

Methods XI Abstracts: Complete list

Plenary Speakers

The construction of linguistic borders and the linguistic construction of borders

Peter Auer
University of Freiburg

Contrary to an important explanatory principle of traditional dialectology, according to which (political) borders impede communication and thereby lead to the emergence of linguistic differences, I will argue that putative or factual linguistic differences are used for the social construction of (political) borders, and that existing (political) borders are symbolically reinforced by attracting linguistic differences. I will draw on various empirical sources, from ethnodialectological representations of dialect borders in Germany over studies on dialect change at the borders between Germany and neighbouring states (Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria) to studies on the border between the GDR and the FRG and its ideological implications.

Syntactic and pragmatic variation across borders

Jenny Cheshire
University of London

The lecture will focus on syntactic and pragmatic variation in present-day English dialects, a focus which highlights both the linguistic and the social borders of dialect. Drawing on data from a recent research project on dialect levelling in England, I will argue that some, but not all, syntactic and pragmatic variation is subject to the same kinds of sociolinguistic variation as phonetic and phonological variation, though for different reasons. The linguistic variation to be discussed includes the structure and management of information flow in discourse and the expression of subjectivity.

Crossing Grammatical Borders: Tracing the Path of Contact-Induced Change

Ruth King
York University, Toronto

In perhaps the most influential recent work on language contact, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) argue that social factors alone determine the linguistic outcomes of language contact; linguistic factors are said to play no role. Thus theirs is an "anything goes" perspective according to which elements from any linguistic subsystem may be borrowed. They establish a very general borrowing scale whereby, in cases of language maintenance, they predict type and degree of borrowing on the

basis of degree of contact, ranging from the borrowing of content words in cases of 'casual contact' to heavy structural borrowing in cases of 'very strong cultural pressure.' While there has been some retrenchment in recent work (cf. Thomason 2000) in that the influence of social factors is viewed as probabilistic rather than deterministic, the idea of complete lack of linguistic constraints remains.

While one might applaud the centering of a sociohistorical perspective, in this presentation I argue against Thomason and Kaufman's views, with the aim of showing that outright rejection of internal constraints amounts to, as Sankoff (2001) puts it, throwing out the baby with the bathwater. I first show that there are a number of problems with the evidence their views are based on by revisiting some of the well-known studies which claim (massive) structural borrowing, and show that lack of detailed evidence and/or analysis make the conclusions drawn less than convincing. My own views are that only community studies give us reliable data as to the (social) status of an innovation and that an analysis of grammatical change must be responsible to a theory of grammar (King 2000). I illustrate these claims with an account of the emergence of particular English-influenced constructions in closely-related varieties of Canadian French, based on an analysis of data from ethnographic, sociolinguistic and diachronic corpora. Such case studies allow the determination of the status of particular linguistic phenomena of 'foreign' origin in community repertoires. I argue that small differences in the inventory and properties of borrowed lexical items account for a wide range of structural variation in the recipient language, supporting a theory of grammar contact by which contact-induced grammatical change is mediated by the lexicon.

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Finnish Dialects and Dialectology

Tapani Lehtinen,
University of Helsinki

Finland is one of those European countries which for centuries were ruled in other languages than the mother tongue of the majority of the population. From the 12th century onwards, Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom, and thus, Swedish became the language of the administration and of the gentry in the country. During the first centuries of Swedish rule Finnish was used even by the lower gentry and the middle classes (the nobility spoke Swedish), but especially in the 18th century also these strata of the population were quickly abandoning Finnish. Finnish was becoming mainly the language of the peasantry.

The Finnish literary language originated as early as the 16th century, but until the first part of the 19th century, the range of topics dealt with in this language was rather narrow. Texts published in Finnish were mainly of religious nature. Preconditions for the improvement the status of Finnish came into being in 1809 when Finland was separated from Sweden and incorporated into the Russian Empire as an autonomous Grand Duchy. The new rulers naturally strived to lessen the loyalty of the Finns towards the old mother country, and this gave room for a variety of national aspirations.

The great project of the 19th century was to make the Finnish language a complete language of culture, capable of being used in every field of social life. Thus, the language had to be described, enriched and regularized. To fulfil these needs many important grammars were published; these grammars also took dialects into consideration. Social life and various fields in the sciences and arts needed Finnish vocabulary which had to be deliberately created. Dialects were extensively used as sources for the grammar and vocabulary of the standard language.

At the same time there was a need to strengthen the social validity of the language. This struggle was not easy, but in 1863 the liberal Tsar Alexander II issued a decree by which, after a transitional period of twenty years, the Finnish language was to become equal with Swedish in matters immediately affecting the Finnish-speaking population of the Grand Duchy. This so-called Language Decree was of epochal importance in the battle for the rights of the Finnish language. In the 1860s and 1870s great progress was made in the Finnish-speaking school system, and during the same period the Finnish theatre came into being. At the turn of the 1870s the Finnish literature took its first significant steps. There had been an experiment to publish a newspaper in Finnish as early as the 1770s, but the actual foundation of the press was not created until the 1840s.

The first steps into research into Finnish dialects had been taken in the 17th and 18th century, but dialects were brought under systematic investigation in the 1860s and 1870s. It was important to learn more about dialects in order to develop the literary language. In 1820s the literary language went into a tumultuous period of renewal, referred to as the Struggle of the Dialects, which revolutionized much of the structure and vocabulary of the language. Until then literary Finnish had been based almost totally on the SW dialects spoken around Turku, the capital of the country till 1812, but now there were demands for the language to be renewed, especially on the basis of the dialects of eastern Finland. The struggle was over by the 1850s, but work for completing the language still went on for a couple of decades. During the period from 1820s to 1860s literary Finnish adopted most of the structural features it has to day, and the language as it was from the 1870s onwards is customarily referred to as Modern Finnish.

The decades during which the Struggle of the Dialects took place did not produce significant dialectological research, but there is no doubt that, to a large extent, the needs of the developing literary language motivated consequent dialectological research, which first began to blossom in about 1860-1870. Even much later, until the latter half of the 1900s, many of the leading Finnish language planners were also dialectologists.

In my talk I shall sketch

1. the main stages and some central questions in Finnish dialectology;
2. the development of the Finnish dialects from a historical point of view, considering in particular the theme of the congress, "Dialects across Borders";
3. some tasks of present-day Finnish dialectology, which have emerged on the basis of the internal migration and urbanization.

Dialects across Internal Boundaries: Acquisition, loss, and bi- and multidialectalism

Dennis R. Preston
Michigan State University

Quite properly, the external forces of population movement and natural barriers (whether physical or social) have dominated our concern with the "why" of linguistic boundaries, and attention to linguistic details and their distribution has been the focus of our investigation of the "what." It would be silly to claim that the "who" has been missing from this entire enterprise, for, even before the overt "sociolinguisticking" of dialectology (e.g., Chambers and Trudgill 1980), we had not ignored what might be called the "group whos" of age, gender, status, ethnicity, and the like.

Even sociolinguistics, however, has only recently been attracted to the individual and, in particular, the individual psycholinguistic status of dialects and varieties as they are embedded (and as they become embedded and unembedded) in the linguistic competence of each individual. In this presentation, I will try to elaborate even more fully on what I believe to be the importance of dealing with the question of what one might call the dialect boundaries of the mind: are varieties of the same language learned after childhood like second languages?; are varieties of the same language stored in separate compartments, or do they have large, overlapping territories?; do later-learned varieties show sensitivity to the same environmental conditioning as first-learned or "vernacular" varieties?; is dialect loss like language loss?

I will also try to suggest some ways of dealing with these issues, borrowing in some cases from bilingual and second language acquisition research, but not ignoring what we have already learned from the study of varieties in their social and linguistic contexts.

Other papers

Telling Tales in Taranaki: Evidence of Regional Variation in New Zealand English

Helen Ainsworth
Victoria University of Wellington

Evidence of regional variation in New Zealand English is minimal. There are vocabulary items special to, or favoured by, the people of Southland and the West Coast of the South Island, there are traces of non-prevocalic /r/ in Southland and Otago, and there are regional differences in the playground language of New Zealand school children. Attempts to identify other differences between regions have generally not been successful; in most cases the evidence has pointed to either social class or ethnic variation, not regional variation.

In spite of this many New Zealanders assert that a Taranaki variety of New Zealand English exists. This paper describes the rationale, methodology and findings of a piece of research designed to test the validity of the claim. The research focuses on the Taranaki and Wellington regions of New Zealand and explores both regional variation and differences between urban and rural varieties.

It has been claimed that Taranaki English has a "sing-song" quality. The analysis presented here explores features of the intonation of people from Taranaki and from Wellington and an attempt is made to isolate and measure those features that might contribute to the "sing-song" perception of Taranaki English.

Literary Representations of Donegal English: the Early Novels of Patrick Macgill

Carolina P. Amador Moreno
University of Extremadura

In 1917, J. M. Clark stated: "There are two methods of studying a language or a dialect, and wherever possible they should both be combined: direct observation and the study of written accounts, texts and so on". The study of the latter often provides the researcher with the only source of evidence available for analysis. This affects particularly diachronic studies that focus on dialectal forms before the existence of technology able to record the spoken voice. Yet, written texts, whether purporting to transcribe spoken data or rendering, for literary purposes, a fictional recreation of dialectal forms, may derive in "unfaithful" portrayals of a vernacular.

In this sense, the proposed paper will discuss the validity of written documentation of use for the study of the English spoken in Donegal, north-west of Ireland, at the beginning of the twentieth century: that is, the early novels of Donegal writer Patrick MacGill. These novels, it will be shown, provide valuable, if partial, illustrations of Hiberno-English forms used at this time in this part of the country. On a wider scale, the analysis of these documents, which have not been studied from a linguistic point of view before, can be a useful contribution to the study of the complex linguistic situation in the province of Ulster.

The Linguistic Atlas of Brazil: the phonetical-phonological questionnaire -- methods to elaborate and implement

Maria do Socorro Silva de Aragão
University of Cáceres

The elaboration of questionnaires to be used in field research is one of the most important and difficult phases in preparing a research. While organizing the questionnaire some measures should be taken so this instrument reaches its objectives getting all the needed data. Questions such as: what kind of questionnaire should be used: direct, indirect open questions, closed questions, directed, semi-directed, of semasiological or onomasiological character; what are the contents of the questions and how to select what is most important; what is the objective of the questionnaire, that is, what you want to get with it; its size, so you can obtain all the information needed and at the same time does not become boring. These questions should be made and answered by the researchers before the research begins.

Thus, limiting and making the questionnaire the most objective as possible is the first and most important task when you prepare the field research.

As to the specific field of linguistic research, there is another aspect to be considered: the relevance in the case of the questionnaires. Is it really important to make the interview? Or an informal conversation, with no previous orientation on what you are looking for works better? This aspect has been discussed, specially by sociolinguists that believe that the questionnaire can "guide" and even prevent us from getting reliable data.

The ones that believe the questionnaire is an important tool to obtain linguistic data show as positive aspects the uniformity of the data; that is, using the same questions to all people being interviewed. Besides that, in a nationwide research, with different teams getting data, in many various conditions, the same questionnaire, used in the same way, brings not only uniformity, but reliability and that all data obtained can be compared.

If all these questions are relevant, and many times it is very difficult to decide in linguistic research, they become crucial in the case of geolinguistic researches, in which the questionnaires should be very specific, to obtain exactly what is wanted. Besides that, the researcher needs to create strategies to formulate the questions, that can not be direct as in most questionnaires.

All this is very difficult in the different types of questionnaires in semantic-lexical and morphosyntactic levels, for example, but in the phonetical-phonological and in the *prosódico* levels, these difficulties appear to increase in dimension in the geolinguistic researches.

We will try, in this work, to talk about some of the difficulties and about solutions found to elaborate and implement the Phonetical-Phonological Questionnaire of the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil - ALIB Project

Factors controlling the perception of new town with a language variety: Evidence from Seishin New Town

Yoshiyuki Asahi
Osaka University

This paper attempts to examine factors that control the perception of new town with a language variety. So far, most sociolinguistic studies on new town (Kerswill and Williams 1992, 2000, Simpson 1996) have shown that new town koine is emerging as a result of dialect contact. However, it seems that detailed discussions have not been made as to whether or not immigrant generation and first native generation perceive new town with a distinct language variety.

In order to examine this, I chose a new town called 'Seishin New Town,' located in the suburb of Kobe city, Japan and conducted a survey towards 114 Seishin New Town residents. Result show that there clearly exist generational differences between immigrant generation and first native generation in the following three facets;

1. Geographic perception: immigrant generation tend to have a strong perception of new town as a language variety whilst first native perceive a whole city of Kobe as one speech variety.
2. Label given to the speech of new town: immigrant generation gave labels such as "new town kotoba" (new town language), "mikkusu shita kotoba" (mixed language). First native generation, however, simply regarded speech of Seishin New Town as "Kobe-ben" (Kobe dialect).

3. Comparison of language varieties: first native generation tend to think that their own speech is similar to speech in new town as well as a whole city of Kobe. Immigrant generation, however, do not show such similarity between speech in new town and their own speech. Rather, they seem to regard their speech as Tokyo Japanese, a prestigious language variety.

Based on the comparison between three points raised above and linguistic situation in new town, it can be said that the immigrant generation follow the same pattern; they recognise the existence of mixing of different dialect as the naming of "mixed language" shows.

First native generation, on the other hand, showed different pattern. Although a new town koine is emerging in linguistic level, their perception of new town is not strong enough to differentiate their speech from the speech of other areas of Kobe. Interactions between first native generation in the new town and young generation in its surrounding area at high school can be raised as one of the possible reasons to explain this difference.

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The Zargari Language: From an Areal Linguistic Perspective

Hassan Rezai Baghbidi
Iranian Academy of Persian Language and Literature

Zargari (or Romano, as it is called by its speakers) is a member of the Romany/Romani branch of Indo-Aryan languages spoken by a small group of settled gypsies in the neighbouring villages of Zargar and Baqerabad-e Tork in the Qazvin Province of north-west Iran. The speakers of Zargari, whose number can hardly even reach 1000, are almost entirely trilingual in Zargari, Azari Turkish and Persian; therefore, an areal linguistic study of this region can shed new light on multilingualism and language contact. Since the language of communication with most of the neighbouring communities is Azari Turkish and the language of education is Persian, Zargari is not properly passed on to the younger generation. There are even parents who prefer to use Persian at home, because they think in this way their children will have fewer problems at school. The process of attrition, which has been accelerated by exogamy in the last two decades, threatens Zargari with complete extinction.

The purpose of this paper, which is mainly based on my own field-work, is twofold:

1. To provide a brief, but at the same time a precise, description of the main characteristics of Zargari phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon;
 2. To examine the influences of Azari Turkish and Persian on Zargari, which in some cases distinguish it from other Indo-Aryan languages, e.g.:
 - o a tendency towards deaspiration,
 - o the existence of the phonemes /ö/ and /ü/
 - o vowel harmony
 - o the syllabic structure CV(CC), etc.
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To /t/ or not to /t/? Questioning the effect of conversational constraints on glottalisation.

Sue Baker
University of Essex

My current research examines a single speaker's patterns of variation in the production of (t) and the effect of linguistic, social, stylistic and conversational constraints on that variation. The data was collected by the informant and myself (both members of the Guide Association) and covers a range of situations including her with a) her family, b) with friends, c) as chairperson of a meeting and d) as team leader with a group of local Guiders in a training situation.

Using quantitative methodology and Varbrul analysis the data was initially analysed to ascertain the percentage use of the two variants present in my data, [t] and [ʔ], according to both linguistic and social/stylistic constraints. Linguistic constraints considered were:

- position in word/morpheme/phrase
- following phonetic segment
- word category (eg "it" "not" "that")
- whether function or content word).

Social constraints considered were:

- audience - family, friends, Guiders etc
- size of audience
- the physical setting of the interaction.

The data was then reanalysed using a more qualitative methodological approach in order to examine the effect of conversational structure on variation.

Following Milroy (1997) and Docherty et al (1997), I examined variation for (t) in turn final position. I found that there was a large difference in the percentage use of aspirated alveolar [t] in this position in comparison to the overall percentage use of this variant in my informant's speech (although, unlike in Milroy (1997) and Docherty et al (1997), glottalisation was not blocked in this position).

During this qualitative analysis it became apparent that other conversational constraints were operational. I found an increase in the percentage use of [t] during asymmetrical turns (produced by my informant during a formal meeting which she chaired). Using current CA theory, I argue that the behaviour demonstrated in these particular sections is attributable, at least in part, to a) the role-

structured institutionalised nature of the interaction, b) disparity and distribution of knowledge and c) the interactants' rights of participation. In addition, I also examine the data for distinct patterns of variation constrained by two other conversational structures, viz. a) following a change of state token (Heritage 1984) and b) within preferred/dispreferred responses (Pomerantz 1984).

Thus, my research draws on the methodology and theory of qualitative conversation analysis in order to shed light onto the results of a quantitative investigation of the complexity of use and function of particular linguistic variables in interaction.

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Comparing Variation in the Group and the Individual: Evidence from SLA and Language Shift

Robert Bayley and Juliet Langman
University of Texas, San Antonio

Studies of linguistic variation generally report group rather than individual results. However, combining data from different speakers could conceivably lead to reporting patterns of variation that fail to reflect the actual speech of any individual. For native speech, this problem has been addressed in greatest detail by Guy (1980), who showed that given sufficient data, individual speakers did indeed match group patterns for English coronal stop deletion. For L2 learners, however, the relationship between group and individual patterns of variation has remained problematic because learner varieties change rapidly as acquisition proceeds. Moreover, although there are numerous similarities in the paths L2 acquirers take towards the target language, there is also considerable evidence that L2 acquirers pursue divergent communicative strategies that may lead to differences in what is acquired (Bialystok, 1990; Langman, 1998).

This paper, based on studies of the acquisition of verbal morphology by Chinese adult learners of English and Hungarian (Bayley, 1994, 1996; Langman & Bayley, in press) and of the loss of tense/aspect distinctions in the Spanish of U.S. Latino children (Bayley, 1999), examines the relationship between group and individual patterns of variation in one area of the grammar, verbal morphology. The results show that individual patterns of variation closely match the group pattern on several dimensions. Multivariate analysis shows that frequency and perceptual saliency affect

verb marking by all Chinese acquirers of English and Hungarian in a similar manner. In addition, separate quantitative analyses of individual speakers show that all the Chinese learners of English considered here are approximately twice as likely to mark perfective verbs for past tense as to mark imperfective verbs. Finally, data from 49 U.S. Latino children suggest that, in communities undergoing language shift, individuals mirror the overall group pattern of loss of tense-aspect distinctions.

These convergent results suggest that factors such as aspectual categories, frequency, and perceptual saliency operate in the same way for individual L2 acquirers regardless of proficiency level or language background. However, other factors, including lower level phonetic factors, may have different effects on learners of diverse proficiency levels (Bayley, 1996; Young & Yandell, 1999). Although we cannot claim that all the factors of interest in studies of interlanguage variation constrain all learners in the same way, we have considerable evidence that individual results do indeed mirror group results for many of the factors of greatest interest for research in language contact and second language acquisition.

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Alexander T. Bergs
Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

Present-day oriented dialectologists have suggested a number of different patterns for the geographical diffusion of linguistic features: waves, rays, and 'city-hopping', to name only a few. This paper explores the different patterns from a historical perspective. While on a macro-level spreads in 'waves', i.e. isoglosses moving away from some centre, have been observed fairly regularly (e.g. Samuels 1972), this paper offers evidence, on the basis of the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (McIntosh, Benskin, Samuels 1986), that on a micro-level some features can be observed which actually do not spread in a wave-like fashion but rather along some rays and lines.

The prime example is the development of the third person plural objective and possessive pronoun form in late Middle English. Here, PdE <them>/<their> substitutes ME <hem>/<her(e)>. Starting from the assumption that the new forms <them>/<their> originated in the North and only later came to London it will be shown how later on these two forms moved from London to East Anglia and Norwich in particular.

It appears that this development was not a case of the 'city hopping' pattern observed by Trudgill for Norwegian in Brunlanes and PdE in the London/Norwich area (Chambers & Trudgill 1980:182-202; Trudgill 1983) or by Labov in the Atlas of Northern American English (2000, 2002). Rather, the two forms seem to have diffused along important communication routes, i.e. roads and rivers. The reason for this can be seen in the fact that travelling in the Middle Ages was very different from travelling today. While London-Norwich can be covered in about three to four hours by car without any intervals, it took the (fast) fifteenth-century traveller roughly three days by horse. This left enough time for diffusing new forms along the way.

Written language features, on the other hand, spread, *qua definitionem*, only through written documents, i.e. they can only show up in different monasteries and scriptoria, but not 'on the way'. It is only in the late Middle Ages and the EmodE period with the onset of commercialisation, fast travel and rapidly growing cities (cp. Keene 2000; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2000) that the wave patterns around larger cities become important and the city-hopping pattern found by Trudgill et al. together with gravity-effects (see Chambers & Trudgill 1980:182-202; Trudgill 1983) can be observed.

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Toward a Cognitive Dialectology: Topological Expressions in Different Varieties of German

Raphael Berthele
University of Fribourg

In this paper, dialectal variation in the expression of topological spatial relations (such as *on*, *at*, *under*, etc.) are presented - an aspect of variation that has often been neglected by variationists and dialectologists. Using a picture book elaborated by a group of researchers at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, data from different varieties of German (standard and non-standard) as well as of neighboring languages have been collected. Whereas psycholinguists so far tended to use this instrument with typologically extremely different languages, this paper stresses the usefulness of the instrument for dialectological research. It turns out that this instrument allows a good insight into the considerable amount of variation of spatial expressions within closely related languages.

Firstly, I will describe systematically the way the varieties in the scope of this paper are structuring the spatial domain. The expressions used for spatial relations such as support, containment, adhesion, or encirclement are laid out. Secondly, the variation in terms of linguistic coding of spatial realm is systematically presented and analyzed. E.g., some varieties in the scope of this paper tend to show considerably higher frequencies in the use of - apparently redundant - circumpositions, such as in the following Swiss German example:

1. *de schluuch isch ume strunk ume*
the hose is around-the stump around

But not only differences in the use of adpositions can be found, the use of the generic verb 'sein' (be) often stands in contrast to the use of posture verbs (sitzen, stehen, liegen):

2. *Die Tasse steht auf dem Tisch* (Standard High German)
the cup stands on the table

vs.

3. *s beckeli isch uf em tisch* (Muotathal dialect)
the cup is on the table

According to the expectations, relatively isolated varieties (such as those in alpine areas of German-speaking Switzerland) tend to show idiosyncratic patterns of construal; e.g. *a crack in a cup* can be construed as in the *periphery* (use of the preposition 'an') and not the inside of the cup (use of 'in'). In addition to the analysis of the internal variation, neighboring and genetically related languages such as French, Italian, and English are used as means of comparison.

Be Mindful of the Gap: the Role of Linguistic Diversity within Galician and Portuguese Borderland Cultures

Jaine Beswick
University of Southampton

The recent upsurge of interest in the seemingly inexorable trend towards a decline in global linguistic diversity has revealed a general uncertainty as to whether such losses may have disastrous cultural, social and intellectual consequences, asserted by proponents of 'antiassimilationist' multiculturalisms, or whether the notion of a few global collective language varieties may do away with ethnic divisions and marginalisation, claimed by supporters of 'benevolent' nationalisms. Notwithstanding such debates, it does appear that over the last decades, once again there has been a concomitant resurgence of national and regional pride within and even across geographical borders, which has, in turn, focused the public's attention on the characterisation of areas surrounding such borders: the borderland cultures. Considered to be the focal point of contact between two distinct societies and their idiosyncratic cultures, identities and political perspectives, the role of such areas in ongoing processes of divergent or convergent varietal innovation is not yet fully explained. However, one premise is that the occurrence of contact-induced linguistic change within the borderlands may stimulate the creation of a distinctive dialectal continuum.

This paper discusses research findings within the borderland regions of southern Galicia and northern Portugal. A historical overview is offered insofar as it is relevant to the social, ethnic and cultural borders and their configuration within geographical and political frontiers. The notion of border regimes and synchronic cross-border geolinguistic diffusion is examined in order to determine the extent of mutual intelligibility, the distribution of language variety contextual functions within the borderland communities and the extent of the dialectal continuum, bearing in mind the official language status of both Galician and Portuguese within their respective territories. Indeed, language varieties such as Galician are perceived increasingly as unifying symbols of ethnic identity, and the recent standardisation of Galician was carried out with the aim of legitimising the region's right to self-determination within the Spanish State. Yet much controversy and debate surrounds the particular configuration of varieties implemented as the standard, which largely ignores the claims of the pro-Portuguese reintegrationalists. To this end, this paper also discusses Galician and Portuguese ethnolinguistic identities, their emblematic and unifying characterisation and their role and impact within such cross-border cultures in the light of such divergent language planning, taking into consideration the opinions of the borderland communities with respect to such identities.

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Language awareness and language attitudes in the context of Canadian English

Johanna Birkstedt
University of Helsinki

This paper examines folk linguistics in relation to language attitudes. Preston (1996) presents four clines of folk linguistic awareness of language. These are the 1) *availability* of language for non-linguists' awareness, 2) *accuracy* of their descriptions of language, and the level of 3) *detail* and 4) *control* in these descriptions. The aim of this paper is to study the awareness that speakers have of their own language variety and to analyze the attitudes that they have towards different language varieties. Specifically, the study explores the language awareness and linguistic attitudes of Anglophone Canadians.

The study was conducted in Toronto, Ontario, using a questionnaire. 56 students (27 of them high-school students and 29 undergraduates) between the ages of 16 and 26 filled in the two-part questionnaire. The first part contained questions about the respondents' perceptions about Canadian English and characteristic features of this language variety. The respondents were e.g. asked to name words, pronunciations and spellings that they thought were typical of Canadian English. The second part of the questionnaire studied the respondents' attitudes towards Canadian English, British English and American English and the relationship between these attitudes and a sense of Canadian identity.

The main findings suggest that although the respondents appear to have a general awareness of a distinctly Canadian variety of English, they are able to characterize this variety only through a few particularly typical, even stereotypical, features. Furthermore, awareness of Canadian English is based almost solely on the ways in which it differs from English spoken in the United States. For example similarities with British English are primarily seen as examples of how Canadian English is different from American English. The findings are discussed in terms of the four clines of folk linguistic awareness introduced by Preston. In studying the language attitudes and linguistic identities of the respondents, the main findings suggest that the respondents for the most part have positive attitudes towards Canadian English but do not necessarily regard themselves as speakers of it. However, a small group who do strongly identify themselves with Canadian English are overtly aware of its importance in defining their identity.

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The Dialects of Kartvelian Languages Inside and Outside Georgia

Tinatin Bolkvadze
Tbilisi Ivane Javakhishvili State University

The paper deals with the linguistic and extralinguistics factors of marking off the dialects of the Georgian, Megrelian-Laz and Svanian languages, distributed in Georgia and beyond its boundaries;

the types of the influence the dialects of the Kartvelian languages distributed within the boundaries of Georgia, exercise upon one another and its results; the question of a transitional dialect.

Five dialects can be found outside Georgia: the Ingiloian - in Azerbaijan, the Plastunkian and Mozdokian - in Russia, the Imerkhevian - in Turkey and the Pereidani - in Iran. The greatest majority of those who speak the Laz language live in Turkey. The Laz language has the following dialects: Vitsian-Arkabian, Khopi and Athinian. All the Kartvelian dialects, except the Pereidani one, are distributed on the historic territories of Georgia. The paper deals with the sociolinguistic attributes of the dialects of the Kartvelian languages, their functions and status inside and outside Georgia.

Geolinguistics of Literacy: the Global Topography

J.K. Chambers
University of Toronto

Mass literacy has been the norm in developed nations for almost one and a half centuries. Linguists interested in language variation are uncovering evidence that literacy may have linguistic consequences by, for instance, impeding language change and leveling 'traditional' dialect features (Chambers 1993: 137-42).

A research initiative known as the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) provides a rich data-source for developing a perspective on literacy as a global phenomenon. Though the IALS was conceived in the domains of sociology of language and educational testing, it employed a sophisticated conceptual framework (developed mainly by Irwin Kirsch and Peter Mosenthal, e.g., 1993, Mosenthal 1998). It was inclusive enough in its coverage and perspicacious enough in its design to allow (indeed, to invite) reanalysis and restatement from other domains.

IALS treats literacy as a multidimensional phenomenon in three modes (Prose, Document, Quantitative) with five proficiency grades (1-5) and social correlates (sex, age, education and ethnicity). The survey crossed national and linguistic borders and ended up surveying over 75,000 adults in 15 languages in 22 countries.

My work reanalyses and restates the IALS results from the viewpoint of a variationist and dialectologist. There are two main thrusts (so far). The first is geolinguistic, looking at literacy in terms of global patterns of proficiency. Highest and lowest grades tend to cluster as loose-knit "literacy alliances" that sometimes cross linguistic boundaries as well as national boundaries. These alliances are presumably unintended but not, I will argue, accidental. The second thrust is sociolinguistic, comparing national literacy rates in terms of what I call "equity gaps," discrepancies in proficiency between polar groups (old-young, native-immigrant, male-female, etc.). Aggregate scores link nations with similar equity gaps, again forming trans-national clusters that are apparently unintended but not accidental.

Independent variables with some explanatory value appear to include economic status and general education (perhaps obviously) and also (less obviously) new-world/old-world origins and national economic well-being. The sociolinguistic implications are rich. I believe that they illuminate the IALS data in ways unimagined by the investigators, and hope they may open up a new dimension for geolinguistics.

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Ingressive Particles across Borders: Gender and Discourse Parallels in Ingressive Usage in Scandinavia and Newfoundland

Sandra Clarke

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Gunnel Melchers

University of Stockholm

The use of the pulmonic ingressive airstream as a device to facilitate conversational interaction has been documented in a small number of historically and typologically unrelated language families, including Germanic and Uto-Aztecan (for the latter, see Hill and Zepeda 1999). However, the use of ingressive phonation in human language has received little attention in the literature, aside from occasional mention of the fact that it may also be utilized for purposes of voice disguise, such as in courtship speech (Dieth 1950 for German, Conklin 1959 for the Philippine language Hanunóo), or in Newfoundland "mummer" talk (Kirwin 1971).

The Scandinavian languages (including Icelandic and Faroese) are known for their utilization of ingressive speech, notably the confirmatory discourse particle *ja* (e.g. Stølen 1994). The areal nature of this feature is confirmed by parallel usage in Finnish. Ingressive discourse particles have also been documented for northern Germany, and have spread to southern German-speaking areas, including Austria (Pitschmann 1987). They have also been reported for Dutch and French. The use of ingressives has rarely been noted for English, where the feature has not been systematically investigated, apart from Peters' 1981 study of a rural Scandinavian-settled area in the eastern United States.

The present paper compares and contrasts the sociolinguistic patterning and discourse functioning of ingressive pragmatic particles in Swedish with those of the English of Atlantic Canada, specifically, of Newfoundland. Analysis is based on tape-recorded corpora of same- and mixed-sex conversation in both Swedish and Newfoundland English, coupled with observation over a several-year period. Some evident differences exist between the Scandinavian and the Newfoundland corpora: for example, though in the latter the ingressive airstream is occasionally utilized for segments other than *yeah* and *no* (cf. Paddock 1981), Newfoundland English does not exhibit the wider range of potential ingressive speech segments, with their accompanying discourse functions, that are attested in Swedish. None the less, remarkable parallels do exist, notably with respect to gender, since in Newfoundland as well as Scandinavia ingressive particles are more characteristic of women's than men's speech. Similarities in pragmatic function are also apparent: in addition to serving as turn-transition indicators, ingressive affirmative particles function as verbal signals not

only of passive listenership, but also of supportive listenership and interactional alignment (cf. Stølen 1994).

Though language contact appears responsible for the existence of ingressive particles in northern Europe, the British Isles, and eastern Canada, the Newfoundland data suggest that contact features may be transmitted with concomitant social information - transmission reinforced in this instance by shared cultural norms relating to appropriate verbal interactional roles of women and men.

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Alguer, un dialecte de frontiera du catalan

Jaume Corbera

Alguer is the easternmost Catalan dialect, spoken in the Sardinian city of l'Alguer (Italian *Alghero*), isolated and far away from the rest of Catalan dialects. Developed after the XIVth century with the contribution of speakers from the whole Catalan Countries (Catalonia, Valencia, Balearic Islands), *Alguer* is a frontier dialect because of its situation and history. The contact with neighbouring Sardinian dialects - *Sassaresi* and *Logudoresu* - has given it a particular and quite characteristic form, which is reflected not only in its phonological component, but also in the morphosyntactic and the lexical components as well. Until now the works that have studied the relationship between *Alguer* and *Sassaresi* and *Logudoresu* show principally the influences of these ones on that one, but very few are devoted to know how the Catalan of l'Alguer has also have effects on the north Sardinian dialects. With my paper I seek first to settle and rectify - whenever it

is necessary - the contributions that the first scholars of this border speech - G. Morosi, P. E. Guarnerio, A. Ciuffo and A. Griera - made to the knowledge of the Sardinian influences on *Algheres*. Secondly, I want to show that some catalanisms of north Sardinian, studied mainly by M. L. Wagner, have entered probably from Algheres. Lastly it is also interesting to see how the border dialects share often some particular traits (they are innovative due to their relation across the border, but they are conservative as well due to their condition of lateral areas, in accordance with the postulates of Bartoli's spatial linguistics). We can now verify this postulate comparing *Algheres* with other Catalan border dialects: in the north side (*Rossellones*, frontier with occitan *Lengadocian*) and in the north-west side (*Ribagorça*, frontier with *Aragones*, other *Llitàrà*, frontier with Castilian).

The Dutch dialect Atlas: the methodology and syntactic variation

Leonie Cornips
Royal Netherlands Academy

In this talk, I'll present the design and the methodology and some interesting results of the SAND (Dutch syntactic dialect atlas)-project in The Netherlands and in Belgium. In the SAND-project dialectological, sociolinguistic and generative syntactic researchers in the Netherlands and in Dutch-speaking Belgium join forces in order to investigate the geographic distribution of syntactic variation in the Dutch dialects. The syntactic atlas has the following research topics: left and right periphery of the clause, pronominal reference and negation and quantification. I'll discuss that the project is demanding with respect to methodology. First of all the elicitation techniques involved have to collect and to 'test' specific data which are interesting from a theoretical point of view. Secondly, the tasks or the elicitation tests with respect to written and oral data collection should be valid research tools.

A written questionnaire has the advantage of systematically gathering dialect data in a large geographical area within a short time span. Moreover, it is an elicitation technique that enables the researcher to standardize both the collection of, and the analysis of, the material. However, this method induces numerous well-known task effects such as: (i) the repetition effect; (ii) the judging of syntactic constructions as ungrammatical simply on the basis of lexical items or 'knowledge of the world' and (iii) the fact that written forms are unduly influenced by prescriptive educational practices. It is for this reason that written data obtained will not be used directly for the atlas unlike the data obtained by oral fieldwork. For the validity and consistency of the atlas, we decided that the interviews should be in dialect rather than in the standard language or some regiolect, in order to avoid accommodation, i.e. adjustment from the dialect in the direction of the standard-like varieties. For most of the 250 locations selected this means that in order to be able to interview the informant in his own dialect, we summon the assistance of another dialect speaker from the same community speaking the same variety.

Finally, I'll discuss some aspects of geographic syntactic variation we encountered so far.

Leeds 1966: Some Early Evidence for A New RP?

Lawrence M. Davis

Charles L. Houck

Clive Upton

A number of linguists have noted that Received Pronunciation (RP) has changed during the last half century; however, they have not always agreed on nature of this development. Phonological data collected by Charles Houck in 1965-66 from residents of Leeds should shed some light on the nature of this change. Of Houck's twenty two subjects, two were born in and/or spent their formative years in Durham, fourteen were from Yorkshire, one was from Derbyshire, two were from Buckinghamshire and three from London. In other words, with only five exceptions, all of the subjects were northerners.

The seventy one item questionnaire used by Houck (1968) elicited single word responses, of which the following are three examples:

A right and left shoe make a [pair].
To keep shoes on, the laces are [tied].
If something is not good, it is [bad].

We have decided to examine three vowels: the vowels in SQUARE, PRICE and TRAP. Wells (1982) notes that the RP pronunciation of the SQUARE vowel was [eə], and that the PRICE and TRAP vowels were, respectively, [ai] and [æ]. A number of Houck subjects, on the other hand, pronounced the SQUARE vowel as the monophthong [e]. When there was a schwa off glide, it was very weak indeed. The TRAP vowel was often lowered from [æ] to [a] and the onset of the PRICE vowel was backed from [a] to [ʌ<], the vowel in RP STRUT.

The above phenomena have been observed as features of a modern RP. The trap vowel [a] is noted by Wells (1982, 1997), and the PRICE vowel [ʌ<] by MacCarthy (1978). It is undoubtedly the case that today's native British-English speakers almost invariably judge the diphthongal SQUARE vowel [eə] to be a feature of a marked RP variety, attracting judgments of its being old fashioned or affected (Upton et al. 2001).

Houck's randomly sampled speakers exhibit a striking lack of the most marked regional speech characteristics. Our conclusion is that the 1960s Leeds data, for the variables observed, provide definite hints of today's modern RP. These real time data raise questions about what may be overly simplistic notions regarding the development of RP and the direction of its spread.

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Degemination of [r] in Old French charters and rhymed texts of Paris.

Thera de Jong
Emmeloord

Most of Latin geminates have been reduced to a simple consonant long before the first period of Old French (i.e. Old French from about 800 until 1100 (see Pope 1952)). This degemination can be observed from Old French spellings, Latin "illa" 'she' for example is often written *ele* in Old French texts (see for example Dees 1980: 25), "mittere" 'to set' is often written *metre*. The Latin geminate "-rr-" on the contrary has been maintained in Old French, in spelling, as can be observed from Old French charters as well as in pronunciation as can be observed from Old French rhymed texts in which words in double *-rr-* almost never rhyme with words in simple *-r-*.

The Old French spellings *-r-* and *-rr-* are not only derived from the Latin "-r" or "-rr-" but they can also be derived from the Latin groups "-tr" and "-dr-" in hiatus, for example "mittere" > *mettre* or "pater" > "padre" > *père*. The Latin groups "-tr-" and "-dr-" develop either to *-r-* or to *-rr-*.

In our presentation we first will examine the development of Old French *-rr-* and *-r-* following their Latin origin. Then we will study the Old French dialectal situation, though most of the manuals of Old French affirm that the double *-rr-* has been pronounced as a long [r], at least until the end of the 15th century, Old French dialectal spellings show that not all dialects have pronounced a long [r] during the Middle Ages. In those regions *-rr-* is degeminated at least before the 13th century (see for example Dees 1980: 197, 244).

Finally we will examine the development of double *-rr-* in the Parisian dialect on the hand of a corpus consisting of about 360 Parisian charters of the 13th and 14th century and three rhymed texts.

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Historical dialectology in black and white: are two colors enough?

J. L. Dillard

In a purely speculative history of African-American Vernacular English, Mufwene (2000) touches on only three linguistic forms -- those in cursory fashion -- and cites no historical documents. It is apparently assumed that bilingual contact with the familiar process of interference will be the only process to be dealt with. Particularly, it is asserted that colonial English, here seen as primarily or exclusively British regional dialect, was the dominant factor, with additional input only from African languages. Although the great diversity of those languages is well known, a typological similarity is assumed to make that great conglomeration of languages somehow one (Singler 1988).

It has been conventional to resort to the concept of substratum, which, at least in its elementary form, is far too simple for this complex situation. Assumptions have been made that anyone dealing with early African-American Vernacular English is dealing with "substratum." Reinecke et al. (1975) attributed a substratum orientation to Dillard (1970), a paper which did not use the word "substratum" and did not refer to African languages.

Even accepting identical typology of the African languages, the formulation is oversimplified. Contemporary reports stress how African slaves interacted with Native Americans -- often more than with their European masters and always more willingly. Brinton (1887) pointed out how the Nantucket tribe had so assimilated with escaped slaves that a number system assumed to be Native American was actually African. Even in Rhode Island, Native American women were reported to prefer African-American husbands to their tribesmen (Cottrol= 1982). Wood (1974) documents extensive Native American-African slave interaction, and relationships with Seminoles in Florida were even closer.

Native American influence was quickly swept under the rug by language historians, especially those in the Linguistic Atlas tradition (Marckwardt 1958). Except for place names, a fairly small number of lexical items found their way into general American English. (Special varieties might be a different story.) With the Indians disposed of in this fashion, dialect geographers could go about what they considered to be their major function: tracing British regional forms into American regional forms (McDavid 1983).

West African and Native American interaction on a large scale (not to mention European groups like the Dutch) forces the consideration of a different picture, extreme multilingualism. It is well known that a language of wider communication usually exists in such a situation and that a pidgin is the most characteristic of such languages. There are widespread attestations of Pidgin English in the American colonies and in the early United States (Leechman and Hall 1955; Miller 1968; Dillard 1972; Goddard 1977, 1978; Brandt and MacCrate 1979).

Contact languages and pidgins are more usual in maritime contact and in coastal areas than inland (Bakker 1987). The British continental colonies were coastal settlements with close and even vital ties to the sea. Reconstruction from inland dialects of the twentieth century, even from inner city dialects, are likely to be misleading.

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Investigating variation in children's speech

Gerry Docherty
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Paul Foulkes, Jenny Tillotson & Dominic Watt
University of York

Describing structured variation in adult communities has been the mainstay of Labovian sociolinguistics since its inception in the 1960s. Much work has subsequently been carried out to refine techniques of data collection and analysis. This work has yielded great insights into the relationships between linguistic variation and social factors such as class, gender, age and style. One area which remains almost completely unresearched, however, is how linguistic variation comes to be learned by children in the process of language acquisition. In this presentation we describe the methodology we have used in a project designed to tackle this issue. We provide a critical overview of collection and analysis techniques which might be used with children as informants.

The project, *The Emergence of Structured Variation in the Speech of Tyneside Infants* (ESRC grant R000237417) was carried out from 1997-2001. We analysed patterns of phonological acquisition by children from Newcastle. A crucial baseline was provided by a previous variationist study of Newcastle adults, which gave us a detailed description of variation and change in that community and enabled us to assess the precise targets which the children must aim for.

