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Ulrich Ammon · Klaus J. Mattheier

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In Memoriam

Peter Hans Nelde [1942-2007]

Peter Hans Nelde, Professor and Chair of German and Linguistics,
Director of the Research Centre on Multilingualism at the Catholic
University of Brussels and one of the founders and editors of this
Yearbook, died on August 31, 2007 after a long battle with cancer.

Peter Nelde grew up in Germany, began his academic education in 1961 at the University
of Münster in Westphalia and continued and completed it at the University of Freiburg in
1967 with a doctoral dissertation on the importance of Flanders in the work of the German
poet and philologist, Hoffmann von Fallersleben. This investigation marked the beginning
of a life-long bond to that area and to Belgium for its author. After a short appointment in
Ghent he began teaching in 1969 at the Catholic University in the bilingual city of
Brussels, the ideal base for the development of his professional career. In the mid 70's
Professor Nelde's research already concentrated on applied linguistics and socio-
linguistics, first of German and its different varieties, which led to his monograph on the
diglossic contact between standard language and colloquial speech in German-speaking
Belgium (*Volkssprache und Kultursprache*, Wiesbaden 1979). By the end of that decade
his main attention had turned to languages in contact. Multilingualism, the contact
between languages and dialects, its effect upon all aspects of their structure and
development and the determiners and effects on the members of the communities in
contact, became the focus of Peter Nelde's research, in which he became one of the
world's leading experts. The label 'contact linguistics', which he gave to his research area
and which has become the accepted term for our discipline, will forever be associated with
his name. His location provided both the natural opportunity and the obligation to study
multilingualism, and led him to defend not only its desirability but to understand its risks.
"There is no contact without conflict" has become known as Nelde's Law, because such
contact is usually found between a dominant political majority and a less privileged
minority. Therefore, the study of linguistic minorities, minority rights and policies had to
be a natural correlate of Peter Nelde's professional and personal engagement.

In 1977 he founded the Research Center on Multilingualism (RCM) at his university,
which he directed until his death and which became the model for similar research centers
around the world. Being selected and invited to be a corresponding member of the center

has become the proof of membership in the 'union' of contact linguists. The three official languages of Belgium plus English have been the working languages of all its activities and publications, as they were of its quadrilingual director. Its international conferences, under the appropriate title *Contact + Conflict,* became the major forum for the treatment and discussion of topics in contact and conflict linguistics and the meeting place for the world's scholars in that area of research. The publication of the proceedings of these conferences was the motivation for the creation of the *Plurilingua* series, which Peter managed, published and directed as editor-in-chief. The series began in 1983 with four volumes in the same year; no. XXX appeared last year, edited by his student and collaborator, Jeroen Darquennes, and dedicated to his memory. In 1991 another series was added: *Bausteine Europas*, co-edited by Peter's oldest friend since his student days, the jurist and political historian, Werner Mäder. The RCM became a popular site for training and research of students and young scholars in contact linguistics. Many of them began and completed their doctoral research under Professor Nelde's expert guidance: Sonja Vandermeeren, Jörg Horn, Jeroen Darquennes, and Marianne Broermann. I became an associate of the Center in 1981, joining Normand Labrie and Harald Haarmann. The twentieth anniversary of the Center was celebrated together with Peter's 55th birthday in 1997 with a large conference bringing together most of its seventy corresponding members. Its proceedings, published in four volumes of *Plurilingua* as 'Recent Studies in Sociolinguistics' in German, Dutch, French and English, respectively, are a fitting tribute to and an acknowledgment of the work of its director.

The year 1987 is marked by three significant entries on Peter's publication record. The first to appear was his article entitled 'Language contact means language conflict' in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, which became the main reference for 'Nelde's Law' (s.a.); the second is his famous atlas of German in Belgium (*Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprache in Belgien*, Francke: Bern & Stuttgart); and the third is the reason for the location of this obituary: the inauguration of *Sociolinguistica*: the *International Yearbook of European Sociolinguistics* under the editorship of Ulrich Ammon, Klaus J. Mattheier and Peter H. Nelde. Each volume of this unique series – like the one at hand – is dedicated to a focal topic and discussed by experts in the field. Peter played a major role in the planning of each issue, supervised major parts of each edition, (copy-)edited all French contributions, and prepared the annual bibliography of European publications, which is appended to each volume and which has become a welcome and needed reference source in our field.

After Belgium, the country whose multilingualism attracted Peter's interest and involvement was Hungary. Together with Sonja Vandermeeren we prepared an extensive survey of German-Hungarian bilingualism in the late 80ies. The need to develop a task-specific survey methodology and our success in its implementation encouraged Peter, then already assisted by his close collaborator, Peter Weber, to join Miquel Strubell and Glyn Williams in a bid on a contract to survey all 48 official minorities in the twelve member states of the European Union. The results of this ambitious project describing 'the production and reproduction of the minority language groups in the European Union' were condensed into a brochure published in 1996 in six languages under the title *Euromosaic,* a term with which every sociolinguist, not just in Europe, has since become

familiar. A few years later it was followed by an even more extensive survey with the same title (*Euromosaic III*) of all ethnolinguistic minorities in the ten Eastern European countries that had joined the Union in 2004, this time under Peter's directorship. This survey was the natural consequence and main realization of his strong commitment to Eastern Europe, which began long before the 'Wende' and the fall of the Soviet empire.

Even before the first survey began, Peter had already started to make plans on what will likely remain to be known as his most notable achievement: the *International Handbook on Contact Linguistics*, published in 1996/97 with Hans Goebl, Zdenek Stary and myself as co-editors. This monumental reference tool consists of two volumes, each about 1000 pp. long; the first covers all the theoretical-methodological aspects of our field, the second treats in detail every language pair in contact on the entire European continent, after an overview of its host country. The contributors were chosen from the world's experts in sociolinguistics and contact linguistics. In addition to providing the linguistic community with the most comprehensive and detailed survey of our field and with an exhaustive reference instrument, the handbook has firmly established contact linguistics as a discipline in its own right, and with that name.

It is not surprising that a man of such talent would be sought after as organizer, editor, speaker and instructor by organizations and institutions outside his own. His service began with the founding membership on the board of the Belgian Association of Germanists and Teachers of German. He served on the board of directors of the German Society for Applied Linguistics (GAL) and of the Belgian Association of Applied Linguistics (ABLA), over which he presided until 1994, and as convener of the AILA Commission on Language Planning and of the Belgian Committee on Minority Issues of the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages. In 2005 he was appointed to the Advisory Council of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Vienna. He was the editor of a dozen journals and series published in Europe, the US and Canada, and served on the editorial boards of another ten. His longer appointments as visiting professor were at the universities of Leipzig, Vienna, Melbourne, Nijmegen, Paderborn, Pécs, Quebec, Thessaloniki, Windhoek, Zagreb and Buffalo, where we taught a seminar on American and European minorities together in 1981. At the first two institutions listed, he helped setting up interdisciplinary graduate programs in European studies. The one in Vienna, designed and directed by his close friend Rosita Rindler-Schjerve, has become an exemplary model for such courses of study. Peter's work at the University of Leipzig holds very special significance in his professional career, because it awarded him the prestigious Leibniz Chair – an honor which I know he appreciated more than any of the many others he had received over the years, which included a knighthood in the Order of the Belgian Crown.

