialect.

**Vasilisa Zhigulskaya | Higher School of Economics, Moscow**

The process of reanalysis of constructions including prepositions *vъn* 'in', *kъn* 'to' и *sъn* 'with' followed by third person pronouns very early in the history of Russian yielded pronominal forms with the initial *n*. In the standard language and many dialects, *n*-initial pronouns expanded to constructions with other prepositions (*za* 'behind', *na* 'on', *u* 'by' etc.): *u nego* 'by him', *na nix* 'on them', *s nim* 'with him'. In some Russian dialects, however, the nasal is absent and pronouns have the same forms in prepositional and non-prepositional constructions: *u jevo* 'by him', *na jix* 'on them', *s jim* 'with him'.

I survey to what degree the absence of the initial [n] in pronouns in prepositional constructions is still preserved in the dialect of the village Mikhalevskaya (Ustyan district of Arkhangelskaya Oblast). The hypothesis is that this varies with the age of the speaker and is one of the exponents of dialect loss. The research is based on the data collected in 2013 to 2014 during two field trips to Mikhalevskaya and stored in the *Ustja River Basin Corpus*. The corpus consists of interviews transcribed in standard Russian orthography and aligned with original audio.

The present study covers the speech of informants in different age groups (date of birth from 1922 to 1975). I considered third person pronouns, singular and plural, both free oblique cases and in combination with prepositions. The interviews with 20 speakers contain about 900 occurrences of the relevant items.

Results confirm that the absence of the initial [n] in prepositional constructions is more typical of the older generation (1922 to 1928 date of birth) and is almost absent among younger speakers (starting from 1965 date of birth). The strongest variation (least consistent usage) is characteristic of informants born between 1933 and 1958. The feature (non-usage of the nasal) wanes away from the dialect, probably due to the influence of standard Russian. No pronoun not preceded by a preposition was found with the initial [n]. A comparison of prepositional constructions shows that there is no correlation between the specific preposition and the absence or presence of initial [n].

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# Morphological scheme constancy as a factor determining variation: A functional explanation of genitive-s-omission in Contemporary German

## Christian Zimmer | Freie Universität Berlin

Nominal inflection in German is characterized by synchronic and diachronic variation in many respects. Some of the morphological differences in language use are due to the omission of the genitive marker *-s*: one can often hear and read sentences with masculine and neuter nouns in a genitive phrase that do not contain an *-(e)s* ending (1a), although the genitive singular of German strong masculine and neuter nouns is typically marked by such an ending (1b). Such phrases can be found in prestigious newspapers, books or dictionaries, although most of them (depending on the particular noun) are considered to be against normative rules.

1a) die    Nutzung    des            Internet
       the     use         the.NEUT.GEN.SG    internet.NEUT.GEN.SG

1b) die    Nutzung    des            Internet-**s**
       the     use         the.NEUT.GEN.SG    internet-NEUT.GEN.SG
       'the use of the internet'

In my talk, I will present a large-scale study on factors that determine the synchronic variation concerning the marking of genitives based on speaker judgments and data taken from the web corpus DECOW-2012 that consists of 9.1 billion word forms (Schäfer/Bildhauer 2012). Both kinds of empirical data prove that (at least today) only a well-delimited group of nouns is affected by *s*-omission: While native appellatives are always inflected for genitive case, abbreviations, proper names and loanwords can remain uninflected for case.

This can be explained by the competition of two motivations which are weighted differently depending on the nature of the noun in question: the overt expression of morphosyntactic properties vs. 'morphological scheme constancy'. The latter concept refers to word form stability through the avoidance of inflectional elements that affect the shape of a word or the avoidance of inflectional elements at all. This principle is more important for abbreviations, proper names and loanwords than for 'regular' nouns because it facilitates the recognition of those particular words.

In order to substantiate this assumption, I will show that the impact of *-s* on the time that readers need to recognize a loanword, proper name or abbreviation can be proved by psycholinguistic evidence: 57 students that participated in a self-paced reading task needed significantly more time to read inflected loanwords (cf. 1b), abbreviations and proper names than to read their uninflected equivalents (1a).

Furthermore, I will be concerned with diachronic corpus data taken from the *Deutsches Textarchiv* (*DTA*) to shed light on the question of how morphological scheme constancy can also explain diachronic developments regarding the morphological marking of certain words. Finally, I will discuss to what extend word form stability is also relevant to the explanation of further occasions of variation in Contemporary German.

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