Two bodies of data were planned: (i) a cross-sectional corpus from 40 children - 4 boys and 4 girls each at ages 2;0, 2;6, 3;0, 3;6 and 4;0 (\pm one month); (ii) longitudinal data from 8 children between the same ages, with recordings made at bi-monthly intervals. The longitudinal corpus, however, had to be modified because of participant withdrawals.

Children's rate of acquisition is well known to be extremely variable, and influenced by many factors. In order to construct a reasonable set of controls on our subjects, all subjects were first-born, to minimise the impact of input from siblings. The parents were in all cases the primary caregivers, and the mother played the larger role. The children were all monolinguals, and had no known speech or hearing disorders.

The children were recorded for c. 45 minutes, in the contexts of (i) free play with the mother and a fieldworker, and (ii) carrying out a toy- and picture-based game designed to elicit tokens of specific words. Recordings were made using a Sony TCD-D10 Pro II DAT recorder and Trantec lapel radio microphones, to enable the children to move freely. Fieldwork was carried out by professional speech and language therapists, who were experienced in work with children.

Auditory and acoustic analysis of several variables was undertaken. Acoustic analysis was used to provide a detailed profile of the phonetic targets for consonants, and to assess the extent to which children had successfully learned complex variables. The acoustic profiling technique will be outlined.

Phonological variation in child-directed speech

Gerry Docherty
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Paul Foulkes, Jenny Tillotson & Dominic Watt
University of York

This paper presents findings from the project *The Emergence of Structured Variation in the Speech of Tyneside Infants* (henceforth *ESV*; ESRC grant R000237417). The methodology of the project is detailed in another presentation at *Methods XI*. However, in short it focuses on the speech of 40 children aged between 2 and 4 from Newcastle, and aims to track the path taken by children in learning variable phonetic forms.

An important baseline for *ESV* is provided by a previous variationist study of adults from Newcastle, which has yielded a detailed description of phonological variation and change in the community. These adult data are crucial in enabling us to assess the precise targets which the children must aim for.

It is nonetheless vital to bear in mind that the phonetic features of child-directed speech (CDS) may differ - qualitatively and quantitatively - from those of adult-directed speech (ADS). It is well-known, for example, that intonation patterns and speaking rate vary markedly between CDS and ADS. CDS is often characterised by wide intonational contours and a slow speaking rate.

Segmental differences in CDS have not hitherto been the focus of much attention, however. Exceptions are Shockey & Bond (1980) and Bernstein Ratner (1984), who report conflicting evidence on phonological 'reduction' in CDS; and Cruttenden (1994), who suggests that features of CDS may change with respect to a child's age.

We present data from the full cohort of 40 mothers. We find that quantitative analysis of (t) variants shows marked differences in CDS compared with ADS, which may in part explain differences in children's productions of (t) compared with those of adults. We also find a significant correlation between mothers' and children's use of the pre-aspirated and glottal variants of (t) in turn-final position. Finally, we find quantitative evidence of variability within CDS, correlating with the age

and sex of the children. Mothers of boys use significantly more local variants of word-medial (t) than do mothers of girls. This differential pattern suggests that a form of gender-oriented sociolinguistic 'training' is present in early linguistic input to children.

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Towards a corpus of nineteenth-century Scottish correspondence

Marina Dossena
Bergamo

The aim of the paper is to discuss an overview of the methodological issues relating to the compilation of a corpus of nineteenth-century Scottish correspondence. The corpus itself is intended to supplement similar corpora already available or the compilation of which is in progress - in particular, the Corpus of Scottish Correspondence, currently being compiled by Anneli Meurman-Solin, and also, to some extent, the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, compiled by Terttu Nevalainen and her team. *The Corpus of Nineteenth-Century Scottish Correspondence* (henceforth 19C-CSC) will therefore develop along similar methodological lines, encompassing both private and non-private letters, written by both men and women of varying ages.

All texts included in the corpus will be transcribed from manuscripts. At least at the beginning these have been selected from those available either in the National Archives of Scotland or in the National Library of Scotland; at a later stage, the inclusion of privately-held documents which may shed light on diatopic variation in nineteenth-century Scottish English is envisaged.

As regards the selection of texts, in the very first stages of corpus compilation samples have been selected both randomly and on the basis of their being the response to a previous text (whether a letter or a brief note). In future a similar policy will be followed, though an attempt at creating a balanced set of samples of both male and female writers will be made. Concerning the social extraction of writers, the quantity of material available for the gentry and the upper-middle classes so far seems to outweigh greatly the quantity of material available from lower orders of society. However, previously-edited letters by literary figures have been deliberately excluded. On the other hand, a fairly consistent sample of business letters written by members of the Blackwood family have been included, on account of the light they may shed on the development of business correspondence as a genre.

The paper will therefore present the kind of choices involved in the creation of this first 10,000-word sampler and some preliminary findings emerging from exploratory investigations. Finally, an outline of the next stages of corpus compilation will be presented.

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The Language of Kashubian Settlements in Wilno and Barry's Bay (Ontario, Canada)

Henryk Duda
Catholic University of Lublin

Kashubs inhabit the northern regions of Poland (near Gdansk). Linguistic literature has tended to consider the idiom used by them as a dialect of Polish. Today, however, especially beyond the borders of Poland, it is more common to write and speak of the Kashubian language proper. Kashubs themselves are insistent that the language they speak be treated as such. In the nineteenth century (1795-1918), when their territory was contained within the borders of Prussia, large numbers of Kashubs emigrated to the North-American continent. Large concentrations of these original settlers are still to be found in the United States (esp. in Minnesota). A curious and considerable group of Kashubs have also survived in Canada, specifically in the region of Central Ontario (Renfrew County).

The first Kashubian settlements were established in this region in the second half of the nineteenth century. Today, the fourth and fifth generations of the original settlers are primarily located in two municipal communities Ñ Wilno and Barry's Bay. The author will first provide the essential characteristics of Kashubian. Secondly, a detailed overview of the social and political context of the daily working lives of Kashubs, as it affected the evolution (or lack thereof) of their language. Given the isolated rural environment of the first settlers (who were primarily engaged in logging), present generations have preserved, with remarkable accuracy, the original idiomatic properties of the language of their forefathers. The article will focus on how various factors have determined the resiliency of Kashubian (in contrast to other language groups) in this particular area of settlement.

Talking About Talking: Lay Perceptions of Dialect Differences

Bethany K. Dumas
The University of Tennessee

Descriptions of American English have been published since at least 1890, when the first part of Volume I of *Dialect Notes* (DN) was published. The goal of the American Dialect Society has long been to investigate the spoken English of the United States and Canada, and the goal of DN was to publish descriptions of dialect patterns in North America. Its first issue specified that dialect variation is divided into two parts, vocabulary and pronunciation, even though the report of the ADS organizational meeting added grammar and phraseology. Vocabulary and pronunciation variation have dominated descriptions of American English; recent examples are Carver 1987, Labov 1991, and Labov 1994. Such variation is also well known to readers of fiction. A much-quoted example occurs in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (1939), when Ivy says, "Ever'body says words different. . . . Arkansas folks says 'em different, and Oklahomy folks says 'em different. And we seen a lady from Massachusetts, an' she said 'em differentest of all. Couldn' hardly make out what she was sayin'." Of course, the nonstandard spelling reveals that the author is aware that language varies in syntax and morphology, as well as pronunciation.

In recent years, we have been increasingly aware that the perceptions of professional linguistics, as reported in published descriptions, including textbooks, have varied from lay perceptions, often reported in conversation, but also examined in recent studies of perceptual dialectology (see Preston 2000). The perceptions of the two groups differ with respect to such questions as (1) the number of dialects of American English, (2) whether there is a standard English, and perhaps most importantly, (3) which linguistics systems count for most -- words, sounds, or syntactic clusters. Evidence suggests [that the differences in reported perceptions are inevitable, given that linguists practice a craft, if not an actual science, both in their research and their writing, while lay persons practice an art, using an ability that some linguists also retain, both in their perceptions and their choices about how to report those perceptions. Rather than explicitly identifying linguistic features, lay persons instead display socially relevant knowledge (often stereotypical knowledge) about the sociolinguistic status of a given dialect. On the basis of an analysis of lay comments, including some from fiction, I shall suggest that the *art* of conversational dialect description is quite different from the *craft* or *science* of scholarly dialect description and that the two activities serve quite different purposes.

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Garifuna Across Borders: Methodological Challenges in the Study of an Endangered Language

Geneviève Escure
University of Minnesota

Garifuna, a language spoken by Afro-Indians (Garinagu) in Central America, is severely endangered. It is still spoken in coastal areas and islands located along the Caribbean shoreline, primarily in Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras. In each country, the Garinagu constitute a minority ethnic group that has been historically marginalized by local governments. Although members of the group maintain cultural and familial ties across national borders, their common native language is overshadowed by dominant languages: Spanish in Guatemala and Honduras, and English Creole in Belize.

It is likely that Garifuna will not survive the 21st century because younger speakers under 20 no longer speak their parents' native language. Even older people routinely switch between Garifuna and Spanish (in Honduras), or between Garifuna and Creole (in Belize), as represented in the following exchange:

T=Bayanaha anhein hamuga ya tibu weyu ligia--digale a su hermano que se prepare para ir Coco View.

IMP-speak LOC MOD here you day that-- [SPANISH]

Speak up, you would have been here that day--tell your brother to get ready to go to Coco View. (T. -Roatan, Honduras 2/25/2001).

Garifuna is the ultimate contact language, the end result of a five-century diaspora from South America to the Caribbean on to Central America that involved successive contacts between South American Indians (Arawakan and Karina speakers), African maroons, French, British and eventually Spanish and Creole English speakers. Garifuna exhibits even now extensive French influence dating back to early contacts on the island of St Vincent, and thus prior claims (Taylor 1956) that Garifuna is mostly Arawakan are in doubt and under review.

A six-month fieldwork in the original Garifuna settlement of Punta Gorda on the island of Roatan, Honduras, and in the village of Seine Bight, Belize, has presented crucial methodological challenges in the documentation of a language that speakers control to different degrees. The attrition of Garifuna seems to be concomitant with a great deal of variability, not only separating the Belizean and the Honduran communities, but also across age and gender groups. Preliminary observations indicate phonological variation, and ongoing morphological loss, as well as extensive lexical borrowing from contiguous languages. A sound assessment of the current state of the language is timely and requires special methodological procedures to be discussed.

Language attrition presents intriguing challenges: Why do some contact-induced creole languages (e.g., Belizean Creole) thrive whereas the contiguous Garifuna is abandoned by children and teenagers?

Ongoing(?) changes in modern Icelandic: written vs. spoken language

Finnur Friðriksson
Gothenburg University

Judging by the public debate in Iceland the Icelandic language is currently undergoing a number of changes which are feared to disrupt the image of stability that the language has both in the eyes of Icelanders themselves (see e.g. Gíslason, Jónsson, Kristmundsson & Þráinsson 1998) as well as in international sociolinguistics circles (see e.g. Milroy & Milroy 1985). The main "culprits" in this respect are generally believed to be "dative sickness", a tendency for impersonal verbs that normally take accusative-case subjects to take dative-case subjects instead; "new passive", i.e. a change in how passive sentences are constructed; and "genitive avoidance", the merging of genitive case or genitive case endings with accusative/dative case. All of these features are strongly stigmatized and considerable effort is put in in Icelandic schools to stop their further spread. In addition to this many teachers of Icelandic have recently claimed that an instability in their students' case-inflectional system, even in other respects, is emerging. This feature has not yet become stigmatized even though case inflections are traditionally heavily emphasized in the teaching of Icelandic.

Very little work has been carried out on these alleged new features, but the little that exists suggests that the claims made about ongoing changes, in written as well as spoken language, have some footing, especially as far as "dative sickness" and "new passive" are concerned. However, these earlier studies base their results on different kinds of tests rather than on authentic data, written or spoken. To get a clearer picture of the actual spread of these new features more work of the latter kind needs to be done. In the present paper I would therefore like to present the results from a recent pilot study based on authentic written and spoken material. What these results indicate is that all of the new features occur far too rarely in written language to be seen as firmly established or problematic there. It does, in other words, seem that the educational system has had considerable success in its emphasis on maintaining the traditional forms in the written language. As for spoken language, the new features are more common there than in written language, which not only indicates that this is the main source of the current fear for the state of modern Icelandic, but also shows the need for a more nuanced public debate in Iceland where no distinction tends to be made between spoken and written language. In a wider context these results indicate that the same distinction should be applied to the general image of Icelandic mentioned above and the main question to be asked is whether the results should be interpreted as a sign of the variables in question being stable or as an indicator of spoken and written language drifting further apart from each other than has been the case so far.

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Interplay of Geographical and Generational Variation in Local Japanese Dialects

Chitsuko Fukushima
Niigata Women's College

Language standardization has been in progress for more than a century in Japan. However, in local dialects, some traditional dialect forms are still being used and innovative dialect forms are emerging. In this paper, the language of young Japanese people in Niigata, Japan is focused and analyzed, with comparison to that of older generation. Niigata is located on the border of the Eastern Dialect Area and the Western Dialect Area in Japan. Thus, both types of words characterizing two major dialects are found in Niigata.

The data were originally collected from college students and adult students attending a college class on local dialects. The survey was repeated annually for several years, so the total number of the data reached hundreds of them. The linguistic items surveyed were chosen to exemplify aspects of contemporary dialects. Also questioned were, first, the standardization level of the speech used in everyday conversational situations such as talking with family members and friends and, second, how they perceive dialects and the standard language.

The whole data were made into a database and linguistics maps and/or graphs were produced using a personal computer. The SEAL system was used in order to draw linguistic maps. A symbol assigned to a linguistic form was plotted at a locality where each informant was raised.

Linguistic maps and graphs show different aspects of dialects used by the young generation as described below:

1. Standardization: dialect forms are lost and standard forms are acquired.
2. Dialect forms still prevailing: because they are mistakenly identified as standard forms or usage.
3. Emergence of new dialect forms: new words, new accent.

The geographical diffusion shown in the maps is also associated with age differences. The data of older generation are compared.

The analysis of dialect perception and its relationship with actual usage is also reported.

Did it all change in 1919? German dialects across the Austro-Moravian border

Renée Christine Fürst
University of Vienna

This paper wants to show how territorial/political/national/ideological borders have influenced the German dialects and their development along the Austro-Moravian border over the last centuries in general, and focus on one area in particular which became part of the 'Czechoslovak Republic' in 1919, having been part of Lower Austria since the Middle Ages.

The first German settlements in this area were founded during a time when no borders existed. After landowners had called in settlers to expand their spheres of influence, the territorial border between the Archduchy of Austria and the Margravate of Moravia was established, and since then German has been spoken on both sides of this border. For some 800 years a German speaking area of approximately 2000 square-kilometres and more than 200.000 inhabitants was part of the Margravate of Moravia, until the majority was forced to leave in 1946. In 1919 the territorial border of the Austro-Hungarian Empire became a political one, was substituted by a national one further north in 1938, re-established in 1945 and turned into an ideological one from 1948 until 1989. Since

1993 it has been part of the international border between the Republic of Austria and the Czech Republic.

This paper will analyse the situation before 1919 when the border in this region was territorial only, and then discuss the changes that took place when it became a political border. It will be shown how far the German Moravians participated in linguistic changes after 1919, and whether the situation changed again in 1938 when the region was incorporated into the Third Reich and the border was moved northwards and turned into a national boundary. Furthermore the effects of the 'Iron Curtain' on the German dialects in the second half of the 20th century will be discussed. Finally, the linguistic situation on both sides of the border will be compared through an analysis of the dialectal developments in both Lower Austria and Moravia.

The Moravian data has been collected only recently. In the year 2000, a trilateral project was granted funding for an 'Atlas of German Dialects in the Czech Republic'. Its aim is the documentation and analysis of the remains of the dialects in the former German speaking areas of the present day Czech Republic.

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Lady Frances Parthenope Verney's novels as a Source for Nineteenth-century Derbyshire English

María F. García-Bermejo Giner
University of Salamanca

Not all regional varieties of English received the same degree of attention on the part of scholars in the nineteenth century. As shown in García-Bermejo Giner (1994), the written sources for the study of English in Derbyshire in this period are scarce. As far as philological sources go, Joseph Wright could only rely on five glossaries, three of them of miners' terms, and two letters written to the *Monthly Magazine*, for the description of this variety in *The English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905). He also took into account the data provided by a very small number of local dialect writers, such as Richard Furness or Joseph Barlow Robinson. As regards the literary representation of Derbyshire dialect in the middle of the century, Wright relied on three novelists, George Eliot, Joseph Sheridan Lefanu and Lady Frances Parthenope Verney. The other writers who used this variety published their works in the late 1880s and 1890s. Wright complemented his information with the help of local informants and, of course, with the data in Ellis (1889), as well as with other non-philological sources such as local histories.

The aim of this paper is a description of the linguistic evidence in Lady Frances Parthenope Verney's novel *Stone Edge* (1868) and some short stories as regards the speech of Derbyshire in the second half of the nineteenth century. She was not a dialect speaker herself but she had become familiar with this variety during her stays as a child and as an adult in the family house of Lea Hurst. A comparison will be made with contemporary sources and with the conservative linguistic evidence supplied by the mid-twentieth century *Survey of English Dialects* in an attempt at establishing her reliability as a source for nineteenth-century Derbyshire English.

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Quantifying Standardization

Dirk Geeraerts, Dirk Speelman & Stefan Grondelaers
University of Leuven

In recent years, attempts have been made (notably by Peter Auer) to describe the different patterns of standardization existing in the languages of Europe. Against the backdrop of such classificatory attempts, we will argue for the following points.

1. Overviews such as those provided by Auer need to be supplemented with a quantitative measure of the actual linguistic distance between the language varieties included in the picture. Whether, for instance, a situation of diglossia or diaglossia (in Auer's terms) exists, depends on how close the linguistic behavior that may be observed in one type of communicative situation (like, say, written media language) resembles the language used in different situations (like spoken language in informal contexts). This degree of "closeness" needs to be measured to get an objective picture of the situation.
2. Such a quantitative approach will have to be based on actual usage data, i.e. it will have to be corpus-based. The linguistic distance to be measured is a distance between actual language behavior in specific communicative situations, not a distance between structural features of a language variety per se.
3. Developing the quantitative approach at the usage-based level involves the adaptation of existing dialectometric studies.

In the descriptive part of the paper, we will show how the research programme implied by this position can be developed in practice. We will do so on the basis of our current investigations into the standardization of contemporary Dutch. The initial findings (a full report of which may be found in D. Geeraerts, S. Grondelaers & D. Speelman 1999, *Convergentie en divergentie in de Nederlandse woordenschat*, Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut) involve the lexical relationship between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch in the period between 1950 and 1990, including the synchronic stratification of both national varieties. Current extensions of the programme involve an extension of the data base (incorporating internet and media language), an extension of the variables covered (including grammatical variables), and a further development of the methodology (including the use of clustering techniques).

We will not present these investigations for their own sake, but we will use a selection from among them as methodological case studies illustrating the points made above (specifically, points 1 and 2). The more technical aspects of the quantitative method (relating specifically to point 3) will be presented in a separate contribution that has been submitted for the workshop on Computational Techniques in Dialectometry organised by John Nerbonne as part of Methods XI.

'Wörterbuch der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich'(WBÖ) - A lexicon of regional, social and historical Bavarian dialects

Ingeborg Geyer
Austrian Academy of Sciences

The WBÖ is based on a systematic investigation (started in 1913) of the specific vocabulary of the urban and rural areas of the former Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy as well as of the historical /diachronic language / language variants of these regions.

This lexicon, which when completed will consist of 12 volumes, includes the Bavarian dialect variations within Austria (with the exception of the province of Vorarlberg, where the inhabitants speak an Alemannic dialect) and across the borders to Italy, Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

Based on selected examples from this lexicon the issue of wordiness in expression due to the close contacts between the German, Roman and Slovenian language varieties in the above-mentioned areas will be discussed. As the speakers of each language have their own way of perceiving the world and expressing their thoughts and feelings and describing their environment, it is very interesting to follow the different aspects of how words are borrowed and what the ramifications of the interactions among the cultures are.

The methods of presenting the wide range of words in use regarding their etymology, historical and actual geographical distribution, their present and former pronunciations, phrases, grammar, sentence construction, technical vocabularies and so on will be discussed in this presentation as well as the data base of the WBÖ.

The DBÖ ("Dialektdatenbank der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich") is an electronic data file based on the handwritten archive materials of the WBÖ. For every word information concerning etymology, place of use, pronunciation, language contact, various meanings, sociolinguistic aspects etc. for every listing. After completion of this project the Institute will be able to give answers to questions such as the following: which phonemes/allophones are present in a particular dialect? What is the semantic diversity for a particular listing? How are the regional basic "attitudes" expressed in the various dialects? What influence do the social and geographical contacts have on the use of a particular word?

The comprehensiveness of this data bank and the possibilities for its application in analysing dialects across the borders will be demonstrated in this presentation.

"Wörterbuch der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich" (WBÖ) -Kleinräumigkeit, mundartliche Vielfalt, Fachwortschatz, Soziolekt in einem Großlandschaftswörterbuch

Das WBÖ (Wörterbuch der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich) basiert auf einer 1913 begonnenen systematischen Erhebung des bäuerlichen und fachsprachlichen, aber auch historischen Sprachschatzes der ehemals Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie. In dem auf 12 Bänden geplanten Wörterbuch werden die deutschen Mundarten des heutigen Österreichs (ausgenommen das alemannisch sprechende Vorarlberg) wissenschaftlich dargestellt gemeinsam mit den historisch und kulturell angrenzenden deutschsprachigen Gebieten in Italien, Slowenien, Slowakei und der tschechischen Republik.

Im Vortrag soll anhand ausgewählter Beispiele gezeigt werden, wie der Wortreichtum der einzelnen Regionalsprachen auf Grund des engen Sprachkontakts mit deutschen, romanischen und slawischen Sprachvarianten im Wörterbuch präsentiert wird. Jede der Kontaktsprachen beeinflusst Lautentwicklungen und Wortschatz in unterschiedlicher Weise. Ebenso wird aufgezeigt, wie im Wörterbuch methodisch verfahren wird, um Informationen zu den einzelnen Stichworten wie z.B. Lemmaansatz (Wortleitform), Etymologie, Verbreitung, Aussprache, grammatikalische Angaben, Redewendungen, Fügungen und Brauchtum sowie bedeutungsgeschichtliche Entwicklungen übersichtlich darzustellen. Außerdem wird auch auf den regionalen historischen und fachsprachlichen Wortschatz eingegangen so wie auf die Datenbank der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich (DBÖ).

Die DBÖ ist eine elektronische Datenbasis aus den handschriftlichen Materialien zum WBÖ. Spezielle Software (TUSTEP) unterstützt die Eingabe und Auswertung der ca. 3,6 Millionen Belege umfassende Sammlung. Nach Abschluß des Projektes besitzt das Institut für Österr. Dialekt- und Namenlexika der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften eine Informationsdatei zu den in und um Österreich gesprochenen bairischen Dialekten und erlaubt synchrone und diachrone Erforschung der bairischen Dialekte und ihres Kontaktes zu den Nachbarsprachen auf verschiedenen Ebenen wie Beobachtungen zu verschiedenen Lautentwicklungen, zur Bedeutungs differenzierung, zu Ausbreitung und Rückzug verschiedener Kulturwörter usw.

Morphology and wordfinal N-deletion in Dutch Dialects

Ton Goeman
Meertens Institute /KNAW

Until recently, common opinion held that speakers of Standard Dutch delete word-final /n/ generally, at least in the positions before following consonant or pause. From recent research of Van de Velde&Van Hout (2001) we get a much more intricate pattern, which is also characterized by word-class and affixal function. Regional differentiation in the use of standard language was shown to exist as well.

It is worthwhile, therefore, to investigate the dialectal patterns that lie at the basis of these regional differences in the Standard Language.

As morphological conditions on N-deletion we discern: affixal versus non-affixal /n/, finite versus non-finite /n/ in monomorphemic as well as bimorphemic word-forms. Dutch dialects differ sharply in word-final n-deletion, but not all to the same extent with respect to the morphological factors.

As phonological conditions we discern right hand and left hand environment. Left: consonant, vowel, pause; right hand: vowel and consonants.

A comparison of N-deletion with patterns of T/D-deletion in Dutch dialects (Goeman 1999) shows clear differences. This is to be expected because word-final N in most cases even synchronically goes back to *-/ɔn/* while word-final T/D in the relevant cases has lost its */ɔ/* before the 19th century.

The erosion of phonological conditions on morphological 'material' is said to be the locus of the emergence of morphology (OT: Antilla) and morphological conditions. We will see if these effects

show possibly up in Dutch dialects or if one may make a case to the reverse position: erosion of morphology entailing closer knit phonological conditioning.

This research is part of the work concerning a Morphological Atlas of Dutch Dialects (Meertens Institute/KNAW, Netherlands) as a companion to the Phonological Atlas of Dutch Dialects (Dept. Dutch Linguistics, University of Ghent, Belgium).

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Mirandese: linguistic and cultural features of a border area of Portugal with Spain

Brian F. Head
University of the Minho

Mirandese, a form of language spoken in a small administrative division of the northeast corner of Portugal, along the border with Spain, and closely related to early Leonese (a language of the adjacent region that country), was brought to the attention of the scholarly world in 1882 by Leite de Vasconcelos' monograph on "O dialecto mirandês" ("The Mirandese dialect").

Since its initial documentation, Mirandese has received different labels, indicating the status of a dialect, a "co-dialect", a mixed language (without features of its own, but only combining those of various neighboring languages) or a separate language. The present study mentions the motivation for each of the different labels and briefly outlines the basis for classification as a separate language, in accordance with a diachronic analysis supported by contemporary data from different linguistic atlases, especially ALPI (*Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica*, Madrid, 1964) and ALE (*Atlas Linguarum Europae*, Assen, 1983-), revealing phonological features of three sorts: (a) features common to Mirandese, Gallician and Portuguese, but not shared by Castillian (Spanish), (b) features common to Mirandese and Leonese, as distinct from Gallician and Portuguese, and (c) features common to Mirandese and the Portuguese of Northern Portugal, but not found in Gallician. The aggregate relevant data reveal a combination of diachronic features which is found only in Mirandese.

The present study also examines some distinctive cultural features of the area where Mirandese is spoken, revealed by properties of the language.

Finally, the study examines the question of the vitality of Mirandese, currently with some 12,000 to 15,000 speakers, although Leite de Vasconcelos had predicted its rapid demise a century ago (*Filologia Mirandesa*, 2 vol., 1900-1901). A brief analysis is presented showing the present results of an on-going study of usage, perceptions and attitudes.

The Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica: out of the archives and onto the Web

David Heap

One of the (almost) lost treasures of Romance dialectology, *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI) was begun in the early 1930s and nearly completed when interrupted by the Spanish Civil War in 1936. The field notebooks were evacuated by the Republican government and eventually returned to Spain in the 1950s, at which time the few remaining surveys were completed and the laborious process of compiling and editing the field data was begun. Unfortunately, this work bore little fruit: only one volume (of at least 10 planned) was ever published (ALPI 1962), with just 75 maps (out of over 1200). Three of the original fieldworkers retained the field notebooks they were working on until their deaths in the 1970s and 1980s, and though linguists have lamented the apparent disappearance of these unique materials, no more ALPI data has appeared in almost forty years.

While intervening decades have seen a number of regional Spanish linguistic atlases, none can compare with the ALPI in either geographic scope (527 points spanning Portugal, peninsular Spain, and bordering areas), or the questionnaire. In addition to traditional phonetic and lexical sections, the ALPI pays substantial attention paid to morphosyntactic variation, virtually absent in other Spanish atlas surveys. The ALPI survey has now also become a source of historical data, since data was mostly collected prior to the Civil War (Navarro Tomás, 1975).

This paper presents new data drawn from original ALPI field notebooks now held in Barcelona, Oviedo and Santiago de Compostela. Modern electronic cartography (Kretschmar, forthcoming) will allow us to create display maps from the original transcriptions, without having to retranscribe every character (thus gaining both time and accuracy). The specific maps that are presented deal with variation in the internal order of clitic clusters (Standard Spanish *se te, se me*), which shed new light on clitic sequencing (Heap 1998).

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The use of the Almeida-Braun system in the measurement of Dutch dialects

Wilbert Heeringa and Angelika Braun
University of Groningen

In Almeida and Braun (1986) it is described how the IPA system is used for checking the quality of transcriptions. The vowel table could be regarded as a coordinate system with three dimensions: advancement, height and rounding. Similarly, the consonant table could be regarded as a coordinate system: place of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing. When a student transcribes a sound as [i] while it really was a [o], the penalty is calculated as the city-block distance between the coordinates of [i] and the coordinates of [o]. Suprasegmentals and diacritics are treated likewise. However, if the penalty exceeds a certain ceiling, the distance is set to the value of the ceiling.

In our paper we will show that this system can also be used for the comparison of dialects when it is integrated in the Levenshtein distance. The algorithm was first applied to Irish dialects by Kessler (1995), and later on to Dutch dialects by Nerbonne et al. (1999). In this algorithm two words (corresponding to two dialectal pronunciations of the same word) are compared by calculating the cost of (the least costly set) operations mapping one string of phonetic transcription to another. The basic costs are those of insertions, deletions and substitutions. The costs of insertions, deletions and substitutions are calculated by using the 'coordinate system' of the IPA. The graduality of an insertion or deletion is calculated by comparing the sound to 'silence'. Silence is defined for both vowels and consonants as the most central sound in the system, while additional features for suprasegmentals and diacritics are defined as 'absence'. This means that e.g. the insertion of a shwa is cheaper than the insertion of a peripheral sound like for example [a]. It is not allowed to substitute a vowel by a consonant, except the [i] en the [u], which may match consonants, and the [j] and [w], which may match vowels.

We applied the system to 350 Dutch dialects. We used transcriptions of the 'Reeks Nederlands(ch)e Dialectatlassen' (Blancquaert & Pee, 1925-1982). From the texts in this series, we chose 125 words, so the dialect distance is equal to the average of 125 Levenshtein distances. The results of the comparison are analyzed by clustering and by multidimensional scaling. It appears that with a rather simple comparison system like the IPA table good results can be achieved.

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Relative clauses in dialects of English

Tanja Herrman
University of Freiburg

This abstract summarizes the central points of my Ph.D thesis:

I will compare (primarily adnominal) relative clauses occurring in different dialects of Britain, including the Celtic varieties Scottish and (Northern) Irish English. Besides adnominal relative clauses, all other types of relative clauses (nominal, sentential relative clauses and intermediate types) are presented on a cline of subordination and touched upon in the analysis. This mainly qualitative analysis of nonadverbial adnominal relative clauses is based on data from a part of the Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech and a subcorpus of the FRED Corpus (which is currently being compiled at the University of Freiburg). Furthermore, adnominal relative clauses are counted, giving absolute numbers and percentages, and documented in tables and charts. I will try to give an overview of relative clauses in different regions of Britain without making any attempt at drawing another dialect map.

This study centers on structural means employed in relative clause formation, which can be assembled on a cline of explicitness. Dialectal variants of relative particles and nonstandard usages of relative markers are brought into focus. Combining possibilities but also co-occurrence restrictions in terms of particular parameters, such as (non)restrictiveness of the relative clause, (non)personality of the antecedent, grammatical function of the relative marker in the relative clause, and preposition placement (fronting versus stranding) figure prominently in the analysis. Particular emphasis will be put on resumptive pronouns and non-reduction. I will attempt to support correlations between the cline of subordination and the cline of explicitness of structural means. Cognitive hierarchies and theories--such as Keenan & Comrie's (1977, 1979) Accessibility Hierarchy, Bever & Langendoen's (1971, 1972) account on the perceptual difficulty of zero subject relative clauses, and the interrelationship between position of relative clause (medial, final, extraposed) and mental processability--are checked against these data. In this comparative investigation, my approach is descriptive-functional, over which a typological grid is placed where possible.

Contact-induced language change: the case of Limonese Creole in Costa Rica

Anita Herzfeld
Center of Latin American Studies

Quite frequently, multilingualism and ethnic variation, instead of being appreciated and celebrated, are considered a "problem" in the development of the national identity of a country. To "solve the problem" homogenizing educational campaigns are conducted; Costa Rica, a Spanish-speaking country of Central America, is not an exception in that sense. In spite of being known as one of the long-standing democracies of Latin America--a country with "more teachers than soldiers"--and of holding a record of high percentage of literacy, there is a discriminatory streak in terms of linguistic proficiency. Limonese Creole, an English-based creole spoken by an Afro-Caribbean minority who has settled on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica for over one hundred years, survives in the midst of a Spanish-speaking majority. This paper will emphasize the gradual replacement of the acrolect of the creole for Spanish, the official language of the country, and it also speculates on the future of its endangered existence.

Ranking of Constraints on /-t, d/ Deletion in Japanese-Canadian English

Junko Hibiya
Keio University

This paper presents some results of a synchronic study of the nature of linguistic variation in Canadian English. The tape-recorded speech of seven bilingual (Japanese-English) second generation Japanese-Canadian individuals is investigated for /-t, d/ deletion. The aim of this paper is to augment the variationist studies of /-t, d/ deletion with a careful examination of the ways in which Japanese-Canadians delete the consonant cluster final apical stops.

More than three decades of empirical research has repeatedly shown that the phonological process is conditioned not only by the social and stylistic factors but also by the linguistic internal constraints. The latter include the following:

- a. if the syllable containing /-t, d/ is stressed
- b. consonant cluster length
- c. the phonetic features of the segment preceding /-t, d/
- d. the phonetic features of the segment following /-t, d/
- e. the grammatical feature of /-t, d/
- f. if the segments preceding and following /-t, d/ agree in voicing

The variable rule analyses indicate that the phonetic feature of the following segment (d.) and the grammatical status (e.) affect the variable process for all seven speakers. The remaining four did not reach the statistical significance level of $p < .05$.

The effect of the grammatical status of /-t, d/ demonstrates substantial interspeaker variation. The ranking of the grammatical factors is not constant among the seven individuals; two speakers delete the regular past tense marker and a final monomorphemic stop almost at the same rate whereas five fit the usual pan-English pattern.

With respect to the effect of the following segment, on the other hand, Japanese-Canadian English generally approximates the pan-English pattern except for the context of a following pause. Earlier studies have demonstrated that pause is more significant than vowels as a deletion environment in some communities while it is less significant than vowels in other places. However, even if a following pause is a promoting factor, it generally does not outscore obstruent. Three speakers of the present study differ from this pattern by deleting the final apical stop most when it is followed by a pause.

The foregoing analyses show that Japanese-Canadian English both follows and diverges from the general English pattern. Why is the pattern not uniform across the seven individuals? Is there anything peculiar about the operation of /-t, d/ deletion in Japanese-Canadian English? A demographic history of these speakers provides a better understanding of the results and helps to account for the differences among them.

Politische Grenzen im Dialektkontinuum des Alemannischen am Beispiel der trinationalen Region Basel (Schweiz)

Lorenz Hofer
University of Basel

Die Sprachsituation in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz ist durch die Diglossie von nhd. Standardsprache und hochalemannischen Dialekten geprägt, während sie in Deutschland und Österreich weitgehend durch ein Kontinuum gekennzeichnet ist. Sprachgeschichtlich gesehen ist dieser Zustand keineswegs zwingend. Noch vor hundert Jahren bildete die Grenze der deutschsprachigen Schweiz zu Deutschland und zum damals noch weitgehend deutschsprachigen Elsass keine Sprachgrenze, was Sprachgebrauch und -struktur anbetrifft. Heute ist die aus dialektologischer Sicht zwar auch nur teilweise der Fall, aber die das Sprachwissen, die Spracheinstellungen und allgemeine sozialpsychologische Einstellungen der SprecherInnen auf allen Seiten lassen keinen Zweifel daran aufkommen, dass die politischen Grenzen von den SprecherInnen auch als Sprachgrenzen aufgefasst werden. Gleichzeitig herrscht in vielen Gegenden, z.B. in der Region Basel im Nordwesten der Schweiz oder zwischen Südbaden und dem Elsass ein reger wirtschaftlicher und kultureller Austausch über die Grenze, der z.T. sogar staatlich gefördert wird.

Auf der Seite der Forschung wurde die Herausbildung von nationalen Grenzen als Sprachgrenzen durch die Erarbeitung national-regional orientierter Sprachatlanten und anderer Dialektdarstellungen (Grammatiken, Wörterbücher) reproduziert, wenn nicht sogar noch befördert: Der Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz hört z.B. am Rhein auf, obwohl dieser keine traditionelle Dialektgrenze bildet (diese liegt weiter nördlich in Deutschland). Wenker und später Eichhoff, die explizit über die nationalen Grenzen hinwegsehen, waren eher Ausnahmerecheinungen.

Erst in jüngerer Zeit sind wieder Studien entstanden, die verschiedene Aspekte der Grenzphänomene, die unter dem Einfluss der politischen Grenzen entstanden sind, untersuchen. Dabei zeigt sich, wie die Entwicklungen seit dem 19. Jh. die älteren Sprachzustände gleichzeitig überlagert, konkurrenziert und fortgeführt haben. Sie haben national zu unterschiedlichen, relativ stabilen Zuständen geführt, die die jeweilige Sprachsituation heute kennzeichnen. Anhand von Basel und seiner schweizerischen, deutschen und französischen Umgebung lassen sich viele der angesprochenen Phänomene aufzeigen und problematisieren, da hier in den letzten Jahren eine Anzahl von Untersuchungen durchgeführt wurde, die das Grenzproblem im historisch relativ homogenen Dialektraum berühren. Diese Untersuchungen zeigen neben den historischen Gemeinsamkeiten, die in vielen Bereichen erhalten geblieben sind, interessante Differenzen in Bereichen, mit denen sich die Dialektologie traditionellerweise nicht beschäftigt hat, so z.B. beim Erwerb der Standardvarietät, bei der Variation innerhalb des Dialekts von Gruppen und einzelnen SprecherInnen oder bei der Varietätenverwendung und -wahl in der beruflichen Kommunikation. Dies soll anhand verschiedener Materialien aus schweizerischen Forschungsprojekten gezeigt werden.

Chain shifts and mergers in Yiddish: dialect geography under the computerized magnifying glass

Uri Horesh
University of Pennsylvania

When Yiddish was spoken as a Jewish ethnolect across Europe, prior to World War II, it exhibited regional variation stemming, inter alia, from the diversity of its co-territorial languages. This study

examines variation in a region with one such substratum. Data collected for The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry (LCAAJ) were used to account for sound changes distinguishing between different dialect regions within the area designated by Herzog et al. (1992) as representing Polish Yiddish (PY).

Codes from various LCAAJ maps, from all of the interview points where PY was spoken, were entered into the cartographic software package MapInfo. Observing the maps has led to the detection of the following sound changes in Central PY, classified by their respective subsystems:

Short monophthongs:

(1) u > i

Long monophthongs:

Within the subsystem:

(2) u: > i: (3) a: > u:

Across subsystems:

(4) o: > oy (5) e: > ay

Diphthongs:

Within the subsystem:

(6) ey > ay (7) au > ou ~ oy (but note (8) below)

Across subsystems:

(8) au > o: (but note (7) above) (9) ay > a:

While the changes in (1)-(9) represent the general trend in PY, variation is manifested mostly by the neutralization of some of these changes through mergers that occurred in some local varieties but not in others. Using MapInfo's capabilities to superimpose maps, such mergers have been revealed. These mergers are on a continuum ranging from the retention of distinct phonemes, through incomplete mergers, to full mergers.

Labov (1994) defines a minimal chain shift as "a change in the positions of two phonemes in which one moves away from an original position that is then occupied by the other." This present study explores one such chain shift in Polish Yiddish (PY), namely {a:>u:, u(:)>i(:)}, alongside sound changes of the converse type - mergers - such as that of the diphthongs /oy/-/ey/. While each such sound change may be examined in isolation, this study attempts to synthesize chain shifts and mergers into a more cohesive picture of sound changes in this cluster of Yiddish dialects.

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On the morphological description of a noun type in Finnish dialects

Heikki Hurttu

The Research Institute for the Languages of Finland

The singular nominatives of nouns in standard Finnish and most dialects mostly end in a vowel. Of the nouns ending in a consonant, the less frequent types are especially those ending in *l* and *r*; I will refer to them (as well as certain other words of the same structure) here as nouns of the *askel* type. This noun type in the Finnish dialects comprises some 50 relatively widely distributed and some 100 less common words. It is characteristic of many nouns of this type that there is variation in the declension paradigm: for example, the nominative singular *askel* ~ *askele* ~ dial. *askela* : genitive singular *askelen* ~ *askeleen* ~ dial. *askelan*.

In my presentation, I will analyse the methods by which this morphological variation of the dialects can be described and what results it may yield. The phenomenon of interest is complex: the conditions of variation are dependent on the dialect, the inflectional form, word group and indeed on individual word. I have developed a system of key figures, illustrating the differences between various lexemes and dialects.

Of the variants mentioned, the nominative singular *askel* and the genitive singular *askelen* represent the historical origin, the others a more recent stage of development. It has been habitual to associate variation in language with change in language, and it is a precondition of language change that it is generally preceded by a situation of variation. It is not, however, to be taken for granted that variation always leads to change. The morphological variation of Finnish nouns of the *askel* type has lasted for hundreds of years, yet in no dialect has it resulted in a complete change. Competing variants have their strong areas of occurrence even within the same dialect (certain inflectional forms, certain words). Thus the tension which sustains variation persists.

L'évolution des formes expressives en arabe égyptien: un cas d'école pour orienter la linguistique diachronique de l'arabe

Amr Helmy Ibrahim

Université de France-Comte.

Il n'existe pratiquement pas une seule étude diachronique globale - au sens où on l'entend pour les langues de la famille indo-européenne -- de l'évolution de l'arabe, qu'il s'agisse de sa forme standard partagée par tous les arabophones scolarisés ou de ses différents parlers ou dialectes.