In addition to all those achievements, Peter was able to maintain a productive family life and a full range of private interests and hobbies. He brought up five children, all to be successful professionals, and he was an accomplished musician and sportsman, who still found time to build elaborate landscapes for his beloved miniature trains. The source and explanation of such enormous energy and productivity was his extraordinary ability to integrate his professional and his personal interests and tasks into a perfect harmony. Many of his collaborators were his close personal friends and became part of his extended

family. The anchor of this harmonious integration, who made it all possible, was his partner and principal collaborator, Anne Melis, who helped him set up and manage the Research Center and its projects, and who was the organizer and hostess of the many dinners and receptions, which we enjoyed as the conclusion to the many reunions and conferences arranged by the famous couple.

His last and most ambitious project Peter was unable to complete or even to see fully develop before he was struck down by the vicious and fatal illness. With the goal of bringing kin spirits together and to foment collaborative professional development, an exchange and sharing of research as well as of scholars and students of contact linguistics, Peter's RCM coordinated a proposal to the European Union for a huge project to investigate all social aspects of linguistic diversity in Europe (LINEE). It involved major academic institutions from seven countries for a total running time of four years. Peter died before the end of its first year, but was still able to help me organize the First LINEE Training Institute just two months before his death.

I first met Peter in 1980 at the AILA Congress in Montreal, where Charles Ferguson persuaded me to join him to listen to a paper by a 'young Belgian linguist' on a unique case of bilingualism, where two different languages (French and Dutch) were spoken on opposite sides of the street in the same village. I listened to him, stayed for the discussion and I did not stop discussing, arguing and collaborating with Peter for the rest of his life. The remaining editors of this yearbook, whom I thank for the privilege of providing this appreciation, join me in mourning the tragic loss of our friend and colleague, the 'baptist' of our sub-discipline of contact linguistics, its promoter and major contributor.

Wolfgang Wölck, Buffalo/ NY (USA)

Vorwort/ Preface[1]/ Avant-propos[2]

Das Ziel des hier vorgelegten Bandes zur europäischen Soziolinguistik ist es, Dialektvarietäten europäischer Sprachen in der Vielfalt ihrer Kontakte mit anderen (diatopischen, diastratischen und diaphasischen) Varietäten und Sprachen darzustellen und zu analysieren. Es geht um die soziale Brisanz zentraler dialektsoziologischer Themen. Solche Themenfelder sind etwa die funktionalen Umformungen von dialektalen Merkmalen in „Lifestyle"-Varietäten oder die Rolle von Dialektvarianten in neuen Medien. Andere Brennpunkte der dialektsoziologischen Entwicklung, die auch in diesem Band zur Sprache kommen, sind (immer noch) das Problem „Dialekt und Schule" und der Rollenwechsel der Dialekte in sich ausdehnenden urbanen Regionen. Allen diesen Erscheinungen gemeinsam ist das Phänomen des strukturalen Dialektwandels bzw. des soziofunktionalen Dialektabbaus. Dieser fast überall in Europa zu beobachtende Entdialektalisierungsprozess steht im Vordergrund aller dialektsoziologischen Entwicklungen. In den hier vorgelegten Forschungsbeiträgen zeigt sich jedoch zugleich, dass man die gegenwärtigen Entwicklungen im dialektsoziologischen Raum nur teilweise durch pauschale Modelle eines Dialektabbaus erfassen kann. Überall sind neben Abbauprozessen auch Erhaltungstendenzen, mitunter sogar Dialektausbau und häufiger Umfunktionalisierungen und Umbewertungsprozesse zu beobachten. An die Stelle der Kommunikationsfunktion des Dialekts tritt in der urbanisierten europäischen Dialektgesellschaft vermehrt die Identifikationsfunktion von Dialekten.

Dass die vielfältigen Dynamikprozesse arealer Varietäten, zu denen neben Dialekten auch regionale Varietäten größerer arealer Verbreitung gehören, nach wie vor im Zentrum aktueller dialektologischer, variationslinguistischer und soziolinguistischer Forschung des 21. Jahrhunderts stehen, wird im vorliegenden Band an unterschiedlichsten thematischen Fokussierungen deutlich gemacht: Insgesamt neun Beiträge von Forschern aus acht europäischen Ländern haben sich zusammengefunden, um areale Varietäten aus dialektsoziologischer Perspektive zu diskutieren und analysieren.

Den ersten thematischen Block bilden die beiden Beiträge von Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox, Paul Kerswill & Eivind Torgersen bzw. Helen Christen, deren gemeinsame inhaltliche Schnittmenge die Frage nach sprachlicher Variation in polydialektalen Kontaktsituationen ist:

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[1] Für die Hilfe bei der englischen Übersetzung des Vorwortes bedanken wir uns herzlich bei Dr. Shannon Dubenion-Smith (Western Washington University).

[2] Für die französische Übersetzung des Vorwortes bedanken wir uns herzlich bei Frau Prof. Dr. Françoise Gadet (Université de Paris).

Inwieweit Ethnizität ein zentraler variationssteuernder Faktor darstellt, steht im Zentrum des Beitrags von Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox, Paul Kerswill & Eivind Torgersen. Die empirische Basis, die der Diskussion zugrunde liegt, ist ein großes Korpus gesprochensprachlicher Daten von Jugendlichen aus der „working-class" Londons, deren Wohnbezirke sich durch starke Migrationsbewegungen auszeichnen. Ziel des Beitrags ist es, herauszufinden, welche Formen sprachlichen Verhaltens sich bei Sprechern multi-ethnischer Gruppen abzeichnen (Stichwort *crossing* u. a.) und welche langfristigen Auswirkungen die individuelle Sprechervariation auf das Sprachverhalten des gesamten Netzwerkes haben kann.

Helen Christen lenkt in ihrem Beitrag den Blick auf schweizerdeutsche Dialekte, die sich im innereuropäischen Vergleich durch eine überdurchschnittlich hohe Stabilität und Vitalität auszeichnen. Diese Vitalität drückt sich auch darin aus, dass im Kontakt von Deutschschweizern verschiedener Dialektregionen die eigene lokale Dialektvarietät nicht oder nur bedingt zugunsten einer anderen Varietät abgelegt wird – etwa einer Koiné, eines Regiolekts oder gar der Schweizer Standardsprache –, sondern sich in der Regel ein „polydialektaler" Dialog entspannt. Am Beispiel einer Radiosendung zeichnet Christen die soziale Praxis eines solchen polydialektalen Dialogs nach.

In einem zweiten thematischen Block sind die Beiträge von Roland Willemyns & Wim Vandenbussche und Michael Elmentaler angesiedelt, die sich auf den flämischen bzw. niederdeutschen Sprachraum beziehen:

Auf der Grundlage verschiedener Fragebogenerhebungen analysieren Roland Willemyns & Wim Vandenbussche rezente Entwicklungen im niederländischen Sprachraum, wobei ihr Schwerpunkt auf West-Flandern liegt. Neben der Frage, welche Auswirkungen die zu beobachtenden Prozesse des Dialektverlusts auf die Struktur des gesamten Variations-spektrums flämischer Sprecher haben, enthält ihr Beitrag aufschlussreiche methodo-logische Ergebnisse bzgl. der Aussagekraft von Selbsteinschätzungen befragter Sprecher.

Das Gesamt an arealen Varietäten „unterhalb" der standardsprachlichen Norm ist auch das zentrale Diskussionsobjekt im Beitrag von Michael Elmentaler. Sein empirisches Material stammt aus zwei Regionen des Niederdeutschen, einem Sprachraum, der sich innerhalb Deutschlands durch besonders starken Dialektab- und -umbau kennzeichnet. Anhand ausgewählter Studien liefert Elmentaler fundierte Einblicke in die Dynamik aktuell ablaufender Sprachwandelvorgänge.