Cette situation réduit considérablement la portée des descriptions portant sur tel ou tel aspect d'un dialecte arabe quelles que soient leurs qualités par ailleurs. Il est enfin ridicule qu'une langue aussi importante par son histoire externe, le nombre de ses locuteurs et l'espace géographique qu'elle couvre, reste, de ce fait, exclue des débats actuels sur l'évolution du langage humain et notamment sur les prédictions que l'on peut faire ou ne pas faire les facteurs de convergence et de divergence au sein de parlers fortement apparentés. Il semble en effet de plus en plus clair que l'étude de l'évolution de différents parlers, dialectes ou langues au sein de groupes linguistiques relativement homogènes (langues germaniques, romanes, scandinaves, slaves, turques, iraniennes etc...) permet

de comprendre, beaucoup mieux que ne le ferait la comparaison de langues fondamentalement étrangères et géographiquement éloignées, un certain nombre de facteurs d'unité ou au contraire de fragmentation dans l'évolution du langage humain en général. Mais il est tout aussi clair que ce qui a valu pour les langues romanes ou germaniques ne semble pas s'être vérifié au sein du groupe arabe.

Les documents permettant ce type d'étude pour les parlers arabes sont dans l'ensemble peu nombreux mais ils deviennent, à partir du XIXe siècle, suffisants pour établir des hypothèses explicatives qui ne soient pas totalement fantaisistes. Il y a d'autre part des phénomènes jusqu'ici sans explication de convergence dans l'évolution de différents dialectes arabes qui ont été assez eu ou pas du tout en contact (entre le maghreb et le machrek par exemple) qui permettraient peut-être d'établir des lois du type de celle de Grimm pour les langues germaniques. Ceci permettrait par contre-coup de mesurer les tensions contradictoires auxquelles est soumis l'arabe standard.

Nous avons pour notre part choisi de comparer linguistiquement la création des formes expressives (qui finissent souvent par devenir des expressions "formulaires" ou semi-figées) au cours des trente dernières années en Egypte aux formes de même type que l'on a recensées dans le parler égyptien autour des années 30 et 50 du siècle dernier. La formation lexicale et grammaticale de ces expressions reste par certains aspects relativement stable mais par d'autres elle change radicalement et l'on peut remarquer un certain parallélisme entre ces changements lexico-grammaticaux et les modifications holistiques du parler égyptien tout au long de cette période.

Notre hypothèse est que certaines constantes de stabilité ou de variation dégagées de notre corpus peuvent servir de point de départ à la construction d'un embryon de système prédictif des variations dans le domaine arabe en général.

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Dialect Gravity Center and the First Appearance in Literature of the standard Japanese forms

Fumio Inoue
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

The relation between history and geography of the standard Japanese forms was discussed in this paper. Centuries of the first appearance in historical documents and the geographical distribution on the basis of dialect gravity center method were compared. A quantified data from LAJ was utilized,

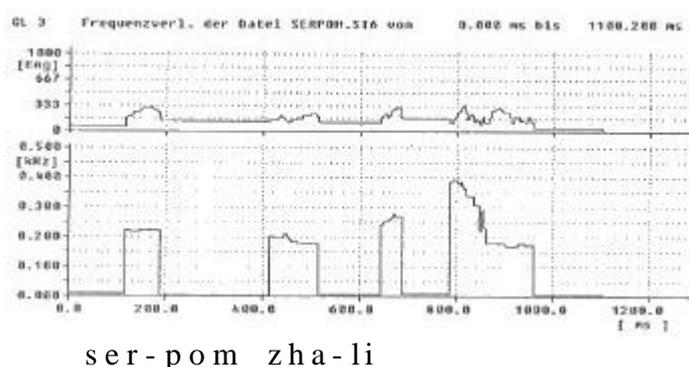
and the first appearance of the forms was determined on the basis of "Nihon Kokugo Daijiten" (Great Dictionary of the Japanese Language). The shift of the main cultural center of Japan from the west to the east was found reflected on the graphs obtained from factor analysis and cluster analysis, and on the geographical distribution patterns of the standard Japanese forms. When considered historically and geographically, the area near Kyoto has been the center of diffusion for a long time. However the dialect spoken here lost connection with literary standard language from the late medieval period on. New city Edo became the cultural center of Japan instead. Many new forms were later born in Kyoto area but they did not acquire prestigious status of the standard Japanese. Forms that disseminated from modern Tokyo seem to be "literary" standard.

Thus we have considered geographical distribution patterns of the standard Japanese forms according to centuries of the first appearance in the documents, and found historical aspects of geographical tendencies on the map.

An Acoustic Data Base of Russian Dialects in the Baikal Region

T.B. Iumsunova, L.L. Kasatkin & Ch. Sappok

Language and Culture of Old Believers "semeiskie" has attracted the interest of linguists as well as ethnologists beginning with the classic work of Selishchev 1920-1921. The language of Old Believers in the vicinity of lake Baikal is well documented as to their lexical peculiarities (T.B. Iumsunova, 1999) and to their cultural life (M.C. Levitt, 2001). The roots of the population are to be found in the Southwest of Russia. The features of Southwest Russian dialects can be consequently observed in the speech of the elder generation of the "semeiskie". The question remains open as to the influence of the close neighbourhood of non-Russian languages, mainly Buriat. To shed some light to this open question it is necessary to take into account not only grammatical aspects in the traditional sense, but also the prosodic features of this variety (cf. (1)).



Scheme (1) shows the F0 and energy properties of a sentence spoken by F.F. Stepanova (born 1920). The high rise on "zahali" is typical for the Russian variety spoken in Siberian, while the akan'e in /sjarpom/ is a cue to South Russian dialect.

This was one of the aims of an expedition undertaken in summer 2001 by L.L. Kasatkin and T.B. Iumsunova. The traditional method of eliciting free natural discourse on topics of relevance for the informants was recorded with digital audio equipment. The results will be integrated into an Acoustic data base. This makes it possible to have direct access to the prosodic features. Audio texts allowing for controlled reading and listening operations will be used for auditory analysis by

dialectologists and for perceptual experiments with naive speakers. The method will be presented together with first results of intonational analysis.

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The borders of Yiddish as a modern European *Kultur*-language

Neil G. Jacobs
Ohio State University

In discussions of modern national languages of European nation-states, linguists typically devote attention to the demarcating of boundaries: linguistic, geographic, sociolinguistic, etc. Often, geopolitical borders are important components of the discussion, e.g., how "German" differs in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, etc. Further concern is with the borders themselves, e.g., while the linguistic transition between German and Dutch is gradual "on the ground", the historical establishment of a state border (Germany-Netherlands) and the accompanying state-enforcement apparatus (schools, state media, authoritative language commissions, etc.) have over time played a role in pulling the transitional varieties in one direction or the other.

Yiddish [Y] presents the linguist with many of the same problems of other modern European national languages, but from the other direction. Y has always lacked a nation-state enforcement apparatus; has been universally coterritorial with other languages. Multilingualism and diglossia have often been the norm for Y speakers in the modern period. This paper seeks to describe the ways that modern Y (-speaking Jewry) has delimited its linguistic boundaries. The present paper both builds upon and differs from Hutton (1993), which primarily focuses on ideological discussions by linguists of the boundaries of "authentic Yiddish". My paper focuses on the demarcation of distinct varieties of Yiddish-based speech across a spectrum (or repertoire) of varieties employed. Geographically, the Y dialect map follows primarily the internal dynamics of Y linguistic geography, and not the external map of non-Jewish geopolitical or linguistic borders (M. Weinreich 1980; U. Weinreich 1963; Herzog 2000). Two main types of external influence are found: (1) where Jewish historical settlement was permitted/denied/shaped by external authorities, e.g., the north-south dialect boundary in Eastern Y largely corresponds to borders of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania; (2) where Y dialect topography does in fact show interplay of Y-internal development (primary) and some (secondary) external, contact-induced features (Jacobs, forthcoming). Linguistically, I examine how Y speakers delimit varieties, registers, etc. from one another, as well as delimit Y from other languages (primarily, German, and in a specialized sense, Hebrew). The modern picture is complicated by frequent diglossia, where large numbers of Ashkenazim began employing German, Polish, etc. as the H language, the same languages which had long served as sources of borrowing into Y. Thus, as Y became a (competing) H-language, we ask: How did the Y speech community distinguish among: (1) enhanced, Kultur-striving Y, which used frequent new adoptions from German, Hebrew, Slavic, etc. (M. Weinreich 1938; Hutton

1993); (2) (systematic) code-switching; (3) macaronic speech; or even (4) new, post-Y Jewish ethnolects (specifically here, Jewish German).

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Two dialects between Dutch and Frisian: a mixed identity

Mathilde Jansen
Meertens Institute

The islands of Ameland and Terschelling are part of the province of Friesland, in the Netherlands, but must be considered as separate linguistic areas. Their dialects differ from those on the mainland and from one another as well. Even within these dialects there is no homogeneity.

The dialect of Ameland has a mixed character: it has both Dutch and Frisian elements in it. The same can be said for one of the three dialects on the island of Terschelling. Midslands, the dialect of the middle part of the island, has the same mixed character. Therefore these dialects have often been compared with Stedfrysk, or "Town Frisian". In the sixteenth century, the governmental language in the Frisian cities became Dutch, and from then on the dialects of the larger towns were heavily influenced by Dutch. The islands of Ameland and Terschelling have comparable histories.

Both islands have been under the influence of the province of Holland for several centuries. Beside trading contacts the main cause of Dutch influence has been the political situation. On both islands there has been a Dutch government. On the island of Terschelling the authorities were settled in Midsland. The official language, the Dutch language, was partly taken over by the local people, not only to communicate with the officials but also because this language was more prestigious than their own dialect. Those dialects became Dutch dialects with a Frisian substratum.

In my research project I study the development of these mixed dialects in present time: How is the influence of both Dutch and Frisian standard language upon these dialects? This influence is measured on the phonological, morphological and syntactical level. On the one hand traditional methods to study dialect loss in apparent time are used. Structural language variation is compared with the social factors age, sex and social class. On the other hand, more modern sociolinguistic tools are used. The attitude of the language user towards the two standard languages and their speakers and also the structure of his or her network are important indicators for the speakers

identity and therefore for his or her language choices. The attitude and network component are added to focus more on the individual language user. The correlation between these social factors and language structure will be discussed in the light of a pilot-study.

Language Attitudes in a Changing Southern Town: The Case of Dalton, Georgia (US)

Ellen Johnson
Berry College

The paper I am proposing is a plan of research, outlining the questions of interest and discussing the best methods for answering these questions. It is about an investigation of borders, ethnic boundaries that exist within a community and who is crossing them and why.

Dalton, Georgia, has a rapidly growing Hispanic population, due to the concentration of carpet mills in the area. Historically, there have been few immigrants in the Southeastern US as compared with the rest of the country (with the notable exception of the slave trade). Twenty years ago, many residents of Dalton had never heard anyone speaking a language other than English. Today, the schools are 53% Hispanic (up from 4% in 1989) and there are over 180 Latin-owned businesses in the area.

I plan to interview long-term residents of the county to discover the effects of language contact. I will examine the spheres of use of English and Spanish and the incidence of bilingualism. Finally, I will consider the long-term linguistic effects of the Spanish language in Dalton upon the English varieties used there. Whether and how the Appalachian English, Southern English, and African-American English of the area will be impacted is a question of great interest. Language contact intersects with language attitudes in determining the extent and direction of linguistic change. This, then, will be a study of the sociolinguistic effects of a large migration of Spanish speakers to what was formerly an essentially monolingual town in the southern United States. The objectives are

- to describe the sociohistorical context and demographic changes in Dalton
- to discover the amount and kind of language learning that is taking place
- to determine what kind of contact is occurring between ethnic groups
- to assess community attitudes about multilingualism
- to see how linguistic capital is becoming a part of the marketplace
- to understand the ways language is used as a symbol for belonging to the community
- to predict the ways language contact will influence language form and function.

The paper I am proposing will report on preliminary investigations and the rationale behind the choice of method, qualitative analysis of ethnographic interviews. I will assess the advantages and disadvantages of sampling and interview methods. This study combines an elicitation of folk beliefs about language and its speakers with qualitative techniques of analysis applied to this important direction of sociolinguistic study.

The Mexican-American border: a Linguistic and Cultural Analysis of Chicano English in Chicano theater

Carla Jonsson
Umeå University

The linguistic area that the border between Mexico and the US constitutes, is an area that clearly promotes linguistic change. Due to the contact between Spanish and English that has existed for over two centuries in the Southwest, the dialect Chicano English has emerged. Chicano English is an interesting blend of Mexican Spanish, American English and new words that derive from a mix of both languages.

In order to show how the contact dialect Chicano English has emerged and how it is developing, I intend to focus on the dialect usage in drama. First, as a general background, I plan to offer a brief introduction of the 'Chicanos' and the political border that cuts through what once used to be Mexico resulting in, among other things, the contact dialect Chicano English. I will present an analysis of the spoken dialect and mention some of the differences between Standard American English and Chicano English. I will also discuss the social function of Chicano English.

The main focus of my paper, however, will be on the preliminary findings of my doctoral research project of Chicano English in drama. My study focuses on Chicano English in California. I will introduce Chicano drama and Chicano literature to illustrate how the dialect is used in both. Since most previous research on Chicano English has focused on speech and literature, I have chosen to particularly emphasize my ongoing research on drama. In my comparison between Chicano English, in its spoken form, and the usage of the dialect in drama, I will focus on lexical and syntactic differences that are typical for Chicano English. I will also discuss the semantic content of the dialect. Furthermore, it is interesting to discuss if the language used in drama, can be seen as a faithful indication of how the dialect is used by its speakers in general, or if the Chicano dialect mainly is used to give 'flavour' to Chicano drama, ie. ethnic drama. In presenting my work I will touch upon subjects such as: language and identity, minority languages, attitudes towards languages/dialects, bilingualism in general and code-switching.

I feel confident that my work will offer an update on the current linguistic developments of the contact dialect Chicano English. This, in turn, will hopefully lead to an interesting and fruitful comparison with other contact dialects from around the world.

The expressions of restraint removal in Finnish dialects

Tero Kainlauri
University of Joensuu

The aim of my paper is to describe the construal and expression of blockage situations in Finnish dialects. The perspective of the study is that of cognitive grammar (e.g. Langacker 1987, 1991). Mark Johnson (1987: 44-48) introduces some basic image schemata of force. Blockage and removal of restraint are included in his list. Johnson sees them cognitively important. Therefore it is interesting to study, what is their status in language.

It is typical to use transitive constructions to express the removal of an obstacle or blockage. In a typical situation verb codes the manner of removal process and clausal object is the obstacle removed. The clausal subject is prototypical actor, respectively. It is also possible to use an adjunct-construction (relative form of third infinitive) with transitive constructions to clarify the blockage-

role of an object. There are also some separative case adjuncts which are used to indicate the departure of an obstacle from its location, namely *edestä* 'from in front of', *jaloista* 'out of the way' [lit. from the feet], *tieltä* 'out of the way').

The constructions above can be found both in standard Finnish and regional dialects. The dialects have some additional constructions to express the removal of an obstacle. It is possible to use other separative case adjuncts (partitive, elative, ablative, and excessive). Some south-eastern dialects use excessive case to express that someone or something leaves from obstacle-role (cf. Särkkä 1969). Särkkä has noticed, that in other regional dialects other terminal cases can be used in a very similar way. One aim of my study is to study how frequent constructions mentioned above are in present day dialects.

Intransitive constructions can also be used. In these constructions removal process is somewhat autonomous and the removing force (when overtly present) is marked with elative case. In this type the cause of removal must be inanimate. This use of elative has been seen to be an ergative feature in Finnish (Leino & Onikki 1992).

The data of this study consists of examples found in written dialect collections. It has examples mainly from spatial domain. It is important to notice, though, that the same lexicon is used metaphorically when psychological restraints are talked about.

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Lexicon of one Russian migrant dialect: stratigraphic analysis

Rosalia Kasatkina & Leonid Kasatkin

The lexicon of the dialect of so called 'turchane-dunaki' is being investigated. This group of Russian Old Believers currently is living compactly in the state of Oregon (USA) in the "Russian" village Bethlehem and in many farms near the small towns Woodburn, Gervais, Monitor, Mont Angel, Molalla, Hubbard and others, neighbouring this village. The dialect of these Old Believers is not only migrant, but multimigrant. The Old Believer's fate forced this people to migrate from one place to another - from the Middle Russia to the Southern Russia, then to the Don river, after that to the

Danube river (in early XVIII c.), then to Turkey (approximately in the 1980s). In 1963 they arrived to USA.

The lexicon of this dialect includes several strata of loan-words as a result of intensive migrations. Nevertheless the basis of the lexical frame are primordial Russian words (dialectal as well as common Russian). The South-Russian component is predominant in the dialectal stratum (for example: *b'ech* 'to ride & to drive', *burák* 'beet', *v'érba* 'any tree', *gul'at'* 'to rest & to play'), but at that time the North-Russian words also occur (*kvashn'á* 'earthenware for dough', *mor'ána* 'strong breeze', *shúbka* 'sarafán').

Loan-words from Ukrainian (*zherd'ély* 'apricots', *n'éamá* 'is absent', *kr'in'íca* 'draw-well'), Rumanian (*tavá* 'frying-pan', *kánka* 'cup', *papúsha* 'corn'), Turkish (*kam'ón* 'truck', *karag'él'* 'West wind', *kardásh* 'cousin', *p'etm'és* 'jam'), English (*báksa* 'letter-box', *kára* 'car', *fárma* 'farm', *n'us* 'news') are also traced.

In addition the lexicon of "Turkish" Old Believers includes many neologisms for the recently borrowed cultural items, for example *sb'ivát' kart'ínku* 'to take a photograph', *nab'irát'* 'to record on the tape-recorder etc', *v'etrodúj* 'ventilator'.

The method of the stratigraphic analysis involving the comparison the data from dialectological and bilingual dictionaries, as well as from different dialectological atlases gives us the possibility to differentiate all of these strata.

Acoustic measurements of some vowels in south-eastern British English: evidence for chain shifting and dialect levelling

Paul Kerswill and Eivind Nessa Torgersen
University of Reading

This paper gives a presentation of the results of an instrumental study of some vowels in south-eastern British English. No previous, substantial instrumental study of British English vowel systems has yet been carried out, and this paper aims to report on the progress and findings of the study. The study is located within the framework of dialect levelling, which is the replacement of localised traditional dialects/accents by regional, levelled, non-standard accents centring on particular urban centres (Williams & Kerswill 1999, Watt & Milroy 1999). The data come from 16 working-class speakers, teenage boys and girls and elderly men and women from two towns in different parts of the south-east, Reading and Ashford. There are two subjects in each cell. Previous, auditory analyses of vowels in the area (Williams & Kerswill 1999, Torgersen 1997) have indicated various changes, but looked at each variable in isolation. The present study focuses on the short vowels as a system, concentrating on those represented by the lexical sets of TRAP, STRUT and FOOT. A speech analysis program was used to take F1-F2 measurements. Our results provide evidence in apparent time both of chain-shifting, following Labov's model, and convergence, following a dialect-levelling model.

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Ansätze zu einer computer-gestützten Phraseologie des gesprochenen Jiddisch

(Towards a computer-supported phraseology of spoken Yiddish)

Ulrike Kiefer/Robert Neumann

Die Erforschung der Phraseologie des modernen Jiddisch ist in der Linguistik und Dialektologie ein Desiderat. Phraseologische Studien und Listen in Wörterbüchern beziehen sich entweder auf die geschriebene Sprache oder sind aus der Sprachkompetenz des Autors abgeleitet. Es wird der Versuch unternommen, mit dem Material aus dem Archiv des Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry die Grundlage für eine moderne Phraseologie des Jiddischen zu schaffen. Die Autoren können derzeit auf circa 600 Stunden Interview-Aufzeichnungen und deren Transkripte zurückgreifen. Um phraseologische Muster zu ermitteln wird eine computer-gestützte, ausschließlich empirische Methode verwendet. Mit statistischen Verfahren werden Kollokationen und Korrelationen aus dem Wortbestand der Interviews ermittelt. Das Referat stellt das Material, die Ergebnisse und die Methoden vor.

Using Text Editing Technique in Processing the Phonetically Transcribed Texts: Contemporary Ingrian Dialect near Gatchina

Nikolai Kirsanov
University of Helsinki

In the summer of 2000 expedition sponsored by St. Petersburg State University I recorded 4.5 hours of field interviews from three Ingrian Finnish native dialect speakers from three villages near town of Gatchina. The interviews were first transcribed from tape by hand using a transcription system I specially developed for text processing. The texts were then processed by a software I wrote in a dialect of programming language REXX applied to a line-oriented text editor. The result of such processing were the texts of the interviews written in conventional Baltic Finnic phonetic transcription, the texts of the interviews written using transcription based on graphics and orthography of Finnish language and alphabetically arranged lists of all the words' forms used in the interviews with their frequencies of occurrence in the texts. From these lists I compiled the dictionaries of language usage of each interview arranged in two different ways: alphabetically and according the frequencies of occurrence. From the three dictionaries using the same programmable text editor I merged the common frequency dictionary.

The technique and software used in the processing of the texts may be easily used in processing other Baltic Finnic dialectal texts: automatic generation of orthography-based texts from the transcription-based texts, automatic generation of words' lists and semi-automatic generation of frequency dictionaries.

In my contribution I present both the dictionaries and the technique used for building them.

Russian speaker's dialect image - a perceptual study.

M. Krause, V.V. Lublinskaja, Ch. Sappok
Ruhr University Bochum

1. The object of our investigation is the image a speaker has of his own language and the role of dialectal variation in this image. What does a Russian speaker as a naïve user of one of its varieties know about Russian dialects? How does he make use of this implicit knowledge in the process of listening to a stretch of natural spoken text? The aim is to bring some light into the omnipresent but scarcely observable processes of language change. We posit that this process takes place within the language user influenced by auditory input and by the image he has developed.

2. As to the structure of the image we are led by a threefold expectation: (a) knowledge is closely related to valuation; (b) of relevance is the border between speaker's own realm as opposed to the realm of others ("svoj" vs. "chuzhoj"); this dimension has been shown to be relevant within one and the same language community (cf. Ivanov, Toporov 1965); (c) though all forms in use within a community can be regarded as variations, there is a strong tendency to regard one of them as standard.

3. The territory of Russian is roughly divided into North and South. We chose our material from these two areas and completed it with material from Moscow nearest to the Standard, and from Siberia, the latter containing elements of both South and North and from elements borrowed from non-Russian neighbourhoods. 23 fragments of spontaneously spoken utterances of 30 seconds on related topics (see Inoue 1999, 151 and Krause, Lublinskaja, Sappok 2001 for the problem of perceptual dialectology and recorded speech) were presented to groups of subjects differing by the dialect spoken in their immediate vicinity. They were asked to listen repeatedly to the texts and to answer the following questions: I. To which area can the perceived text be ascribed? II. How distinct is the text from Russian standard? III. How distinct is it from the dialect spoken in the region you live? IV. How pleasant or unpleasant is its effect on you while listening?

4. Results. The North - South distinction put forward by dialectologists is fairly well confirmed. There is a judgement common to all subjects as to the belongingness to Russian literary standard. Southern dialects are commonly felt to be closer to standard than the Northern tongues. These judgements are mirrored in the field of attitude. Even subjects living in close contact with Northern dialects class them as more distant from Standard and from Southern dialects. The predicate of pleasantness is most consequently given to standard, followed by Southern texts. Even subjects living in close contact with Northern dialects tend to class them as unpleasant. Subjects do not feel sure in their judgments concerning Siberian dialects which were weakly represented in our material; a second series of experiments has been initiated to fill this gap.

5. The main results are the following: Dialect variation is a constant and robust part of Russian speakers' image of their language. Judgements concerning regional belongingness are correlated with valuation: Standard is the winner in the realm of pleasantness, followed by the South, whose dialects own more common features with Russian literary standard. This may be responsible for the asymmetry within the image of the Russian language.

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Approximant r: a rampant new sound in Dutch

Suzan Kroezen & Renée van Bezooijen
Nijmegen University

The alveolar trill or tap is seen as the oldest r-realization in Dutch. Gradually, from the late seventeenth century, uvular r became acceptable as well, probably under the influence of the prestigious French spoken in the higher circles. Recently, in the 1980's, a third variant of r made its appearance in standard Dutch: approximant r. As it was first observed in national radio and television programmes, broadcast from "het Gooi", a region southeast of Amsterdam, this variant soon became known as "Gooise r". Little is known about the current distribution of Gooise r, but it is commonly assumed that it originated in the west of the Netherlands and that it is mainly used by young women.

In our presentation we will discuss the results of a first systematic study of the socio-geographical distribution of Gooise r. The speech material consisted of a list of 105 r-words read by 64 speakers of two regional origins (the city of Haarlem in the west and the city of Nijmegen in the east of the Netherlands), two sexes (male and female) and two ages (young: mean age 11 years and old: mean age 43 years). The recordings were transcribed and analysed with a view to testing four hypotheses: (1) Gooise r is restricted to postvocalic position, (2) children use it more often than adults, (3) it occurs more frequently in the west of the Netherlands than in the east, (4) it is a variant preferred by women rather than men.

All hypotheses were confirmed. Not a single speaker ever used approximant r prevocally, and postvocally the use of Gooise r ranged from always (Haarlem girls) to never (Nijmegen adults), with systematic effects of age, region, and sex. More details, among other things the combinatory possibilities of postvocalic approximant r with the two prevocalic r-variants, and the implications of the findings for our knowledge of the development of Gooise r and changes in progress in general will be discussed in the presentation.

Emergence of ditransitive and passive constructions and their contact-induced morphology in the Ob-Ugric languages and dialects

Ulla-Maija Kulonen
University of Helsinki

The Ob-Ugric languages belong to the the group of Ugric languages inside the Finno-Ugric (or Uralic) language family and are spoken in Western Siberia. In the traditional view there are two Ob-Ugric languages, Ostyak (or Khanty) and Vogul (or Mansi). Today both of these languages can be divided into two major dialects, Ostyak probably to three. Today's situation is a great deal different from the one that we had 100 years ago. The existing dialects of modern Vogul are the Northern and the Eastern dialect, the latter of these is spoken by only a couple of hundred persons. The number of speakers of the northern dialect is appr. 3000. The existing dialects of Ostyak are the Northern (divided into two literary languages, Kazym and Shuryrkary), Surgut dialects (part of the Eastern dialects but strongly different from the last one) and the easternmost (Vakh-Vasyugan) dialects. The number of Ostyak speakers today is appr. 13 000, and the most of these speak the northern dialects.

A hundred years ago there were seven Ob-Ugric dialects, the now extinct Vogul dialect groups were the western and southern ones, and also the southern Ostyak variation is now extinct. We have, nevertheless, a good documentation on these dialects. The question of the former unity of the two Ob-Ugric languages is not quite indisputable, yet the Ob-Ugric proto-language (POU) on the phonological level is well documented. Whether the same can be said on the morphological level will be partly discussed in this paper. The similarities can, at least one part of them, be interpreted as results of areal contacts as well.

There are some interesting areal features between the Ob-Ugric dialects, with the areal division of northern OU (VogulN, VogulW, OstyakN), southern OU (VogulE, VogulS, OstyakS) and eastern OU (OstyakE, including Surgut dialects)

- the number of nominal cases: in the northern area: 3-5, in the southern 6-8, in the eastern area 10-13
- the number of verbal tempora: in the northern area 2, in the southern 3, in the eastern 5
- syntactic features common to the whole area but lacking in the other Finno-Ugric (Uralic) languages are the dative movement and the personal passive. My argument is that the first of these is probably of common POU origin, the latter probably recent (but due to contacts, similar) development in both languages. The morphology of the dative movement shows similarities which can be explained with the common POU origin, while in the morphology of the personal passive, especially the marking of the agent, borrowing of morphological elements may have taken place. The marking of the agent (as well as the whole passive voice) may have its origin in the ergative system of the Eastern OU area.

Change in real time: A case study on Hanhijoki Finnish

Tommi Kurki
University of Turku

This paper arises from an ongoing project called the Follow-up Study of Dialects of Finnish, which is conducted by the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland and which started in 1989 (see e.g. Juusela 1994, Yli-Paavola 1995). In this project linguists attempt to investigate what has happened and what is happening to Finnish rural dialects in current situation, where the Finnish society and the social networks have changed due to increasing mobility and migration and where the variation is affected heavily by the standard Finnish and Helsinki colloquial Finnish. The changes taking place in Finnish rural dialects are investigated from a little bit different angle than earlier in Finnish dialectology: the research method is based on real time and apparent time. As a matter of fact the Finnish linguists have made real-time observations even before this project (see e.g. Paunonen 1996), but most of these investigations have concerned only a few variables and/or speaker groups or have been done within a relatively short time span.

For my doctoral dissertation, which will form a part of the project, I have collected a corpus of spoken language in a small village called Hanhijoki, which lies in southwestern Finland 70 km north of Turku. In 1989 a sample of 16 villagers was derived from the total population of approximately 100-150 villagers and these informants were recorded. In order to find out the degree and direction of real time changes, I returned to the village in 1999 and recorded 21 villagers. Half of them had been interviewed and recorded in 1989 too. To assess the real-time changes the dialect recorded in the late 1980s has been compared with the one recorded in 1999. In addition to this the present dialect has been compared to the speech of 4 elderly natives who were recorded in Hanhijoki in the early 1960s. This paper reports my recent (preliminary) results and research in progress on one phonological variable (d) and one morphological variable (the inessive) in the Hanhijoki speech community.

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Sociolinguistics meets historical linguistics: an account of phonological change in western Romance varieties on the Iberian Peninsula

Ana Kuzmanovic

The purpose of this paper is to provide evidence that research in the area of language contacts, and in the area of traditional historical linguistics, which until recently have been studied separately, are not only complementary, but should be unified in order to provide better understanding of general mechanisms of language change.

In the traditional historical linguistics there has been a strong prejudice according to which all changes in a language should be explained in terms of its very structure. Only when every possibility of explaining the change by some internal motivation has been exhausted, the external motivation is considered. In other words, it has been held that the nature of internally and externally induced linguistic change was different, and that they should be studied separately, by applying different methodologies. Nevertheless, according to the most recent results of linguistic research on the subject, the majority of language changes studied by historical linguistics is induced by contact. (Thomason & Kaufman: 1988). In cases of internal changes, the term contact is defined as contact among speakers of the same variety. In cases of externally induced changes, the key issue is the contact among speakers again, but this time among speakers of different varieties (languages). The point of contact among two or more varieties (languages) are always individuals, native speakers of those varieties (languages). In other words, mechanisms operating in the diffusion of new distinctive features within a variety are identical to those operating in the diffusion of new distinctive features across varieties.

The validity of the general theory outlined above is to be illustrated on an example of the linguistic situation in the western part of the Iberian peninsula, where three Romance varieties have been in contact: Castilian, Portuguese and Galician. Systems of sibilants of these three varieties will be identified and the differences among them discussed in view of the above theoretical assertions (those which have been developed without the influence of neighboring varieties, on one hand, and those which have been developed and changed in contact with the neighboring varieties).

All the systems of sibilants mentioned above have been derived from Vulgar Latin. The direction of their development, however, has been determined to a large extent by sociolinguistic factors, namely, by the choice of varieties which became the basis for the development of standard languages (Castilian and Portuguese; Galician still lacks a clearly defined standard). To give an example: some phenomena, shared by all northern Iberian varieties, became archaisms, or typical of some rural varieties of Castilian, but in Portuguese they form part of the standard (e.g. the unvoicing of sibilants, the distinction between [b] and [v] etc.).

All these facts indicate that it is impossible to provide a comprehensive account of the development of linguistic phenomena only from the perspective of historic linguistics, and that it is necessary to include social factors as well, not only in order to understand and explain these phenomena, but to predict further directions of their development, as has been stated already so many times by many linguists in the last several decades. Therefore, the phenomenon of contact induced language change should be the point where sociolinguistics meets historical linguistics.

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A comparison of the use of relativization in the Swedish regional dialects spoken in Burträsk and Ström1

Tomas Landgren, Fredrik Karlsson, Kirk P H Sullivan
Umeå University

Anders Eriksson
Umeå University, Stockholm University

The data presented in this paper comes from tape recordings made as part of the dialect project "The phonetics and phonology of the Swedish dialects around the year 2000, SWEDIA 2000". Karlsson and Sullivan (in press) investigated relative marker usage in Burträsk. Due to its situation at the northern periphery of the Swedish dialect rectangle and as a non-coastal settlement, Karlsson and Sullivan (in press) believed that the Burträsk dialect may well reveal traces of older variants of Swedish. As the SWEDIA dialect database is balanced for informant gender and age, it permitted the investigation of both the infiltration of standard Swedish relativizers into this northern dialect of Swedish and the influence of gender in any other change that may have occurred during the twentieth century. From the tape-recordings of eight informants' spontaneous speech lasting a total of 7 hours and 35 minutes, Karlsson and Sullivan (in press) found a strong preference in the Burträsk dialect for relative clause constructions involving a moving (realized) subject, that relativization involving object movement is also used, but less frequently, and that in relative clauses involving the null relative marker, subject and object correlates occur with equal frequency. Further, no significant difference in relative marker usage was found due to either age or gender. Of particular note was that no examples of the use of constructions using a wh-word, such as *vars* or *vilken/vilket* were found in the data provided by any of the eight informants. Unlike, the complementizer *som* that was found in the data *vars* or *vilken/vilket* always imply a more formal, or standard, speaking style.

This paper extends the Karlsson and Sullivan study by posing the same questions in relation to the dialect spoken in Ström and thereafter by comparing and contrasting the Ström data with the Burträsk data. Like Burträsk, Ström is a non-coastal settlement. It lies around 350km southwest of Burträsk and has since the middle ages been a trading centre. Of particular interest is that Ström lies in Jämtland, which was part of Norway until 1645. The comparative data presented in this paper may provide picture of how the use of relativization is affected when a settlement has contact with

neighbouring dialects due to its position as a training centre and due to its less peripheral location within the Swedish Dialect Rectangle.

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How to analyse variation as part of interaction

Hanna Lappalainen
University of Helsinki

The paper will discuss methodological issues in sociolinguistics, especially in the explanation of variation. These issues will be approached in the light of my on-going doctoral research.

One of the basic ideas of sociolinguistics has been to show correlations between linguistic and social variables. On the basis of many studies we are already aware of the significance of age, gender and occupation as social variables. When these variables are analysed in relation to linguistic variation, it is necessary to consider the linguistic conditions of variation: new variants do not spread evenly in every context but some phonological, morphological and lexical contexts are more favoured than others.

However, these social and linguistic variables are insufficient in explaining all the relevant variation, especially individual variation. This paper will discuss the third perspective: how to explain variation as part of interaction. This perspective emerges from my data, which differs from traditional sociolinguistic data in that it is comprised mostly of conversations. My database consists of tape-recordings of a number of different kinds of naturally occurring interactions in this network, for instance, everyday conversations at the coffee table, telephone conversations, interactions in workplaces, and talks in church. Most of the members of the network participate in several situations. The social network investigated consists of 16 Finnish-speaking young adults (20 to 30 year-olds) who live in a suburb near Helsinki. They are all active members of a local church. Most of the females work in the service sector (e.g. as nurses and hairdressers) or at home, and most of the males are blue-collar workers (e.g. electricians and carpenters).

The variation is investigated between two varieties, standard Finnish and the vernacular variety spoken in the Helsinki area. These varieties differ from each other in many respects. I have selected a group of phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical variables and analysed the extent to which the members of the network use these variants in different situations. This quantitative analysis reveals that most use vernacular variants in almost all situations, so the standard variants are marked and must be explained. The differences between individuals can not be explained by the social factors.

In this paper I shall approach variation from the perspective of interaction by methods of conversational analysis (CA). The main principle of CA is to analyse linguistic phenomena as a part of interaction. I shall demonstrate with my data how this method can enrich variation analysis. First, CA can shed light on the nature of variation (e.g. gender differences in the use of slang words).

Secondly, it will help to focus on the relationship between linguistic variation and the interactional activity (e.g. intensifiers in assessments). Thirdly, it reveals new functions of variation (e.g. code-switching as a mark of footing).

"Broken lines" in sung Estonian folksongs

Ilse Lehiste and Jaan Ross
Ohio State University

The paper deals with the realization of so-called "broken lines" in sung Estonian folksongs. The principles of the temporal realization of sung and spoken texts of Estonian folksongs are described in Ross and Lehiste 2001 (in press). "Broken lines" is a term referring to folksong lines that deviate from the quantity rules that characterize Estonian (as well as Finnish) folksongs (Leino 1986). According to traditional descriptions, the metrical structure of a folk song line consists of a sequence of eight positions, of which the odd-numbered positions are strong (i.e. carry metrical stress or ictus) and the even-numbered positions are weak. The quantity rules specify that a short word-initial syllable must be excluded from a strong position, while a long word-initial syllable must occur in a strong position. Since words are stressed on the initial syllable, a conflict between word-level stress and metrical stress occurs when words with a short initial syllable are employed in a folksong line.

In recordings of Estonian folksongs, performance of the broken lines varies so that in some instances perceived word stress may fall on the word-initial short syllable when it occurs in the metrically weak position. In other instances, the perceived stress may fall on the metrically strong but non-initial unstressed syllable of the word. There are cases where the same singer stresses a word-initial short syllable in one line of a song, and follows the metrical/musical stress pattern in another line of the same song. In still other instances, these singers produce seven- and nine-syllable lines in both spoken and sung texts to accommodate trisyllabic words, either adapting the melody to the text in the case of a sung performance, or adapting the text to the melody by assigning more than one note to a syllable.

In the paper, we plan to present data obtained through acoustic-phonetic analysis of taped materials containing broken lines, comparing the durations of metric feet that contain a word boundary with metric feet that correspond to words. The patterns of mutual adaptation between text and melody will likewise be described.

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Postpositional particles *da/dak* in the European North

Marja Leinonen
University of Tampere

All over the north Russian dialects the particles *da* and *dak* ("and, so") are used both in the clause-final position and as repeated elements after coordinated constituents. Examples: *my ne pojdjom: dozh dak* ("we are not going: it rains because") (Gecova 1997:44), *pjanoy dak, dikar' dak* ("drunk and wild and") (Arhangel'skij oblastnoj slovar' 1999:234); *a malo non' hodjat - nekogdy da* ("But few come nowadays - there is no time because") (AOS 1999:176); *korovu da, ovec da, kuricju da, derzhali* ("cow and sheep and hen and were kept") (AOS 1999:171). A Russian linguist, A. B. Shapiro, who gathered such examples in the Archangel and Vologda oblast in the 1930s, noted that these usages can hardly be explained without relating them to the "neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages" with similar constructions (Shapiro 1953:20-21). However, when we look at the languages in question (Karelian, Vepsian, Komi-Zyryan), we find the Russian dialectal postpositional usage of the very same borrowed Russian elements *da/dak*. There are indigenous elements in the clause-final position in Finnish (*niin*), Karelian (*ka/ga*), Vepsian (*ka*). In Komi, there is a dialectal correspondence *si* ("so") in a narrow area, but in all the dialects and in the literary language the clause-final *da* is quite common. The repeated postpositional coordinating conjunction in all these languages, except Finnish, is *da*. In fact, in the dialects and older texts of Komi we find several variants: *X da Y da*, *X i Y i*, *X, Y da*, *X, Y i*. As to Finnish, there are two elements that can be postposed to coordinated phrases, both dialectal: *X ja Y ja* and *X -kin Y -kin*.

The Russian conjunction *da* as a coordinator is in the Russian dialects no doubt older than the literary *i*, and may have been supported by its use as a confirming particle ("yes"), spreading to the neighbouring languages. In Komi, it has been competing with *i* as a coordinator. As a clause-final particle/conjunction *da* is apparently being reactivated, due to its "genuine Komi" connotations (Leinonen & Ludykova, forthcoming in SUSA). In this paper, the use of *da* vs. *i* in samples of printed texts from the beginning to the end of the XXth century is investigated with a view to revealing the frequencies and functions of the competing particles/coordinators.

Latin-Greek-Egyptian Contacts

Martti Leiwo
University of Helsinki

Some Greek and Latin non-literary documents were written in a social context where more or less synchronic contact between Latin, Greek and Egyptian plays a substantial role in their linguistic output. Morphological and syntactic interference between the languages seems to be clear, but the actual words and grammatical forms in texts are often difficult to analyse, as the structural and even phonological similarity of Greek and Latin inflectional morphemes is great, and Egyptian, on the other hand, has no inflectional morphemes. Some tendency to transparency and regularity seems to be overcoming more opaque forms, but up to this date, no research has been made.

An overview about various types of this morphophonological and syntactic interference is given, taking data from four different types of documents. They are a) funerary inscriptions of a Jewish community in Venusia, Southern-Italy (400-600 CE), b) a Latin Marriage Contract (ca. 200 CE, P. Mich. VII 343 and P. Ryl IV 612 = ChLa IV 249), and c) written ostraca from Mons Claudianus, Egypt (2nd century CE). The first one (a) is an example of Greek-Latin interference, the second (b) has Greek interference but it may have some additional Egyptian features, whereas the third group

(c) has all three languages in the background. They all represent different area and different date which gives an opportunity to study their possible similarity or differentiation. The differences between written and spoken language are given special emphasis. The important questions are: 1. Who wrote the text? 2) Why was the text written? 3) Who was responsible for the wording, the scribe or somebody else. 4) Was the text dictated or was it composed from previous documents, re-using words and phrases to make a new document?

Clustering linguistic behaviour on the basis of linguistic variation methods

Alexandra Lenz
University of Marburg

The aim of this paper is to present types of linguistic behaviour in the Western Middle German area. The material on which the discussion is based was collected in a multidimensional process from 50 informants living in a western Middle German region that lies within the Eifel mountains, a dialect area with a comparatively high degree of dialectality. The region studied centres on the small town of Wittlich (population c. 20,000) together with the five surrounding villages that were officially incorporated in 1969. Interdialectal tensions are found to closely parallel extralinguistic ones. Local political and socioeconomic processes affecting the region can be grouped together under the headings of "urbanization" and "loss of local identity".

The (socio)linguistic dynamic is determined by extralinguistic processes. On the one hand, structural dialect loss can be observed, with variation gradually leading to change in the dialectal system. On the other, a reduced number of occasions on which dialect is used leads to functional loss. These processes are accompanied by functional and structural changes in standard variety usage. As the use of dialect varieties declines, (near-) standard varieties are adopted more often, and in some cases become established as regional colloquial varieties for the first time.

As intended, informants provided a sociodemographic heterogeneity that is reflected in the extreme range of variation in the spoken samples; this is interpreted diachronically on the basis of the apparent-time hypothesis. The linguistic and sociolinguistic dynamics at work in the regional substandard affect both speakers and speech phenomena at varying rates.