Der dritte Themenblock des Bandes umfasst die Beiträge von Raphael Berthele und Melanie Wagner, die im weitesten Sinne die Thematik „Dialekt und Schule" betreffen:

Mit seinem Beitrag „Mehrsprachigkeit und die Standard-Dialekt-Kompetenz" knüpft Raphael Berthele implizit an die altbekannte Sprachbarrierendiskussion an. Mit modernen Erhebungs- und statistischen Analysemethoden gelingt ihm der Nachweis, dass Sprecher mit bivarietärer Kompetenz (nämlich einer Dialekt- und Standardsprachkompetenz) Fremdsprachen schneller und besser erschließen können als monovarietäre Sprecher.

Melanie Wagners Analyse von „Teachers' and pupils' perceptions of linguistic variation" zielt auf Fragen des Normbewusstseins und der Normbewertung ab. Das empirische Material, auf dem ihre Ergebnisse basieren, hat sie im Rahmen von Tiefeninterviews an moselfränkischen Schulen erhoben.

Im vierten und letzten Themenblock gruppieren sich drei Beiträge mit sprachpolitischer Perspektive.

Silvia Dal Negro lenkt den Fokus auf „local languages" in Italien, wobei sie unter diesem Lable sowohl Dialekte und Regiolekte als auch Minderheitensprachen fasst. Unter welchen Bedingungen und in welcher Art lokale Varietäten/Sprachen in Italien „überleben", sind zentrale Fragestellungen ihrer Diskussion.

Ebenfalls im romanischen Sprachraum bewegt sich der Beitrag von Kathryn Priest, die die Frage stellt: „Why aren't the Occitans more like the Catalans?" Um diese Frage zu beantworten, analysiert sie Einstellungen und das Sprachverhalten einer Languedoc-Gemeinde.

Den Abschluss des Themenblocks und gleichzeitig des Bandes bildet Ernst Håkon Jahr, der sich der dialektsoziologisch hochinteressanten Sprachsituation Norwegens zuwendet. Håkons Ziel ist es, Begründungen für die Sonderstellung Norwegens zu liefern, die sich etwa in einer hohen Dialektloyalität und -stabilität und in der Existenz zweier konkurrierender Standardvarietäten ausdrückt.

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The aim of this volume on European sociolinguistics is to present and analyse dialect varieties of European languages, looking at the many ways in which these come into contact with other (diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic) varieties and languages. Our concern here is the social volatility of pivotal sociodialectal topics, including, for example, functional "reallocations" of dialect features in "lifestyle" varieties and the role of dialect varieties in new media. Other focal points of sociodialectal change that come to the fore in this volume are the (enduring) problem of "dialect and school" and the change in the role of dialects in expanding urban regions. Common to all these phenomena is either structural dialect change or sociofunctional dialect loss, as the case may be. This process of "dedialectalization", observable almost everywhere in Europe, is at the core of all sociodialectal developments. However, the articles in this volume also show that current developments in dialect sociology can only partially be explained by global models of dialect loss. Everywhere, we can observe processes of decline alongside tendencies toward maintenance, sometimes even dialect extension and often refunctionalization and reevaluation. In urbanized European dialect communities, the communicative function of dialect is being substituted more and more by the use of dialect as a means of identification.

The multifaceted dynamic processes taking place in areal varieties, including not only dialects but also regional varieties with a relatively large areal distribution, are still the focus of current 21st century research in dialectology, variation linguistics and sociolinguistics. This fact is evidenced by the wide variety of thematic areas in this volume. In a total of nine contributions, researchers from eight European countries discuss and analyse areal varieties from a sociodialectological perspective.

The first thematic group consists of the two articles by Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox, Paul Kerswill & Eivind Torgersen and Helen Christen. The point at which these articles intersect is the question of linguistic variation in polydialectal contact situations:

The contribution by Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox, Paul Kerswill & Eivind Torgersen centres on the extent to which ethnicity can be viewed as a crucial factor determining

variation. The empirical basis for the discussion is a large corpus of spoken data gathered from working class youths living in districts of London marked by a high rate of migration. The aim of this article is to determine which forms of linguistic behaviour emerge in speakers from multi-ethnic groups (key word: _crossing_) and what long-term consequences individual variation can have on the linguistic behaviour of the whole network.

Helen Christen takes a look at Swiss German dialects, which stand out among the dialects spoken in Europe because of their higher-than-average stability and vitality. This vitality is apparent in the fact that in contact situations involving Swiss German speakers from different dialect areas, the speakers do not abandon their own local dialect in favour of another variety such as a koiné, regiolect or even the Swiss standard language, or do so only to a limited extent. Instead, a "polydialectal" dialogue normally ensues. Christen gives an account of the social practice of such polydialectal dialogues, as exemplified by a radio transmission.

The contributions by Roland Willemyns & Wim Vandenbussche and Michael Elmentaler form the second thematic group. These concern the Flemish and Low German linguistic areas, respectively:

On the basis of various questionnaire studies, Roland Willemyns & Wim Vandenbussche analyse recent developments in the Flemish-speaking area, with a focus on Western Flanders. Besides the question of what consequences the observed processes of dialect loss will have on the structure of Flemish speakers' entire spectrum of variation, Willemyns & Vandenbussche's article contains illuminating methodological results concerning the significance of consultant self-assessment.

The whole spectrum of areal varieties "below" the standard language norm is also the central focus of the discussion by Michael Elmentaler. Elmentaler's empirical material originates from two areas of Low German, a linguistic region that within Germany is characterized by especially strong dialect loss and reconstruction ('Dialektumbau'). Drawing from selected studies, Elmentaler provides fundamental insights into the dynamics of language change processes currently taking place.

The third thematic group includes contributions by Raphael Berthele and Melanie Wagner, both of which pertain to the topic of "dialect and school" in the broadest sense:

Raphael Berthele's article ties in implicitly with the well known discussion of "language barriers". Using modern methods of surveying and analyzing data, Berthele finds evidence that speakers with bivarietal competence (i.e., competence in both a dialect and the standard language) are able to understand foreign languages better and more quickly than monovarietal speakers.

Melanie Wagner's analysis of "Teachers' and pupils' perceptions of linguistic variation" targets questions of norm awareness and evaluation. The empirical material on which Wagner's results are based was gathered during depth interviews at schools in the Moselle Franconian dialect area.

The forth and last thematic group is made up of three contributions with a perspective grounded in language policy:

Silvia dal Negro focuses on "local languages" in Italy, a label she uses to refer to dialects, regiolects and minority languages. Under which conditions and in what way local varieties/languages in Italy "survive" are the issues central to her discussion.

Kathryn Priest's article also deals with the Romance linguistic area. Priest asks the question: "Why aren't the Occitans more like the Catalans?" In order to find an answer, she analyzes the attitudes and linguistic behaviour of a Languedoc community.

This thematic group ends with a contribution by Ernst Håkon Jahr, bringing the volume to a close. Jahr turns his attention towards the sociodialectologically highly interesting language situation in Norway. Jahr's aim is to provide reasons for Norway's exceptional linguistic status, which is evidenced, for example, by a high dialect loyalty and stability and the existence of two competing standard varieties.

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Le but de ce numéro sur la sociolinguistique européenne est de représenter et d'analyser les variétés dialectales des langues européennes dans la diversité de leurs contacts avec d'autres variétés et d'autres langues (diatopiques, diastratiques et diaphasiques).