In the paper, the gradual nature of these processes is mirrored in the classification and typification of the speakers' linguistic behaviour. This classification is performed by means of a statistical clustering procedure. The quantified linguistic data from speakers in four survey situations are included in the cluster analysis.

The results reported here cast light on the following macro-sociolinguistic issues. Can groups of speakers with similar linguistic behaviour be detected? Linguistically, what characterizes a group of speakers internally and distinguishes them from other groups? How do the groups of speakers behave in relation to the types of variants in the hierarchy of decline that emerges? What sociodemographic criteria do the members of a group of speakers exhibit?

The speakers, or more precisely their linguistic behaviour, are thus classified on the basis of the linguistic data, and not according to extralinguistic criteria. The sociodemographic characteristics of the resultant clusters are only subsequently examined. In this second phase, special attention needs

to be paid to the extent to which the emergent groups can be aligned with classic sociolinguistic criteria such as age, residence, occupation, and so forth.

The Balkan Sprachbund as a Shared Drift

Jouko Lindstedt
University of Helsinki

Reasons for language change are either (A) internal or (B) external. Changes due to internal reasons can be regarded as instances of *drift*, Sapir's term that need not be understood to presuppose any long-term teleology. External, i.e., contact-induced changes are usually divided into (B1) those arising from interference through language shift (substratal effects) and (B2) those caused by lexical, grammatical and pragmatic borrowing (adstratal effects).

The Balkan Sprachbund features can obviously not be explained as results of unrelated drifts in each of the languages concerned. Explanations based on a substrate, such as the ancient Balkan languages (Kopitar) or Balkan Romance (Golab), are chronologically or areally too limited. On the other hand, explanations based on grammatical borrowing often fail to convincingly show the primary source language of several important Balkanisms, though for some areal features this is certainly possible - evidentiality (status) distinctions, for instance, are an originally Turkic feature.

To explain the genesis of the shared features of the Balkan Sprachbund (and other similar linguistic areas in the world), the notion of *shared drift* is needed. In a shared drift several languages of an area undergo parallel changes that are not simple transfers from a single substrate nor from one of the languages themselves. The reasons for such a phenomenon must be sought in two directions: (C1) some features inherited by the languages in question from a common substrate may later trigger convergent changes in each of them through typological implications, even long after the substrate has ceased to exist; and (C2) regular use of several languages in a multilingual setting forms a selective environment for all of them, so that among the random changes ("mutations") in each language those are more easily spread that contribute most to direct intertranslatability (Gumperz and Wilson's term) between the languages. I assume that the latter type was more important in the formation of the Balkan Sprachbund since Byzantine times up to the beginning of the last (20th) century when the Sprachbund-forming processes were largely arrested.

Since in type (C2) the shared drift is dependent on cross-linguistic identification of rules or structures by bilingual and multilingual speakers, we should expect changes to lead to only partially similar results, as far as a linguist's description of them is concerned. Each language realizes the drift with its own means, within the limits of its inherited structure. This will be illustrated with the Balkan feature of *enclitic definite article*.

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Corpus of Estonian dialects

Liina Lindström, Karl Pajusalu

The Corpus of Estonian Dialects (CED) is being compiled within the framework of a joint project between the Institute of Estonian Language and the University of Tartu, which started in 1998. The CED is a collection of electronic dialect texts, the aim of which is to make it possible to approach the study of Estonian dialects from many angles. At the moment the corpus consists of approximately 350,000 words.

The texts of the corpus have been selected from all the nine main dialects of Estonian, each of which is represented by texts from at least two areas. Only transliterated spoken texts have been used. Up to now the recordings with the most archaic language available have been included. The recordings are interviews on various topics.

The texts are presented in the Finno-Ugric phonetic transcription, which is traditionally used in Baltic-Finnic dialectology, and in simplified transcription (txt-format). These are accessible via the Internet. The two transcriptions are in a one-to-one relationship, meaning that the texts have been converted directly from phonetic transcription to simplified transcription. The CED is a corpus of oral texts, where features of spoken language have been taken into account: transliterations include pause-fillers, discourse particles, word repetitions, corrections, unfinished words, etc. The text of the interviewer has also been transliterated, because it might have influenced the language usage of the informant.

The compilers of the CED have carried out the first diagnostic studies on the basis of the corpus. With the help of computerised searches a lexical study has been made of the most frequent vocabulary in three Estonian dialects, a phonological study of the vowels of Estonian dialects, and a morphosyntactic study of the marking of evidentiality in Estonian dialects.

Our paper aims to introduce the main compilation principles of the dialect corpus and the first studies carried out on the basis of the corpus.

Kroatische Sprache / Dialekte und Nachbarnsprachen

Mijo Loncaric & Zeljko Jozic
Institut für kroatische Sprache und Linguistik

Unter den Nachbarnsprachen der kroatischen Sprache unterscheidet man zwischen zwei, bzw. drei Gruppen von Sprachen: 1. die nichtverwandten Sprachen (Italienisch, Ungarisch, Rumänisch); 2. Die verwandten (slavischen) Sprachen, die man weiter in zwei Gruppen einteilen kann: a) die Sprachen, die mit dem Kroatischen ein Diasystem bilden, und b) die anderen (eigentlich nur das Slovenische).

Die kroatische Sprache, bzw. die Sprache der Kroaten, bildet mit der Sprache der Serben, Montenegriner und Bosniaken-Moslems ein Diasystem (früher auch Kroatisch-Serbisch, bzw. Serbokroatisch). In diesem Diasystem bestehen vier Dialektengruppen (kroatisch narječje): Štokawisch, Čakawisch, Kajkawisch, Torlakisch (Šopisch). Das Štokawische könnte man eigentlich auch in zwei Dialektengruppen unterteilen (Altštokawisch + Neuštokawisch). Die kroatische Sprache beteiligt sich an allen vier D-Gruppen, aber unterschiedlich: Čakawisch und Kajkavisch sind nur kroatisch, Štokawisch ist auch serbisch, montenegrinisch und bosniak-moslemisch, und Torlakisch ist kroatisch nur in einem kleinen Teil (Diaspora in Rumänien) und überwiegend serbisch.

Ein relativ großer Teil des ununterbrochenen kroatischen sprachlichen Kontinuums erstreckt sich mit jeweiligen Dialekten in Bosnien und Herzegowina und kleine Teile in Montenegro, Serbien und Ungarn.

Das Kroatische und zwar einzelne Dialekte und Dialektengruppen sind bzw. waren weniger im Kontakt auch mit anderen Sprachen und standen mehr oder weniger unter ihrem Einfluß. Das waren sowohl unverwandte als auch slavische, d.h. die Sprachen der Herrscher und Minderheiten: Deutsch, Türkisch, Albanisch, Tschechisch, Slowakisch, Ukrainisch, Rumänisch.

Das Kroatische bzw. einzelne kroatische Dialekte in Diaspora standen unter einem größeren Einfluß der jeweiligen Sprachen des Landes (des Deutschen, Ungarischen, Rumänischen, Slowakischen, Tschechischen).

Contact Varieties of Japanese

Daniel Long
Tokyo Metropolitan University

Dialectology has traditionally focused on language varieties which branched off from a single parent variety, but increasingly attention has been given to the role of language contact in the genesis of language varieties. On another front, much, if not most, research into language contact phenomena has focused on cases in which a European language is the lexifier language. Little research has been conducted into language contact phenomena involving East Asian languages. In this paper, I examine evidence of several linguistic varieties which are the result of contact between Japanese and other languages. Most of these languages were never described in detailed linguistic terms, but they include 19th century Open-ports Pidgin Japanese, Manchurian Pidgin Chinese, Australian Pidgin Malay, Taiwanese and Micronesian colonial varieties of Japanese, the Ogasawara

Mixed Language, and 20th century Bamboo English. First I will take a brief look at the socio-historical factors which led to their geneses; who used the contact varieties and for what purposes. Furthermore, I will examine similarities and differences in the linguistic structure of these varieties. We will attempt to determine what language(s) supply the lexicon (superstratum, -a), and take a particular look at the use of personal pronouns. We will examine what language has determined basic word order, and what language has supplied grammatical lexemes if they are used. As is often the case with contact varieties, these were used for short periods of history, by a limited number of speakers, and to fulfill a limited number of functions. Because of these factors, and due to the stigmatization often associated with the mixing of languages, these contact varieties have seldom been recorded in writing, and even fewer have been studied academically. Finally, I will examine some methodological and theoretical problems endemic to such research, including questions of the usage of data which is severely limited (sometimes mere fragments) and has often been recorded by people with no linguistic training.

Peculiarities of Speech of Azerbaijanians Residing in Georgia

The report will deal with peculiarities of speech of Turkish ethnic groups (Azerbaijanian) brought to the southern part of Georgia and namely to Bolnisi region by Shah-Abbas the 1st in XVII century. The above stated ethnos speaks one of the western dialects of Azerbaijanian language to which sings of Oghuz and Kipchagh languages are inherent at all levels: phonetics, morphology, syntax. The above referred speech expresses a vocabulary of elements describing political-cultural systems natural for Georgian life. And namely, we will consider the Kartvelisms established in Azerbaijanian and Turkisms established in Georgian languages as a result of contacts between Georgian and Azerbaijanian languages. These data will enable us to reveal universal linguistic facts characteristic to the co-existence of collectives speaking in different languages, which in its turn will enable us to form opinion about world outlook of this type of ethnos.

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Finding groups in data: results of multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis for language attitudes in Pitmedden (Aberdeenshire)

Danielle Löw
University of Heidelberg

Multivariate techniques, such as multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis, have rarely been used in sociolinguistic research up to now although they can provide useful means of discovering underlying structures and patterns in empirical data which are not predefined/-conceived by the

researcher (and are therefore not biased).

The present paper will aim at showing what these techniques can do by applying them to data from my PhD-project for Heidelberg university. The data were gathered in the autumn of 1999 from 60 people, partly natives, partly incomers, aged between sixteen and 92 in the village of Pitmedden, 20 miles north-west of Aberdeen. The informants were administered a questionnaire, one part of which consisted of 31 statements on language attitudes towards both the local variety, commonly named *the Doric*, and Standard English, with answering scales ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*).

Pitmedden is one of those villages for whom the oil boom was a demographic revolution: its population rose from 313 people in 1971 to 1,103 in 1981 (*Census*). Incomers from other parts of Scotland and the United Kingdom, from other European countries, but also from non-European ones like Malaysia and South-Africa, have moved into the village and have changed it considerably. It is only reasonable to assume that these demographic changes have also had an influence on the language used in the area and on language attitudes both towards the Doric and Standard English.

Most studies of language attitudes have adopted a two- or three-way theoretical distinction between sub-components of attitudes. Mostly, researchers start from three components: the affective, the cognitive and the conative component (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970: 139; Baker 1992: 12; Fasold 1987: 147ff.). A different approach assumes that there are two major attitude dimensions or orientations, namely the affective/integrative one and the instrumental one (Baker 1992: 32; Ryan, Giles & Hewstone 1987: 1069). Therefore, an additional aim of the present paper is to see how wide the gap between theory and practice is and whether these components are apparent in the data at all.

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Can we find more variety in variation?

Ronald Macaulay
Pitzer College

For obvious reasons sociolinguists have generally concentrated on phonological and morphological variables, since they occur frequently, are relatively easy to identify, and are suitable for quantitative analysis. However, it is less clear that these criteria are equally important for

dialectologists, whose aims are somewhat different.. Traditional dialect surveys often aimed at identifying dialect areas on the basis of isoglosses. Unfortunately, isoglosses did not always bundle as neatly as the investigators would have liked and it has often proved difficult to establish the status of dialects on this basis. It is also possible that such features would not be sufficient to characterize the dialect. The alternative approach is to start with a geographical region and attempt to identify the most characteristic local features. If the aim of dialectology is to provide a description of a local variety in this way, then it may be the case that it is not the most frequent variables that are critical, though this cannot be determined by investigating these features alone. In order to extend the analysis to a wider range of features it is necessary to examine extended samples of connected speech where variation in syntactic, discourse, and prosodic features can be tabulated.

The present paper illustrates examples of phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and discourse variation in examples taken from speakers of several, Scottish dialects, showing how quantitative methods can be applied to a wide range of features. The paper describes the methodology employed to identify these features and the problems that can arise in tabulating the results.

State borders making new languages from dialects

Harri Mantila
University of Oulu

My paper will discuss the northernmost dialects of Finnish which are spoken in three countries: Finland, Sweden and Norway. In Finland the area of these so called Peräpohjola dialects cover the county of Lapland, in Sweden the north-eastern part of the county of Norrbotten and in Norway the two northernmost counties Tromsö and Finnmark.

Up to the 1980's these dialects were rather neglected in the two Scandinavian countries, Sweden and Norway, and the Finnish-speaking population in these areas had no rights to their own language and culture. In Sweden they started to teach Finnish in schools at 1970, but the instruction met big problems right from the beginning: the children had difficulties with standard Finnish, which differed essentially from their own dialect.

In Sweden and Norway the Finnish-speaking population felt themselves unsure, because they thought that they are not real Swedes or Norwegians, and the language they spoke at homes was not (standard) Finnish either. A solution was, that these dialects had to get a status of standardized languages. The development during the past two decades has now led to a situation in which the Finnish dialects in Sweden (nowadays called *meänkieli*) has a status of an official minority language since 2000. In Norway the Finnish-speaking population (the kvens) has a status of an ethnic minority group.

My paper will deal with processes in which dialects develop into new languages because of political reasons, although they still are mutually understandable. Cultural identity has a big significance in these processes.

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Digital Devices in Sociolinguistic Fieldworks

Kenjiro Matsuda
Kobe Shoin Women's University

With the advent of CD-DA in 1981, various digital sound devices have entered the commercial markets, and fieldworkers in different fields have adopted some of those advancements in their own way. Sociolinguists have all the reasons to be interested in these developments, as it means smaller recording devices with superb sound quality at economical prices, instead of bulky cassette recorders with lower quality. But the flood of new devices and formats have also left some of us at a loss which ones to adopt for our own research. In this presentation, I take up three main digital choices - DAT, MD and CD-R - to show how they can be best used to digitize the cassette recordings and/or to make new interview recording.

There are two major principles that emerge when anyone attempts to make the digital revolution a meaningful one. The first principle is survival through diversification. With different formats and devices still competing for a dominant position, it is best to adopt a multiformat approach, so that even if any of them became obsolete, at least some of them would survive. The second one is maximization of the benefits and minimization of the shortcomings of each format/device.

A DAT recorder enables digital stereo recording without compression in three sampling frequencies and 16-bit quantization, but its tape-format nature, aside from its longevity question, makes random access a difficult task. An MD's selling points are its compactness, quick random access and the sturdy disk format, but it also has its own problem: lossy compression, which turns its sound unsuitable for acoustic analysis. Lastly, CD guarantees almost ever-lasting archiving on a disk that is playable virtually anywhere in the world (on a PC, too), thanks to its highly standardized format. Although CD is now recordable as CD-R, the bulkiness of CD-recorder obviates its possibility as a field machine.

Matching those advantages and disadvantages with sociolinguists' task of recording in the fieldwork, coding/transcribing and archiving, we obtain the following configuration as the optimal combination: field recording with DAT, coding/transcription with MD and long-term preservation

in a CD-R format (the latter two are digitally copied from the DAT). A question then arises where we should put DVD. I propose that it is best used as an auxiliary archiving device for the moment, at least until the competing formats converge into one.

Palauan Japanese: a dying koine?

Kazuko Matsumoto David Britain
Musashino Women's University Essex University

This paper is a progress report on our study of Japanese dialect contact and subsequent language obsolescence in the Republic of Palau in the Western Pacific. Palau was occupied by Japan between 1914 and 1945, and subsequently by the United States between 1945 and 1994. Japanese rule led both to mass migration to the Palauan islands by Japanese workers and considerable Japanese-Palauan bilingualism on the part of the native islanders. The arrival of American colonisers in 1945, however, halted the expansion of a Japanese speech community, and introduced English as the 'high' language of colonial administration.

Here we will examine some methodological and theoretical issues involved in language death studies; for example, with what should the use of a dying language (Japanese in this case) be compared? - with formal standard or informal non-standard Japanese of the mainland or with the fluent spoken Japanese of older speakers in Palau? In order to address this, our analyses comprise comparisons of rememberers and semi-speakers in Palau with fluent speakers in Palau as well as with Japanese speakers in Japan.

Twenty-hours of recordings of informal conversation conducted by 24 fluent speakers, 8 semi-speakers and 8 rememberers were collected. We present here a variationist analysis of the Palauan Japanese (PJ) negation system. Our aim is to observe whether the route of decay in Palau - where Japanese was largely acquired rather than learnt - matches the findings of studies of L2 attrition where the L2 was learnt - for example, in studies of American second language learners who learnt Japanese in Japan, but then returned to the U.S. and whose Japanese was analysed in rather experimental conditions after many years lacking exposure to the language (Hansen 1999).

Our results highlight the necessity of comparing rememberers' and semi-speaker language use with fluent speaker language from the same community, and not with fluent speaker language in a geographically distant community. In order to understand the PJ negation system, we also need to take account of the fact that PJ, as a diaspora Japanese, shows characteristics of the koineisation that emerged as a result of the contact of different dialects of Japanese on the islands in the first half of the 20th century.

Dialect as Code: Nuances in Southern U.S. English

Natalie Maynor
Mississippi State University

The use of regional, social, or ethnic dialects for purposes of identity and solidarity has been often noted, including well-known examples like Labov's analysis of vowel centralization on Martha's

Vineyard. Indicating group membership through language, whether to other members of the group or to outsiders, is a phenomenon that in many cases is not difficult to notice or to explain. What may be more difficult to observe or understand, at least for outsiders, is the use of regional, social, or ethnic dialect as a sort of secret code.

In writing about manners in the U.S. South, Noel Polk describes what he prefers to call "the Southern manner" as a powerful weapon, "a vantage from which we can observe without being observed." He goes on to say, "Many nonsoutherners mistake the southern manner as weakness or lack of intelligence. But a southerner can watch you and take careful aim, smiling and tolerating your bad manners, opening doors for you and saying 'Yes, Ma'am' and 'Yes, Sir' to your patronizing assumptions while you expose yourself as a shootable target."

This paper examines indirection in Southern U.S. speech as a method of avoiding confrontation but also as a game sometimes played by Southerners for the amusement of other Southerners present during a double-edged exchange with somebody from outside of the South. Not unlike "signifying," a speech act usually associated with African Americans, this verbal indirection is used by both black and white Southern speakers as a code decipherable by those of shared background but not by outsiders. Though the comments may be ostensibly aimed at the outsider, usually a Yankee (i.e., somebody from another part of the U.S.), the real audience is other Southerners, people who share the code and thus appreciate the duping.

Using examples from both fiction and real life, this paper illustrates a playful, albeit real, example of maintaining a cultural border through dialect.

Towards a reconstruction of the dialect continuum of sixteenth-century Scots

Anneli Meurman-Solin Keith Williamson
University of Helsinki University of Edinburgh

At the Institute for Historical Dialectology, University of Edinburgh, two projects are concerned with reconstruction of the diatopic-diachronic patterns of the medieval Anglic vernaculars of Scotland and England: A Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English (LAEME, being compiled by Margaret Laing), covering the period c. 1150 to c. 1300; A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS, being compiled by Keith Williamson), phase 1, c. 1380 to c. 1500. The basic methodology derives from that used to make *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (LALME, McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986). However, in the current projects, the methodology has been developed further so that the data-bases of linguistic material are lexico-grammatically tagged corpora of full texts, diplomatically edited, rather than questionnaire-delimited sets of isolated word-forms (Williamson 1992/93). Further, the "fit-technique", a method of interpolating texts of unknown provenance into a dialect continuum has been computerized (Williamson 2000).

Anneli Meurman-Solin (Meurman-Solin 1993, 1995) created the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots, a corpus structured with respect to language-external variables. Meurman-Solin and Williamson are now collaborating as part of the Helsinki VARIENG project. Meurman-Solin's new corpora of Scottish correspondence are also diplomatically transcribed and are being tagged lexico-grammatically using the IHD's software.

This paper concerns the diatopic analysis of linguistic material drawn from sets of sixteenth-century texts written in Older Scots. Evidence from Meurman-Solin's texts shows significant variation in the written language of correspondents in the sixteenth century (Meurman-Solin 2000). For example, a major collection of autograph letters is the Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine (1542-1560; National Archives of Scotland SP2/1-4). These letters are from geographically diverse correspondents to the Regent of Scotland (widow of James V). In the reconstruction of the diatopic patterns for a medieval vernacular, one of the principal resources are texts which may be localized, *prima facie*, on internal non-linguistic information. These are termed local documents (Benskin 1977; McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986 i: 39-55; Williamson 2001 forthcoming). Letters comprise one such type of document; two other classes of local documents are charters and records, such as the proceedings of courts and town councils. Our investigation will use such texts, with associations in different areas of Scotland, to represent the written language of these areas. All the texts will be lexico-grammatically tagged. The aim is to make a diatopic comparison of the language of the texts and to examine the distributions of a number of linguistic features. We will consider features which may reflect spoken as well as written variants.

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Aila Mielikäinen
University of Jyväskylä

The concept of diffusion has been introduced during the past few years and decades especially in sociolinguistics. In analytical languages, such as English, the phenomenon is mostly treated as a lexical feature: linguistic changes spread gradually from word to word.

In a synthetic, agglutinative language, such as Finnish, the nature of diffusion is more complicated. The innovations can spread in many ways, not only in lexis, but in sound combinations, in suffixes, even in syntactic structure. Most sound changes are in dialects combined with morphology, i. e. the changing sounds are parts of roots, endings and other enclitic elements. The syllable stress is another important variable that regulates and directs sound changes and their diffusion. Most Finnish words in lexis have two syllables, many have three, but the endings lengthen their forms. These features make the variation more complicated, but also more systematic than, for instance, in English. Besides lexical diffusion we can talk about morphological or syntactic diffusion.

Finnish dialectology dates from the middle of the 19th century. First it was comparative research - the dialects were compared with the standard language presented in grammar books. At the end of the same century neogrammatic research came to influence dialectology, and the study of rural dialects became diachronic. It is for this reason that the history of sound changes has been examined thoroughly in many areal dialects. In these sound histories the diffusion of different changes have been treated also contextually, as phonological, morphological or lexical phenomena. When the sociolinguistic research, based on William Labov's methods, was started in the 1970s, it could continue examining the diffusion from the results of former dialectologists. Some results show a real continuum in the nature of diffusion.

In my paper I will present examples of different types of contextual diffusion in old regional dialects and in modern spoken Finnish.

Variation and Change in Spoken Tampere Finnish Possessive Forms

Hanna-Marika Mitrunen
University of Tampere

In the history of Finnish sociolinguistics, only a little research on language change in real time has been made (Kari Nahkola, personal communication). However, the present study deals with the real-time variation and change in spoken Tampere Finnish between years 1977 and 1997. The data consist of informal interviews with 29 native speakers of Tampere dialect. Each individual was interviewed twice, for the first time in 1977 and for the second in 1997.

The purpose of the study is to examine the variation and change in the morphological marking of possession. In spoken Tampere Finnish, five possessive variants are found in the 1st person singular: A) *minun koirani*, B) *koirani*, C) *minun koira*, D) *mun koirani*, and E) *mun koira*. (All variants mean 'my dog', but they are sociolinguistically different.) The main questions posed are: (1) what kind of variation of these forms is found among individuals at the same time period? and (2) is there a change in the use of these forms between the two periods of time? In addition, one special question is raised: because in contemporary spoken Finnish-especially in the speech of young

people-the analytic type E (*mun koira*) is spreading (Paunonen 1995: 530-531), it will be examined how expansive this type is in spoken Tampere Finnish.

Even though the analysis of the data is currently in progress, the preliminary results indicate some change between the two time periods. However, the analytic type E (*mun koira*) was not as expansive as assumed. Moreover, it was found that the dropping of the possessive suffixes (in the 1st person singular *-ni*) depends on the syntactic context.

The variation in the morphological marking of possession is one of the most drastic ongoing changes in spoken Finnish (Nuolijärvi 1986: 157). The dropping of the possessive suffixes does not only mean a change in the morphological system of Finnish, but it also tells about a more general change from an analytic language to a synthetic one. This gives us a very good reason for studying these forms-characteristic features of Finnish language.

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Aragonese and Catalan in the speech of Gistaín (Huesca, Spanish Pyrenees)

Brian Mott
Universitat de Barcelona

Much attention has been paid to the dialects of the Catalan-Aragonese frontier, where the criss-crossing of isoglosses produces some fascinating local speech varieties (Griera, 1914; Saroïhandy, 1908; Sistac, 1993; Arnal, 1998; Giralt, 1998). No less interesting are the dialects spoken a few miles further west, in the ancient territory of Sobrarbe in North-East Huesca, where, despite the noticeably Aragonese accent among other Aragonese linguistic phenomena, there exist many features and lexical items either shared with or inherited from Catalan, which is spoken to the east of Aragon. One such dialect is the highly conservative and tenacious speech of Gistaín, known as *chistabino*.

Like the unstressed vowel system of Catalan and that of other Peninsular varieties outside Castilian, that of *chistabino* is characterized by neutralization, and there is a tendency for the atonic mid-high vowels to undergo raising in final position. As in Catalan, final vowels are often lost, but in *chistabino* the loss is commoner after nasals and liquids than after other consonantal segments.

At the morphological level, the most striking feature shared with Catalan is the periphrastic preterite tense, formed with the verb 'to go' plus the infinitive. Parallel to Catalan, too, the first person plural of the verb undergoes apocope (*comprán* 'we buy'; Catalan *comprem*, Castilian *compramos*).

Finally, perhaps the most interesting parallels between *chistabino* and Catalan are to be found in the lexis. Most Aragonese lexis is of Romance origin and can be divided, on the one hand, into Gallo-Romance, composed of words shared with French, Occitan (especially Gascon) and Catalan, and, on the other, Ibero-Romance, composed of words shared with Castilian and Portuguese. Recent compilations of lexis by Blas, Romanos and Mott reveal that the proportion of elements in *chistabino* vocabulary which are either akin to or borrowed from Catalan are greater than was originally thought, and suggest that there has been considerable erosion of these forms over the last century. This is the case of *parlar* 'to speak', now completely ousted by Castilian *hablar*, but surviving in derivatives like *parlaje* 'speech', *parlamentos* 'chat' and *parlatán* 'loquacious'.

The talk will expand on the above-mentioned phonetic and morphological details, and discuss the possible Catalan origin through borrowing of some of the lexis that *chistabino* shares with its neighbour.

Variation and change in Viena Karelian

Niina Määttä
University of Oulu

In my paper I will discuss the development and the variation of A-final vowel combinations (including the long vowels *aa* and *ää*) in post-initial syllables in Viena Karelian. My material consists of 60 hours of tape-recorded speech from two central villages (Uhtua and Jyskyjärvi) in the Viena area. The data is divided into two parts. One part includes 30 hours of speech collected in the 1960s, and the other one includes 30 hours of speech, which I have recorded in the summer of 2001.

My purpose is to clarify the present variation of A-final vowel combinations in post-initial syllables in the Viena dialects. With the help of the real time method, I also aim to find out how the representation of A-final vowel combinations has changed in 40 years.

As my analytical framework I use the theory of morphological diffusion. The theory bases on the idea that sound changes, for example the diphthongisation of A-final vowel combinations (e.g. *kalaa* > *kaloa* 'kalaa' partitive), diffuse from one morphological category to the others in accordance with the morphotactic hierarchy. According to the theory (Mielikäinen 1995), the change is more common when the vowel combination (or long vowel AA) liable to change includes a derivative element (e.g. *harmoa* 'grey'), and less common when the vowel combination occurs at the boundary between the stem and a marker (e.g. *antoa* 'give') or between the stem and an ending (e.g. *kaloa* 'fish' partitive).

In language there can be several simultaneous sound changes that affect the same contexts, so that we can speak about competing changes. When a sound change competes with its own reversing change, we can illustrate the situation with the so-called flip-flop rule. Simultaneous changes are directed to the same context, so that one change causes X > Y and another Y > X. (Wang 1969: 11-13; Nahkola 1986: 71.) My findings indicate that in Viena Karelian the diphthongised forms have

begun to change to forms that existed before the sound change began (e.g. *kaloo* > *kalaa* 'fish' partitive). In that development the standard Finnish has probably been a launching factor.

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Zur Entwicklung des Konsonantismus im Mennonitenplatt

Larissa Naiditch
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Die plattdeutsche Mundart der Mennoniten, das sog. Mennonitenplatt (auch Plautdietsch genannt), ist heute Umgangssprache einer linguistischen, religiösen und kulturellen Minderheit in weit voneinander entfernt liegenden Regionen (Sibirien, Kasachstan, USA, Kanada, Mexiko, Deutschland). Seinen historischen Kern bilden die niederpreußischen Mundarten der Danziger Nehrung, zwei Varianten von denen durch zwei Kolonisationswellen nach Rußland gebracht wurden (die Mundart von Chortitza und die von Molotschnaja). Das Mennonitenplatt ist einerseits eine typische Mischsprache - eine plattdeutsche Mundart mit manchen Spuren der friesischen, polnischen, russischen, ukrainischen, evtl. auch englischen u.a., Einflüsse. Andererseits spiegelt es gemeinsame typologische Entwicklungstendenzen der germanischen Sprachen wider. Im Mittelpunkt der vorliegenden Forschung stehen einige Besonderheiten des Konsonantismus dieser Mundart: vor allem der phonologische Status der palatalisierten Konsonanten "t, d, n", ihre Entwicklungsmechanismen und ihr mutmaßlicher Ursprung. Die phonematische Selbständigkeit dieser Laute kann durch die folgenden Minimal- und Quasiminimalpaare veranschaulicht werden: für /t - t'/ - /ti:t/ 'Zeit' - /t'i:/ 'Kühe', /dIt/ 'dieses' - /dIt'/ 'dick', /koak/ 'ich koche' - /t'oat'/ 'Kirche', für /k - t'/ - /da:k/ 'Dach' - /da:t'/ 'Decke', /koaš/ 'gesund' - /t'oaş/ 'Kirsche', für /d - d'/ - /ti:de/ 'Zeiten' - /mId'e/ 'Mücken'; für /n - n'/ - /en/ 'und' - /en'/ 'Ende'. Dieser Korrelation schließt sich die Opposition /x/ - /X/ ("Ach-Laut" - "Ich Laut") an, die im Mennonitenplatt phonematisch ist: /va:x/ 'Wache' - /va:X/ 'Weg'.

Das Phonem /t'/ entstand aus /k/ durch die Phonologisierung des Allophons vor und nach den Vorderzungenvokalen, auch vor dem Sonorlaut+ Vorderzungenvokal und nach dem Vorderzungenvokal +Sonorlaut. Das Phonem /d'/ geht auf die Geminat "gg" nach "i" und enrundetem "y" zurück. /n'/ entstand durch die Monophonemisierung der Phonemverbindungen "nd", "ng", gewöhnlich nach den Vorderzungenvokalen. Diachronisch gesehen kann die Entwicklung der palatalisierten Konsonanten im Mennonitenplatt als ein autochtoner Prozeß oder als eine Sprachkontakterscheinung betrachtet werden. Beim Letzteren kommen einerseits der friesischen und andererseits ein slavischer Einfluß in Betracht. Es können z.B. Parallelen zur friesischen Assibilierung gezogen werden. Somit wäre es möglich, den Konsonantismus des Menonitenplatts dem englisch-friesischen Typ einzuordnen und aus dieser Sicht aus auch seine

weiteren Entwicklungstendenzen zu erklären. Jedoch zeugen analoge Erscheinungen in den Mundarten Ostpommerns und in einer Inselmundart in der Slowakei, daß auch der Frage nach der polnisch-kaschubischen Wirkung nachgegangen werden soll. Somit erfordert das zu erforschende Problem eine mehrseitige Untersuchung vom Standpunkt der Kontaktlinguistik und der Sprachtypologie. Das Letztere schließt sowohl typologische Untersuchung genetisch verwandter Sprachsysteme (im Rahmen der Entwicklungstypologie germanischer Sprachen), als auch rein typologische Forschungen ein

Social Borders within a Dialect: the Soikkola Dialect of the Izhorian (Ingrian) Language

Ilia Nikolaev
St.Petersburg University

The author has been investigating the Soikkola dialect of the Izhorian language since 1996. This dialect is one of the three living dialects of the language of indigenous Izhorian inhabitants of Leningrad oblast (St.Petersburg region), Russia. The Soikkola dialect is spoken by about a hundred elderly speakers in some fifteen villages of the Soikkola peninsula.

The study made by the author showed that the speakers in general preserve the features of the dialects described by the Estonian scholar Arvo Laanest in the middle of the XX century. We decided to concentrate on the study of the patois of one village - Pakhomovka, or Venakontsa. From about 30 permanent residents of the village, there are 18 Izhorians, 11 of whom speak Izhorian. All of the speakers have a good command of their native tongue. This was demonstrated in various domains: conversation between family members, chat with neighbours, talk with a guest, interview with a scholar, translation tests from Russian into Izhorian.

It should be mentioned that all the speakers of Izhorian speak Russian as well. Though their Russian is fluent, some of them have a slight accent and a few grammatical features, indicating the secondary acquisition of the language.

The speakers prove to have different attitudes towards the use of their native tongue and Russian. They tend to speak Russian with younger Izhorians, who don't use the language of their parents. The younger claim that they don't speak Izhorian, though they can understand their parents speaking it. Some speakers refuse to speak Izhorian at all. They explain it with the fact that nobody needs Izhorian any more and it should be abandoned. There are speakers complaining that there are few persons left to speak with. And, finally, there are Izhorians who insist on speaking their native tongue with everybody who knows it and who don't see any reason to abandon it.

In our paper we are going to analyse the main reasons for these attitudes, some of them being personal background of the speakers and some being general tendencies in the social development of the dialect. We are trying to provide linguistic data, which are characteristic to sub-dialects of different groups of speakers having different attitudes to the use of their native tongue.

The concepts 'urban' and 'rural' in sociolinguistic studies in the 21st century

Pirkko Nuolijärvi
Research Institute for the Languages of Finland

The purpose of my talk is to discuss the common sociolinguistic concepts 'urban' and 'rural'. In the 20th century these terms were very important for many studies on the linguistic urbanization in various countries. Today, however, we could ask if we still need them in our analysis of the varying language. Should we regard this dimension as necessary, we would have to ask how to use them in our analysis of the complex linguistic environment. If, however, these terms were deemed unnecessary, what would that reveal about our data and linguistic environments in question?

My main objective is to investigate the subject in the light of the Finnish language variation in Finland. The role of standard Finnish as a common normative variety has always been in the focus of discussion. At the same time, the local rural dialects have had an important position; they were quite strong until the 1950's. As we know, the linguistic processes and consequences of urbanization are always highly complex. Therefore, the term *variety* is also important when we consider the urban and rural features of the language. By looking at various data representing various situations in time and space, we can discuss the role of technical terms in sociolinguistics. Thus, I will try to give some answers to the questions above by discussing the variation tendencies in Finland.

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A geolinguistic comparison of some Finnic lexical issues

Vilja Oja
Institute of Estonian Language

To-day, there is hardly anybody left who needs proof of the fact that the mapping of linguistic issues is a fine method for a researcher interested in the definition of dialect boundaries, as well as in tracing word etymologies, or language historical changes, etc.

Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum (ALFE), which is a joint project prepared by Finnish, Estonian and Karelian linguists, is meant to serve parallel and commented mappings of the dialect material of all seven languages of the Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric family. On the one hand, such presentation enables researchers to follow the areal distribution of linguistic phenomena (together with their similarities and differences) within the whole area of cognate languages. On the other hand, it helps the students of other languages, in particular of those spoken in the adjoining (Russian, Saami, Scandinavian and Baltic) areas decide on the intensity of historical contacts of those languages with the Finnic ones.

ALFE contains various kinds of maps such as onomasiological, morphonological, motive maps etc. A novel approach has produced ALFE maps displaying the areal distribution of one or several formatives (phonological words) and their meanings.

My talk is based on the material collected by specialists for this particular atlas. I am going to discuss several lexical issues the areas of which tend to cross language borders. The analysis reveals the mutual relationships of languages and dialects. On the one hand, we can see the historical ties of South-Estonian dialects with the Eastern or Northern Finnic languages, the contacts of Southeast-Finnish dialects with North-Estonian dialects. On the other hand, the contrasts between the Eastern and Western Finnic languages, as well as between the Northern and Southern Finnic languages are visualised. Apart from that, the maps of ALFE enable us to follow the areal distribution of various loanwords in the Finnic languages.

***Ly* or zero suffix in verb-modifying adverbs in Newfoundland English**

Lise Opdahl
University of Bergen

The use of and preferences for the suffix *-ly* versus no suffix in English verb-modifying adverbial lexemes has been studied in Standard British and US English in Opdahl 2000. My paper will present results from an investigation of preferences in connection with suffixal/non-suffixal use in five such lexemes in Newfoundland English. The material was collected in the autumn of 2001 and consisted of responses to the occurrence of the two relevant forms - with *-ly* or with zero suffix - in the five lexemes CHEAP, DIRECT, LOUD, LOW, and WRONG. The preferences were obtained through a questionnaire containing some 80 relevant items which was administered to about 80 informants living in the Newfoundland city of St. John's. More than half of the respondents were university students, the others generally older.

The material, totalling some 6400 responses, was analysed for linguistic and extralinguistic variables, the latter including gender, age, and educational level. In addition to mapping a feature of Newfoundland English not investigated in detail before, the findings were compared with those obtained in Opdahl 2000 for Standard British and US English. This was natural in view of the fact that scholarship on Canadian English to a considerable extent has focussed on similarities/differences between this variety and the two above national varieties. The outcome of my investigation indicates that Newfoundland English, at least as observed among the younger

generation, tends to be closer to US English on this point - an interesting result in view of the relatively strong ties historically of this variety with British English. The possible influence of the transition of Newfoundland from a British dominion to a Canadian province is among the points which will be considered in connection with the question of possible linguistic change in the field. Another question is the potential effect of Irish influence.

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Dialectal variants of contraction: the case of it's and 'tis

Kirsti Peitsara
University of Helsinki

The prevailing contraction of IT + BE in English is one where the verb is contracted: IT'S. The alternative type in which the pronoun is contracted ('TIS) has today a strong literary and archaic flavour, though it is also characterized as dialectal and colloquial. A corpus of continuous dialect speech, such as the Helsinki Corpus of 20th British dialects provides us with an interesting dialectal distribution of the alternative contractions. The 'archaic' type is more common in the south-west of England, the 'accepted' type in East Anglia.

Phonetic and morphologic variation in Rossellonès

Maria-Pilar Perea
Universitat de Barcelona

Due to complex historical changes that have affected *Rossellonès*, the traditional name for the variety of Catalan spoken in North Catalonia (i.e. the French counties of Rosselló, Conflent, Vallespir and Capcir), this dialect is currently in recession. Geographically, *Rossellonès* is limited by two linguistic borders: to the north, by Gascon, in recession as well, although of course it is French that exerts the greatest pressure; to the south, by Central Catalan, and especially by the standard variety of this language. Historically *Rossellonès* has presented a considerable number of specific phonetic, morphologic, syntactic, and lexical features.

In 1906, Antoni M. Alcover, the founder of Catalan dialectology, carried out a linguistic survey in several towns and villages in the North Catalan area. With the answers to those questionnaires Alcover described the complete conjugation of almost eighty regular and irregular verbs, and also defined certain phonetic characteristics of this dialect. Almost a hundred years later, in 1997, as a part of the project "Variation in language", run by the Departament of Catalan Philology of the Universitat de Barcelona, another survey was made in the same setting. The main aim of this project was to record a set of phonetic and morphologic data in order to describe the situation of this dialectal variety today. The object of this paper is to compare the results of the two surveys - in the aspects that they are equivalent - and to reflect the variation that this dialect has experienced over a period of nearly a century. The comparison will be focused on certain phonetic and

morphologic aspects. The study, as well as revealing significant differences in certain data, will consider the direction that the evolution of this dialect has taken - for instance, the verbal morphology appears to have become simplified -, and also the question of which language exerts the strongest influence on it today.

Please use socially appropriate language variation, kiitos

Elizabeth Peterson
Indiana University

This paper investigates variation of politeness markers in both a nonnative and native language. The English spoken by Finns living in the Helsinki area is compared to their native language, Finnish, studying how politeness markers are used to exhibit social appropriateness (Blum-Kulka 1990, Meier 1995 and 1996, Tannen 1986). In question are the socially and linguistically driven variables that influence the use of a given politeness marker.

Politeness markers are defined as discourse markers which exhibit no other semantic function other than to mark "politeness." It is commonly held that Finnish contains no linguistic equivalent to the English *please*. The closest equivalent in Finnish, *kiitos*, also functions as 'thank you' (see, e.g. Markkanen 1984:92). Finns interviewed for this study frequently cited *please* as being of primary importance to speak "politely" in English. Data are viewed with the following questions in mind: 1) How do Finns manipulate socially appropriate values in Finnish, through politeness markers or through other resources? 2) How do these values change according to social properties of the speakers and linguistic variables? 3) How do these values compare to the use of politeness markers in the English spoken by Finns? 5) Is there any evidence that English is influencing the Finnish, as alluded to by Rot 1988 and Paunonen 1994?

Data were gathered from interviews with 70 speakers in the Helsinki area, in which oral requests were elicited. One thousand tokens were analyzed using GOLDVARB 2001. The independent variables tested include speakers' sex, age, and level of education, the speakers first nonnative language, level of exposure to English, and pragmatic values associated with Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987): level of imposition, familiarity of speakers, and the relative social power. Analysis is still underway, but preliminary results indicate that women of all ages use politeness markers in Finnish more than twice as much as men. Men, on the other hand, seem to use other variables to manipulate social appropriateness, including a higher rate of the Finnish second-person singular formal form, *te*. Men and women of all ages exhibit a high rate of the Finnish verbal conditional form, *-isi-*. Analysis of the English data is still underway.

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English in Wales or Welsh English? Investigating the identity of a dialect.