Il s'agit avant tout du caractère socialement explosif de thèmes qui sont au cœur de la sociologie dialectale. Les champs thématiques concernés sont globalement les transformations fonctionnelles de traits dialectaux dans des variétés de style de vie, ou le rôle de variantes dialectales dans les nouveaux médias. D'autres questions sensibles du développement de la sociologie dialectale sont également abordées dans ce numéro, comme (une nouvelle fois) la question *dialecte et école*, ainsi que le changement de rôle des dialectes dans les régions urbaines en pleine expansion. Le phénomène du changement dialectal structural ou celui de la déconstruction dialectale socio-fonctionnelle sont communs à tous ces problèmes. Ce processus de dédialectisation, que l'on peut observer à peu près partout en Europe, est au premier plan de tous les processus de développement de la sociologie des dialectes. Dans les travaux présentés ici, il apparaît aussi que ce n'est que partiellement que l'on peut saisir les développements actuels dans l'espace de la sociologie des dialectes à travers des modèles globaux de la déconstruction dialectale. Parallèlement aux processus de déconstruction, on peut aussi observer des tendances à la préservation, voire au développement du dialecte, et plus souvent encore des tendances à des processus de changement de fonctionnalité et d'évaluation. Dans la société dialectale urbanisée européenne on voit s'accroître la fonction d'identification par les dialectes au détriment de la fonction de communication.

Ce numéro montre clairement, par des focalisations thématiques les plus variées, le fait que les différents processus dynamiques des variétés aérales, dont à côté des dialectes relèvent aussi des variétés régionales de zones aérales plus larges, sont au centre de la recherche dialectologique, de la linguistique de la variation et de la sociolinguistique du 21e siècle. Au total, huit chercheurs, originaires de différents pays européens, se sont réunis pour discuter et analyser dans les neuf articles de ce numéro des variétés aérales dans une perspective dialecto-sociologique.

Le premier bloc thématique regroupe les deux articles de Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox, Paul Kerswill & Eivind Torgersen et de Helen Christen. Ils traitent de la variation linguistique dans les situations de contact polydialectales. L'article de Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox, Paul Kerswill & Eivind Torgersen montre à quel pont l'ethnicité représente un

facteur variationnel majeur. La base empirique de leur discussion est un grand corpus de données orales de jeunes de la *working class* londonienne, habitant dans un quartier à forts mouvements migratoires. Le but de cet article est de faire émerger quelles formes de comportement langagier se manifestent au sein de groupes de locuteurs multiethniques (de type *crossing*), et quelles conséquences à long terme peut avoir la variation individuelle sur les comportements langagiers de l'ensemble du réseau.

Helen Christen s'intéresse dans son article aux dialectes suisses alémaniques, qui manifestent au niveau européen une stabilité et une vitalité supérieures à la moyenne. Cette vitalité s'exprime par le fait que, dans le contact entre des locuteurs originaires de différentes régions dialectales de la Suisse alémanique, ceux-ci ne renoncent pas à leur propre variété dialectale au profit d'une autre variété – quelque chose comme une koinè, un régiolecte ou même la langue standard suisse – mais que s'instaure généralement entre eux un dialogue polydialectal. Christen illustre la pratique sociale d'un tel dialogue avec l'exemple d'une émission radiophonique.

Un deuxième bloc thématique réunit les articles de Roland Willemyns & Wim Vandenbussche, et de Michael Elmentaler, qui concernent l'espace linguistique flamand, et plus particulièrement le bas-allemand. Roland Willemyns & Wim Vandenbussche analysent, sur la base de différentes enquêtes, les développements récents dans l'espace linguistique néerlandophone, avec pour centre de gravité l'ouest des Flandres. Parallèlement à la question des effets des processus de perte du dialecte sur tout le spectre variationnel du locuteur flamand, leur article concerne les effets méthodologiques révélateurs de la force d'assertion du locuteur interrogé sur ses propres appréciations. Quant à l'article de Michael Elmentaler, il porte essentiellement sur l'ensemble des variétés aérales inférieures à la norme standard. Son matériel empirique provient de deux régions où l'on parle le bas-allemand, un espace linguistique connu en Allemagne pour la forte déconstruction et la profonde transformation de son dialecte. En se fondant sur des études significatives, Elmentaler apporte un aperçu fondé sur la dynamique d'actuels processus de changement en cours.

Le troisième bloc thématique comprend les articles de Raphael Berthele et de Melanie Wagner. Ils concernent la thématique *dialecte et école* au sens large. Avec son article *Le plurilinguisme et la compétence standard-dialecte,* Raphael Berthele renoue implicitement avec la discussion bien connue sur les barrières de langues. Avec des méthodes modernes d'enquête et d'analyses statistiques, il montre que des locuteurs avec une compétence bi-variétale (en l'occurrence, une compétence dialectale et une compétence standard) acquièrent plus vite et mieux les langues étrangères que les locuteurs uni-variétaux. L'analyse par Melanie Wagner des *Perceptions de la variation linguistique par les enseignants et les élèves* vise des questions sur la prise de conscience de la norme et son évaluation. Elle tire son matériel empirique d'interviews approfondies faites dans des écoles de régions où l'on parle le francique mosellan.

Le quatrième et dernier bloc regroupe trois articles sur des perspectives de politique linguistique. Silvia Dal Negro porte son attention sur les « langues locales » en Italie, en mettant sous cette étiquette aussi bien les dialectes et les régiolectes que les langues de minorités. A quelles conditions et de quelle manière les variétés/langues locales en Italie survivent-elles ? C'est aussi dans l'espace roman que se situe l'article de Kathryn Priest,

avec la question: *Pourquoi les Occitans ne sont-ils pas comme les Catalans*? Pour y répondre, elle analyse les attitudes et le comportement linguistique d'une commune du Languedoc.

   Le dernier article de ce bloc thématique, qui est aussi celui de l'ensemble du numéro, est celui d'Ernst Håkon Jahr. Il concerne la situation linguistique de la Norvège, qui est particulièrement intéressante d'un point de vue de la sociologie dialectale. Son but est d'établir les causes de la situation exceptionnelle que connaît la Norvège et qui se manifeste dans sa très haute loyauté et stabilité dialectales, ainsi que dans l'existence de deux variétés standard concurrentes.

<div align="right">Alexandra Lenz & Klaus Mattheier</div>

Jenny Cheshire/ Sue Fox/ Paul Kerswill/ Eivind Torgersen

Ethnicity, friendship network and social practices as the motor of dialect change: Linguistic innovation in London

1. Introduction

In this paper we consider whether ethnicity is a significant determinant of variation in the spoken English of young working-class people in London. We base our analysis on a corpus of 1.4 million words of informal speech from 100 people aged 16-19, from one inner London and one outer London borough. Many (mainly white) Londoners moved from the inner city (the 'East End') to the outer London borough and further afield, particularly Essex, in the 1950s; by contrast, the inner London borough has a high proportion of recent migrants from overseas. We explore whether the nature of a speaker's friendship group is a key factor in the diffusion of linguistic innovations, and whether this interacts with ethnicity. We hypothesise that speakers draw on a range of linguistic forms that cannot necessarily, or at least can no longer, be attributed to specific ethnic groups.

1.1 Ethnic variation in London English

London has long been a 'point of arrival' for immigrants (Bermant 1975), both from elsewhere in the British Isles and overseas. However, there is little information about possible change to the English spoken in London brought about as a result of immigration, despite the importance of changes in London English for the language as a whole. For example, Wells claimed that 'its [London's] working-class accent is today the most influential source of phonological innovation in England and perhaps in the whole English-speaking world' (1982: 301).

Despite overseas immigration to London over several centuries, there have been few systematic investigations of the 'foreign' influence on its dialect. As late as the 1960s, Beaken could assert that there was no appreciable difference between the accent of white and minority-ethnic Londoners, at least in his sample:

'Large-scale immigration into the area [Tower Hamlets in London's traditional East End] had not taken place, either of native English speakers from other parts of London, or of English-speaking but not native-born immigrants. Fordway School had a small minority of children of Asian origin who were not native English speakers. There were also some West Indian children, but those were mainly from families which had been in the area for some time: some of these "West Indians" were in fact English, having been born in the district. The speech of the older ones was to all intents and purposes indistinguishable from that of the white children. In other words, a slight influx of

immigrants into the area had not significantly affected the linguistic homogeneity of the community.' (Beaken 1971: 14)

The children in question were attending primary school and were around 9 years old. Likewise, Labov (2001a: 507) states that 'in London, locally born members of Jamaican families use a dialect that is not clearly distinguishable from that of other working class Londoners'. A footnote on the same page describes a perceptual study he carried out:

'In the 1980s, I recorded a series of Jamaican youth in Battersea Park, London. I returned the next day with a tape which had six extracts from their speech, and asked a series of white Londoners to identify their ethnic background. Two of the six were identified as white by the majority of listeners, and none of them were unhesitatingly identified as black.'

Sebba (1993) states that no obvious pronunciation differences existed between young black and white Londoners (his data are from 1981), asserting (p. 64): 'Black Londoners sound for the most part *very* London'. Yet he cites evidence that the ethnicity of most young Londoners *could* be identified from recordings alone – *contra* Labov, and a finding which is more in tune with other research, in particular that of Hewitt.

Hewitt's work in London, also in the early 1980s, gives us a substantially different picture. Of British black children, he states that 'through their association with white children in the local neighbourhoods and schools, their speech has come to have an impact on the new generations of white Londoners' (Hewitt 1986: 126-127). On the impact of the Caribbean immigration on London English, he notes that 'we are able to observe a sociolinguistic process as it is occurring' (Hewitt 1986: 126). Lexical items of creole origin were used by white children amongst themselves, and he states that 'in some areas of London [these items] are employed by them *unmarked with regard to ethnicity*' (1986: 127; emphasis in original). He further states that a 'local multi-ethnic vernacular … is the language of white as well as minority youth …' (Hewitt 2003: 192-193). He mostly discusses lexis, but mentions that some white young people 'unselfconsciously' use a creole-like pronunciation [ɔ] in two items: *come* and *fuck* (Hewitt 1986: 134). This, we suggest, foreshadows the general extreme backing of the STRUT vowel in London today, to be discussed below.

What is the situation today? We can start by trying to reconcile the contradictory accounts given above. The situations they describe are very different, covering largely mono-ethnic neighbourhoods in the late 1960s (Beaken) or multi-ethnic South London 15 years later (Hewitt). Sebba's North London data and Labov's Battersea (South London) recordings may have been collected in locations which were less multi-ethnic, or more recently so, than Hewitt's districts. Today, young people across much of inner London and beyond appear to employ something akin to Hewitt's 'multi-ethnic vernacular' characterised by both lexis and, perhaps more markedly today, pronunciation. It has only recently been the subject of systematic media comment (e.g. The Guardian 2006; The Sunday Times 2005). Media reports have on occasion talked of 'Jafaikan', but we prefer the more neutral 'Multicultural London English'.

The first large-scale variationist study of the English of both minority ethnic and Anglo London youth is Fox's (2007) investigation in the East End borough of Tower Hamlets. Fox, who recorded young people in 2001-2, found effects of ethnicity and friendship network on the use of a number of innovatory phonetic/phonological features, with young speakers of Bangladeshi origin (Bangladeshi families settled in the area mainly in the early 1980s) and young white British speakers with dense multi-ethnic networks in the lead. The diphthongs of FACE and PRICE had acquired near-monophthongal qualities, while there was a lack of allomorphy in the definite and indefinite article system – a possible influence from language contact and L2 varieties of English.

In this article, we take the view that the influence of minority ethnic English(es) is well advanced, but still an ongoing process. We will try to answer the following questions: are there still today effects of ethnicity? Do friendship networks form a channel for the transmission of originally minority ethnic variants? At the same time, we will identify particular individuals who are the most advanced in the cohort in terms of their use of new features and, on the basis of their social profiles, attempt to draw conclusions about the kinds of people who might be innovators or, at least, early adopters.

1.2 Ethnicity and friendship networks: summary

It is clear from our work that ethnicity is a crucial determinant for both phonetic and discourse variables in inner London. Minority ethnic speakers lead innovations, regardless of which minority they belong to, while outer London speakers, who in our sample, reflecting the local population, are mainly Anglo, use a combination of less marked variants of the inner-London features, more traditional London features, and features that form part of wider south-eastern supralocalisation (dialect levelling; Kerswill, Torgersen, & Fox 2008). The link between ethnicity and innovation is crucial for our understanding of variation and change in all large multicultural cities. People of recent immigrant descent do not form a majority of Londoners, and no one group dominates.[1] Their influence on the capital's speech is, arguably, disproportionate to their numbers, though there are substantial pockets where a particular non-Anglo ethnic group are in a majority. The most notable example is Tower Hamlets, where Bangladeshis are numerically dominant in the under-24 age group. In London as a whole and, presumably, other multiethnic cities, complex social factors must be at play for the minority ethnic influence to be as great as it is. The spread of linguistic features in the multi-ethnic networks may simply be the consequence of face-to-face interaction, and indeed our own data and that of Fox (2007) in London and Khan (2006) in Birmingham show, using a quantitative methodology, that networks are a conduit for the spread of 'ethnic' features to majority groups. Alternatively – or additionally – the adoption of these forms by young speakers may constitute an act of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), signalling allegiance to the dominant youth

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[1] We are not concerned with the recent large-scale immigration of people from Central and Eastern Europe since the accession of their states to the European Union on 1st May 2004. Their long-term effect on local speech will, we assume, only be felt when the first generation of British-born children approaches adulthood.

culture, with its Afro-Caribbean influences. In either case, long-term accommodation (Trudgill 1986) can lead to language change.

1.3 Practice and personality

We will try to establish the *social types* who are likely to be the linguistic innovators through examining the speakers' friendship networks and social practices. To what degree does the multi-ethnic friendship network influence the speaker's choice of certain linguistic features? What are the social practices of the members of the friendship group? What are the effects, if any, of a speaker's personality on the spread of innovations (Eckert 2000; Fox 2007)? Do common interests in sport, music, fashion or belonging to particular friendship groups or gangs influence the speakers' linguistic choices?

2. Data

Our data were collected as part of the project *Linguistic innovators: The English of adolescents in London*,[2] with informants from two boroughs: Hackney (inner London) and Havering (outer London). The localities (shown in Figure 1) were selected on the basis of demographic and social differences: Hackney is ethnically very diverse and economically relatively deprived, while Havering is an area with higher mobility and higher levels of prosperity. Hackney is in the traditional East End, close to the City of London, whereas Havering is in the east, formerly a part of Essex, but now administratively a London borough. According to the 2001 Census, 10.29% of people in Hackney were Afro-Caribbean and 11.98% black African (the largest non-Anglo ethnic group in Hackney). In total 40.6% of people in Hackney were non-white. In our current sample, second and third generation Afro-Caribbeans are the largest single non-Anglo group (11 out of 27).