Heli Pitkänen
University of Joensuu

Views regarding the status of spoken English in Wales vary among the scholars and the Welsh people themselves. Twenty per cent of the Welsh speak the Welsh language, but a hundred per cent of them speak English, and the kind of English they speak is phonologically and syntactically distinct from other British dialects. Is this enough to distinguish a dialect or dialect group characteristic of Wales, a 'Welsh English', or do we settle for the perhaps more politically correct 'English in Wales'? The profile of the Welsh dialects of English is low, and the term Welsh English seems to call for national recognition, which it does not have at the moment. The debate is reflected e.g. in the title of the book *English in Wales* (Coupland 1990), dealing with Welsh dialects of English, and Penhallurick's (1993) arguments in favour of the term Welsh English. Most linguists do use the latter term, but for the majority of Welsh people, the jury is still out.

The question can be approached from a historical or national angle, but it can also be discussed from a linguistic point of view. Linguists tend to create their own definitions of what constitutes Welsh English and what is merely English in Wales. Substratum influence from Welsh is an important element in the dialect, which means that the definitions often relate to the individual speakers' Welsh skills or to the prevalence of Welsh in different parts of the land (see e.g. Visser 1955, Awbery 1997 and Penhallurick 1993).

This paper adds a fresh dimension to the debate. Examining recent data from North and South Wales reveals that there are definite differences in the English spoken in Welsh communities, and bilingualism and geography both affect the situation, but the outcome is somewhat different from what is traditionally expected. I will discuss the past and present of the two main dialect areas of Welsh English, focussing on the syntax, as well as the role of English as a community language in the bilingual areas of the north and south. Perhaps the identity of Welsh English depends on both these factors?

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Some prosodic characteristics of the Northern Russian dialect of Varzuga

Margje Post
University of Tromsø

While prosody, and intonation in particular, is a relatively under-researched area in linguistics, this is even more the case for dialectal prosody. Recent technological developments have enabled new progress in this field. However, methods in studying Russian dialectal intonation need further development. This paper presents some preliminary results of an investigation of some prosodic characteristics of the Northern Russian dialect of the village Varzuga, which is situated on the Ter Coast of the White Sea (Post, 2001). In Varzuga, only the elderly still speak the dialect. The study is based on a combination of auditory and instrumental analyses.

In our recently collected recordings, a number of prosodic characteristics was observed which are assumed to be typical of Northern Russian. Firstly, vowels appear to be relatively short. Secondly, it was often rather difficult to determine the location of the stressed syllables. Thirdly, a tendency to attach a repeating prosodic pattern to each phonological word was observed. Finally, many non-question utterances ended in a rising pitch movement, although both steepness and height of the Ter rise appear to be less extreme than in, for instance, some Pinega dialects of the neighbouring Archangel'sk region.

Interestingly, the second and third characteristics seem to be closely related. In all but one of the cases with unclear stress patterns, the first syllable was realised with high pitch, immediately preceded and followed by low pitch. This seems to be the result of the above mentioned tendency to attach a rising-falling pattern to each phonological word. This pattern, which is combined with a relatively high intensity level, appears to be able to make first syllables more prominent than those carrying stress, thus obscuring stress placement. The tendency to intonationally mark individual words rather than phrases, as is the case in the standard language, is by some scholars thought to be an archaism, by others an influence of neighbouring Finno-Ugrian languages (Karelian, Sámi).

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Rise (and fall) of the relative *what* in the traditional dialects of eastern England

Patricia Poussa
University of Umeå

Cheshire (1993) reported relative *what* as a feature of all the modern urban dialects. Naturally enough, her survey did not include the mainly rural area of East Anglia, though her London Metropolitan Region did extend over southern Essex.

This paper will look at the frequency of the traditional rural relative *what* in the SED tape-recordings for Norfolk, made c.1960 by Nelson Francis, and compare it with the frequencies found in recordings made by the present writer c.1990, with six elderly speakers from north-east Norfolk (3 men, 3 women) of similar background to the SED informants. There appears to be no doubt that *what* is a traditional rural form in East Anglia, and that it is now diminishing, after what seems to have been a rather short life. *What* was first remarked on by the glossarist Robert Forby in his *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, published posthumously in 1830. Forby, a native of north-west Norfolk observed that, "[*what*] is certainly provincial, if it be not peculiar to us" (1830: 138-9). The strong presence of *what* in the traditional dialect of north-west Norfolk is discussed in Poussa (2001). Here I shall look at the north-eastern section, which has been regarded the major relic area of the East Anglian dialect.

What Forby failed to note was that the Norfolk traditional Norfolk relative set seems to have been remarkably *that*-less, as well as *what*-full. This emerges only from a quantitative approach. I shall argue that the *what*-fulness must have been motivated by *that*-lessness, in the history of the dialect. I propose that the rise of *what* might have been prompted by a late loss of *at*, the result of loss of initial /ð/, in the spoken dialects of eastern England, and that this sound-change, essentially /ðat/ > /at/ > zero, probably spread into East Anglia from the transition zones on its borders, as a consequence of dialect decay. Hence Forby, who was a native of north-west Norfolk, was well-placed to be an early observer of relative *what*. Essentially, this late *what* averted the increase of null subjects of relative clauses, and would have been a useful repair. Improved literacy would explain the replacement of this nonstandard *wh*-form with one of the standard types, and the adoption of *what* as the sociolinguistic marker of anti-establishment values among some urban populations.

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Methods in Historical Dialectology: Linguistic Change in German Dialects

Stefan Rabanus
University of Marburg

Georg Wenker's *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* (*Linguistic Atlas of the German Empire*; surveyed 1876-1887) is the first and most complete dialectological data collection ever performed. The atlas covers more than 40,000 separate locations, making it the only cartographic representation of all the dialects of a national variety. To date, for large regions of the Lower and Middle German dialect areas, the maps remain the only ones available. But for some of the Middle and Upper German dialect regions, modern linguistic atlases do (or will soon) exist. For these regions (in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate, and the Saar area) we thus have linguistic maps from two different periods in the development of the dialects. By comparing these, it is possible to analyze changes, not only in the dialect at selected geographical locations but over whole regions as well.

At the *Forschungsinstitut für deutsche Sprache/Deutscher Sprachatlas* in Marburg, work is currently underway on the DiWA project (*Digitaler Wenkeratlas*), in which the data from the Wenker Atlas are being made completely accessible via computer for the first time. This entails the maps being scanned, geocoded and rectified (i.e. the digitized maps are recalculated to fit a suitable geographical projection). By superimposing Wenker's maps over those from modern linguistic atlases (that have also been rectified), linguistic change can for the first time be made directly observable. The expansion or retraction in the areal distribution of dialectal features thus becomes visible.

The possibilities which this project opens up for linguistic analysis can be exemplified by an examination of the development of plural verb paradigms in the Bavarian region of Bayerisch-Schwaben. To this end, Wenker's atlas is compared with Werner König's *Sprachatlas von Bayerisch-Schwaben* (surveyed 1984-1989). Bayerisch-Schwaben is especially suited to the study of plural paradigms in that the boundary between the Alemannic and Bavarian dialects runs across the region. In most Alemannic dialects, the category of person is not formally expressed in the verbal plural, i.e., there is only one plural ending. In Bavarian dialects, however, as in Standard German, only the first and third-person forms are the same - the second-person suffix is distinct. In the transitional zone between the two dialectal regions, clear changes have taken place in the hundred years between the end of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Loss of gender agreement

Viveca Rabb
Åbo Akademi University

I study the modern system of grammatical gender in a Swedish dialect in Ostrobothnia, Finland. In the dialect three grammatical genders have been established: masculine, feminine and neuter. However, the traditional gender system has gradually been changing towards a more simplified form with loss of agreement and an uncertain status for the feminine gender as results. In the end the feminine gender may disappear totally. My main purpose is to discover patterns of change. The data in the study consists of instances of 128 nouns in the accusative singular form from 36 native speakers of the dialect. The nouns were fixed before the collection. In addition, the nouns are also produced in combination with five pronouns in attributive position traditionally showing gender agreement.

In the present paper I will concentrate on the loss of gender agreement. Corbett (1991) discusses how "different types of agreement targets lose agreement at different times". Priestly (1983) has studied gender agreement in the Indo-European languages and observes that the agreement is

preserved best in pronouns and less well in adjectives. In the dialect I study, gender agreement that distinguishes between the masculine and the feminine gender does not exist in the adjectives. Instead I will discuss the order of the loss of gender agreement within the pronoun category according to the five indefinite, possessive and demonstrative pronouns in my material.

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Taking a New Look at an Old Feature: Non-prevocalic /r/ in Varieties of British English

Heinrich Ramisch
University of Bamberg

On the basis of frequency alone non-prevocalic /r/ can indeed be regarded as one of the most distinguishing features between accents of English all over the world. Various terms are used for the feature. Accents that have generally kept /r/ in all positions are called rhotic, r-pronouncing or r-full, whereas varieties that exhibit R-Dropping are described as non-rhotic, non-r-pronouncing or r-less. The feature itself is known above all as a sociolinguistic variable, as exemplified in Labov's famous study of the three department stores (cf. Labov 1972: 43ff.) and in widely-read sociolinguistic textbooks (for example, Trudgill 2000: 20ff.).

Despite its sociolinguistic significance, relatively little research has been carried out on the feature from a geolinguistic point of view. To obtain a better understanding of the regional spread of non-prevocalic /r/ in varieties of British English, I will take a new look at the feature in the SED material (Orton et al. 1962-71) by examining the occurrence of non-prevocalic /r/ in the following phonological environments: a) preconsonantal /r/ in non-final syllable position (e.g. *arm, first*); b) preconsonantal /r/ in final syllable position (e.g. *barley, forty*); c) final /r/ in monosyllabic words (e.g. *year, door*); d) final /r/ in unstressed syllable (e.g. *butter, vinegar*). With the help of specific computer applications it will be possible to analyse a larger number of items from the SED, quantify the data and produce dialectometrical maps. Normally, one could assume that the area in which non-prevocalic /r/ still occurs is relatively regular and homogeneous. Yet our research so far has shown that there are a few items that do not follow the "normal" pattern. Moreover, it has to be noted that other phonological processes such as r-metathesis or r-insertion may equally exert an influence on non-prevocalic /r/. Finally, I would like to discuss the relevance of these geolinguistic findings for historical linguistics and aspects of linguistic change.

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Crossing Methodological Borders: Critical Discourse Analysis and Dialectology

Kathryn Remlinger
Grand Valley State University

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) approaches language as a dynamic social practice that creates, maintains, challenges, and changes ideologies. In this sense, language is a social force that both reflects and effects cultural ideologies and practices—whether these are about race, gender, age, class, or language itself. These functions of language are symbiotic: as we examine what language reflects about a community's practices and beliefs, we inevitably discover how and why these practices and beliefs are (re)produced, resisted, and changed. Typically, CDA relies on analyses of semantic, pragmatic, and inter-textual features of discourse to account for the linguistic production of ideology, particularly as it relates to dominance (van Dijk 1993). Speakers' uses of language indicate how power relationships based on social categories such as race, class, and sexuality are established and played out through discourse (Gough & Talbot 1996; van Dijk 1993, 1996; Wodak & Matouschek 1993; Fairclough 1992; Kress 1991). Many studies of language variation focus on the effects of attitude and social categories (e.g. Eckert 2000; Preston 1999; Lambert et al 1960); however, they tend not to develop strong social theory to account for the role of discourse in the production of and resistance to language ideologies that affect language variation. CDA provides both theory and method to investigate the effects of power, identity, and attitude on language variation and change. The emphasis on critical, political social theory is necessary to more fully examine and understand how and why language variation is affected by speakers' attitudes and values of particular varieties.

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Morphological influence in a contact of closely-related languages: neutralisation of the interference types?

Helka Riionheimo
University of Joensuu

In language contact research, a dichotomy is made between the two kinds of interference, viz. borrowing and substrate interference, which represent quite different historical processes. Borrowing interference refers to a contact situation where a second language influences on speakers' native language while substrate (or shift-induced) interference refers to changes that result from imperfect learning of a target language. The interference types clearly differ from each other as in borrowing situations, interference is strongest in the lexicon and much weaker in the syntax or phonology, but in language shift interference begins with the syntax and the phonology and does not usually involve the lexicon.

Morphology presents a question mark in this dichotomy, and it has either been neglected in the discussion or morphological interference is considered very weak both in borrowing and shift situations. Morphological interference is not, however, as rare as has often been claimed, and in a contact of closely-related languages, morphological influence can be quite strong both in borrowing and shifting situations. Thus there is a need to discuss the relevance of the dichotomy of borrowing vs. substrate interference in the field of morphology. It is possible that the transferability of bound morphology does not depend on the interference type but rather on the properties of the morphemes or morphological patterns themselves.

The present paper illustrates the problem of morphological interference in the light of the contact between two morphologically rich and genetically closely related Finno-Ugric languages, Finnish and Estonian. Three kinds of contact situations are reviewed: borrowing situations (interference in the first language of Finnish immigrants in Estonia), acquisition situations (transfer from the mother tongue of Estonian Finnish-learners) and childhood bilingualism (simultaneous acquisition of Finnish and Estonian). It is seen that in each situation, the same morphological patterns are transferred from Estonian to Finnish, and transferability seems to be connected to their unmarked or natural properties (transparency, syllabicity etc.).

The HE *after*-Perfect and its Contexts

Patricia Ronan
NUI Maynooth

One of the most salient features of Hiberno- (i.e. Irish-) English is the *after*-Perfect. This is commonly taken to denote 'hot news' in constructions like:

'A man is after being shot in the street.'

It has been pointed out, however, by Kallen 1989 (and other dates) that the *after*-Perfect can also have more varied readings, such as resultative, universal perfect or existential perfect.

Further interesting and varied insights into the construction emerge if the *after*-Perfect is not only studied onomasiologically, examining the senses in which this type of Perfect is used, or in correlation to other types of Hiberno-English Perfects, as it has been done in previous studies, but if it is also contrasted with the Standard English *have*-perfect used by some speakers. This semasiologic approach has been chosen in present study and the data found supplies insights into two different strategies employed by language users:

- a. speakers who use both Standard English *have*-perfects and *after*-perfects use the latter in 'hot news' senses exclusively
- b. speakers whose speech did not contain any tokens of Standard English *have*-perfect use *after*-perfects in more varied senses, in some cases covering the full range of Standard English perfects.

This situation holds true for many parts of Ireland, not so, however, for the South-West. It will be pointed out that a different type of Perfect, the Medial Object Perfect, is in competition with the *after*-perfect in this region.

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A New Approach to the Description of Contemporary Arabic Dialects (Mainly in Israel)

Judith Rosenhouse

Technion - I.I.T. Haifa

Bauer (1913) described the Arabic dialects of Palestine in three groups - Bedouin, sedentary and rural. Bergstraesser's (1915) maps described these dialects in a similar manner. This classification in itself is not new, and was known at least since Ibn Khaldoun's *Muqaddima* (14th century CE). In the 20th century many social, demographical, as well as political and economical, changes have taken place in the country. These changes involved linguistic contacts among several language or dialect communities and have inevitably led to changes in the basic linguistic picture referred to in the works mentioned above.

Our talk will first survey the historical developments that have occurred in the in the area of contemporary Israel. We then compare a few linguistic features (in phonology and morphology) with those noted above in the literature from the beginning of the 20th century.

We believe that some of the changes are due to internal restructuring of linguistic habits as a result of the social, demographic and cultural changes, and partly to the impact of Modern Hebrew on the native speakers of Arabic within Israel. In any case, the conventional description of the Arabic dialects in Israel apparently does not do justice to their present state. We therefore wish to suggest a new, integrating way to classify these Arabic dialects which will take into account such new

features. Moreover, the case of the Arabic dialects in Israel can be considered an example of similar processes occurring in Arabic dialects spoken in other countries of the Middle East.

Spanish Lexical Variation and Automatic Linguistic Atlases on the Internet

Antonio Ruiz Tinoco
Sophia University

Linguistic atlases are the result of many years of field work and are very useful for dialectological studies and variational linguistics. However, they are voluminous, always expensive, and sometimes difficult to obtain. Also, since the cost of publishing is prohibitive, the results of fieldwork are only rarely published.

Thanks to relational databases (MySQL, PostgreSQL, etc.), easy to learn scripting languages (PHP4, Ruby, etc.), and graphic libraries (GD, etc.), now it is possible to create an automatic and reliable system in a network to show graphically the results of any kind of survey. There is no need for highly specialized or technical knowledge. In addition, many of the necessary tools are open source and free for academic use. Also, scripts used in our system can be adapted to different purposes.

Our proposal is a system (PHP4, MySQL, GD) to graphically produce on the Internet the results of queries to the database of Varilex regarding lexical variation in Spanish. Graphics are neither prepared beforehand nor are stored in static form. The dynamically generated graphics are different depending on the query made by the researcher, who can use the latest data introduced in the database. In this way, group research can be more efficient, and obtained atlases can be used immediately and freely by the academic community.

Substratum vs. loan interference: are they always separable? The case of European North of Russia

Janne Saarikivi
University of Helsinki

In contact linguistics the practice has been to refer principally to the theory presented by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and to distinguish a loan influence and substratum influence, which are assumed to have different outcome. The loan influence is seen as affecting primarily the lexicon, and the substratum effect as affecting phonetics and morphosyntax. The substratum influence is usually presumed to be an outcome of the aboriginal people's language shift to the newcomer's language, whereas the loan effect occurs when two languages coexist in the same area over a longer period of time.

Although clearly a substratum area, The European North of Russia seems to be somewhat of a counterexample in regard to this widespread view. Historians agree that up to the 15-16th century the area was inhabited by the Finno-Ugrian tribes, which seem to have been closely related to the Baltofinnic and Saami groups of Finno-Ugrian people. These people have today assimilated with

the Russians and thus there are the necessary prerequisites for a linguistic substratum influence to take place.

North-Russian dialects have at present several phonetic and morphosyntactic features, for which a possible contact-induced origin, under influence of Finno-Ugrian languages, has been suggested (nominal sentence types, different changes in phoneme paradigms etc). In Slavonic studies, however, the prevailing opinion is that the Finno-Ugrian substratum interference for these features cannot be proved for a variety of reasons such as the following: there are endogenous Slavonic parallels, features represent a loss of marked characters, they are not unusual in a typological sense etc.

In contrast to Thomason and Kaufman's theory, the writer proposes that in verifying the substratum influence in North-Russian, it is the lexicon that is the key. This is particularly true if the toponymy is taken into consideration. Place names and the dialect lexemes of which only a few can be explained as borrowings from present Finno-Ugrian languages - and which therefore must be regarded as borrowings from substratum languages - provide a concrete historical background against which also the proposed phonetic and morphosyntactical substratum features seem more probable than before.

The importance of place names for language contact studies in general is emphasized. It is probable for certain groups of lexemes associated with place names (such as terms related to geography) to be transmitted from the aboriginal people's language to the newcomer's language in a substratum situation - something that should also be taken in to the consideration when discussing the effects linguistic substratum influence has on the lexicon of a contacting language.

The spatial dynamics of sound change: evidence from Chinese dialects of central Jiangxi.

L Sagart
CNRS, Paris

Two sound changes in Central Jiangxi raise interesting questions relating to the dynamics of sound change in space. From a study of these and other changes described in the literature, a principle describing the spatial distribution of the conditioning of sound changes, termed 'the decreasing scope principle', is tentatively presented. It predicts that once a change has run its course, the areas last affected by it will, if anything, tend to show narrower phonological conditioning (i.e. occur in fewer contexts) than the area where the change first arose, and that a cline in the scope of phonological conditioning is likely to occur between the area with maximal and minimal conditioning. If empirically verified, reversal of this principle may open perspectives for detecting the geographical origin of sound changes based on the detail of their geography.

The future participle and coniugatio periphrastica in Latin

Hilla Salovaara
University of Helsinki

My paper will deal with the Latin future participle (e. g. *futurus*) and its use in the so-called *coniugatio periphrastica*, that is, the future participle combined with the copula *esse* to form an analytical future form (e. g. *futurus est*).

Latin had a normal synthetic future which was replaced by a periphrasis *habeo* + infinitive, finally to form new synthetic futures in the Romance languages. At the time of my research, however, this process had not had effects on the normal synthetic future and the latter is used constantly even in substandard texts (see below).

The *coniugatio periphrastica* is used frequently by the early Latin writers Plautus and Terentius and, in fact, the future participle does not make appearance outside this construction. Later on, writers start to use the future participle as a regular participle, that is to say, independently as *participium coniunctum*. This usage turns out to be a favourite among the post-classical writers.

My interest in this subject was inspired by the occurrence of the future participle and *coniugatio periphrastica* in some non-literary letters, written by soldiers of the Roman army in Britain and Egypt (1.-2. century AD) as well as in a literary work famous for recording substandard registers of Latin, Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* (1. sc. AD). A frequently expressed view in handbooks on Latin syntax and in other studies claims that the future participle never was popular in spoken Latin. I shall ask, whether these instances of future participle in substandard texts put forward a need to revise earlier descriptions on this subject. Is it possible to discern an old feature of colloquial spoken language here? I shall also offer an overview on the modality of this construction as well as some possible explanations for its' assumed popularity in spoken Latin.

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Acoustic Database of Contact-Induced Changes in the Language of Russian Outpost Communities in Siberia and Kamtchatka

Christian Sappok
Ruhr University Bochum

The focus of the project are situations of long-term language contact in Russian outpost communities in the tundra area of Siberia (two communities in the watersheds of the Indigirka and Kolyma rivers) and Kamtchatka (two communities in the center and in the West of the peninsular). The communities in question emerged in 17-18th centuries as a result of colonization of remote northern territories. Small groups of Russian settlers experienced at that time influence from indigenous people. A consequence of this situation was intense language contact through which significant features of neighboring languages were incorporated into socially dominant language of the colonists. Each of communities developed its own variant of the language considering language environment and social situation. Sustained contacts with indigenous people and isolation from Russian speaking territory helped along development and later conservation of these sub-ethnic variants.

The acoustic database focuses on the following items:

- Contact-induced changes with respect to structural results of incorporating of alien features (for example merging of phonemes and loss of phonological contrasts).
- Borrowing and interference through shift as mechanisms of contact-induced change.
- Sociolinguistic context of language contacts.

Methodological basis of the research is a complex analysis of a contact situation including linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that determined linguistic history of the community in question.

Relevant historical evidence is to be presented in the database that is essentially important for the interpretation of contact-induced changes. For example we may assume that, considering such parameters of social situation as prestige and cultural pressure, some significant structural changes in the language of old settlers may not be due to borrowing. Meanwhile the high percentage of indigenous population within the communities (primarily due to mixed marriages) may account for substratum interference.

A separate problem to be considered is diglossia which is noticed in the speech of elder generation. It may result from the influence of "mainland" Russian in the middle of the XX century (through education and mass-media). At that time the language of old settlers began to change in the direction of the "mainland" Russian, but the old variant remained is sometimes being used in situations of intimate contact. This phenomenon is subject to special investigation.

Contact induced changes presented in the database are to be supplied with illustrations from the audio recordings made by the authors in 1997-2001.

(In)stability of isogloss lines within the Alemannian dialect of Southwestern Germany

Renate Schrambke
University of Freiburg

In the Alemannian area of Southwestern Germany sound changes have created a large number of isogloss lines. Some of these form bundles which serve as a basis for dividing southwestern German into a number of dialects: Upper Rhenanian in the west, Swabian in the east, and Southern Alemannic.

As the field work for the Dialect Atlas of Southwest Germany has shown, some of these isogloss lines are relatively stable, while others seem to dissolve. There are also some isogloss lines which change position.

In this paper an attempt is made at discovering the causes for the stability/instability of these isogloss lines: are the causes external or internal? Examples discussed are, amongst others, the change from apical to uvular r and the change from b > w as well as the substitution of w by the plosive b respectively.

Speech synthesis of dialectal variants as a method for research on intonation

Beat Siebenhaar, Eric Keller, Brigitte Zellner Keller, Martin Forst
University of Lausanne

Speech synthesis has reached quality levels that henceforth permit its use in testing linguistic hypotheses. We wish to present a Swiss National Fund study on dialectal prosody whose initial goal is to build a complete synthesis of two Swiss dialects. On the one hand, the two synthesis systems will let us compare globally the prosody of the two dialects. On the other hand, they will let us change the utterances in a consistent fashion to investigate dialect change, and as a further step, language change.

The normal scientific procedure consists of analysing and explaining a certain phenomenon. The advantage as well as the disadvantage of this procedure is that apparently non-relevant phenomena are excluded. Using synthesis as a scientific method allows us, indeed forces us, to model interactions between the different subsystems that are typically neglected by an exclusively analytic procedure. For investigating prosody, this means that a synthesis system can test the interplay of segmental and suprasegmental information, of phrasing, timing and intonation. Compared to the transplantation of prosody or to a manual change of prosody, a synthesis system lets one manipulate the different prosodic parameters independently of another, yet consistently in the same fashion.

We want to present the basics of a psycholinguistically and statistically motivated model of phrasing, timing and intonation that avoids syntactic control with few exceptions. The model was first developed for a French text-to-speech-system, was slightly modified for Standard German, and now will be employed with Swiss German dialects. The multilingual basis of this speech synthesis system may be able to provide hints for an interlingual grounding of prosodic control. For the research on dialectal prosody and its relevance to the recognition of dialects, the parameters for the two dialects will be worked out and implemented. These parameters can subsequently each be modified independently of all others, and sound examples can be generated. Such examples can provide hints of the relevance of the singular parameters of the prosody. One can thus ask how a text with grammatical information typical of the Zurich dialect and with prosodic information

typical of the Bern dialect is identified, or how a Zurich text sounds when it is produced with Zurich timing and Bernese intonation. Do these examples contain a prosody that is linguistically located between the respective dialects? Or are these examples considered as 'funny' Bernese and 'funny' Zurich German? Or are they considered as simply unacceptable?

Hagiography as a linguistic Source Material (of North-Russian Dialects)

Lea Siilin

University of Joensuu

In medieval Russia the literary language was Russian Church Slavonic. Consequently, in choosing sources for the study of the history of the Russian language researchers have given priority to secular texts such as administrative and legal documents, since they employ the East Slavic vernacular, Old Russian. The majority of the medieval manuscripts which have been preserved, however, represent various types of religious literature. The hagiographies included in this literature as well as in the even clearer language of chronicles reflect a mixture of elements drawn from Church Slavonic and the vernacular. In this paper I will consider how hagiography is a possible source for Russian language or dialect research and what special demands such source material places on the research.

The language of a hagiography must be described in relation to Russian Church Slavonic and vernacular. In order to use religious texts as a source in Russian language research the researcher must also take into account the distinctive features of hagiographic literature. Furthermore, she must be able to establish the range of linguistic and graphic variations of one or several scribes, which may also include dialectal features. The first stage of such research is thus a text-critical analysis of the manuscript copies.

Muscovite Russia (14th-16th centuries) is significant from the perspective of the formation of the Russian language. Numerous new hagiographies were written during this period and tens, even hundreds of manuscript copies were made in different parts of Russia. One such text from the dialect region of northern Russia is the late medieval manuscript "The Vita of St. Alexander of Svir" (1545). Hand-written copies from the latter half of the sixteenth century refer to distinctive phonetic and morphological features of the original text to be discussed later in this paper. I will consider the reflexes of the etymological *• phoneme (jat') in the manuscripts as the letters i and e as well as orthographic representation of the half close vowel and open vowel /o/ by means of letters and diacritic marks. The background of this phenomenon is the uniqueness of the Russian phonological system-the appearance of a four stage vowel opening in different dialects. A peculiarity of the East Slavic vowel system is the presence of the two half close vowels-a front /ê/ and a back /ô/, which in Russian dialects are represented either as half close /ê/ and /ô/ sounds or as a diphthongal [ie] and [ou] sound.

Disentangling the Roots: the Legacy of British Dialects in cross-variety perspective

Jennifer Smith

Sali Tagliamonte

Helen Lawrence

University of York

University of Toronto

University of York

The search for trans-Atlantic connections has recently come to the forefront of research in language variation and change (Montgomery 1989; Clarke 1997; Poplack 2000). Critical to this endeavour is a rigorous characterization of the relationships between dialects and methodological standards for making comparisons (Montgomery 1989; Wolfram 2000). However, detailed linguistic analyses of yet untapped British dialects are also vital.

We contribute to this research program by mining the resources of two large-scale projects on the regional dialects of Britain (Tagliamonte 2001a, 2001b). Our goal is to amass evidence for positing similarities or differences across varieties, as well as to the debate over the recent historical development of English.

Critical to this cross-variety, multi-variable approach is the identification of those features which are diagnostic of particular varieties; those which are relics from ongoing variation and change and those which are the result of universal tendencies (see Smith 2001).

To establish shared grammatical features we target two putative diagnostics of regional differentiation in Britain, verbal concord and aux/neg contraction. We also consider a feature which may reflect maintenance of patterns from earlier stages of English, the *for to* infinitive, and one often held to be a primitive, the zero adverb.

With verbal concord (1), more northerly varieties share a key historical constraint, the "northern subject rule" (Murray 1873). However, auxiliary vs. negative contraction, (2) reveals idiosyncratic distributions. Use of the zero adverb (3), retains a remarkably common core across all the varieties under investigation, and constraints reported in Early Modern English perdure. Finally, use of the *for to* infinitive, (4), is so obsolescent that it is difficult to unearth patterns for comparison.

1. Women *knows* nothing about work. (CLB/4)
2. That *isn't* the person ... (WHL/k) It's *not* arithmetic. (MPT/d)
3. You did nae breath too *heavy* on it. (AYR/u)
4. He went away *for to* play... (MPT/x)

Taken together, these findings highlight the complexity of the British dialect situation and the multi-variable, cross-variety approach offers the type of evidence needed to test similarities and differences on a comprehensive scale. It also provides corroborating strands of information which can be used to identify patterns of alliance or variance amongst varieties. Finally, evidence for making accountable trans-Atlantic connections amongst varieties of English becomes available for scrutiny.

Features of Finnish in a northern Norwegian dialect

Hilde Sollid
University of Tromsø

Already from the late Middle Ages the Kvens came from the northern parts of Finland and Sweden and settled in northern Norway, and during the 18th century the Kvens came to Sappen in Nord-Troms. At the beginning the Kven dialect was the main language in Sappen, but the Norwegianisation process resulted in a language shift from Kven to Norwegian. The language shift started at the end of the 19th century, and was completed in the 1950s.

The Kven dialect is linguistically a dialect of Finnish, and according to Lindgren (1999) it belongs to the periphery of the Finnish Far North dialects. This means that the Kven dialect has a lot in common with other Finnish dialects. In this paper I will discuss features of Finnish in the syntax of the Norwegian dialect of Sappen. To my best knowledge the syntax is basically the same as in other Finnish dialects (Trosterud 1992). I will therefore refer to Finnish when I compare Kven and Norwegian syntax.

My general hypothesis concerning the Norwegian dialect of Sappen is that today most of the syntactic constructions of the dialect will follow 'standard Norwegian', but there will also be Finnish constructions. In this paper I will look at sentences with double negation in the Sappen dialect (example 1). Here I define double negation as negation with "ikke + aldri" ("not never") meaning "never". Double negation is clearly an influence from Finnish, since it is ungrammatical in standard Norwegian and other Norwegian dialects (example 2), while in Finnish double negatives can occur with the negation verb "ei" and an adverbial (example 3) or other negation elements (cf. Sulkala & Karjalainen 1992).

1. Eg har **ikke aldri** smakt sånne brød.
"I have **not never** tasted that-kind-of bread."
2. Jeg har (*ikke) **aldri** smakt slike brød.
"I have **never** tasted that-kind-of bread."
3. En ole **koskaan** maistanut sellaisia leipiä.
"neg. have **never** tasted that-kind-of bread."

I will look the double negative construction in the Sappen dialect in data from questionnaires and interviews. My expectation is that especially older people consider the construction to be an alternative in the dialect, and that double negation is only a marginal alternative in the dialect of younger informants.

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Word order and variation: some methodological considerations with respect to spoken Finnish

Marja-Leena Sorjonen and Maria Vilkuna
Research Institute for the Languages of Finland

Finnish exhibits variation in the order of the verb (V) and its arguments or adjuncts (X). The prevalent order is VX but the opposite order XV is also used for various purposes (Vilkuna 1989). An example is the following minimal pair. A client (C) has come to the social insurance to claim the travel costs of her daughter's visits to dentist. When explaining the situation, she first (line 6) places the temporal adverbial before the verb but subsequently (line 15) uses the VX order. This difference in word order suggests a difference in the client's understanding of the newsworthiness of the state of affairs she is talking about.

- 1 O: nää on tota (1.0) osa viime vuuen käyntejä ja osa,
these are well part last year's visits and part
- 2 (0.6)
- 3 C: mm.
- 4 (0.5)
- 5 O: tä[n vuuen,]
this year's,
- 6 C: => [niin kun se tuota (0.6) lokakuulla alako se (1.0)
[yes as she well in October started
- 7 tai siirty sinne kouluun ni.
or moved there to school so. ('changed her school')
- 8 (0.7)
- 9 O: mt joo-o?
yea-a?
- 10 (2.0)
- 11 O: eli tota (1.7) (ai nää on) (1.0) mit- onks nää tuonne
so well oh these are wha- are these there
- 12 Kuopioon tehty n[ää matka]t.
to Kuopio made these trips
- 13 C: [nii on.]
[they are.]
- 14 (0.6)
- 15 C: => .hh ku hää siirty (0.5) lokakuussa tu- Kuopioon
as she moved in October ? to Kuopio
- 16 kouluun ja tuota,
to school and well,

The existing older audio-recordings suggest that eastern and western Finnish may differ subtly in their patterns of XV order. These recordings are interviews with people born in the late 19th century. They are interviews structured around a loose agenda, producing mainly narratives and descriptions of old working methods. More recently, videotaped recordings have been made of service encounters (e.g. in social insurance offices). These recordings contain interactions where language serves the purpose of taking care of some everyday needs of the client, and consequently, the activity types in the encounters are more varied than in interviews. By drawing on analyses of

these two types of data, we aim at telling apart different types of factors that affect word order variation.

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(T)-glottalisation among British Anglo and Afro-Caribbean speakers

Michelle Straw and Peter L. Patrick
University of Essex

British urban dialect studies often focus on diffusion and maintenance issues involving contact between local, regional and national varieties. We examine a well-known, though problematic, linguistic variable - glottalisation of word-final /t/ - in a situation of contact between an East Anglian (Ipswich in Suffolk) and West Indian varieties of English.

(T)-glottalisation is widespread in UK cities (Collins & Mees 1996, Fabricius 2000, various papers in Foulkes & Docherty 1999, Baker mss.), though its historical provenance and diffusion (from London, Wells 1996; Scotland, Andresen 1968; or E Anglia, Trudgill 1974) remain unresolved. No previous sociolinguistic study exists for Ipswich.

(T)-glottalisation is not reported as a characteristic feature for any variety of Caribbean English except Barbadian (Wells 1982), where it is ubiquitous but little-studied (Blake mss.). This paper considers contact-induced dialect change among Afro-Caribbean speakers converging towards Ipswich speech. We compare elderly white speakers from Ipswich to first- and second-generation speakers of Barbadian, Nevisian and Jamaican backgrounds.

Docherty & Foulkes (1999) demonstrated that auditory coding is insufficiently accurate to distinguish glottal stops from other forms of glottal behaviour. This study employs both auditory and acoustic methods to analyse variation of word-final /t/ glottalisation, replicating the general point - that auditory analysis overstates frequency of glottal stops, while laryngealised variants (perceived as stops) are the most common variant. In addition, several environments often omitted in auditory studies due to potential mis-coding problems prove significant for estimating the overall frequency - and perhaps sociolinguistic patterning, as well.

Despite significant individual variation and small sample size, we have found:

- The order of environments for glottalisation hypothesised for diffusion in SE England (Fabricius 2000, Tollfree 1999) is reflected in both Ipswich white and British-born Afro-Caribbean speakers (pre-consonantal is most favouring, pre-pausal intermediate, and pre-vocalic least favouring).
- An inverse relationship between degree of stylistic variation and order of environments is found: most speakers show least stylistic variation in pre-consonantal position, where glottalisation is most frequent.

- Barbadians show distinct patterns of glottalisation generally (eg, far less glottalisation in intervocalic environments), and a distinctive interaction with stress (more glottalisation in unstressed than stressed syllables).
- Unexpected patterns for stylistic variation were found for both Ipswich white and British-born Afro-Caribbean speakers. Little contrast existed between interview and word-lists, while only reading passages resembled formal speech styles, similar to the findings in Milroy (1987).

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Semantic structures in lexical variation.

Jos Swanenberg
Nijmegen University

The subject matter of this paper is the lexical variation in the dialects of the southern Dutch language area, the various dialects of Flanders, Limburg and Brabant. This dialect area covers the southern part of the Netherlands, the Dutch speaking part of Belgium and the Flemish speaking northwest area of France. This means it also includes the dialects of major cities such as Maastricht, Eindhoven, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges. The southern boundary of this area is the Germanic-Romance language boundary. The lexical material we analysed in our research, was

primarily collected for the Regional Dictionaries, three lexicographical projects that cover the mentioned dialect area.

The dialectlexicographical projects are unique in their way of presenting the dialect-data. One of the most salient features is the nonalphabetical ordering of the entries: they are presented in systematic order, by the field in which they are used. This systematic structure deals with lexical variation in dialects in coherence with its (already disappearing) agricultural background. Alphabetical indexes on keywords make it possible to consult material by word-form. Data are mainly gathered by oral and written inquiries. A specially designed database application copes with all different kinds of data. It is interfaced with a word processor and a cartographic program (MapInfo), in such a way that texts and maps can be generated automatically.

Lexical variation in southern Dutch dialects is especially copious in the field of ethnozoological nomenclature, the denomination of animals in dialects. The present study explores into the origins of lexical variation of this sort. The semantic domain it concerns, consists of 24 species of small birds.

The following research questions have been tabulated:

- what is the structure for the voluminous lexical variation in ethnozoological nomenclature in a group of strongly related dialects?
- which word building processes underlie this voluminous lexical variation?
- which motives for denomination can be identified in ethnozoological nomenclature?

These topics are given attention by explaining the etymology of the folk names of birds in Southern Dutch dialects and by ordering and analysing the names on their morphological and semantic structure. Just as different morphological processes will cause lexical variation, e.g. gunman (compound) versus gunner (derivation), different denomination motives will also lead to lexical variation, e.g. cupboard, a board that may contain cups (the denomination motive is functional) as opposed to sideboard, a board that is placed against the wall of a room (the denomination motive is spacial).

Is it true that there are more than ten varieties of Malay Dialects in Thailand?

Amon Thavisak
Mahidol University

When talking about Thailand most people who know about its national language will always think about a tone language of 6 different tones. No one will imagine that down in the south of Thailand there exist a bunch of Malay dialects scattered mainly around 5 different southern provinces. More than that, if we look at the global picture of the Malay dialects in Thailand we will surprisingly realised that there are more than ten varieties of Malay dialects spoken in various parts of Thailand. This paper presents the general picture of various Malay dialects spoken in Thailand. Similarities between the "Thai-related dialects and some particular Malaysian-related dialects will be discussed. The regional phonological features such as various (more than 4) phonetic realisations of the phoneme/r/ in Standard Malay in various dialects and diphthongisations as well as vowel deletion in some particular dialects will be thoroughly illustrated. It is of interest to note that most Malay dialects in Thailand have lost most of their "Malay" grammatical identity.

The Problem of Borders and Modern Greek Dialectology

Peter Trudgill
University of Fribourg

For many languages of Europe, it is a simple matter for interested scholars to find maps of Traditional Dialects to consult in connection with their research. This is not the case for dialects of Modern Greek, however. Publications in the field are relatively few, and an overall dialect map of Greece non-existent. In this paper I discuss some of the reasons for this. One probable reason for the absence of dialect maps of Greece is political. As a result of the way in which the borders of the modern nation were drawn, a number of areas of the country have no indigenous dialects because until quite recently they were not Greek-speaking; this was formerly a sensitive issue in Greece, and is still not entirely unproblematical. Secondly, on the other hand, a number of Greek-speaking areas remain beyond the borders of contemporary Greece, which, in the Balkan context, makes any discussion of these dialects potentially controversial. Another reason is historical. Many early twentieth-century Greek dialects were spoken in areas which are currently no longer Greek speaking - parts of Bulgaria and Turkey, for example, and, more recently, Cyprus: this too is a painful issue. (To complicate the issue further, some of the Bulgarian and Asai Minor dialects have now been transplanted to areas inside the borders.) Fourthly, Greece, as a country which has very large numbers of islands, poses many cartographical problems. And, finally, there are clearly gaps, if not in knowledge on the part of Greek linguists, then at least in published information. However, the only book-length treatment of Greek dialects, by the doyen of Greek dialectology, Kondosopoulos, contains sufficient information for a dialect map to be drawn, and I will present a preliminary attempt at such a map during the course of my paper.

Varilex, a Survey of Spanish Lexical Variation

Hiroto Ueda
University of Tokio

After one year of preparation, the present research plan started in April 1993 in Veracruz, Mexico, on the occasion of the X Congress of the Linguistic and Philological Association of Latin America (ALFAL). Since then, researchers from a great variety of Spanish speaking countries have participated in this project. Currently, observation and research on the zones of Mexico, Central America, Caribbean countries and Argentina are complete, and work is in progress on the Andean zone (Cusco and La Paz). Data and results have been published in *Varilex* (1-9) and in some general books to report the project. The objective of this research is the observation and investigation of the linguistic panorama in the Spanish speaking urban zones: all kinds of signs, advertisements, graffiti, printed matter as well as non-verbal communication. After ordering the data, a general view of Spanish variation will be obtained. Lexical data are to be published on Internet in the form of a relational data-base. In the year 2002 we will mainly investigate Spanish variation in the United States by:

1. taking photographs and field notes keeping in mind differences with other varieties of Spanish observed in the previous phases of the present plan of investigation,
2. ordering gathered data,

3. publishing in books (report of investigation) and on Internet in data-base form.

A bidimensional matrix of the geographical distribution of the quantified results of the investigation of lexical variation may be objective; however, it is too abstract to reflect the reality of context and situation adequately. For the study of the context, we use the cluster method of analysis and a method of classification of structures developed by Ueda. For the study of the situation we prepare the gathered graphic material of the members of the present survey with the data collected.