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[2] Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, 2004–2007, ref. RES 000-23-0680.
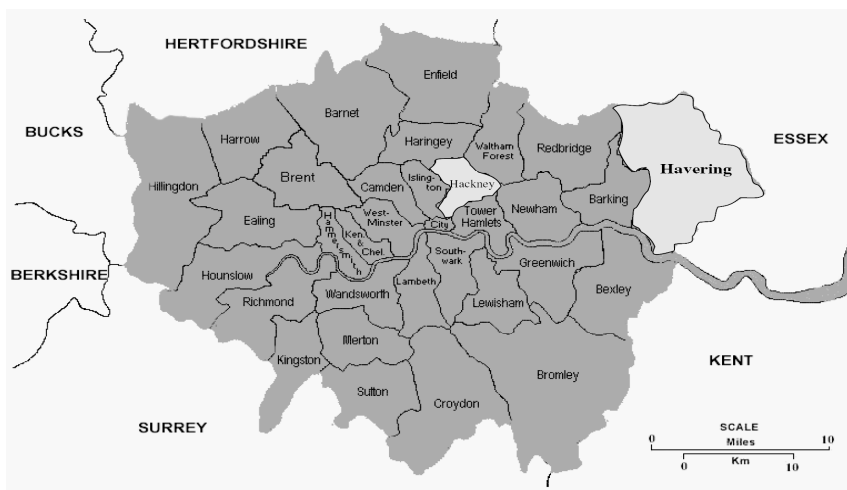
Figure 1: Map of London, with the boroughs of Hackney and Havering highlighted
(from www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/Corporation/maps/london_map.htm).

2.1 Speakers

We recorded elderly and young speakers. The elderly informants in Hackney and
Havering are in their 70s and 80s and come from local families. There are 4 women and 4
men in each group. In Hackney, around half of our young informants have a 'white
London' background; that is, their families have relatively local roots ('Anglo'). The other
half is made up of the children or grandchildren of immigrants mainly from developing
countries ('non-Anglo'). With just a few exceptions, the young speakers in Havering are
of Anglo origin. We also included some non-Anglo speakers who attended college in
Havering but who commuted daily from other boroughs. Table 1 shows a breakdown of
the speakers. The 'commuters' are listed after the '+' symbol.

	Elderly	Anglo girls	Non-Anglo girls	Anglo boys	Non-Anglo boys
Hackney	8	10	12	11	15
Havering	8	17	3+3	22	1+6

Table 1: Breakdown of speakers.

This paper will focus on data from Hackney, the ethnically mixed research site.

2.2 Social network scores: ethnicity

Hackney (inner London) turns out to be more innovative on all linguistic levels than
Havering (outer London). Perhaps surprisingly, we have not been able to isolate distinct
(discrete) ethnic styles – differences between ethnicities, where they exist, are quantitative
in nature. However, as we shall see, both ethnicity (as independent variable) and ethnicity
of friendship networks do produce significant effects. By including ethnicity as part of our

analysis we do not wish to impose classifications on speakers. We asked each adolescent to give a self-definition of where they belong in terms of their own identity, and these are the definitions we used in our analysis. The ethnic distribution of the young speakers' friendship networks was examined by asking questions such as: How many close friends have you got? What ethnicity are they? Each speaker was then given a score of 1-5 depending on the ethnic distribution of the friendship network:

1 = all friends same ethnicity as self
2 = up to 20% of a different ethnicity
3 = up to 40% of a different ethnicity
4 = up to 60% of a different ethnicity
5 = up to 80% of a different ethnicity

None of the young speakers in Hackney scored 1 or 2. Most Hackney adolescents scored 5 (30 speakers); eleven speakers scored 4 and seven speakers scored 3. Of the non-Anglo speakers, one had a score of 3, five scored 4 and twenty-one scored 5. Of the Anglo speakers six scored 3, six scored 4 and nine scored 5. Table 2 displays sociodemographic information about the young speakers.

   The network analysis shows that *all* the Hackney Anglo adolescents have higher network scores than any of their counterparts in Havering, where the maximum score was 3. This means that much of the linguistic difference between the boroughs can be linked to the ethnic composition of networks. However, the network score is a fundamentally different measure for the two groups. For the ethnically homogeneous Anglos, it measures the proportion of non-Anglos amongst the friends, and can be used in a quantitative analysis. Because non-Anglos as a group are ethnically heterogeneous (about 11 different self-defined ethnicities can be counted), such a quantitative analysis would not be meaningful. For this reason, we discuss only the Anglos' networks.

(a) Anglo speakers (ranked by network score)

Group	Sex	Network score
(broad ethnic classification)		
Anglo	Female	3
Anglo	Male	3
Anglo	Male	3
Anglo	Male	3
Anglo	Male	3
Anglo	Male	3
Anglo	Female	4
Anglo	Female	4
Anglo	Female	4
Anglo	Female	4
Anglo	Female	4
Anglo	Male	4
Anglo	Female	5
Anglo	Female	5

Anglo	Female	5
Anglo	Female	5
Anglo	Male	5
Anglo	Male	5
Anglo	Male	5
Anglo	Male	5
Anglo	Male	5

(b) Non-Anglo speakers (ranked by network score)

Group (broad ethnic classification)	Self-defined ethnicity	Sex	Network score
Non-Anglo	Bangladeshi	Male	3
Non-Anglo	Bangladeshi	Female	4
Non-Anglo	Bangladeshi	Female	4
Non-Anglo	Afro-Caribbean	Male	4
Non-Anglo	Columbian	Male	4
Non-Anglo	Nigerian	Male	4
Non-Anglo	White British/Indian	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Moroccan	Female	5
Non-Anglo	White British/Afro-Caribbean	Female	5
Non-Anglo	White British/Afro-Caribbean	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Nigerian	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Moroccan	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Nigerian	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Chinese	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Afro-Caribbean	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Afro-Caribbean	Female	5
Non-Anglo	Middle Eastern	Male	5
Non-Anglo	White British/Afro-Caribbean	Male	5
Non-Anglo	Ghanaian	Male	5
Non-Anglo	Bangladeshi	Male	5
Non-Anglo	Afro-Caribbean	Male	5
Non-Anglo	Portuguese	Male	5
Non-Anglo	Afro-Caribbean	Male	5
Non-Anglo	White British/Indian	Male	5
Non-Anglo	Afro-Caribbean	Male	5
Non-Anglo	White British/Afro-Caribbean	Male	5
Non-Anglo	Afro-Caribbean	Male	5

Table 2: Network scores of Young Hackney speakers

2.3 Linguistic features discussed in this paper

The phonological features we will discuss are the short monophthongs (KIT, DRESS, TRAP, STRUT, LOT and FOOT), the long monophthong GOOSE and the diphthongs FACE, PRICE, GOAT and MOUTH, as well as the consonants /h/, /k/, /θ/ and /ð/. We also discuss the use of innovative quotatives to introduce reported speech. These features are considered in relation to ethnicity, ethnicity of personal social network, social practice, and the personality of the speaker.

3. The short vowel shift in Hackney

Table 3 presents normalised average formant frequencies, using the Lobanov formula (Lobanov 1971), amongst elderly and young speakers in Hackney. F1 (first formant) is a representation of vowel height while F2 (second formant) describes frontness/backness.

	KIT	DRESS	TRAP	STRUT	START	LOT	FOOT	GOOSE
	F1/F2	F1/F2	F1/F2	F1/F2	F1/F2	F1/F2	F1/F2	F1/F2
Elderly	343/2211	504/1937	622/1818	664/1397	596/1030	497/915	326/1007	321/1557
Young	336/2247	486/1909	685/1577	603/1154	598/1020	481/992	337/1221	302/2035

Table 3: Normalised average formant frequencies amongst elderly and young speakers in Hackney.

Figure 2 shows a plot of these vowel qualities. Statistical testing was carried out using Multivariate ANOVA on average formant frequencies per speaker per vowel. There is no significant change for KIT, DRESS, LOT or START (the last of these included here as an anchor). A more open and more centralised TRAP amongst the young speakers compared to the elderly speakers is significant ($p < 0.001$). The young speakers also have a more back and less open STRUT than the elderly speakers ($p < 0.001$), and this suggests the completion of a change in this vowel alluded to by Hewitt. Finally, the young speakers have a more central FOOT ($p < 0.05$) and a substantially more front GOOSE than the elderly speakers ($p < 0.001$).
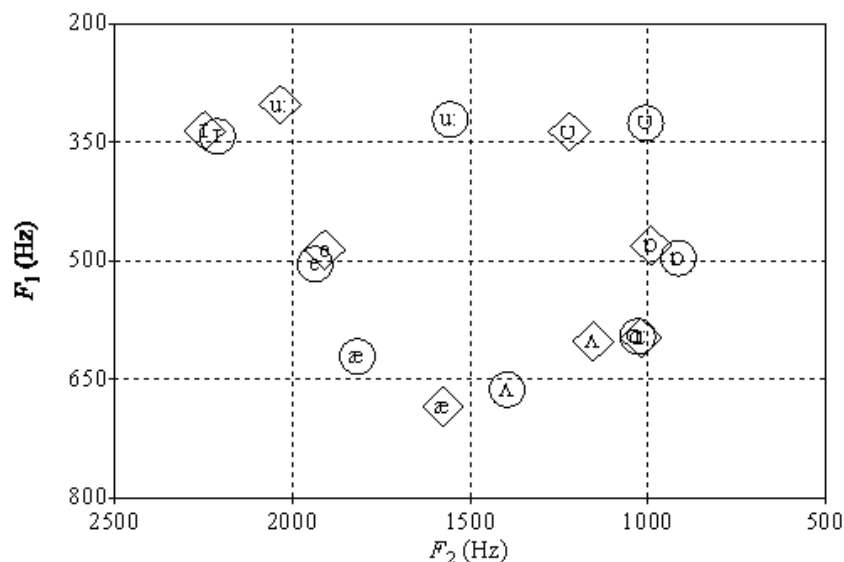
Figure 2: The south-eastern short vowel shift in Hackney amongst elderly speakers (circles) and young speakers (diamonds).

The changes in TRAP, STRUT and FOOT are identical to what we have previously described as the south-east short vowel chain shift, based on data from Reading and Ashford (Torgersen & Kerswill 2004). As elsewhere in the south-east, London also shows the fronting of GOOSE. Interestingly, there is, *taken overall*, little or no further development amongst the young speakers in Hackney of the short vowel shift already noted in these towns. In Torgersen and Kerswill (2004), we concluded that the changes in the short vowel system were most likely due to a regional levelling process. The question we can ask now is whether certain groups in London are ahead, or behind, in the changes. Will there be differences between the groups of young speakers?

Figure 3 takes the Anglo and non-Anglo distinction into account, showing the short vowel system for these two groups and the elderly speakers.

Figure 3: The south-eastern short vowel shift in Hackney amongst elderly speakers (circles), non-Anglo speakers (reversed triangles) and Anglo speakers (diamonds).

The differences between the Anglo and non-Anglo speakers are mainly very small, but significant differences are found for STRUT and GOOSE. The non-Anglo speakers have a more raised STRUT vowel than the Anglo speakers ($p < 0.05$) and they also have a more close ($p < 0.005$) and more front GOOSE ($p < 0.05$) than the Anglo speakers. This means that the non-Anglo speakers are leading the raising of STRUT – very much in line with Hewitt's representation of a creole-like raised quality for *come* and *fuck* – and fronting of GOOSE.

Figure 4 presents the results for friendship networks. The Anglo speakers are divided into two groups: Anglo speakers with a predominantly Anglo network (score 3) and Anglo speakers with a predominantly non-Anglo network (score 4 and 5).
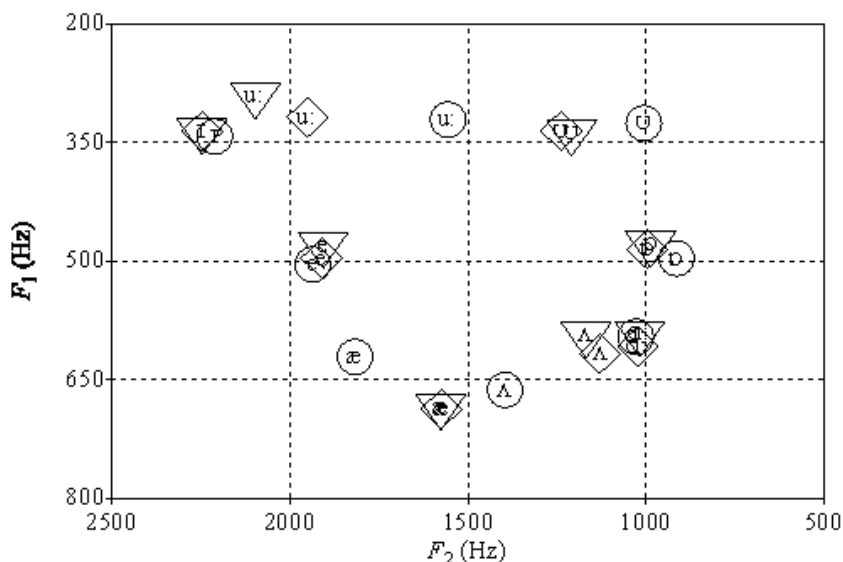
Figure 4: The south-eastern short vowel shift in Hackney amongst elderly speakers (circles), non-Anglo speakers (reversed triangles), Anglo speakers with a predominantly non-Anglo network (triangles) and Anglo speakers with a predominantly Anglo network (squares).

The non-Anglo speakers also have a GOOSE vowel which is significantly more front and close than Anglo speakers with a largely Anglo network ($p<0.05$ on both measures), but *not* significantly more so than Anglo speakers with a largely non-Anglo network. We have already seen that GOOSE appears to be a strong indicator of ethnicity, albeit a gross 'non-Anglo' ethnicity; we now see, however, that an equally strong factor correlated with changes in the GOOSE vowel is, for Anglo speakers, belonging to a multiethnic friendship group. We will return to this below.

4. Diphthong changes

The monophthongs DRESS, TRAP, STRUT, START and FOOT are included for reference. As before, the formant data have been normalised using the Lobanov formula (Lobanov 1971). Both the data for young and elderly speakers have been included in the calculation, so as to allow a direct comparison between them. Figure 5 shows the diphthong system for an elderly speaker in Hackney, represented as the mean of the vectors (trajectories) in F1–F2 space between the onsets and offsets of each vowel; there is an average of 15 tokens per vowel. This speaker has shifted diphthongs (Wells 1982): the onsets for FACE and GOAT are relatively open and there is a back and raised onset for PRICE. MOUTH is fronted and near-monophthongal, while the onset is closer to DRESS than TRAP. FOOT is quite back.