The subjunctive in Older Scots

Gabor Ujvarosi
University of Budapest

The study is aimed at investigating the different uses of the subjunctive mood in Older Scots. The corpus in the centre of investigation is a compilation by Jane Slater of 76 non-literary prose texts dating from 1379-1410, in which contexts relevant for the occurrence of the subjunctive mood will be closely looked at. The findings will be critically compared with results of a similar analysis of several contemporary Middle English dialects as well as Old English.

Traditional historical grammars rightly receive criticism because they fail to sufficiently separate form and function of several grammatical phenomena - the *subjunctive* being one of these. The term subjunctive is used to refer to both its syntactic and morphological aspects. The approach employed in the present research is a novel one inasmuch as it sets apart semantic context/conditioning (traditionally classified into *exhortation*, *condition*, *hypothesis*, etc.) from the morphological means that represent this latter on the surface (be it inflectional subjunctive (*qwhilest that the said commissairs mak relacion to bath thair kyngis of this article*) or modal periphrasis (*that the foirsaid William sall do*) or both (*swe so that the trespassours of bothe paries mowe be arestyd*)). In addition, it views the development of the subjunctive as the development of the contexts in which it occurs in the first place and the development of subjunctive morphology in the second.

By means of introducing a uniform taxonomic terminology for conditioning types, the new approach is able to capture changes of environment, which has so far been difficult due to the diversity and incompleteness of taxonomies. It also helps to dispel the long-standing misconception that it is conjunctions that govern subjunctive mood in dependent clauses. Naturally, such a view cannot explain the intuition which identifies the function of the subjunctive in dependent-clause *The king ordered that the prisoner be hanged* with that of non-dependent-clause *God save the Queen* (both being 3rd person hortatives). The idea of conjunctions governing mood must have sprung from the study of cases where a certain conjunction is attested to have occurred invariably with the same mood. The present investigation, by contrast, reveals that mood is entirely environment/context-governed, and conjunctions are chosen to fit the context and the intended meaning afterwards.

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Accent of the Ibuki-jima Dialect of Japanese: the System and the Changes in Progress

Zendo Uwano
University of Tokyo

0. Ibuki-jima is an island located in the Inland Sea of Seto in Japan. It is a very small island, and the current population is about 1000 and falling. However, the Ibuki-jima dialect is well-known for the peculiarity of the accent.

1. The Ibuki-jima dialect has the most complicated accent system in the Japanese dialects. It is a system with three registers (-, \, /) and one lowering kernel /]/, as in (1). Register is a tonal pattern of the accentual unit as a whole. All the other dialects have two registers at most. Accent kernel is a distinctive locus, where the change in pitch occurs: a fall in pitch in the case of the lowering kernel.

(1) phonetic forms	phonological forms
H HH HHH HHHH HHHHH	˘o ˘oo ˘ooo ˘oooo ˘ooooo
F HL HHL HHHL HHHHL	˘o] ˘o]o ˘oo]o ˘ooo]o ˘oooo]o
H-M HM HLL HHLL HHHLL	\o \oo ˘o]oo ˘oo]oo ˘ooo]oo
R LH HHM HLLL HHLLL	/o /oo \ooo ˘o]ooo ˘oo]ooo
LF LLH HHMM HLLLL	/oo] /ooo \oooo ˘o]oooo
LLF HHML HHMMM	/ooo] \ooo]o \oooo
LHL HMLL HHMML	/oo]o \oo]oo \oooo]o
LLLH HHMLL	/oooo \ooo]oo
LLLF (HMLLL)	/oooo] (\ooo]ooo)
LLHL LLLLH	/ooo]o /oooo
LHLL (LLLLF)	/oo]oo (/oooo]o)
LLLHL	/oooo]o
LLHLL	/ooo]oo
LHLLL	/oo]ooo

N.B. H(igh), L(ow), M(id), F(alling), R(ising). (...) means examples unknown. o represents a mora.

2. It is also the most conservative dialect. For example, there was a five-way accentual distinction for disyllabic nouns in the Kyoto dialect of the 12th century, and the Ibuki-jima dialect preserves the distinction, as in (1). All the other dialects, including the present-day Kyoto dialect, have merged at least one of the five categories.

3. However, some accentual changes are now in progress in this dialect. I investigated 27 speakers from different age-groups of the island, ranging from 81 to 12 years old in 1983 and 1984. The number of the questioned items are about 700 consisting mainly from 1 to 3 morae.

There were some phonetic changes, such as HL > HF, but all the speakers were found to preserve all the phonological distinctions investigated. There occurred no changes on the accent system.

However, some grammatical forms and lexical items have changed their accent. Most of them have occurred in speakers younger than 26 years old. The changes on the conjugated forms are explained by analogy. The changes on the lexical items have close relationship with their rare use in ordinary life or with their semantic content.

Attitudes towards local vernacular in the light of regional identity

Johanna Vaattovaara
University of Helsinki

Studies of regional identity carried out in the field of human geography and environmental psychology suggest that regional consciousness and identity are based on regional qualities that differ from qualities of other regions, such as nature (physical environment), historical background, social structure and language or dialect. My aim is to study, from the linguist's perspective, the connection between dialect and regional identity on the level of attitudes as well as language use. What kind and how significant is the role of language (areal dialect) in the emergence, constitution and maintenance of regional identity?

I shall examine the question within the theoretical framework of environmental sciences concerned with the study of regional consciousness and the discipline of sociolinguistics. From the sociolinguistic point of view the study aims at finding support for the hypothesis that (individual) regional consciousness has significance in examining linguistic variation of local vernacular use. By this, some of the problems of explaining in-group linguistic variation could be enlightened. I hypothesise that regional identity is tied with language use on the basis of the dichotomy "we" and "other", and that the strong feeling of *insideness* in the community (Relph 1976; also Hilli-Tammilehto 1998) is represented by using local vernacular variants instead of the ones that are geographically more widely spread.

This paper deals with linguistic attitudes. The questionnaire-data is collected in the Tornio Valley area in Finland, in Pello, a little village on the border of Sweden. The area is both historically and linguistically special, the latter for the fact that in this area the originally intervocalic *h* in non-initial syllables (for example *saunahan* 'to sauna', *käynehet* 'to visit'), that has long ago disappeared from most of the Finnish dialects, is here not only maintained but linguistically developed further and spread into new phonotactic positions. In the present spoken dialect of Tornio Valley, the *h* no longer occurs in the intervocalic position, but in (1) the post consonantal position after syncope has taken place (*saunha(a)n*, *käynhe(e)t*) or, after further development of metathesis, (2) the position in

which the *h* has moved in front of the preceding voiced consonant (*sauhnaan*, *käyhneet*), on certain phonotactic conditions. The use of (3) the assimilative variant (*saunnaan*, *käynneet*) is now increasing and the use of the syncope-variant is decreasing. The modest use of the (4) standard variant (loss of *h*) has been somewhat stable for 100 years. From the sociolinguistic point of view, the in-group variation of the use of *h* seems problematic: occupation and gender correlations are quite puzzling. At least at the level of self-reporting, the perspective of regional consciousness sheds some light on this.

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Distances among language varieties: subjective versus objective reality

Renée van Bezooijen
Nijmegen University

What intuitions do non-linguists have about linguistic distances among language varieties and to what extent do these subjective ideas correspond with objective linguistic reality? These two questions served as the point of departure of an empirical study conducted in the Dutch language area. To quantify intuitions, 117 informants from different parts of the Netherlands were given a map of the Netherlands, Flanders, Germany, France and the United Kingdom with the request to indicate for each province and country the linguistic distance to standard Dutch. The area with the greatest distance was to be assigned a value of 100 and standard Dutch, i.e. the reference variety, a value of 0; all other areas values were to receive values in between these two extremes. The individual ratings were averaged to obtain a stable measure of subjectively estimated distance. Levenshtein measures were used as an objective representation of linguistic distance. Levenshtein distances (Nerbonne et al., 1996) are obtained by calculating the minimum number of steps (substitutions, additions, deletions) that are necessary to convert one string of phonemes (i.e. word form) into another, and can thus be conceived as a measure of phonological (dis-)similarity. Input to the Levenshtein algorithm were the designations of 100 common objects in 30 language varieties (25 non-standard dialects spoken in the various provinces of the Netherlands and Flanders and the 5 standard varieties Dutch, Frisian, German, French, and English), spoken by native speakers and transcribed by the author. The objective distance between pairs of varieties was expressed as the average distance between corresponding word forms. For the purpose of the present study, only the Levenshtein distances between standard Dutch and the other language varieties were used. The correspondence between subjective and objective reality was assessed by means of product-moment

correlations. In my presentation I will describe the methodological steps taken to answer the central research questions and discuss the main results of the study.

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An acoustic study of /ɛi/ in male and female avant-garde Dutch

Vincent J. van Heuven Loulou Edelman & Renée van Bezooijen

University of Leiden Nijmegen University

Real-life observations suggest the emergence of an avant-garde variety of Standard Dutch, called Polder Dutch (www.hum.uva.nl/poldernederlands/english/main_engels.htm). Crucially, the new variety is a nation-wide sociolect rather than a regional dialect. Its features involve the lowering of the onset of the three diphthongs /ɛi, œy, au/, most characteristically of /ɛi/ (possibly accompanied by lengthening of the onset portion, and/or stronger diphthongisation). The development is typically a change 'from below' led by younger, highly educated women, with a career in politics, science or culture, and with a particular ability to defy established norms.

Our study was set up to check the impressionistic observations experimentally. Spontaneous speech samples were recorded from a non-conformist bi-weekly Dutch talk show televised in 1999 and 2000. All the native Dutch guests (16 males, 16 females) were included in the sample. Per speaker 10 tokens of stressed /ɛi/ in obstruent-obstruent environments were selected, as well as five similar tokens of the point vowels /i/ and /a/ (included as reference vowels affording extrinsic vowel normalisation).

Duration (in ms) as well as first and second formant frequencies (F1 and F2, in Barks) were measured. Formants were measured at the temporal midpoints in /i/ and /a/ and at two points in the diphthong /ɛi/: at 25 ('onset') and at 75 percent ('offset') of the vowel duration. Per speaker the degree of diphthongisation was expressed as the Euclidean distance (in the F1-by-F2 subspace) between the mean onset and mean offset of the glide relative to the distance between the reference vowels /i/ and /a/. Similarly, openness of /ɛi/ onset was expressed as a percentage of the trajectory between the reference vowels.

The results revealed no overall effects of sex. In a subsequent analysis, however, the 16 males and 16 females were separately rank-ordered along each of the three dependent variables, and dichotomised into strong versus weak accent categories. It then appeared that the strongly accented women have significantly lower onsets of /ɛi/ than the male counterparts. In the weak-accent group, the males' /ɛi/ showed significantly less diphthongisation.

We conclude that (i) the lowering of /ɛi/ (and similar diphthongs), but not its extent of diphthongisation or lengthening, is the phonetic feature differentiating between avant-garde and

Standard Dutch, and (ii) the women lead this sound change 'from below'. We predict that the Polder Dutch variety will in time supersede traditional Standard Dutch as the norm.

Distinguishing Types of Inversion in Middle English.

Anthony Warner
University of York

English has lost the general V2 order found elsewhere in Germanic, but still shows inversion of auxiliaries in interrogatives, after initial negatives, etc. It also retains inverted orders with other verbs (and verb groups) in a further series of contexts where particular elements precede (Green 1980, Stockwell 1984). In some of these inversion is obligatory, in others it is optional.

1. At issue is Section 1401(a) of the Controlled Substances Act.
*At issue Section 1401(a) of the Controlled Substances Act is.
2. a. In the year 1748 died one of the most powerful of the new masters of India.
In the year 1748 one of the most powerful of the new masters of India died.
b. With success would come wealth.
With success wealth would come.

In Middle English there is considerable variation across a wider range of contexts, including contexts and clause types which have not retained inversion into Present-day English, as in (3) (see references).

- 3 a. And then seid the deuelles to ham ...
'and then the devils said to them ...'
b. And then the deuelles seiden to ham ...
A Revelation of Purgatory by an Unknown Fifteenth-Century Woman Visionary. ed M P Harley. 1985: lines 534, 482.

This raises the question of the extent to which these various contexts were distinct in earlier English, a problem discussed by Stockwell 1984, who came to preliminary conclusions, but pointed out the need for further investigation. It also raises the methodological issue of how this can most satisfactorily (and economically) be determined. This is clearly important for the general history of V2 order in English, and it is crucial for accounts of the dialectal distribution of the special syntax of subject pronouns which Middle English inherits from Old English (discussed in Kroch and Taylor 1997, Warner 1999, 2001).

I have collected a substantial corpus of late Middle English clauses containing contexts which show variation between finite-subject and subject-finite order. In this paper I establish some of the parameters of variation, and use variationist methodology (Goldvarb, SPSS) to group contexts according to lexical and grammatical distinctions, including distinctions potentially relevant to discourse (Birner 1994). Ultimately I distinguish three major types of inversion outside questions. Distinctions will be justified on grammatical grounds, from the likely discourse properties of the types, from the different incidence of these types, and from differences in their diachronic behaviour.

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What if there are no dialect boundaries? - Dialect maps revisited.

Monika Wegmann
University of Zurich

Apart from the ambiguity of the term itself, the use of 'isoglosses' in dialect geography has caused much controversy - mainly in the States (cf. for example Davis/Houck and Frazer, Kretzschmar, etc.). Debate on this problem has produced new methods in both data evaluation and representation. I will not, however, deal with innovative methods in particular nor primarily concentrate on the discussion in the States, but rather focus on traditional dialect geography in England. Discussions there do not appear to be as heated as they are in the States, despite the fact that 'British' material calls for critical examination.

Inspired by Chambers and Trudgill's book *Dialectology*, I will make an attempt to fill in the gap mentioned by the two authors: "Isoglosses and the other linguistic phenomena which comprise boundaries have not yet received a full, book-length study" (103). In my paper (based on my MA thesis in progress) I will delve into traditional dialect geographers' maps and methods in order to examine the isoglosses and dialect boundaries drawn so far in the area of East Anglia and the South-East. This part of England seems to me to be interesting both from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view. A comparison of maps dating from the late 19th to the 20th century shows that nobody has ever taken into account 'all' types of isoglosses (i.e. phonological, grammatical, lexical) before drawing dialect boundaries, although doing so is usually considered necessary in theory. This, consequently, leads to the question of what the differences between the various attempts are: what is the influence of the various methods employed? How do we have to assess the significance of different kinds of isoglosses, and are we right to treat phonological isoglosses as more important than, e.g., lexical ones? Is it justified to fix dialect areas by drawing dialect boundaries or are there nothing but transition areas?

It is likely that our problem with "[i]soglosses and the other linguistic phenomena which comprise boundaries" is first and foremost a problem of definition. But how are we to define isoglosses and dialect boundaries in order to solve our problem? A comparison of older and more recent maps might bring us closer to a possible solution.

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Sociolinguistic Complexities in Slavic-Lithuanian Micro-Areals along the Lithuanian-Byelorussian Border

(A Reconstruction Attempt for the 20th Century)

Björn Wiemer, Anna Zielinska & Vytautas Kardelis
University of Konstanz

Despite a considerable amount of articles on the so-called 'polszczyzna kresowa' ('Polish of the borderlands') in present-day area Lithuania, southern Latvia, and northern Belarus', Northern Lithuania is a nearly uninvestigated area in terms of the mutual effects of regional dialects and standard languages in the present and past. There is practically no research that takes into consideration the interplay between the varieties of Slavic and Lithuanian (both in its regional and standard form). In particular, the area to the north and east of Švencionys (Lithuania) along the Byelorussian border up to the Latvian border has not yet been adequately researched in terms of its sociolinguistic and dialectological complexities. Special consideration of the ever-changing diachronic and regional relationships between bilingual and multilingual speakers of Lithuanian, Polish, Russian and Byelorussian has been especially neglected. Two of our field research projects conducted in September 2000 and 2001 in and around the small towns of Adutiškis (east of Švencionys) and Rimše (northeast of Ignalina) are dedicated to these border regions. These expeditions took place within the scope of the Project B-4 of the Special Research Unit 471 (SFB 471 Universität Konstanz, vgl. <http://ling.uni-konstanz.de/pages/proj/sfb471/naveng.html>). Their aim was not just to collect language data of all the language varieties spoken there, but also to systematically question residents about the present sociolinguistic situation and its historic background. We were also able to obtain historic and ethnographic data. During these expeditions information on nearly the entire area was systematically recorded and, thanks to interviews with some of the oldest speakers of the respective dialects, we are now able to reconstruct the sociolinguistic development of this multilingual dialectal area for the 20th century.

On one hand, it is remarkable that the regions around Adutiškis and Rimše are clearly differentiated from each other in terms of the role that Byelorussian plays there (and used to play before the Second World War). Along with that, there is a strip of land (on the same latitude as Tverecius) on which Lithuanian dialects were predominant even before the war and practically no varieties of Slavic were spoken. On the other hand, the social relevance of Polish and Lithuanian alternates approximately every 10 km from the Latvian border southward along the present-day Byelorussian-Lithuanian border. Except for the rapidly vanishing archaic Russian of isolatedly living monolingual Old Believers, Russian seems to only play a mediating role (with the exception of Visaginas) and is not reinforced by any independent population groups. Finally, it is difficult to judge the role of Byelorussian, whose influence is evident in almost all language varieties, but is hardly spoken anymore as a primary language.

Divergence at a political border: Language attitudes and dialect knowledge and use across the Northern Irish/Irish border

Simone Zwickl
University of Heidelberg

Processes of globalisation have affected the position and status of traditional dialects and have often led to dialect convergence. However, the establishments of new borders and upcoming national

movements in Europe have also caused divergence where contacts between peoples ceased or movements of distancing the own speech from the speech of another society have been in effect. The establishment of the political border between Northern Ireland and Ireland, for instance, has not only affected the political situation in Northern Ireland and has created a polarised society north of the border but has also created two different states on either side of the border. Although being mainly a political border cutting off three counties of the province of Ulster and adding them to the republic of Ireland, cultural diversities and different national identities on either side have also led to changes in attitudes and will possibly change the vernacular.

The present paper draws on advanced statistical methodology to investigate the knowledge and use of dialect words and attitudes towards dialect in two exemplary towns across the Northern Irish/Irish border. Data were obtained by interviews in Armagh and Monaghan. The focus will be on the divergence of dialectal lexical items, on the change of the knowledge and use and on respondents' associations with particular items. To investigate the process of divergence further, attitudinal data is compared with and correlated to the data of language change. This gives information about divergence as an active process due to distancing the own dialect items from the ones across the border and/or divergence due to a lack of contact between the two towns.

The methodological focus will be on the use of multivariate statistical methods, such as non-parametric ANOVA, cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling, in combination with qualitative formula and interpretations. The interrelationship between language change and language attitudes is of theoretical importance and adds to the discussion on the impact of attitudes on language change.

Posters

A Linguistic Time-capsule: The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English

Will Allen, Karen Corrigan, Hermann Moisl and Charley Rowe
University of Newcastle

Joan Beal
University of Newcastle

The projected Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (NECTE), supported by an AHRB, Resource Enhancement Award (2001-2004) will make two large speech samples, collected in 1969 and 1994, respectively, available for consultation by scholars via the WWW. The earlier sample is that gathered during the *Tyneside Linguistic Survey* (TLS) (funded by the SSRC) (Pellowe *et al.* 1972; Strang 1968) and the 1994 recordings were collected for an ESRC-funded project (*Phonological Variation and Change* (PVC)) in the same region (Milroy *et al.* 1997). The former was originally recorded using reel-to-reel audio equipment and consists of 86 loosely-structured interviews which average 45 minutes in length. The speakers were drawn from a stratified random sample of Gateshead (the part of the Tyneside conurbation on the south bank of the Tyne). The more recent PVC corpus was collected using high quality audio tape-recorders/microphones and is currently in the form of 20 DAT tapes, each of which averages 60 minutes in length. In both corpora the informants are divided between various social class groupings of male and female speakers and represent young, middle and old age-cohorts.

Various small grants prior to October 2001 permitted the enhancement of the resource in various ways, for instance, the transfer of the TLS recordings to audio cassette (analog) format. However, in their present state, both corpora are of limited use for a variety of reasons, in particular, the fact that access to the resources is restricted to individuals who are in a position to visit the University of Newcastle in person.

These two samples, when combined electronically as we propose, will provide a very significant resource for anyone interested in corpus linguistics, dialect geography, historical (English) linguistics and sociolinguistics. For example, research by Britain (1991), Beal (1993), Brown and Miller (1980), Filppula (1999), Tagliamonte (1998) and Trudgill (1996), *inter alia* has demonstrated that dialects like 'Geordie' can have a more direct relationship with earlier forms of the language. Thus, NECTE preserves subject contact relative constructions which are not extant in the contemporary Standard (cf. Beal & Corrigan (to appear)). Unfortunately, most recent large-scale electronic corpora, such as the *British National Corpus* described in Aston and Burnard (1998), have focused on collecting samples of the latter making it difficult to trace the development of certain relic grammatical, lexical and phonological variables. This electronic database would, therefore, permit researchers who are interested in the history of English to measure and document linguistic change with a significantly higher degree of confidence. In addition, dialectologists researching the grammatical, lexical and phonological aspects of indigenous and exogenous English vernaculars would benefit from access to such a sample for comparative purposes when addressing questions relating to:- dialect spread/contact/levelling/convergence/divergence. Most of the data currently available for comparison is culled from dialect dictionaries/surveys such as the *Survey of English Dialects* (Orton and Halliday 1963). The latter is now considerably outdated given the economic and social restructuring, increased geographical mobility and the urbanization/regeneration programmes which characterised Britain in the latter half of the twentieth century. These changes have created a trend towards the loss of traditional regional dialects and the rise of, compromise varieties combining relict features, novel local forms and characteristics adopted from supra-local varieties including the Standard accent/dialect. (cf. Britain 1997, Cheshire et al. 1999, Labov 1994, Milroy et al. 1994, Tagliamonte 1997, Watt 1998 and various contributions to Foulkes and Docherty 1999).

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The Hungarian Deaf Community as a Linguistic and Cultural Minority

Helga Hattyár
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

The Hungarian Deaf population with its 60 000 members constitutes the third largest linguistic minority group in Hungary. In their everyday life they use two languages: Hungarian Sign Language (HSL) within the Deaf community, and Hungarian in its spoken and/or written form when communicating with hearing people. Just like any other natural languages, HSL shows variability. It has, for example, seven dialects, which developed around the seven schools of the Deaf in Hungary.

Even though HSL is the first language of many of the Deaf and this is the most easily used language for them which mediates the most information, the Hungarian Deaf community is not recognized as a linguistic minority group and HSL is not recognized as the language of the community, furthermore HSL is not regarded as a natural language. The education of the Deaf in Hungary follows this ideology: the main goal is the acquisition of (spoken and written) Hungarian with the suppression of the use of HSL in classroom communication and with the rejection of bilingual educational methods. As a consequence of this educational practice, the development of linguistic and communicative competence and access to information and knowledge are highly restricted. Among other things, this official educational attitude and practice force subtractive bilingualism and could lead to language shift, but certain social, anthropological, and linguistic factors guarantee the maintenance of HSL and bilingualism. However, there is a great need for changes in ideologies, attitudes and education in order to guarantee access to and use of the first language of the Deaf in their everyday life and in education.

The Change of Pitch Pattern in Progress observed in a dialect of Japanese

Ichiro Ota
Kagoshima University

The dialect of Kagoshima, although it has already lost many of traditional dialectal characteristics, shows us that, under the strong effect of the standard variety, old features are being reorganized and new characteristics are emerging. The rise and fall of sentence-final pitch pattern is one of them, and seems to be spreading from the younger generation to the elderly people. This presentation aims to investigate how this change is being embedded in the social structure and the linguistic structure by referring to the pitch accent system of words and the pragmatic function of the sentence-final pitch pattern.

Phraseology of the Low German dialect "Westmünsterländisch"

Elisabeth Piirainen

The Low German dialect called "Westmünsterländisch" is located in a small area at the edge of the German speaking region near the Netherlands. Due to the border area it persisted as quite an archaic dialect. Up to the present this dialect is used in some private domain of an agrarian society, it exists almost exclusively in an oral form and has no written tradition. The empirical basis of this study extends to conventional figurative expressions, which are part of the lexical system (i.e. idioms or multiword expressions). More than 4500 dialectological idioms have been gathered by methods of field research, by questioning the remaining speakers of this dialect about their knowledge of idioms and about their mental images evoked by the figurative expressions.

The interpretation of the data aims to feature the conceptual and semantic specifics of this phraseology, showing a variety of language, which has never been described before. The dialectical idioms are therefore described in a theoretical framework of cognitive semantics and semiotics of culture. Different wide sections of phraseology of this dialect are analysed in detail. The analysis of complete semantic fields and metaphorical domains afford an insight into world knowledge and cultural knowledge of the remaining generation of native speakers of this dialect.

The equivalent parts of the standard High German serve as a basis of comparison, which demonstrates the autonomy of the dialectical phraseology and points out obvious differences. It is one of the prerequisites, not to study some isolated examples, which may attract attention, but to examine the conventional figurative expressions of the dialect as a whole. For example, we investigated into the conceptualisation of the HOUSE as it can be revealed in figurative expressions of this Low German dialect which, although being located in Central Europe, shows its own specific cultural conceptualisation. More than 60 idioms are based on the imagery of the ancient peasant house in that region of Germany: It is the half-timbered house with large and high constructions of beams, which contained the cowsheds, stables and the whole harvest below one roof, in one large room. Despite of the change of the dwelling culture the concept of the former one-room hall-house seems to be present in the consciousness of people speaking this old Low German dialect.

German Minorities in Slovakia

Ilpo Tapani Piirainen
University of Münster

Slovakia is an old cultural area in the middle of Europe, which was inhabited by different races. Since the 6th century the Slavic people have settled down in this area. Thereafter, the country belonged to Hungary. Large areas were devastated through the attack of the Tartars i.e. Mongolian in 1240/41. Afterwards an immigration of German speaking farmers, craftsmen and traders began. In the northern area of Hungary, the present country of Slovakia, Slavs, Germans, Magyars and Jews lived side-by-side friendly and peacefully and mutually set up the country over the centuries up to the World War II. The German minority included never more than 250.000 - 300.000 people; in the early modern age it made up about a quarter of the whole population. Although, according to the small in number German minority the Germans had a big economic, cultural, social and linguistic influence, mainly in those areas where they formed the dominant part of the population.

Commencing in the 14th and increasing in the 15th century the German language took over from Latin as the official language in the present area of Slovakia. Up to the middle of the 19th century German was used as the official language mainly in the centres of German population (in and around Pressburg/Bratislava in the west, in the middle-Slovakian i.e. former low Hungarian mining towns and in the area of Zips/Spis in the north-east). Apart from a few fires and destruction through the war there was hardly any damage to the archives, so that up to now several million pages of German hand-written documents from the early New-High-German period were preserved in the Slovakian archives. In Slovakia up to the World War II there was - at least in the centres of German population - a German language school system. In 1945/46 most of the German speaking population had to leave their country, so that nowadays the middle-Bavarian and Silesian dialects are spoken only by a few thousand, mostly elderly people in Slovakia.

Multilayered Linguistic Variation: three projects on variation in Finnish

Liisa Raevaara, Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Eeva Yli-Luukko & Pirkko Nuolijärvi
Research Institute for the Languages in Finland

This poster presentation introduces three research projects on the linguistic variation and linguistic construction of interactional practices in spoken Finnish, carried out in the unit of spoken language at the Research Institute for the Languages in Finland.

The follow-up study of dialects of Finnish was started in 1989. The goal of this sociolinguistic and dialectological longitudinal study is to examine the development of regional dialects in real time in 10 rural municipalities at the interval of 10 years, using the traditional dialect interview method. During the second round of the project, started in 1999, the study also aims at developing new types of data collection methods (coffee table conversations, service encounters etc.) for opening up possibilities to examine the situational variation of regional varieties. The study focuses on phonological and morphological variation.

The study of intonation of Finnish carries out basic research on some central features of the prosody in Finnish dialects. It aims at examining and describing, for example, acoustic components of sentence stress and the tonal and rhythmic construction of speech, by using the methods of phonetics and linguistic analysis of narratives.

The study of interaction in service encounters, started in 2002, examines interactional practices used in service encounters and regional and social variation in these practices. It explores the interface between conversation analytic methods and methods used in variationist research, and the contextual character of linguistic structures. The main data of the project will be collected in Helsinki in 2002, in two socially different parts of the city. Both encounters within the public and the private sector will be videotaped (e.g. encounters at the social insurance offices and at R-kiosks). Furthermore, the types of encounters will be selected so that comparable encounters can be found across the country. In the pilot study of the project, different kinds of service encounters have already been taped in the area of western Finnish dialects (the area of central Häme, Pälkäne, 1999) and in the area of eastern Finnish dialects (the area of eastern Savo dialects, Liperi, 2000). In 2002, service encounters will also be videotaped in the northern part of Finland (the area of Perä-Pohjola, the city of Tornio).

Individual variation in a contact between closely-related languages: the case of Ingrian Finns in Estonia

Helka Riionheimo & Ossi Kokko
University of Joensuu

The poster deals with Ingrian Finnish, a dialect of Finnish which resembles the dialects of Southeast Finland but has been originally spoken in the territory of Ingria in Russia (around St. Petersburg). The informants of the present study were born in Ingria in the 1910s or 1920s, grew up in the Finnish-speaking rural families and in most cases got at least part of their elementary education in Finnish. During World War II, they were forced to leave their homes, and after the war, their families were settled in the internal parts of Russia, from where they soon fled to Estonia. In Estonia, the Ingrian Finns have been a small minority with a low social status. The domain of mother tongue has become very restricted, and nowadays Ingrian Finnish can be described as a dying language, as it has seldom been completely transmitted to the second generation. Estonian was learned easily by the Ingrian Finns because it closely resembled Finnish, and because of its prestigious status, it has become the dominant language for most of them, while their mother tongue is decaying.

The inter- and intra-individual variation among the informants is wide, due to different historical and social background factors and personal qualities, and the present-day Ingrian Finnish is describable as a group of individual idiolects rather than a uniform dialect. While some informants have managed to preserve a fairly fluent command over their dialect, many others have begun to lose their mother tongue and their Finnish is characterised by various kinds of attrition tendencies. The intensity of Estonian influences also varies so that some informants massively fix Ingrian Finnish and Estonian elements while some have kept their Finnish relatively free from Estonian interference. Finally, differences are caused by the influence of modern standard Finnish, which is observable in the speech of several informants.

The poster presents a short overview of the historical background of the Ingrian Finns and their linguistic situation in Estonia. The individual differences are illustrated by the linguistic profiles of three different speakers: a dialect speaker, a speaker with heavy Estonian interference and a speaker influenced by the standard Finnish. These profiles are based on article which we are preparing to provide a general overview of the individual variation and a background to our dissertations which handle variation in a small set of morphological patterns: past tense formation (Riionheimo) and local case inflection (Kokko). Our analysis is based on material recorded in Estonia 1990-1996 within the Ingrian Finnish research project of the University of Joensuu.

Black South African English

Lucia Siebers
University of Essen

The study of English in South Africa has gained increasing attention in recent years, particularly with regard to Black South African English. However, some fields of research remain yet unexplored. The term Black South African English (henceforth BSAE) seems to suggest that this variety exists across regional as well as ethnic borders. Yet, there is no agreement among experts at present as to what precisely characterizes BSAE. The issue in question is which features of this

variety might point to an influence of the mother tongue and which can rather be described as second language phenomena. Nine of the eleven official languages in South Africa are indigenous African languages the mother tongue of which speakers are in contact with the English language and thus can be considered as speakers of BSAE. Hence it seems to be vital to pay due attention to the versatility of this variety and one important first step to achieve this might be to investigate one particular group of speakers of BSAE who share the same mother tongue and ethnic background. One such sub-variety of BSAE which will be of particular interest in this context is Xhosa English, Xhosa being one of the Bantu languages mainly spoken in the Eastern Cape.

The purpose of this poster is to present an analysis of Xhosa speakers conversing in English. With regard to the data a corpus of spoken Xhosa English will serve as the basis of this analysis. The corpus consists of approximately 300,000 words. The recordings are divided into several categories and most of the recordings are informal interviews. The analysis will focus on discourse features of Xhosa English. Hence particular emphasis will be put on the interactional strategies of the interlocutors.

Relevant aspects that call for further investigation in this context are the turn-taking processes, turn signals and turn length, listener activity such as back-channel items, overlapping speech, interruption etc. In a second step the tentative results will be compared with discourse features of the so-called New Englishes, such as Indian English and Pakistani English. It is hoped that such a comparison will contribute to identifying those discourse features which are due to the transfer of discourse rules from Xhosa and those which can also be found in other second language varieties of English.

"Über Grenzen hinaus: Das `Wörterbuch der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich (WBÖ)` als Informationsmedium über Belegmaterial unterschiedlicher Mundarten"

Eveline Wandl-Vogt

Diese Posterserie gliedert sich in das Thema "Dialects across borders" ein und zeigt am Beispiel des "Wörterbuchs der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich (WBÖ)" auf, wie in diesem Großlandschaftswörterbuch

1. durch den Bezug auf (historisch gewachsene) Mundartgebiete, (aktuelle) politische Grenzen relativiert werden
2. durch ein umfangreiches Archiv mit einer Fülle historischer Belege die diachrone Komponente entsprechend gewürdigt wird
3. durch die Differenzierung in bäuerlichen Wortschatz einerseits und städtische Sprach- und Sachverhalte andererseits ein weiter gesellschaftlich-sozialer Rahmen gespannt wird. Hinzu kommt der nicht zu vernachlässigende Fach- und Sonderwortschatz, der - ebenso wie die Vielfalt in der Pflanzennamensynonymik - die Vielseitigkeit und Kreativität der Mundartsprechenden widerspiegelt.

Die Poster sollen dementsprechend diese Punkte veranschaulichen:

- Ad 1 Das Bearbeitungsgebiet des WBÖ
Das WBÖ und seine Kontaktsprachen, Lehnwortschatz im WBÖ

- Ad 2 Beispiele für historischen Wortschatz
sein Weiterleben in der Mundart und seine Berücksichtigung im WBÖ
- Ad 3 Beispiele für Wortschatz unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsgruppen (Bäuerl. Wortschatz, Schülersprache, Gaunersprache, Bergmannssprache etc.)

Neue Wege für die Dialektwörterbuch-Redaktion: Die `Datenbank der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich (DBÖ)´

Eveline Wandl-Vogt

Diese Posterserie fügt sich in die Thematik der Session "New Methods in Dialectology" ein und erläutert die "Datenbank der bairischen Mundarten in Österreich (DBÖ)", die am Institut für Österreichische Dialekt- und Namenlexika in Wien im Softwareprogramm TUSTEP konzipiert und erstellt worden ist.

In mehreren Einzelpostern soll Folgendes erläutert werden:

1. **ÜBERSICHT:**
DIE STRUKTUR DER DBÖ
Der Aufbau der Datenbank
Grob- und Feinstrukturierung: d.h. Subdatenbanken einerseits und Datenbankmaske des Einzelbelegs andererseits
2. **EINBLICK:**
LOGISCHER AUFBAU UND VERKNÜPFUNG:
VOM MATERIAL ZUM WÖRTERBUCHARTIKE
 - A. Vereinheitlichung vs. Vielfalt
Der Weg vom Einzelbeleg zu den einzelnen Belegdatenbanken
Das sehr unterschiedliche Material des WBÖ und seine Widergabe in der DBÖ ohne Verlust der spezifischen Belegstruktur
 - B. Interpretation und Zusammenfassung vs. Individualität und Vereinzelung
Der Weg vom Einzelbeleg in der Datenbank zum Wörterbuchartikel
Datenbank und am Institut entwickelte "WBÖ - Artikelprogramme"
3. **AUSBLICK:**
ABFRAGELOGIK UND BENUTZERHILFEN:
NEUE MÖGLICHKEITEN DURCH NEUE MEDIEN
Die DBÖ als Meilenstein auf dem Weg des WBÖ vom "Nachschlagewörterbuch" zum "Abfragewörterbuch"

Writing in Shetland Dialect

Steven Williams
Mitthögskolan, Östersund

During the last few years, there has been a growing awareness of and interest in dialect writing within the Shetland community, the group of islands which constitute the northerly most point of Great Britain. The dialect today is a product of the merging of two cultures, Scandinavian and Scots. In schools, time is devoted to writing stories, dialogues, poetry in Shetland dialect, and in other fields dialect writing is also encouraged and carried out. This comes at a time when some of the structures of the dialect are undergoing change; the decline of the distinction in the second person singular pronoun 'du' and 'you' of the traditional dialect is one example. The aim of this poster is to look at the use of and attitudes to dialect writing in different kinds of written material found in books, magazines and newspapers, which is part of the work being carried out on my doctoral thesis at the English department at Umea university, Sweden.

Workshops and Special Sessions

An Electronic Atlas of Irish English

The Art of Making the Best use of Bad Data: Irish-English Folklore Corpora as Evidence of Syntactic Change.

Karen Corrigan
University of Newcastle

The volume of research on Irish-English in the late twentieth century (cf. Filppula 1995 and Kallen 1994, 1997, for instance) and the extent to which the variety has been appealed to in "core linguistics" (cf. Harris 1985, 1995; Henry 1995; Wilson & Henry 1998) gives considerable support to the need for an Electronic Atlas of this unique variety of English created by historical language contact between speakers of non-standard English and dialects of Irish Gaelic. The long-term project to which this paper relates has three overarching aims: (1) to undertake new fieldwork in the region using sociolinguistic and dialectological methods; (2) to enhance existing resources, many of which have never been made available to the linguistics community, despite their relevance to dialect change in real-time, for example and (3) to catalogue and collate existing resources by means of a nationwide survey similar to that recently proposed by Prof. John Widdowson for the UK.

The paper that I will present in the Workshop focuses on the methodological issues associated with enhancement projects of the kind described in (2) above by examining syntactic variation and change in a corpus collected in Northern Ireland between 1942 and 1974. It is in an electronic format and comprises a 52,185 word sample of 206 oral narratives recorded using a participant observation method. The collector, Michael J. Murphy, a native of SA, Northern Ireland, undertook the project amongst his neighbours, relatives and friends on behalf of the Irish Folklore Commission. The corpus is stratified by gender (14 females and 48 males) and since the average age of the informants is 67 (range=44-95) the cohort could be said to constitute what Eckert (1997: 165) has termed the "retiring and retired age group."

The paper will concentrate on those aspects of the corpus which in Labov's (1994: 11) sense might be described as "bad data", namely:-

- The reliance on recording techniques which do not match those of current sociolinguistic
- The unequal distribution of the corpus across real time and gender.
- The low frequency of certain syntactic tokens and the synonymy problem.

However, I will argue that there are very strong arguments that the data is "good" enough for certain types of data-mining and analysis and the paper concludes with a demonstration of how this corpus can be used to inform current debates about the inter-play between external and internal causes of syntactic change; the apparent time construct and the role of women in leading syntactic innovation and change.

An Atlas of Irish English

Raymond Hickey
University of Essen

The purpose of this workshop is to report on a new project designed to fulfil a need often expressed by scholars working in the field of Irish English. Despite the increasing quantity of research on Irish English which has emerged in the past two decades there is as yet no atlas of Irish English, despite two promising projects in this area which were unfortunately never brought to completion (cf. Adams et al. 1973 and Henry 1958). The current project is intended to fill this gap and provide scholars either working in Irish English, or those wishing to engage in it, with an atlas which will provide structured data on the phonology, syntax and lexis of the English language as spoken in the north and south of Ireland.

The atlas will be available in electronic form (possibly in book form later). The section on phonology, A Sound Atlas of Irish English, has been compiled by Raymond Hickey and is already complete (see information on presentations below). The software interface for the phonology section of the atlas is already finished and available on a CD-ROM, the programmes of which can be installed on any computer running under Microsoft Windows (again see information on presentations below). Apart from the section on sounds, there is also a considerable amount of textual material which has been, or will be presently, integrated into sections of the atlas. This includes the digitally processed material from The Tape Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English (a partially completed survey from the late 1970's and early 1980's) which has also been concluded. Many of these are transcribed texts illustrating grammatical features of Irish English from certain locations around the country.

As it is available in CD-ROM form, users of the atlas can analyse the sound files themselves and can, of course, get updates when these become available. The compilers of the atlas are prepared to distribute it to interested scholars who register with them, stating their university affiliation. By these means they can keep track of what institutions and individuals are using the atlas and inform them of updates. There is also a homepage for the atlas on which the design and purpose of the project are outlined, please consult the Irish English Resource Centre at <http://www.uni-essen.de/IERC>.

The current workshop will introduce the atlas, its data and related issues to participants. The conveners will state the purpose of the atlas and describe the procedures used in the collection of data. The material already collected for the atlas will be demonstrated, using both sound and text files. The workshop is intended to involve the participants actively, for instance, by showing how questions they might have about Irish English can be answered using the atlas. Searches through the lexical databases incorporated in the atlas can be carried out and retrieving grammatical information from the transcribed texts can be demonstrated. Emphasis will also be put on how information can be extracted from the atlas and then transferred to another programme for further editing, e.g. in a word processor or sound track editor.

Electronic Resources for Irish English

John M. Kirk
Queen's University of Belfast

Over the years, I have compiled or am compiling several electronic resources for the study of Irish English (and more widely for studies for spoken and written varieties of English):

The Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech
Cf. Kirk 1990/1991, Kirk 1992
The Irish Component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Ireland)
Cf. Kallen and Kirk 2001
<http://www.hku.hk/english/research/ice/iceire.htm>
The Troubles Poetry Corpus
Cf. Kirk 1997, 1999, Ormsby 1992
Ulster Dialect Database
Cf. Macafee 1996
Word Atlas of Northern Ireland
Cf. Kirk 1999, Doherty 2001

In this paper, I will describe these resources including any mark-up and annotation and illustrate how they have been used or may be used by academic researchers. I will also discuss how these resources are made or to be made available, and with what software they may be exploited. I will also briefly refer to new possibilities currently under consideration:

A Corpus of Ulster-Scots Texts
Cf. <http://www.ulsterscotsagency.com/>
<http://www.arts.ulst.ac.uk/institute/research.html>
A Transcribed Corpus of Southern Hiberno-English Speech

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Northern Irish English phonology: research past and yet to come

Kevin McCafferty
University of Tromsø

Having attracted the attention of dialectologists and sociolinguists as well as phonologists, Northern varieties of Irish English have been studied more than the Southern dialects. This paper surveys existing research on the phonology of English in the north of Ireland and identifies a number of areas for further research that might be served by an Atlas of Irish English, some of which are pointed out below.

Thanks to the work of Robert Gregg in mapping Ulster-Scots dialects in the 1960s and the Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech (TRS), which covered the north as a whole in the 1970s, the northern Counties of Ireland have been mapped to the extent that we are reasonably certain where to locate the geographical boundary between Northern Irish-English (NIE) and Southern Irish-English. We also know the approximate limits of the major regional varieties-Ulster-Scots, Mid-Ulster English and South Ulster English-within the north, although the reality of the existence of South Ulster English, which shares phonological features with both NIE and SIE, has recently been questioned. The Institute of Ulster Scots Studies at Magee College has funding for a survey of Ulster-Scots, which, if successful, might also be significant from the point of view of establishing contemporary isoglosses between regions in which Scots predominates and those in which a more Anglicised variety of NIE obtains. In addition, plans to build an electronic atlas using

the TRS data have been afoot at Queen's University for some time now and this too may well feed coherently into an Electronic Atlas project of the kind we envisage.

By collating existing data and filling in gaps, an Atlas of Irish English could contribute answers to questions relating to the extent to which the three regional varieties diverge from one another. Given the recent state recognition of Ulster-Scots under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement, it is also relevant to address the issue of the degree to which Scots has influenced Mid- and South Ulster English, as well as the question of just how Northern English or Northern British the 'Scots' influence might, in fact, be. This would, of course, require detailed comparison with the North of England (which may well be facilitated by the planned Beal, Corrigan, Honeybone, McMahon project on urban Northern Englishes), as well as work on the English migration to Ulster and the extent of Scots and English population mixing in Mid and South Ulster.

Supplementing the background dialect surveys, a number of rural and urban varieties of Ulster-Scots and Mid-Ulster English have been studied by dialectologists, sociolinguists and phonologists. In fact, coverage of the phonological patterns found in the relatively small northern region is, by now, quite good in this respect, since we have detailed studies of communities ranging from the largest cities of Belfast and (London)Derry to smaller urban centres like Larne, Lurgan, Coleraine and Armagh, as well as rural districts like Glenoe and Articlave. Using this selection alone and applying the gravity model, an Atlas would permit a fairly dense network for a systematic study of the diffusion of phonological changes down the kind of urban hierarchy that has been shown to affect the spread of change. However, the studies just mentioned show a concentration within or on the borders of the Ulster-Scots areas. It would be useful, therefore, to have further data on and more systematic studies of Mid- and South Ulster English from rural and urban areas alike.

Northern Irish English is not only the outcome of dialect contact between nonstandard Scots and English dialects but also of language contact between English/Scots and Irish Gaelic (with some influence of Scots Gaelic too). While some phonological research to date has focused on the origins of various dialect features in the relevant source vernaculars, there has been hardly any study of the phonology of present-day, recent or shifting Gaeltacht areas or speakers. The survival of Irish into the present day in the region means that in parts of Donegal it is still possible to study the ongoing interaction of the phonologies of English and Irish and this too would seem to be a fruitful area of research which an Electronic Atlas could expedite.

Border Effects in Slavic Dialect Continua

Phonological Traces of an Ancient Border Shift: Vocalic Mergers in Northeastern Slovenia

Grant H. Lundberg
Brigham Young University

The historical connections between the dialects of the Slovene speech territory and the dialects of northwestern Croatia, hereafter Kajkavian, have long been a topic of serious debate. There have been several linguistic arguments offered which focus on shared archaisms or divergent innovations. Some even see this discussion as a comment on national identity or historical territorial claims in the region. Even though there has been significant interest in this topic, most of the debate

has taken place with almost no information on the dialects that are directly adjacent to the Slovene-Croatian national frontier. Dialect information from this area would clearly add important data to this inquiry.

Scholars agree that the dialects of northeastern Slovenia and northwestern Croatia are part of a South Slavic dialect continuum, yet many operate under the belief that the dialects on the Slovene side exhibit Slovene developments, and dialects on the Croatian side exhibit Kajkavian developments. This seems reasonable because some sort of political border has existed between these areas since the 11th century, yet, recent scholarship has clearly shown that some dialects on the Slovene side, e.g. Haloze and Prlekija, exhibit what appear to be very old Kajkavian developments, namely the merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* (*ě) and *jers* (*ǫ). This is a development of the proto-Kajkavian vocalic system. The proto-Pannonian Slovene vocalic system, to which Haloze and Prlekija in other respects belong, is based on the merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *e, the front nasal (*ǣ) and the *jers* (*ǫ). In this system the reflex of the *jat* (*ě) is distinct.

It has been argued that the merger of the reflexes of *ě and *ǫ in some northeastern Slovene dialects is a relatively recent development caused by bilingualism and the resultant monophthongization of the diphthongal reflex of *ě in these dialects. Using this explanation, if Haloze and some Prlekian dialects have a Pannonian Slovene provenience, we would have to assume that at an early stage in these dialects the reflexes of the Common Slavic *e, front nasal and the *jers* merged, all of which had a reflex distinct from the reflex of the *jat*, but later the reflex of the *jers* diverged from these and merged with the reflex of the *jat*. This seems very unlikely.

I will argue that the merger of the reflexes of the *jat* and *jers* in some dialects along Slovenia's national border with Croatia is the result of a very old phonological development that can be traced to a shift in the political and ecclesiastical borders in this region in the early feudal period.

The Notion of Diasystem in the Central South Slavic Linguistic Area

Juhani Nuorluoto
University of Helsinki

The Central South Slavic linguistic area which a decade ago was known as Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian, has during the break-up of Yugoslavia split into three nationalizing standard languages - Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian all of which are based on the very same main dialect, Neoštokavian (in two slightly different forms).

The notion of diasystem is rare in general linguistics whereas it was relatively frequently used in Yugoslav dialectology. It used to cover all the Serbo-Croatian dialects - also those non-standard - to emphasize their common genetic origin and belonging to one single language.

The objective of this paper is to investigate to what extent the notion is nowadays used. In view of the separatist and unifying function of a standard language dialects basically can be defined in view of standard languages. Still, the notion of diasystem continues to be used in the very same function as previously, i.e. dialects such as Čakavian, Kajkavian or Torlak not only refer to Croatian or Serbian dialects, respectively. In regard to the fact that standard languages are rather nationalizing, this circumstance appears to be slightly odd.

The author argues that the notion of diasystem continues its existence until the generation that introduced it in the spirit of Yugoslavism, does exist. Whether the notion itself survives after that, depends on circumstances which are not transparent by now. The author also discusses the necessity of the notion diasystem in general.

Border Impact Studies in Slavic Dialectology: Issues and Approaches

Curt Woolhiser

University of Texas at Austin

Among the major language families of Europe, the Slavic languages have probably experienced the greatest number of border shifts (whether in location or political status) over the course of the last century, with far-reaching implications for the evolution of dialect continua within the South Slavic, West Slavic and East Slavic zones. Slavic dialectologists, however, have tended to take the continued existence of these continua for granted, in spite of growing evidence of a relatively recent and intensifying impact of standard languages and/or regional interdialects on the dialect landscapes of border regions. As shown by a growing number of studies of other European dialect continua, such as Continental West Germanic (Kremer 1979, Kremer and Niebaum 1990, Hinskens 1992, Gerritsen 1999, etc.), processes of dialect divergence across political borders, particularly in those cases where different national standard languages are employed on the two sides of the border, have accelerated in the post-WWII era as rural populations have become increasingly integrated into the national economies and cultures of their respective countries, with a corresponding decline in cross-border social network ties and cross-border ethnocultural and national affiliations.

In this paper, which will serve as an introduction to the special session "Border Effects in Slavic Dialect Continua," I will address the principal theoretical and methodological issues connected with the hitherto neglected field of border impact studies in Slavic dialectology. I will begin with a survey of the typology of language-border correspondences in the Slavophone regions of Europe, paying particular attention to dialect continua (as opposed to dialect islands resulting from migration and/or extensive language shift) divided by international as well as internal borders. I will then discuss a number of core issues that must, in my view, be addressed in any empirical study of the role of political borders in dialect maintenance and change. These include: 1) the role of horizontal (dialect-dialect) and vertical (dialect-standard) convergence (Auer and Hinskens 1996) in cross-border divergent and convergent innovation; 2) border regimes, regional integration and cross-border linguistic diffusion; 3) cross-border social networks and their linguistic reflexes; 4) language planning and language policy and their impact on border communities; 5) political borders and the geographical distribution of language functions; 6) ethnolinguistic identity and cross-border divergence and convergence; and 7) the impact of political borders on language attitudes and subjective dialect boundaries (perceptual dialectology). I will argue that in order to provide an adequate account of the impact of political borders on the ongoing evolution of dialect continua, the researcher must thus draw on the data and methodologies of a variety of disciplines, including linguistic geography, social dialectology, sociology, social psychology, cultural and social anthropology, and political, cultural and economic geography.

Computational Techniques in Dialectometry

Topographic mapping as a tool for analysis and results visualization of dialectal data

W. Allen, H. Moisl & C. Rowe
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

This paper addresses the related issues of statistical analysis of linguistic corpora and intuitively-accessible representation of the results, with reference to the Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (NECTE) project. It proposes topographic mapping as a tool for analysis and visualization of the NECTE corpus, and consists of three main parts. The first part gives a brief account of the NECTE project, the second explains the nature of topographic mapping and the motivation for its use, and the third presents results from topographic mapping applied to analysis of high-dimensional NECTE data.

1. The NECTE project

The NECTE project is based on two corpora of recorded speech collected in the late 1960s and in 1994 in the Tyneside (UK) area. Its aim is to combine the two into a single corpus and to make it available in a variety of formats: digitized sound, phonetic transcription, standard orthographic transcription, and various levels of tagged text, all aligned.

2. Topographic mapping and its application to NECTE

a) Topographic mapping

The aim of topographic mapping is to represent relationships among data items of arbitrary dimensionality n as relative distance in some m -dimensional space, where $m < n$. It is used in applications where there is a large number of high-dimensional data items, and the interrelationships of the dimensions are not obvious: the data items are typically represented as a set of length- n real-valued vectors $V = (v_1, v_2 \dots v_k)$, and these vectors are mapped to points on a 2-dimensional surface such that the degree of similarity among the v_i is represented as relative distance among points on the surface.

b) Motivation and application to NECTE

Corpus analysis is often concerned to discover regularities in the interrelationships of certain features of interest in the data. Cluster analysis has been widely used for this purpose, and topographic mapping is in fact a variety of cluster analysis. Its chief advantage is the intuitive accessibility with which analytical results can be displayed: projection of a large, high-dimensional data set onto a two-dimensional surface gives an easily-interpretable spatial map of the data's structure.

c) Implementation of topographic mapping using the SOM architecture

There are several ways of implementing topographic mapping. NECTE adopts the self-organizing map (SOM) implementation, and this section briefly describes the SOM architecture

3. Topographic mapping analysis of NECTE data

Our data consists of high-dimensional vectors that correlate selected social and phonetic variables, which are spatially mapped to a two-dimensional surface with the aim of visualizing the interrelationships of the chosen variables. Results of several such analyses are presented.

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Competing definite articles in Scandinavian

Östen Dahl

The standard Mainland Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian Bokmål, Norwegian Nynorsk, and Swedish) are usually described as having two definite articles. One is homophonous with the demonstrative pronoun *den* and is preposed to the noun phrase, the other is manifested as an affix on the head noun of a definite NP. In all the languages, the use of the preposed article is basically restricted to NP's where the head noun is preceded by an attribute. There is however a difference between Danish on one hand and Swedish on the other, with Norwegian somewhat undecidedly in between, in that Danish suppresses the affixed article whenever the preposed article is used (*det store hus* 'the big house'), whereas Swedish normally uses both articles: *det stora huset* 'the big

house'. Generative linguists have seen this situation as a nice testing-ground for various hypotheses about movement. What I want to do here, though, is to show it in the perspective of typology, dialectology and diachronic linguistics. The general thesis is that the two articles are the result of two different processes of grammaticalization which have different geographical distributions and that the variation that we can see in the attributive constructions is the result of what happened when the two processes were competing about the same territory (both in a concrete geographical and a metaphorical grammatical sense of "territory"). Typological and diachronic studies of definite articles tell us that when a definite article develops out of a demonstrative pronoun, it tends to conquer different contexts in a certain order. It turns out that it is not uncommon for definite articles to be restricted to adjective-noun combinations. This is also apparently an areal trait in northern Europe: such articles are or were found in the Baltic languages, in early stages of Slavic, e.g. Old Church Slavonic, and are also considered to be the source of the Germanic weak adjective endings. (Thus the Swedish NP *det stora hus-et* contains no less than three morphemes that are or have been definite articles.) In the light of this, it is natural to see the Scandinavian preposed article as a definite article that has been frozen at a relatively early stage in its development. The affixed article, on the other hand, has developed much further (it is actually unclear if it ever went through the adjective-only stage). In fact, in most dialects belonging to the "extended Svea" group in Sweden, Finland, and Estonia, the affixed article has acquired uses that go far beyond those ordinarily associated with definite articles, representing developments however that are well documented typologically in work by Greenberg and others. The center of gravity of the affixed article area can thus be said to be in the north and northeast. It is then only logical that also Standard Swedish chooses to use the affixed article in some contexts where Danish does not have it and where it appears redundant, such as in combination with the preposed article and demonstratives. The preposed article, on the other hand, is centered in the south - it is strongest in Danish and becomes successively weaker as one moves northwards. In fact, it turns out that it is virtually absent from the "extended Svea area", and not surprisingly, Standard Swedish, where it is probably a relatively late development, uses it much less consistently than Danish. Thus, in addition to the type *det stora huset* Swedish also has the variant *stora huset*, with an affixed article only, which is not possible in Danish but which is used in a number of contexts in Swedish such as proper-name like uses (*Vita huset* 'the White House', when the attribute is a numeral or superlative etc (*första maj* 'the First of May')). In some of these, some varieties of Norwegian that otherwise use the double article construction, employ the "Danish" alternative with a preposed article only (*Det Hvite Hus* 'the White House'), whereas Norwegian Nynorsk tends to generalize the double article construction (*Det Kvite Huset* 'the White House'). This variation may seem confusing, but what is common to both Swedish and Norwegian is that the presence of an attribute favours "more" and non-anaphoric uses favour "less" definiteness marking, wholly in line with the principles along which definite articles grammaticalize.

Measuring the Influence of tonemes on the classification of Norwegian dialects

Charlotte Gooskens & Wilbert Heeringa
University of Groningen

Classification of Irish, Dutch and Sardinian dialects was successfully carried out by using the Levenshtein algorithm (Kessler 1995, Nerbonne et al. 2000, Bolognesi and Heeringa to appear). The Levenshtein distance is designed to compare (one-dimensional) sequences, and it is not suited for treating suprasegmental information, at least not without modification. But some dialect areas vary significantly in their treatment of suprasegmental tone.

One of the most characteristic properties of Norwegian (and also other Scandinavian dialects) are the tonemes. They are distinguished in three types: toneme 1, toneme 2 and circumflex. Each type could have multiple realisations. So when comparing linguistic distances between Norwegian dialects, tonemes should be processed. However, when trying to do this on the basis of transcriptions with the Levenshtein algorithm, we encounter at least three problems. 1) When the type of a toneme is given, it is not clear how the toneme is realised. 2) When using a feature system, it is not clear how to weight tonemes. 3) Tonemes are suprasegmental, in contrast to diacritics which correspond with one segment (monophthong or diphthong).

The solution is to use acoustic material. On the World Wide Web, Joern Almberg made recordings of 'The North Wind and the Sun' in about 50 Norwegian dialects available (<http://www.ling.hf.ntnu.no/nos/>). From this material, we select 11 recordings. The 11 recordings were used because psychoacoustic judgements had been gathered for these. Only female speakers were included to guarantee comparability. From each recording we cut about 15 words. For each word a spectrogram is made by using Praat (<http://www.praat.org>). Now word comparison is done by using the Levenshtein algorithm, where the elements are no longer the (IPA) segments, but the spectra (a spectra consists of the intensities of frequencies at a time).

In Gooskens & Heeringa (to appear) it is described how perceptual distances between a set of 15 dialects (a subset of the set of 50 dialects mentioned above) is measured. In this research, both monotonised and original recordings are used. Because the 11 dialects between which the Levenshtein distances are measured, form a subset of the 15 dialects, the Levenshtein distances can be validated by correlating them with the perceptual distances for both, the monotonised and the original version. The difference between distances on the basis of monotonised data and original data show the influence of the tonemes, both for the perceptual and the Levenshtein distances.

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The use of spectral sound distances in the comparison and classification of Dutch dialects.

Wilbert Heeringa
University of Groningen

For calculating linguistic distances between dialects the Levenshtein distance turned out to be a useful tool. It was applied on Irish, Dutch, Sardinian and Norwegian dialects with respectable

results. (Kessler 1995, Nerbonne et al. 2000, Bolognesi and Heeringa to appear, Gooskens and Heeringa to appear).

Two words (corresponding to two dialectal pronunciations of the same word) are compared to each other by calculating the cost of (the least costly set) operations mapping one string of phonetic transcription to another. The basic costs are those of insertions, deletions and substitutions. In its original form, the costs of the three operations is always 1. Only when two sounds match with each other, the cost is 0.

Th basis procedures could be made more sensitive by using bundles of phonetic features and weighing operation costs by phonetic similarity (realized in feature overlap). In that case the algorithm reckons with the fact that e.g. a [p] and a [b] are more similar than a [p] and a [a]. With some tricks also the distance between a vowel and a consonant can be calculated, as well as the gradual cost of in insertion or deletion. However, our objection against feature systems is that the choice of features, and the weighting of features is not, or only indirect based on real measurements.

In a pilot study we used spectrograms for measuring sound distances, as well as the distance with respect to 'silence' (insertions and deletions). The distance between two spectrograms is calculated as the sum of the Euclidean distances between the spectra. When using the spectral sound distance matrix in the Levenshtein distance, we only allow that vowels match with vowels, and consonants with consonants. However, also [i] and [u] may match with consonants, and [j] en [w] may match with vowels.

In this paper we will present the results on the basis of 350 dialects. We used transcriptions of the 'Reeks Nederlands(ch)e Dialectatlassen' (Blancquaert & Pee, 1925-1982). From the texts in this series, we choose 125 words, so the dialect distance is equal to the average of 125 Levenshtein distances. The results of comparison are analyzed by clustering and by multidimensional scaling. We also present a ranking of the 350 with respect to Standard Dutch, where distances are presented as percentages.

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Exploring American Dialect Data

Peter Kleiweg and John Nerbonne
University of Groningen

Exploring dialect data can be difficult. There is a large amount of data, and it may be noisy -- inaccurate, variable, and incompatible in the level of detail at which it is recorded. There are many linguistic features to explore, and many ways of combining them. Finally, it may be the case that it is difficult or even impossible to validate results -- there may be no consensus among dialectologists about which aspects of the geographic distribution of linguistic variation are most significant.

The LAMSAS data set, available at <http://hyde.park.uga.edu/lamsas/>, is one such difficult set. We focus on pronunciation and lexical differences.

In order to rise above the atomistic level of the individual transcriptions, we employ a measure of pronunciation similarity. Because this yields a numeric result, it may be aggregated over many pairs of similar concepts. In order to overcome the problem that there is little expert consensus, we propose a numerical characterization of the fundamental dialectological postulate, namely that of "local coherence": nearby language variants tend to be similar to one another. Such a principle requires clarification as to which language variants are to be included, and it is admitted not generally true (e.g., town Frisian is geographically not coherent).

But we suggest nonetheless that the principle can be employed to explore dialect data in an investigative phase of research. We illustrate the results when applied to the entire LAMSAS data set.

Electronic Morphology Archives for Finnish Dialects

Mika Kukkola & Päivi Nieminen
University of Helsinki

There are approximately 500 000 paper cards in the Morphology Archives of Finnish Dialects (established in 1967). These cards contain about two million examples (with each morphological feature in its clause-context). The data has been obtained and systematized according to a detailed and comprehensive list of features (897 altogether) given in the *Muoto-opin keruuopas* [Morphology Data Collecting Guide]. There are now (November 2001) 139 completed parish collections in the archives, each including 2 500-3 000 cards.

This paper will discuss the methods of publishing these collections on the Internet. The aim of the project* is to create a user interface for the needs of linguistic research. There are already approximately 34 000 database items in a trial user interface which has been available for limited number of users since the middle of November, 2001. A final user interface, which will be accessible to all researchers, students and other enthusiasts of Finnish dialects, will be in use in November 2004 at the latest.

The current pilot system utilizes the server options of FileMaker Pro 5.5. The benefit of this system is in its convenience: the available databases can be published on the Internet at once. The web

publishing features of FM Pro 5.5 allow the setting up of a working system without having to e.g. do a search with query language and using external programs such as CGI script, PHP or ASP.

Shifting to a final system will require the conversion of current databases (fm-format) into XML-format. XML, which can be described as a subset of SGML, will assure the compatibility and usability of the data in the future. The system architecture in this system will be three-tiered: the first module provides database storage and access (XML DBMS etc.), the second (middle-tier) contains a Web server which is capable both accessing data from the first module and making it available to the client (a Web server with CGI script, servlets, JSP etc.) and the third is the user interface tier which provides all the functionality made available through the middle-tier. As yet (November 2001) no decision on the system relevant to our needs has been made.

Finnish language is taught in almost 100 universities around the world. For the needs of research and teaching it is essential that the morphologically systematized data bank of Finnish dialects is easy to use and accessible from all over the world. The Electronic Morphology Archives for Finnish Dialects aims to serve fulfil this need.

* The Electronic Morphology Archives for Finnish Dialects project is financed by the Academy of Finland and directed by Kaisu Juusela.

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See for more information: Muoto-opin arkisto, http://www.helsinki.fi/hum/skl/tutkimus/3_3_1.html.

On the quantification of phonetic features in regional speech forms

Alfred Lameli

Forschungsinstitut für deutsche Sprache, Marburg

In 1989, Herrgen and Schmidt introduced a procedure for measuring the degree of dialectality that has since been applied to varieties of German in several ways. The goal of this procedure is the quantification of phonetic features. Taking the standard language as a reference frame for a comparison with non-standard varieties, all of the qualitative and quantitative phonetic features that deviate from the standard are recorded: variations in the manner or place of articulation, phonation, rounding of the lips, nasalization, and differences in phonetic duration. The individual phonetic differences are subsequently converted into a speaker-based and open-ended dialectality score. The resulting quotient describes the measured dialectality per word (D-value).

One notable characteristic of the procedure is that it allows the precise determination of dialectal deviations from the standard on the one hand, and differences between various dialects on the other. An unusual methodological feature is the modular nature of the procedure. Intended standard language sampled in authentic contexts can be much more strongly affected by coarticulatory phenomena than linguistic data from a polling of lemmas in which informants are encouraged to produce isolated words. The "coarticulation" module makes it possible to align the measurements to varying coarticulatory conditions and thus render data with different levels of coarticulation comparable.

To illustrate the practical application of the procedure, reference is made to individual analyses of German varieties, mostly conducted in the West Middle German region. These show that the method is able not just to determine the dialectality of individual speakers, but further to enable the local and regional description of varying depths of, and fine-grained differences in, dialectality. New interpretative possibilities based upon the measurement procedure are opened up, such as, e.g., direct comparison of linguistic data from different types of situation, or the exploration and quantification of the boundaries of interdialectal intelligibility. It becomes possible, for instance, to determine the degree of dialectality at which the speakers of differing dialect systems can no longer, or only with great difficulty, understand one another. Diachronically, the procedure can provide evidence for the disappearance of dialectal or regional features from standard spoken language. This can lead to findings about the influence of local or regional dialect systems.

Dialect Classification by Phonetic Similarity: Towards a computational method

April McMahon, Paul Heggarty and Robert McMahon
University of Sheffield

Dialects, like related languages, share both a degree of synchronic similarity, and a common but divergent history underlying this: one might therefore expect classificatory tools developed for language families to generalise naturally to dialectology. However, the conventional family tree typically ignores dialects, excluding these lowest level 'twigs'. Even if we attempted to draw dialect trees, we lack any method operating at the required level of detail.

Standard word-list comparison techniques, based on lexical meaning, can quantify only by the all-or-nothing fact of 'cognate' or 'not cognate', not by the phonetic detail within the cognate relationship. Developed for comparisons across (and even between) macro-families, this criterion is too blunt to be of practical use in quantifying degree of linguistic distance at the much finer level of dialects - which typically simply share far 'too many' cognates, even if these may differ quite starkly in phonetics. For this we will need finer-grained methods, which can operate at the higher degree of resolution required for dialectology.

In this paper, we shall outline one such method, first proposed in Heggarty (2001), and currently under development in our AHRB-funded project *Quantitative Methods for Language Classification*. This method produces a weighted comparison of articulatory phonetic distances; we shall illustrate these calculations for a series of Romance dialects, using a 100-word list of known cognates.

For each word, a formulaic representation of its projected ancestral form is used as the common reference point for all cognates descended from it, to identify which sounds in one descendant form correspond to which in its cognate in any other related language variety. Once matched up in this way, the phonetic comparison is made directly between the descendant cognates. Quantifications of relative phonetic similarity can thus be produced for varieties which differ by region, sociolinguistic level, or - where we have reliable knowledge of their phonetics - over time.

These figures for relative similarity can then be passed through a series of biological tree-drawing and statistical packages (PHYLIP, SPSS) which produce both conventionally rooted and unrooted trees, and illustrate graphically the degree of similarity between dialects. Indeed, comparisons of dialects against their common ancestor language, where this is possible, can indicate which of them show least or most change over time, and perhaps even what type of change this may be. Common

and divergent history, the nature of that history, and synchronic similarity can therefore be ascertained, quantified, and represented at the dialectal level.

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Neighbours or enemies? Competing features in transitional dialects

Marjatta Palander & Lisa Lena Opas-Hänninen
University of Joensuu

Fiona Tweedie
University of Edinburgh

In addition to the main dialects of Finnish there are five groups of dialects which since the 1960s have been called transitional dialects (Itkonen 1964: 30-32). These dialects contain considerable variation in phonological and morphological features. This variation has in some cases existed for hundreds of years.

One of these dialect groups can be found in the Savonlinna district in eastern Finland. This area has for a long time been the border region between Sweden and Russia. Since the 14th century the border has been moved several times, which has caused changes in the population of this area. The dialects of the Savonlinna district are nowadays considered Savo dialects but they have still retained old Karelian features. The variation is strongest on the western edge of this area, where the border was originally. (Palander 2001.)

This paper investigates the variation between the dialects of the Savonlinna districts and its closest neighbours from the point of view of idiolects. The corpus consist of approximately 195 hours of tape recordings of interviews. These have been given by 198 informants, all of whom were born around the turn of 20th century. The informants are distributed evenly across the area and have lived most of their lives in the same village.

This study investigates ten phonological and morphological features, which have at least two and at most five variants. This variation may even be seen in the dialects of a single speaker, who may use many variants of any one feature. The variation across this region is analysed using cluster analysis of compositional data.

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Profile-based linguistic uniformity as a generic method for comparing language varieties

Dirk Speelman, Stefan Grondelaers & Dirk Geeraerts
University of Leuven

The present contribution to the workshop on "Computational Techniques in Dialectometry" links up with a contribution that we have submitted to the general session of Methods XI. The general paper focuses on the overall characteristics of the research programme that we have been pursuing in the last few years (see Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Speelman 1999 for the initial results of the programme). The present paper specifically deals with the more technical aspects of our quantitative approach.

The basic characteristics of the methodology we employ are the following. Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Speelman (1999) introduces "linguistic uniformity" as an operational measure which calculates the lexical (dis)similarity between language varieties, quantifying the overlap between onomasiological profiles. (The onomasiological profile of a particular concept in a particular language variety is the set of alternative terms used to name that concept in that language variety, differentiated by the relative frequency of the alternative terms in a corpus.) These uniformity-based calculations are subsequently incorporated in a broader framework of multivariate statistical analysis. In particular, cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling are used to chart the stratification of different language varieties.

In order to highlight the specific characteristics of our approach, we will compare it with the clustering techniques used in Nerbonne & Heeringa (1998). Two features will receive specific attention. The first feature is the usage-based nature of the approach. Rather than aiming at a rigid description of each language variety ("variables either do or do not occur"), we acknowledge internal variation as an important characteristic of each language variety ("variables occur with different frequencies"). In the talk, we will explore the technical consequences of this usage-based approach. The second feature involves the profile-based design of our investigations. By taking all alternative designations of a phenomenon (and their relative frequencies) into account, we can put the statistical importance of isolated variables into perspective, and avoid exaggerated dissimilarities between two language varieties. In the talk, we will discuss the statistical advantages of this profile-based design, and illustrate how it can be extrapolated to non-lexical variables.

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Dialect contact and history on the North Sea littoral

A Tale of Two Dialects: Relativisation in Newcastle and Sheffield

Joan Beal
University of Sheffield

Karen Corrigan
University of Newcastle

In this paper, we will compare results from corpora of two northern English dialects. The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (NECTE) consists of data from two surveys conducted in 1969 and 1994 respectively, whilst the Corpus of Sheffield Usage is made up of data from the Survey of Sheffield Usage, collected in 1981. Whilst the urban dialects of Tyneside and Sheffield are both recognisably 'Northern' in their phonology, they are more divergent on the morpho-syntactic level, Tyneside showing more affinity with Scots (Beal, 1993). In Beal & Corrigan (2002) we noted that the distribution of relative markers in Tyneside English is more like that of Ayr in Scotland (Macaulay 1991), than either SE or non-standard dialects in the south of England (Cheshire 1982). Since Sheffield stands on the Mercia/ Northumbria boundary, and within the Danelaw, whilst Tyneside is beyond the northern limit of Scandinavian settlement, we expect the distribution of relative markers still to reflect the contrasting histories of these two cities.

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How can a provincial dialect be in advance of an emerging national standard?

Terttu Nevalainen
University of Helsinki

My contribution discusses the evidence provided by the Corpus of Early English Correspondence on regional variation in English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In particular, East Anglian data will be compared with material from London and the north of England.

Two processes of language change will be focused on: the use of the nominative relative pronoun WHO in the sixteenth century and the rise, and subsequent fall, of periphrastic DO in affirmative statements. The two processes are interesting and exceptional in that both of them were at one point in time led by East Anglia.

Various explanations have been proposed in the literature for these two processes, including typological and language contact influences. I will suggest that both of them may be relevant, but that other, primarily social factors may also be needed to account for the diachronic evidence.

Troubles with Germanic THAT

Patricia Poussa
University of Umeå

Natural Phonology (>Cognitive Phonology) can give some insights on the processes of phonological wear undergone by unstressed grammatical forms such as THAT (used variously as a complementiser, relativiser or anaphoric pronoun) in the Germanic languages. The modern standard Scandinavian languages use *den* and *det* as 3rd person, impersonal pronouns, but not as relativisers or complementisers. Similarly, in the Anglo-Scandinavian dialects of England, it appears that some dialectal forms of *it*, which may be pronounced as [ˈt], were probably derived from an Old Scandinavian anaphoric THAT form rather than Old English *hit* (Poussa 1997). The present East Anglian dialect still preserves variation between anaphoric *that* and *it*. In historical texts of the English Danelaw, variation between *that*, *at* and zero appeared in northern dialects of Middle English in the forms of the relativiser-complementiser in the 14th and 15th centuries (Mustanoja 1960: 190-91, 205-206). I suggest that this variation must have had the same kind of phonological motivation as we can find in tape recordings from the present East Anglian dialect area.

In the written Scandinavian records we cannot recover a stage where THAT was used as a relativiser, but in some older Danish dialects of Jutland a relative form *at* has coexisted with zero subject relatives (Ejskjær 1967). This same variation between the relativiser *at* and zero still appeared in the Yorkshire dialect in the 1950s, according the Survey of English Dialects, and as also appeared there, as relativiser-complementiser. If the English dialectal as form may be construed as a weakened form of *at*, then so, too, may the Runic Scandinavian *es*, so that all these forms can be derived from the proto-Germanic THAT.

The Runic relativiser *es* began to be replaced by the modern Scandinavian forms of *som/sum/sem* on the runestones of the Uppland area of Sweden, and spread thence to Denmark (Stroh-Wallin: 1994) and then the western Scandinavian dialects. This form did not take root in the English dialects, presumably because the dialectal continuum with England was broken in 1066. The success of the SOM innovation in Scandinavia may be accounted for by the gradual phonetic weakening of Germanic THAT, at a time when there was little external borrowing going on (e.g. from England) in the spoken dialects. The modern Icelandic relative form *er* and the Faroese *ið* may be interpreted as late relics of the proto-Germanic THAT forms, still preserved despite the encroachments of the dominant modern Scandinavian system, in which *som/sum/sem* operates as relativiser, *att* as complementiser.

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Dialectology and Typology

English Dialect Syntax from a Typological Point of View

Bernd Kortmann
University of Freiburg

It is the central aim of this talk to outline how dialectology and typology can fruitfully complement and open new vistas for each other. On the one hand, it is a fascinating additional perspective for anyone interested in the study of dialect morphology and dialect syntax to, first of all, determine the cross-dialectal variation for individual phenomena and then, in a second step, judge the observable patterns of variation against generalizations, hierarchies and explanations which have grown out of the study of cross-linguistic variation. On the other hand, dialectology also has very interesting things to offer to language typology. For example, in many domains of grammar non-standard varieties conform to cross-linguistic tendencies where the standard variety (notably Standard British English) does not. Moreover, quite a number of grammatical features and patterns of variation found in regional varieties of English have not been observed for English so far, sometimes not even for other European languages. One major point behind this is that typologists need to be careful not to neglect the differences between the grammars of written and spoken varieties of languages. Otherwise they run the risk of comparing apples and oranges, as it were, i.e. 'exotic' languages for which they only have spoken data as opposed to typically well-described (especially European) languages for which they make the written standard varieties the basis of their generalizations.

In the second half of the talk it will be shown how the research programme sketched above has been implemented in the Freiburg project on English dialect syntax, and which results this project has yielded so far. The most important data base of this project is a computerized corpus of English dialects (including varieties of Celtic Englishes) currently running up to about 2 million words. Most of the data in the Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects (FRED) are taken from oral history projects conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s with informants born between 1890 and 1920.

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Dynamic Typology and Vernacular Universals

J.K. Chambers
University of Toronto

Vernacular universals (Chambers 1995: 242-50, 2000) provide a potential resource for typologists working within the dynamic framework characterized by Kortmann: "typology does not stop at accounting for (limits of) variation across languages, but tries to give a unified account of intralinguistic variation, crosslinguistic variation, and variation over time as essentially the same external factors are held to underlie all three types of variation" (1997: 13). Vernacular universals arise in the context of sociolinguistic dialectology as generalizations about intralinguistic variation (so far mainly from English social dialects) but their universal status is emerging from analyses of putative crosslinguistic counterparts. The external factors that underlie them have distinct social and functional aspects. Socially, the vernacular universals appear to fall into well-defined patterns in the acrolect-basilect hierarchy, but functionally there appear to be several disparate principles at work (from motor economy to cognitive overload). Unifying the functional principles into a few empirically defensible cognitive strategies may be too much to ask of any branch of linguistics at this time, important though it is to try. In this respect, explaining vernacular universals in terms of functional principles is neither more nor less problematic than is explaining grammar-based generalizations in these terms. In other respects, too, vernacular universals raise the same challenges for typological analysis as do grammar-based generalizations. One challenge common to both is finding (or developing) descriptions at comparable analytic depth, and another is determining equivalence between crosslinguistic categories. Unlike grammar-based generalizations, however, vernacular universals are identified partly in terms of their social patterning, in so far as there are regularities in the way they are socially embedded, and this added dimension may provide a concrete basis for coming to grips with them.

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Typology of Relative Clauses in German Dialects

Jürg Fleischer
University of Zurich

There is a great variety of different types of relative clauses in German dialects, involving (as in Standard German) inflected relative pronouns as well as uninflected particles. In some dialects the two types can be combined, and the uninflected relative particles are sometimes accompanied by resumptive pronouns.

In my paper I will develop a typology of the relative clause in German dialects. It will be shown that concepts such as the Accessibility Hierarchy, developed in a typological framework by Keenan/ Comrie (1977), can be used with great profit for dialectological studies, too. On the other hand, it will be shown that typological work using dialect data can contribute to a better understanding of the diachronic aspect of the constructions examined: by comparing genetically closely related systems such as dialects, new insights of the historical development of the different types of relative clauses can be developed.

On three types of dialect variation, and their implications for linguistic theory

Guido Seiler
University of Zurich

The study of dialect variation enriches our knowledge about the typological variability of grammars. However, it is far from clear what 'dialect variation' actually means: Does it mean the same as cross-linguistic variation? In this talk I will propose an empirical distinction of (at least) three different types of dialect variation, referring to different systematic arrangements of grammatical options.

The first type, diatopic variation, concerns geographic contrasts between a dialect A and a dialect B with respect to one specific linguistic variable. In the second and third type of dialect variation two structural options cooccur in the same system of grammar. In conditioned variation, the distribution of these patterns is fully predictable, which is not the case in free variation. The boundaries between these three types of variation are not always rigid, and they are diachronically interchangeable.

Diatopic variation presupposes the existence of clear-cut isoglosses. My claim, however, is that gradual transitions are the paradigm case in dialect geography, not the exception. A closer examination of transition phenomena uncovers that there is a certain systematicity underlying them. Instead of capturing them as an accidental 'mixture' of grammars, I propose that each point in the areal continuum possesses its specific grammar within which the cooccurrence of variants and optionality is programmed.

As a consequence, the distinction between diatopic, conditioned and free variation reveals much more different systematic arrangements of structural options than a pure non-geographic enumeration of phenomena would. Thus, the distinction proposed here allows more precise statements about the typologically relevant issue of what grammatical features can combine, and *how* they combine.

Typology and the Perfect: Where do English and Russian Go?

Jim Miller
University of Edinburgh

Theoretical linguists have focused on standard languages. Non-standard varieties have been ignored; syntactic analysis is lacking and intuitions about acceptable non-standard examples are very difficult to obtain. The syntactic constructions of (spontaneous) spoken language have also

been ignored, although the lack of data is being remedied. The structures of spoken language and non-standard varieties regularly upset accepted typological patterns. Consider the aspectual structures of English and Russian. English is said to have a three-way contrast between Progressive, Simple and Perfect, at least for events in past time. In his *Tense and Aspect Systems* Dahl (1985) distinguishes between Perfect and Resultative for Swedish but does not apply that caveat to English. Russian is regarded as having a two-way contrast between Perfective and Imperfective.

Both languages have resultative participles, the traditional past participles passive. The resultative construction from which the English Perfect developed is in regular use in all varieties of English - *They have the plans prepared, they've got the plans prepared, she'll have the Hoover put away.* Examination of spoken and non-standard varieties reveals a range of resultative structures with different discourse functions - *there's something fallen down the sink, that's them arrived, that's the letters written and posted, here's the chair fixed and ready to take away.* Not only does English have these Resultative constructions but it turns out that the Perfect may be peripheral in spoken (standard and non-standard) varieties of English in the UK (and in North America). The Simple Past is used in the hot-news interpretation - *you just stood on my foot* - and in the experiential interpretation - *were you ever interested in football, were you ever in New York?, did you give up smoking before?*

(Scottish English offers interesting resultative structures such as *but that's me seen it* (= I've seen it now), and he says *That you left the school noo Andrew?* (= Have you left school now?) It also offers a recent-past construction as in *I was speaking to John there* (there is not a spatial deictic) and *Somebody was just kicking your car there.*)

Russian also has a construction based on resultative participles. It is described in grammars as a passive but is resultative - *adres zapisan* (the-address(is) written-down). In spoken Russian this structure is embedded in the possessive construction - *u menja adres zapisan* (at me address written-down = "I've got the address written down").

To sum up, English is a language that is said to have a Perfect but in spoken and in non-standard English the Perfect is replaced by various resultative constructions and the Simple Past is used for the hot-news and experiential interpretations. Russian is regarded as a language that does not have a Perfect but spoken Russian (standard and non-standard) has developed a passive Resultative which may develop into a Perfect.

Postscript: Classes of students declare that examples such as *Prepositional phrases, again, occur after the noun they _____* require *modify*. In tutorials and in written exams, students regularly produce *are modifying*. There is enough data to encourage speculation that outside standard written (edited) English the Progressive is moving towards an Imperfective.

Substratum, Superstratum or Universal? Tense and Aspect in Regional Varieties of English.

Peter Siemund
University of Hamburg

Non-standard phenomena found in contact varieties like Irish English have traditionally been subjected to two different analyses: On the one hand it has been tried to explain them as influence from the contact language (Gaelic). On the other hand the relevant phenomena have been analysed

as retentions from older varieties of English. However, only for relatively few cases is it possible to take a firm decision in terms of substrate or superstrate influence. On the basis of the existing data alone good arguments can usually be brought forward for the one and the other analysis.

There are also suggestions in the literature (cf. Kallen 1997, Filppula 1999) that for some phenomena an explanation may lie outside the substrate/superstrate-debate and that their existence may be attributable to universal principles of language development or general tendencies of grammaticalisation. But this is rarely made precise.

My talk is an attempt to explore the viability of this universalist hypothesis from the perspective of functional typology. Drawing on previous work in the domain of tense and aspect marking I will show that the phenomena found in regional varieties of English are to a large extent consonant with cross-linguistic patterns of variation and general paths of grammaticalisation. The relevance of these findings will be discussed as well as their implications for the substrate/superstrate-debate.

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Do as a Tense and Aspect Marker in Varieties of English

Bernd Kortmann
University of Freiburg

In non-standard varieties of English we find an interesting range of grammaticalized uses of *do* unknown in, for example, Standard British English. The most interesting domain in this respect is the one of tense and, especially, aspect. The examples below illustrate the use of *do* as a marker of the following categories: completive/perfect (1a,b), progressive (1c-e), habitual (1f,g), and unstressed tense carrier in affirmatives (1h,i):

1.
 - a. a **don** klin di hos gud. ('I have cleaned the house well. '; Belizean Creole)
 - b. I **don** know you stupid ('I have (always) known...'; Trinidad Creole)
 - c. **Don't be talking** like that. (IrE)
 - d. **Do** rain, don't it? ('It's raining, doesn't it'; very trad. SW; 18th/19th c. SW)
 - e. Gregg **duh** hide. ('Gregg is hiding. '; older form in Gullah Creole)
 - f. He **do/did** go to the cinema every week. (WeE)
 - g. Two lorries of them [i.e. turf] now in the year we **do** burn. (IrE)
 - h. This man what **do** own this,... (SW; West Somerset)
 - i. I **did** see thee this morning, [thee]' know (SW; Wiltshire)

The talk will consist of three parts: First, the use of *do* as a tense and aspect marker across varieties of English around the world (including English-based pidgins and creoles) will be documented and subsequently discussed with regard to its historical implications (e.g. for the history of pidgins and creoles). In a second part, the perspective will be broadened by considering the use of *doen* and *tun* as tense and mood markers in Dutch and German dialects. Among other things, this will offer an interesting perspective on the so-called unstressed tense carrier *do* in affirmatives best known from dialects in the Southwest of England. Finally, we shall broaden the perspective yet again and judge

the uses of DO-verbs as TAM-markers in West Germanic dialects against the findings and well-known grammaticalization paths identified in standard reference works on the typology of TAM-marking (notably Dahl 1985, Bybee/Dahl 1989, Bybee et al. 1994, Dahl 2000).

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A unified account of subject doubling and complementizer agreement?

Gunther De Vogelaer
University of Gent

A well known phenomenon in Dutch dialects is subject doubling: two coreferential subject pronouns occur in one clause, one in the form of a clitic, the other one in the form of a strong pronoun.

1. **Ze** gaat **zie** met mij naar Gent.
she goes she with me to Ghent.
'She goes to Ghent with me.'

Subject doubling has shown to be similar to topic-shift constructions such as left-dislocation (De Vogelaer and Neuckermans (to appear)). In a verbal context, it is quite widespread. However, there is a smaller number of dialects that allows subject doubling on the complementizer too.

2. ... da **ze zij** morgen naar Gent gaat.
that she she tomorrow to Ghent goes
'... that she goes to Ghent tomorrow.'

The area that allows subject doubling on the complementizer, seems to be exactly the same as the area that has complementizer agreement, a phenomenon known to several dialects of Dutch, Frisian and German, but very rare in the languages of the world.

3. Kpeinzen dan ze (zunder) goan kommen. (West-Flemish; Haegeman 1992:61)
I think that they (they) go come
'I think that they are going to come.'

Unlike many other dialects of Dutch, Frisian and German, West and East-Flemish display a complete paradigm for complementizer agreement: the complementizer can be inflected for all combinations of person and number. In my lecture I will investigate:

- a. whether there is a causal relation between subject doubling on complementizers and complementizer agreement.
- b. to what extent the defective paradigms in many dialects can be explained in terms of universal properties of topic-shift constructions such as subject doubling or left-dislocation.

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Flemish Negation from a Typological and Areal perspective

Annemie Neuckermans Johan van der Auwera
University of Gent University of Antwerp

The Dutch dialects of Belgium, roughly, the "Flemish dialects", exhibit negation patterns unknown in the Dutch of the Netherlands or in the standard language.

On the one hand, Flemish still allows the reinforcement stage of the Jespersen cycle (Jespersen 1919), yielding two negations.

1. *Zeg dat je niet en komt.*
say that you NEG NEG come
'Say that you don't come!'

The construction does not, however, occur with equal frequency in all sentence types. An attempt will be made to relate the Flemish manifestation of the double Jespersen negation to manifestations in other languages.

On the other hand, whereas standard Dutch is typologically rare (Kahrel 1996; Haspelmath 1997) in forbidding constituent negation and sentence negation - sometimes called "negative concord", Flemish does allow this.

2. *Ik heb niemand niet gezien.*
I have nobody not seen
'I haven't seen anybody.'

Again, the particular features of negative concord of Flemish do not exactly match those found in, say, Romance or Slavic languages. This phenomenon, too, needs to be described and explained.

"Two classes of things" - gender in some English dialects

Susanne Wagner
University of Freiburg

The Dorset poet William Barnes is only one of a number of people who mention a certain phenomenon in English dialect morpho-semantics in the 19th century. In his *Glossary of the Dorset Dialect* he makes the following observations:

There are, among the speakers of the Dorset dialect, "two classes of things" (1886: 17), i.e. of nouns:

1. "Full shapen things, or things to which the Almighty or man has given a shape for an end; as a tree, or a tool: and such things may be called the Personal Class: as they have the pronouns that belong to man.
2. Unshapen quantities of stuff, or stuff not shapen up into a form fitted to an end: as water or dust: and the class of such things may be called the Impersonal Class, and have other pronouns and those of the personal class." (Barnes 1886: 17)

The existence of these two classes, not only in the dialect of Dorset but in all West Country dialects and as an exported/ inherited feature in Newfoundland English, leads to the production of utterances such as the following:

1. I've found my knife where I lost en.
"I've found my knife where I lost it."
2. We use(d to) call en long (h)andle shovel.
"We used to call it long-handled shovel."
3. I do mind one time when they did call en garden (h)ouse.
"I remember one time when they called it 'garden-house'."

Since the loss of grammatical gender in English, linguists have not shown much interest in this category. However, data from dialects suggest that there is indeed a lot to be said about gender in modern English. This paper will focus on the theoretical and practical implications of discussing gender in selected English dialects. With the help of dialect corpora for West Country and Newfoundland English, an overview over modern usage will be offered/ given, and an attempt will be made at establishing a system within a typological framework of gender systems in the world's languages such as that suggested by Corbett (1991) and more recently by Siemund (2001).

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Finno-Ugrian Languages in Contact with English

Contact effects in Toledo Hungarian: Confirmation from a questionnaire

Anna Fenyvesi
University of Szeged

This presentation discusses the results of a study targeting seven types of sociolinguistic variables in Toledo, Ohio, American Hungarian. The data comes from a questionnaire originally used in the Sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary project (Kontra 1998) (targeting Hungarians in countries neighboring Hungary and using Hungarians in Hungary as a control group) and adapted for use among Hungarian-Americans. The study uses Toledo Hungarians (n=18) and Hungarians in Hungary (n=107) with place (i.e. USA vs. Hungary) as the only investigated social variable. The results show statistically significant differences between Hungarian-Americans and Hungarians in Hungary in the use of morphological and syntactic characteristics such as word order, analytical vs. synthetic constructions, agreement, overt pronouns, converbs, possessive suffixes, and irregular stems. The nonstandard variants of the discussed variables used by the Toledo Hungarians all show an effect of language contact with English similar to that found in interview-based studies of Hungarian-Americans (in South Bend, Indiana, by Kontra 1990, in Detroit, Michigan, by Bartha 1993, and in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, by Fenyvesi 1995), thus further supporting these previous findings. The findings of the Toledo study are the first in the study of the Hungarian of Hungarian-Americans to be based on a questionnaire.

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Eleven Years of Bilingualism: A Longitudinal Study on the Pragmatics and Syntax of Finnish-English Codeswitching

Helena Halmari
University of Florida

This paper reports the results of a longitudinal study on the language mixing patterns of three young Finnish Americans and it is based on audio-recordings over eleven years of bilingual exposure to Finnish and English. While prolonged exposure to two different codes in the history of languages has been known to cause permanent language change (e.g., the influence of French over English during the Middle English period), this change has rarely been documented in concrete detail in the actual speech of bilinguals. By looking at longitudinal data from the same bilingual speakers it will be possible to arrive at descriptions and explanations of language mixing that go beyond the syntactic structure of the switching site by taking the pragmatics and discourse aspects of the speech situation into consideration. The data indicate that whatever generalizations are made of bilingual language mixing, these generalizations need to be flexible enough to account for situational variation across time and space-especially the diachronic aspects of bilingualism.

The data reveal that seemingly radical changes in codeswitching patterns have taken place during the prolonged language contact between the native Finnish language and English, the speakers' second language. The most obvious change during the prolonged stay in the United States by the native speakers of Finnish is that during the eleven years the matrix language has changed from Finnish to English. My paper addresses the following questions: How exactly did this change from Finnish to English take place? Has the nature of the inserted other-language elements changed? Have the rules for language switching changed? How much English vs. Finnish is spoken at different times during the eleven years that the subjects have lived in the United States? How (and how extensively) do visits to Finland affect the codeswitching patterns?

The study opens new avenues for exploring the field of bilingual codeswitching since it takes into consideration the changes caused in bilingual behavior by space (different speech situations) and time (eleven years). It offers insight into how the prolonged contact with English may mold the mother tongue, and how the prevailing community language slowly may supplant the native language. However, the study also offers hope for the survival of the native language (in this case Finnish), since Finnish seems to take over again when the same subjects are placed in a Finnish-speaking environment during visits to Finland.

Code-Switching as an Indicator of Language Change. The cases of Finnish and Hungarian in Australia

Magdolna Kovács
Åbo Akademi

Connections between code-switching and language change are described in some languages (Fuller 1996, Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001). The paper presents evidence for the fact that Finnish-English and Hungarian-English code-switching also promotes changes in the minority languages, Finnish and Hungarian, in immigrant context. The author (Kovács 2001) has developed a continuum model for describing and measuring the distance between the code-switching grammar and the matrix language grammar (in this case the minority languages). Finnish and Hungarian are agglutinative languages with rich case marking morphology. Contact-induced changes in case marking into the direction of zero marking can be particularly critical for maintenance of agglutinative languages.

The analyses are based on tape-recorded interviews with fifty Australian Finnish and thirty-five Australian Hungarian bilinguals.

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Attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance in Australia: profiles of Finnish speakers.

Tiina Lammervo

Australian Finnish has been defined to be a language variety distinctly different from Finnish in Finland. It is mostly a spoken language and can vary greatly from one speaker or situation to another. English influence on the vocabulary and structures is considerable. However, when conversing with elderly first generation Australian Finns one cannot but wonder how well they have preserved their Finnish language.

My interest is not so much in the linguistic characteristics of Australian Finnish but mainly in why is it that these first generation Australian Finns have maintained such good Finnish skills and how have they achieved it. To study this I met with 30 first generation Finns who have lived in Australia over 20 years. At the time they all resided in or near Brisbane in Queensland. Data was collected using a questionnaire including questions on language use, language skills in Finnish and in English, attitudes towards language maintenance and learning, a total of 70 questions. The same informants were also recorded discussing with other Australian Finns their experiences. There are approximately 25 hours of these recordings.

Based on answers to the questionnaire the paper will look at issues such as: Who finds maintaining Finnish ethnic identity important after having lived in Australia for over twenty years? Do these people regard Finnish language as a major part of this identity i.e. is language a core value for Finns in Australia? Who wants to maintain Finnish and what have they done and what action do they consider necessary to achieve this? By looking at all the answers to a few specifically chosen questions in the questionnaire and supporting this result with information from the recorded conversations of selected informants, the aim is to identify profiles among the speakers based on their attitudes towards language maintenance efforts, the importance of Finnish ethnic identity and the significance of the Finnish language to the ethnic identity.

Norwegian Verbs in a Finnish Morpho-Syntactic Frame: Code-Switching or Borrowing?

Pia Lane

Norway is often regarded as a monolingual country, though with two written standards, but the Northern part of Norway is actually bi- or trilingual, the languages in contact being Norwegian, Finnish and Saami. From the 18th century and onwards, a lot of Finns settled in the two northernmost counties of Norway. This study is based on research in Bugøyenes, a small bilingual community, where the majority of the population still speak Finnish. Code-switching is very common, and the pattern is very similar to the pattern Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood 1989) found in Finnish/English code-switching. The code-switching pattern in Bugøyenes is characterised by the use of single lexemes in otherwise Finnish sentences as in the following example:

Mie praata**sin** **Ellan** kanssa.

Mie praata-**si-n** **Ella-n** kanssa.

I talk-**Impf-1Sg** **Ella-Gen** with.

I talked to Ella.

Poplack and her associates regard code-switching as alternational, and therefore the use of a foreign lexical element has to involve a complete shift of code to be determined a code-switch. Within this theoretical framework single lexemes pose a problem because they often violate the major constraint on code-switching, The Equivalence Constraint:

Switching may occur at points around which the word order of the two languages overlaps, but is prohibited elsewhere.
(Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood 1989).

Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood postulate that certain language typologies produce "nonce borrowings", single lexemes that are not established loans, but borrowed at the spur of the moment, so that the constraint on code-switching does not apply to them.

Data from Bugøyenes show that there does seem to be a difference between lexemes which occur once and established borrowings regarding the extent of integration to the Finnish morphology, syntax and phonology. I will therefore suggest that The Equivalence Constraint is not suitable for explaining the pattern found in Bugøyenes. A model which regards code-switching as insertional, and which does not postulate an absolute distinction between code-switching and borrowing, would have more explanatory power.

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Language Change in the English of Three Generations of American Finns: Preliminary Remarks

Michael D. Linn
University of Minnesota, Duluth

The social and linguistic history of Northern Minnesota has been particularly interesting from a linguistic point of view. Unlike most of the United States, it was not settled primarily by westward migrating Americans seeking agriculture lands. Because of the rocky soil, foreboding winters, and thick forests, it was passed over until rich iron ore deposits were found there in the late 19th Century. Then large numbers of immigrants, usually non-English speakers, were brought in to work the in mines and lumber camps. Many of these were Finnish, but soon they were black balled from the larger mines and lumber camps because of their socialist views and union organizing activities. Thus they often were segregated, living in rural areas, on small farms and in small settlements that were primarily Finnish. Thus Finnish was often the first language for three or more generations. Working together with Pekka Hyrvonen, thirty Finnish Americans of the first, the second, and the third generation were interviewed in both English and Finnish. This report discusses the changes the English of these three generations as it moves from the heavily Finnish influenced English of the first generation to the more American assimilated English of the third generation. Among the phonological features to be discussed are consonant cluster reduction, devoicing of consonants, and interdental fricatives becoming stops. Syntactic features influenced by Finnish will also be discussed as will vocabulary changes as they proceed through three generations of Finns in Northern Minnesota.

Inferring Linguistic Dominance from Oral Reading Miscues of Finnish-English Bilinguals

Catherine Rohlich
University of Joensuu

In this presentation I suggest a method of inferring linguistic dominance from oral reading miscues of Finnish-English bilinguals. Miscues are defined by Goodman (1988 [1975]:11) as "...unexpected responses in oral reading..." Two main problems are dealt with: 1) inferring the linguistic dominance of an individual on the basis of the type and number of miscues of a reading-aloud exercise and 2) inferring the linguistic dominance of a generation from the patterns of miscues found in a reading-aloud exercise. I evaluate the applicability of the dominance configuration proposed by Weinreich (1974) and the psychological dimensions of bilinguality proposed by Hamers and Blanc (1989). In addition to this, I suggest incorporating van Coetsem's definition (1995) of linguistic dominance as being primarily, and for most practical purposes of language research, based on language proficiency.

The data used was taken from the corpus of three generations of Finnish-American informants which was compiled by Professor Pekka Hirvonen of the University of Joensuu and Professor Michael Linn of the University of Minnesota, Duluth. A passage of transcribed data from recorded interviews of thirty informants (ten from each of the three Finnish-American generations) was analyzed for miscues along the grammatical categories of auxiliary phrases, articles, and the plural 's'. Finnish speakers learning English generally have problems with these grammatical categories.

The results suggest that it is not possible to infer individual linguistic dominance merely on the basis of the number and types of miscues of a reading-aloud exercise. However, the total number of miscues of a generation seems to indicate that there is a highly significant difference between the first generation and the other two generations. Apart from these results, I will also discuss research plans for investigating possible miscues from a similar reading aloud test in the Finnish-Australian English Corpus (FAEC) which was compiled by Dr. Gregory Watson of the University of Joensuu.

Language Dominance in Bilingual First Language Acquisition

Heidi Rontu
Åbo Akademi University

It's a common observation that bilingual children learning two languages from birth (bilingual first language acquisition) seldom learn the languages parallelly in a similar manner or in a similar period of time. The languages may take developmental leaps and consequently show dominance over one another in different periods (e.g. Döpke 1992, Lanza 1997, Saunders 1988). Bilingual children can be said to go in and out of the dominance of the one language or the other depending largely on external factors like the communicative needs, motivational and affective aspects in the environment. The (social) context of learning is, in other words, important in the learning process (e.g. Ochs & Schieffelin 1995, Romaine 1999). Beside language external factors, however, it is equally important to study the parallel acquisition process towards the language specific grammars (cf. Schlyter 1993). This also arises other important issues in bilingual first language acquisition such as language separation, crosslinguistic influence and transfer (e.g. Döpke 2000, Müller & Hulk 2001).

The aim of the present research project is to study language dominance in bilingual first language acquisition. The acquisition process of both the dominant and the weaker language will be studied. Is the development of both the languages similar in bilingual children manifesting dominance of the same language? Can crosslinguistic influence be traced in the acquisition process? In the present paper I will present aspects of the morpho-syntactic development of the dominant and the weaker language. I investigate three bilingual Finnish - Finnish Swedish children between the ages of two and three and a half years in my research project. The parents each have spoken their own language to the children from birth (One Person - One Language- strategy). The children manifest all a dominance of the minority language Swedish. The focus of the paper will be on lead-lags patterns in the acquisition of the morpho-syntax in Finnish and (Finnish) Swedish. The developmental discrepancy will be related to the notions of transfer (e.g. De Houwer 1990, Schlyter 2001, Sinka & Schelletter 1998) and bootstrapping (in bilingual acquisition in Gawlitzek-Maiwald & Tracy 1996).

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Functional operational strategies for code-switching in a NNS-NS, Finnish-Australian English contact environment

Greg Watson
University of Joensuu

Although several studies have been conducted in the field of code-switching and borrowing amongst ethnic groups using their L1 in an L2 environment (code-switching) and L2 in an L1 environment (borrowing), little, if any, work has examined aspects of the use of code-switching when an informant speaks the target L2 whilst addressing a native speaker of that L2.

Initially denigrated, code-switching is now usually perceived to be a successful communication strategy that holds prestige amongst the ethnic community at hand. However, whilst it is true that in a maintenance situation code-switching may not be viewed as a case of interlingual transfer (transference) the same could not be argued in a NNS to NS contact situation.

This paper will demonstrate that in just such an environment code-switching is used for both retrieval and reduction strategies, which, rather than leading to solidarity between interlocutors, can often act as barriers to successful communication. In the process of this discussion, this paper will proffer a model for the functional interpretation of code-switching in NNS-NS contact situations.

The influence of political and regional borders on patterns of phonological variation in British English

'Have you been up Scotland gal?': the linguistic constitution of borders in Corby, Northamptonshire

Judy Dyer
University of Michigan

Corby, a post industrial town in the English Midlands, provides an ideal test site for investigating linguistic variation and change occurring as a result of a dialect contact situation. Within fifty years Corby developed from a village with a rural English dialect, to an industrial town with a new dialect influenced by the large numbers of Scots settling there to work in the newly built steel works.

An apparent time study analyzing speech data of Corby residents for reflexes of phonological variables characteristic of Scottish English (Wells 1982) reveals that over the course of three generations linguistically signaled ethnic boundaries between older Scottish and English residents have given way to a new focused town dialect, with the youngest (English born) generation now speaking a koine characterized by both Scottish and more general South-East English variants. Analysis within a language ideology framework further shows that traditionally Scottish variants have been reallocated a different sociolinguistic role, and are now functioning as indexes of a newly constructed local identity.

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'We're not Geordie - we're not Yorkshire - we're nothing really': the fluid construction of identity in Middlesbrough

Carmen Llamas
University of Aberdeen

Middlesbrough, situated in something of a transition area at the lower part of the North East and the upper part of Yorkshire, is seen as a 'gateway to two regions'. Importantly, it also lies between two regional accent types of British English which are relatively easily identified by the lay person: that of Geordie, which is the accent of Newcastle and Tyneside, and that of Yorkshire. Combined with having something of a 'border town' status, the complexity of ascertaining the identity of Middlesbrough, and therefore of its inhabitants, is further confounded by the fact that the town has witnessed a recent shift in identity. This shift has seen the town become increasingly associated with the North East of England and increasingly dissociated with Yorkshire.

The speech of a sample of 32 speakers from Middlesbrough, who form a socially homogeneous group but who vary by age and gender, has been collected and analysed for the present study. The change in progress suggested by age-correlated variation in the data reveals that localised variants, found to be recessive in Newcastle, are increasing in Middlesbrough. These findings are considered in light of age-correlated variation in the speakers' definition and delimitation of the speech community. Thus the linguistic trends observable in the data can be seen to reflect the psychological reality of where speakers believe themselves to be from.

England fans with Scottish accents: self-identity, projected identity and linguistic variation in Berwick upon Tweed

Dominic Watt
University of York

Berwick upon Tweed is England's northernmost town, but has changed hands between Scotland and England no fewer than fourteen times during its history, and has retained a sense of Scottish identity in many respects. Recent sociological studies of identity in the town (Kiely et al. 2000) reveal that accent is the principal cue to identity as a Berwickier, but that perceptions of the accent as 'English' (specifically Geordie) or 'Scottish' vary depending on the nationality of the listener.

Kiely et al., regrettably, offer no specific details beyond this. The pilot study reported on here therefore seeks to assess the extent to which different phonological features of Berwick English (or Berwick Scots, as some prefer to label it) might contribute to these varying perceptions. It is hypothesised that changes in the political climate in northern Britain may have led to a 'reorientation' of identity among young Berwickers southward toward Newcastle and Tyneside rather than northward toward the central Scottish cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and that this shift may account, among other things, for the neutralisation of vowel alternations conditioned by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (Aitken 1981) in the speech of the younger informants recorded for this study.

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The Karelian Language: Dialects and Written Karelian

The problem of dialectal differences in the creation of a unified Karelian literary language: the experience of the 1930s

Esa Anttikoski
University of Joensuu

The Karelian language is usually divided into three to five main dialects: Karelian Proper, Olonets and Ludic (the division generally used by Russian linguists) or North Karelian (Viena/White Sea), South Karelian, Olonets, Ludic and the dialects of Inner Russia (the division widely accepted in Finland). Differences between the various dialects are considerable.

The first Karelian-language publications in the 19th and early 20th centuries were written in a variety of dialects. The gradual formation of a written tradition in the Olonets dialect took place in both Russia and Finland. Unfortunately, this tradition was not continued, since Finnish was perceived in both countries as the only proper literary medium for the Karelians.

In the Soviet Union, various approaches were tried in the 1930's to solve the linguistic problems of the Karelians. The differing models and solutions were based on the dialectal and territorial disunity of the Karelians as well as political and ideological motivations.

1) A loosely codified written language based on one regional dialect was created for the Tver Karelians. The local written language might have had reasonable prospects for development had it not been discontinued in 1937.

2) In the Karelian Autonomous Republic local dialects were used increasingly in the press. Most of the publications were in Olonets, whereas the northern Karelians preferred Finnish. No attempts to codify the local dialects were made until 1937.

3) 1937 witnessed the start of creating a unified literary language for both the Karelian Republic and the Tver Karelians. Despite many and often inconsistent compromises between different dialects, the norms of the new literary language were heavily based on Karelian Proper, with some elements of the Olonets dialect.

4) After only one year, unified Karelian came under sharp criticism. The reasons were largely political, but dialectal differences also played an important role. In Karelia, where speakers of the Olonets dialect are numerically predominant, the norms of the unified literary language were often regarded as alien and incomprehensible. As a result, a new literary norm, largely based on Olonets and Ludic, was created in 1939. This new variety, however, was unacceptable to many speakers of Karelian Proper - a fact that led to its discontinuation first among the Tver Karelians and later in the Karelian Republic.

As evidenced by the experience of the 1930's, in language planning dialectal differences chiefly manifest themselves on a psychological level. The creation of a unified Karelian literary language will prove useless if it is not accepted by the speakers of all main dialects.

The Karelian Language at Tver University and in "Karielan shana"

Ljudmila Gromova
Tver State University

In the 1990s the linguistic rights of national minorities were recognized and a dialogue between Karelian and Russian culture was initiated in Tver Karelia as well. The development of a Karelian written language and culture was sanctioned and thus made possible. Despite difficulties, a form of Karelian written language was established on the basis of dialects and serves as a medium for social and cultural communication. This language form uses the Latin alphabet and is founded on those positive experiences which have been achieved concerning the use of the written Karelian language since the early 19th century. This linguistic form is presently in a formative stage, its norms are continuously evolving and in the process of development attention is being paid to both the distinctive features of the Tver dialects and the variants of the Karelian written language, Black Sea and Livvian, used in the Karelian Republic. In regard to the word stock, attempts are being made to preserve the old unique words, avoid the unnecessary use of Russian loans and create neologisms according to the language's own methods of forming words.

A key practical area is mother tongue teaching: in the schools, the Lihoslavl Teacher Training College and Tver University. The following texts are used: the speller Bukvari (Mikhail Orlov 1992) for beginners, the reader Armash shana (Zoja Turicheva 1998) in the schools, and Aiga lugie ja paissa karielakshi (Ljudmila Gromova 2001), a set of multimedia materials for those more advanced, which is currently available only on the Internet. In addition, there is a Karelian language dictionary based on the Tver dialects (Aleksandra Punzhina 1994).

Students may specialize at Tver State University in Karelian language and culture. The objective is to provide both a practical and a theoretical understanding of the language as well as a familiarity with the dialects, folklore and culture. The main problem is the fact that the phonetics, morphology and syntax of Tver Karelian has not been studied systematically. As a result, we have been forced carry out an extensive comparative analysis of the distinctive linguistic features of Tver, Black Sea and Dvina Karelian based on the work of various researchers. The analysis has indicated that there are more similarities than differences between the three dialects. We believe that the differences pose no obstacle to the evolution of a common Karelian language.

A second important area of language use is our journal, Karielan koivune, which has appeared monthly since 1996. The main task of the journal is to create a positive attitude towards development projects concerning language and culture, communicate national cultural autonomy and news from the Finno-Ugrian world as well as familiarize the reader with the history and culture of Tver Karelia. The journal has a stable readership and also publishes reader's letters-ranging from schoolchildren to senior citizens. It also publishes poetry and prose and is extremely important to the development of the written language.

Conclusions:

1. Tver Karelian is undergoing favorable development as both a language of instruction and the mass media.
 2. The significance of the written language in regard to preserving the national cultural heritage is increasing because the relationship between the spoken and written language is changing.
 3. The intelligentsia of all the Karelian language areas must combine their strength to insure that the written language based on the various dialects will achieve a common Karelian language.
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From a Karelian of Dialects to a Written Language?

Matti Jeskanen

The Karelian language has existed and developed in changing conditions for more than a thousand years purely on the basis of the oral tradition. A result of natural development is the division into language forms, dialects, differing from one another, which researchers have grouped and named. The spectrum of spoken Karelian is thus the Karelian of its dialects.

The history of written Karelian begins with the variants of the same textual totality (1804), Karelian (in fact Tver Karelian) and Olonets Karelian. Not until the 1930s was there any concrete efforts to create a written Karelian language. First, there was an attempt to create a written language for Tver Karelians (1930). When Karelian was designated the third official language of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Republic in the latter half of the decade it was natural to begin considering the possibility of common written language. Generalized norms for a written language were approved in 1938, but were, however, rejected in the Karelian Republic in the same year. The objective then became the creation of the republic's own written Karelian language, and norms for this were approved in July 1939. This stage was also short: following the Winter War the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Republic became the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic and its official languages were Russian and Finnish.

After a half-century of dormancy the winds of perestroika also invigorated the speakers of Karelian: in a short period of time three separate Karelian language projects were initiated-for White Sea, Olonets and Tver Karelians, one for each group. In a way, things had gone back to start, the Karelian of its dialects. Three forms of the written language have now been used and developed for about ten years. The idea of a common Karelian written language has not been abandoned; in fact, in recent years discussion about it has increased. The need for a common written language in the Karelian Republic has been emphasized in conjunction with the debate over the language law. At joint seminars organized in Petrozavodsk, Joensuu and Sortavala various quarters have given the green light to a common written language.

Now, at the eleventh hour, we need to determine whether a common Karelian written language is a real possibility. What would it be like? How could we use the lessons offered by the history and preservation of the Finnish and Estonian written languages in its planning and "creation"? At the August conference we will also hear how the conflict between dialects was resolved in the creation of the written Veps language. The results achieved by the written use of White Sea, Livvian and Tver Karelian are valuable. Nor should we forget the language experiments of the 1930s: what benefit do they provide and how can their errors be avoided? The indisputable advantages of a common written language would at least include the synergic benefits achieved in designing and planning teaching material. What about the disadvantages and minimizing them? In my presentation I attempt to examine such questions and outline a concrete proposal for a common Karelian written language.

Early Stages in the Finnish and Estonian Written Languages

Ilkka Savijärvi
University of Joensuu

The Finnish and Estonian written languages arose at the same time and for the same reasons. The first evidence of the Finnish and Estonian languages date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when individual words, mainly proper names, or other fragments may have entered texts of other languages. The main texts of the mass (*Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and confessions) have in all probability emerged in Finnish and Estonian as early as the fifteenth century, but extant texts only appear early in the next century. The oldest books were also published in the first half of the fifteenth century, and, in regard to both languages, were a result of the Protestant Reformation. In the translation of ecclesiastical texts the most important thing was to render the original text as precisely as possible, and a natural rendering, in all respects, into Finnish and Estonian was insignificant. Researchers studying the history of written language have, however, always been primarily interested in how well the first writers knew the vernacular.

The earliest Finnish written language is based strongly on southwestern dialects, as Turku was the center of the nation's administrative and ecclesiastical life. In contrast, in Estonia there were two competing centers, Tallinn and Tartu, which in turn led to the rise of two more or less separate written languages. The oldest Finnish-language texts are not in all respects, however, in the southwestern dialects; nor do the oldest Estonian-language texts reflect only the dialect of the area surrounding Tallinn in all its linguistic features. It may be concluded that in the Finnish and Estonian administrative centers a certain "general language," which had to some extent balanced dialectical features from different quarters, had already arisen by the early sixteenth century. In addition to the southwestern dialects, there were features of the Häme dialect in the spoken language of the Turku area; there were features of the eastern and western dialects as well as central dialect of northern Estonia in the spoken language of Tallinn.

Despite numerous points of convergence, little attempt has been made to compare the early stages of the written Finnish and Estonian languages. One reason for this lack of interest is certainly due to the fact that these written languages were not in their early stages seen to be very dependent upon one another. In Finland models were primarily sought from Swedish while in Estonia the bulk were taken from German-language texts.

The Karelian Language and Tver Karelian Cultural Autonomy

Zoja Turicheva
Tver State University

It is often asked if Tver Karelians need a Karelian language since they have assimilated into Russia and no longer speak their own language. The Karelian language, however, survives in Tver Karelia, is spoken in the villages and most importantly, even by young people. The re-awakening and development of Karelian has been a key objective of Tver Karelian Cultural Autonomy (the Tver Karelian Cultural Association until 1997) since its establishment in 1990.

Karelian is currently taught in 16 schools. Seminars are arranged annually for teachers, and teachers also give demonstration lessons for teachers in other schools. The Lihoslavl Teacher Training College trains elementary school Karelian language teachers. There is a group of six students at the Faculty of Philology of Tver State University who are specializing in Karelian language and literature; they also study Finnish as a foreign language. Cultural Autonomy has a full-time Karelian language educational planner ("chief specialist in language issues"). It has published textbooks (Bukvari/Mikhail Orlov, 1992; the Armash shana reader/Zoja Turicheva, 1998; a

Karelian language dictionary/Aleksandra Punzhina, 1994) as well as books concerning the history of Tver Karelia and the Karelian language (five books/Anatoli Golovkin, 1998-2001). Literary works have also been published, e.g., *Oma randa* (Home District), a collection of poetry by the unique poet Stanislav Tarasov. In 1997 Tver University organized an international conference entitled "The History and Culture of Tver Karelia-Views of Development."

The mass media is an important part of preserving the language and culture of the Tver Karelians: the journal *Karielan koivune* appears monthly, Radio Tver broadcasts the "Tverskaja Karelija" (Tver Karelia) program and there has been a series of five current affairs programs on television, called "Oma randa" (Home District), about Tver Karelians.

The re-awakening and preservation of the language is also an essential part of the activities of the 26 cultural centers and 19 libraries of the villages in the Karelian area. The Tver District Library has organized seminars for librarians in the Karelian villages which have also included Finnish lecturers, e.g., researchers from the Domestic Languages Research Center. Karelian popular culture is presented at six local museums.

There are 18 Karelian folklore groups. The most prominent of them- "Virzhi" from Lihoslavl, "Karielan koivune" from the city of Tver, and "Marjazet," from the Lihoslavl Teacher Training College-have performed at Finn-Ugrian cultural festivals in Finland, Hungary and the Karelian Republic. There are also kantele (a folk instrument) groups in two art schools. Regional cultural festivals have been organized five times and this year the Second Karelian Children's Cultural Festival will be held.

We want to preserve our own mother tongue, develop it as a written language and bequeath it to our children. We also hope that all Karelian will succeed in their efforts to develop a common Karelian written language.

Teaching White Sea Karelian in schools and at universities

P. Zaikov
University of Petrozavodsk

The former national policy in the Karelian Republic offered the Karelians no possibility to create their own written language. The short period in 1938-1939, when there was an attempt to create a common Karelian language, did not decisively affect the preservation of the language. The situation then deteriorated rapidly and very many Karelians have since used Russian. Today, as many as half of the Karelian population regards Russian as their mother tongue. The situation is extremely serious and requires immediate measure to preserve the Karelian language and culture.

The "Karelians" conference was held in Petrozavodsk in 1987 and attracted participants from all the districts of Karelia. It was decided there that a Karelian language be established and taught in two forms: one for the White Sea and the other for the Livvian region. A White Sea Karelian alphabet, written and printed spellers, textbooks and a dictionary were created. A grammar for White Sea Karelian is now being written.

Karelian is being taught in the villages of White Sea Karelia in different forms: lessons at school, in school clubs and outside school. Furthermore, it is also taught outside school in various associations

and clubs. It is also taught at daycare centers. The following table shows the number of participants by district.

District	School	Children	Outside	Clubs	Daycare	Children	Associations
Kalevala	5	45	-	32	4	65	81
Kemi	2	106	-	47	-	-	-
Kostamus	3	82	-	-	1	-	-
Louhi	9	26	86	77	2	40	80
Karhumäki	6	104	51	38	-	-	-
Mujejärvi	4	-	68	91	2	81	14
Petroskoi	3	100	-	-	-	-	10
Total	32	463	205	285	9	186	185

In fact, White Sea Karelian is taught in schools to 953 children, in associations 185 persons and in daycare centers to 186 children. In total, to 1424 persons. In my opinion, the number of students could be even larger.

Qualified teachers of Karelian are trained at the University of Petrozavodsk and the Karelian State Pedagogical University. At the University of Petrozavodsk there are 35 students majoring in White Sea Karelian. They also study Finnish. The following Karelian language lectures are given: a course of approximately 860 hours in phonetics and morphology, syntax 60 hours, dialectology 32 hours, history of the Karelian language 30 hours, comparative grammar of Karelian and Finnish 32 hours. After their third year of study all students engage in summer fieldwork to collect information about various points concerning grammar and the oral tradition. This data will be used to write research papers and their final thesis.

Recording and Analysing Linguistic Data

VARBUL: a Specialized Application of Logistic Regression

Robert Bayley
University of Texas

This session will provide a rationale for and demonstration of the VARBRUL computer programs (Pintzuk 1988; Rand and Sankoff, 1990; Robinson et al., 2001). The demonstration uses studies of coronal stop deletion in Chicano English and variation in American Sign Language to show the steps in the heuristic process of hypothesis generation, testing, and revision as it is carried out with the help of VARBRUL, including the following: 1) generating initial hypotheses to account for observed variation; 2) coding the data for the potentially large number of independent factors affecting variation; 3) conducting the initial VARBRUL run and interpreting the factor probabilities generated; 4) recoding the data to refine hypotheses on the basis of factor probabilities generated in

step 3; 5) testing of significance of individual factors and factor groups by means of log likelihood estimation.

Basic Statistical Operations

Gregory Guy
New York University

This workshop will cover elementary quantitative analysis. Basic descriptive statistics, such as measurements of central tendencies (mean, median, etc.) and percentages and ratios, are reviewed, considering their appropriateness for certain kinds of data. General problems are considered, such as sampling, distribution, data reduction and display, and the appropriate use of tables and graphs. Finally, we will discuss basic inferential statistics and the question of statistical significance.

Geographical Plotting

Bill Kretschmar
University of Georgia

This session will present issues and methods for mapping linguistic data, especially by computer means, using data drawn from American Linguistic Atlas surveys (<http://us.english.uga.edu>). We will begin with the basic issues of geographical modeling of linguistic data (i.e. the possible relationships between linguistic data and geographical locations), and of the nature of GIS (Geographical Information Systems). We will then consider use of statistical procedures to assess geographical distribution of linguistic features drawn from the Linguistic Atlas: statistics for comparison of fixed regions; spatial autocorrelation; density estimation; and self-organizing maps. Finally, we will consider methods for visualization of distributions. The session will not be a general introduction to GIS software, which is widely available in several user-friendly packages. Rather, the main point will be to introduce ideas about modeling that will allow participants to develop their own GIS applications.

Analysing Linguistic Variation in R

John Paolillo
Indiana University

For around 25 years, Linguists have used non-linear regression in the form of the VARBRUL family of programs. Recent development of VARBRUL has slowed to a crawl. While other programs can perform non-linear regressions, they tend to be expensive and lack some of the useful features of VARBRUL. An exception to this is R, a programming environment for statistics and graphics available under the Gnu Public License. A well-maintained and modern package, R offers many features, from social network analysis to multi-dimensional scaling to integration with database packages. This workshop will demonstrate the use of R for analyzing variation using functions that replicate the features of VARBRUL, drawing on data from studies on Internet

language variation. Several distinct advantages of R are demonstrated, including flexible plotting of data, continuous independent variables, and log-linear modeling. The goal of the workshop is to illustrate how variationist linguists can benefit from using R.

Best Practices in the Acquisition, Processing, and Analysis of Acoustic Speech Data

Bartek Plichta
Michigan State University

This workshop is intended to assist researchers in implementing several important aspects of audio technology in the field, studio, and research lab. It presents a set of best practices in the recording, processing, and analysis of acoustic speech signals. With a close focus on current digital technology, we are proposing methodologies that are certain to improve the quality and efficiency of linguistic analysis and help avoid most common analysis errors.

We have collected and analyzed an extensive body of speech data using a variety of recording techniques, hardware, and software. Not surprisingly, we have found that the choice of data acquisition and processing methodologies may have a dramatic impact on the results of one's analysis. We have identified the most common factors influencing the reliability of software-based acoustic analysis. These include: recording techniques, recording equipment, signal-to-noise ratio, dynamic range, frequency responses, aliasing, A/D conversion hardware, and computational algorithms. For example, we have shown how tape recorder transport mechanism noise can easily produce false frequency formants in a standard LPC analysis. We have multiple examples of machine-generated harmonic distortion showing in vowel spectra and LPC errors caused by inappropriate choice of sample rate for female and child data. We have analyzed old, archival recordings from the DARE corpus and suggested a set of DSP techniques that help prepare DARE data for easy and reliable analysis. In an effort to ascertain consistency and quality of acoustic analysis, we have prepared a set of detailed guidelines that address all of the challenges listed above. We have also put several speech analysis software packages to test and ranked them in terms of reliability of output, extensibility, scripting potential, ease of use, and value. Finally, we suggest methods of dealing with less common types of acoustic data, such as child speech, breathy voice, and overlapping speech.

Analysing Vowels

Dennis R. Preston
Michigan State University

Over the past few years, Bill Labov has developed a plotting and analysis system for the study of variation in vowel systems. PLOTNIK, the program, built exclusively for Macintosh, takes as its input the formant values derived from LPC or other spectral analytic techniques and provides a variety of F1-F2 plots of both individual tokens and means scores of tokens (for all vowels or selected items). The program allows normalization of vowels for comparison across speakers and basic statistical routines (e.g., t-tests). Environmental characteristics of vowels can also be taken into consideration on the basis of the original encoding, and some coding can be accomplished automatically.

This workshop will train participants in the basic operations of the program: entering formant data, checking environmental coding and considering the exclusion of some environments for analyses, examining various token sets, checking means scores and standard deviation plots, normalizing data, and using t-tests. Although the program was built for English, it can easily be modified to suit other languages, and the documentation which comes with it is thorough. The workshop presupposes only the most basic knowledge of acoustics.

ANOVA

Roeland van Hout
University of Nijmegen

Hans Van de Velde
Université Libre de Bruxelles

Analysis of variance is a statistical technique often applied in the analysis of language data. It is the technique most frequently used in the social sciences, and it is not uncommon in applied linguistics either. Its popularity can also be noted in language attitude studies for instance, or in studies on language loss or shift. In psycholinguistics, it seems to be the standard technique. Surprisingly enough, analysis of variance is very rare in sociolinguistic studies on variation and change. Its role as the standard or basic technique is taken over by variable rule analysis.

All techniques related to variable rule analysis can be subsumed under the heading of frequency analysis. The dependent variable commonly is the occurrence or non-occurrence of a linguistic phenomenon, for instance the deletion of a word final 't' in a consonant cluster. Such a binomial outcome seems to be alien to the requirements of analysis of variance, for the latter statistical technique assumes the dependent variable to have a more gradual character (interval level). The borderline between variable rule analysis and analysis of variance, however, is harder to draw than many sociolinguists perhaps think.

The aim of this workshop is to show the power of analysis of variance for a range of research questions typical of sociolinguistics. In explaining the technique of analysis of variance the concept of variance or variation will be central. The application of analysis of variance will be illustrated by examples from the statistical package SPSS (version 10). We do not intend to give a general introduction to SPSS. Examples will be presented in a way which presupposes some basic understanding of database manipulation. We will restrict our presentation to the main components of analysis of variance.

The following topics will be addressed:

- one-way analysis of variance, in which subjects, respondents or informants belong to a single set of different groups;
- two-way analysis of variance, in which the informants are divided in different groups by using two factors;
- the meaning of the assumptions underlying analysis of variance and the usefulness of transforming the dependent variable;
- the analysis of nested designs;
- repeated measurements designs;
- the multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA);
- dealing with unequal cell sizes.