GOOSE is not fronted and the central nucleus indicates a diphthongal quality. This system is typical of traditional London accents, having been widely reported in previous research there and across the south-east (Tollfree 1999).
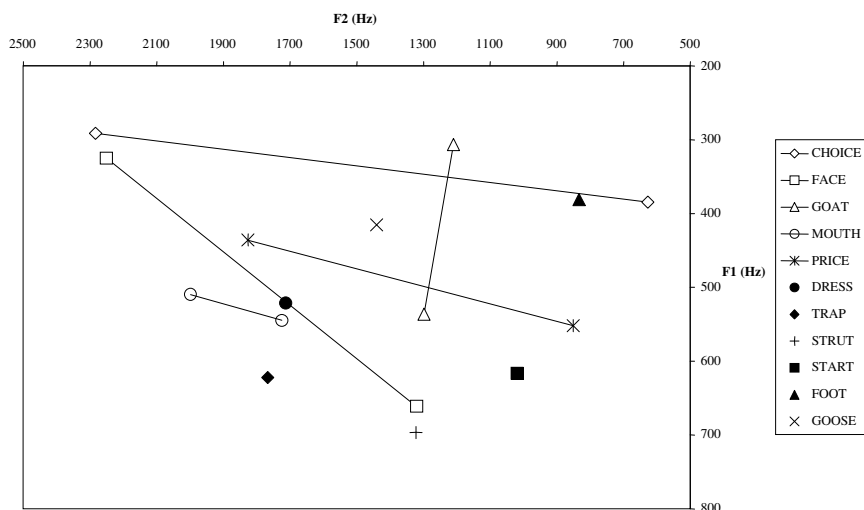

Figure 5: John (born 1938), elderly male speaker from Hackney.

Recent years have seen changes in the diphthong system in accents in south-east England, including London. The diphthongs are becoming less shifted and are acquiring RP-like qualities (Kerswill & Williams 2005). In inner London, this diphthong shift 'reversal' (see Kerswill, Torgersen & Fox 2008 for further discussion of this concept) is particularly dramatic, with the young non-Anglo speakers leading the change, followed by the Anglo speakers with non-Anglo friendship networks. As an example, consider Figure 6, which shows a young speaker in Hackney, Zack, who has the emerging system. He is an Anglo speaker with a largely non-Anglo friendship network. There is fronting of PRICE, raising of the onsets of FACE and GOAT and also backing of GOAT. There is also backing and lowering of MOUTH. In total, there is dramatic diphthong shift reversal, coupled with very short trajectories, indicating near-monophthongal qualities. Zack has the most raised FACE, and amongst the most raised GOAT, fronted GOOSE and fronted PRICE of all the young speakers in Hackney. He is also amongst the speakers with the shortest trajectories, as measured by Euclidean distance. In general, it is the male non-Anglo speakers who are in the lead in diphthong shift reversal.
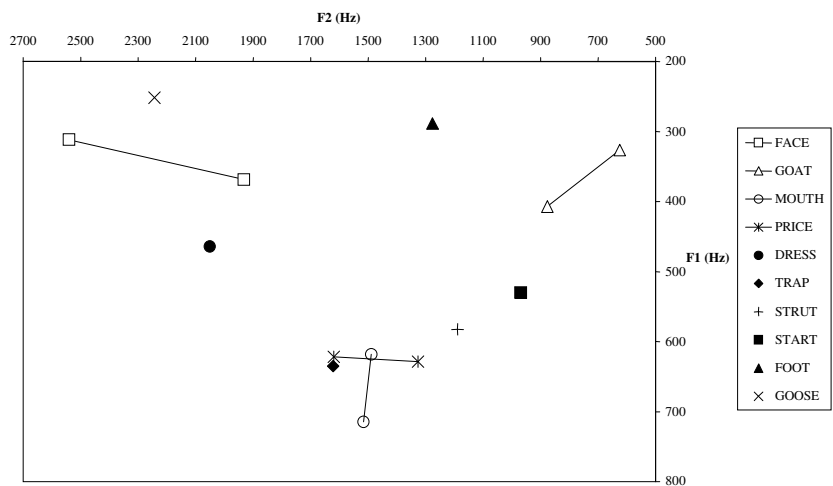
Figure 6: Zack, male young Anglo speaker from Hackney.

Tables 4 and 5 show significant effects for age and ethnicity in Hackney. The test used was multivariate ANOVA for average diphthong onsets per vowel per speaker. Note how the change in GOAT (backing and raising) is significant for ethnicity (and not age overall).

	MOUTH	PRICE	GOAT	FACE
Backing	yes	n/a	no	n/a
Lowering	yes	yes	no	n/a
Fronting	n/a	yes	no	yes
Raising	n/a	n/a	no	yes

Table 4: Significance of effects in Hackney – backing, lowering, fronting and raising refer to main effects of age.

	MOUTH	PRICE	GOAT	FACE
Sex	yes	no	no	yes
Ethnicity	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table 5: Significance of effects in Hackney – sex and ethnicity refer to main effects (young speakers only).

We shall now focus on effects of friendship network. In order to get an overall picture of the diphthong changes, as well as to see the quantitative effect of network differences, we can plot the elderly speakers' average scores alongside those for the young people. Figures 7-9 show plots for salient parameters along which each diphthong varies. Figure 7 illustrates the fronting of the onset of FACE. It is the only diphthong to show a significant effect for friendship network: non-Anglo speakers as a whole have a more fronted onset than Anglo speakers with a largely Anglo friendship network (score 3) ($p<0.05$), but not Anglo speakers with a largely non-Anglo friendship network (scores 4 and 5). As

elsewhere in the data, Anglos with non-Anglo networks fall between the other two groups. We can interpret their position as a kind of bridge for the transmission of minority ethnic features.
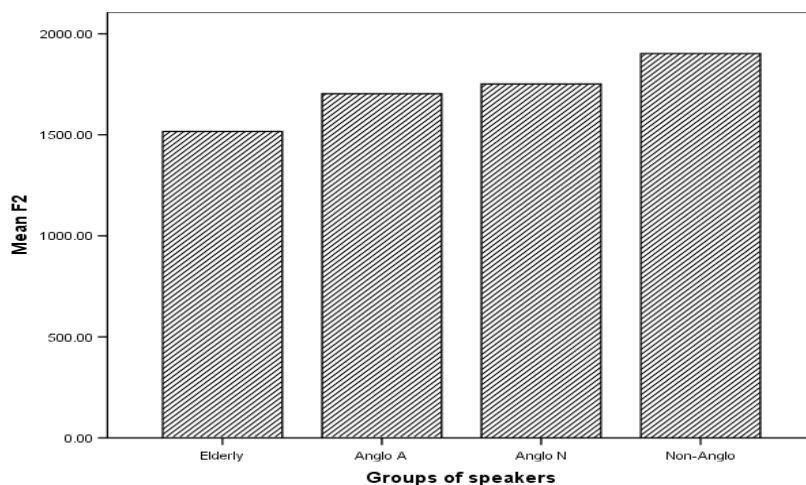

Figure 7: Bar chart illustrating the fronting of FACE, as measured by F2 (second formant). Anglo A= Anglo speakers with a largely Anglo friendship network; Anglo N= Anglo speakers with a largely non-Anglo friendship network.

Figure 8 displays the raising of GOAT. There is only a small difference between the groups of Anglo speakers for this diphthong. However, the overall difference between non-Anglo and Anglo speakers is significant and the differences between the non-Anglo and groups of Anglo speakers are in the same direction as for FACE.
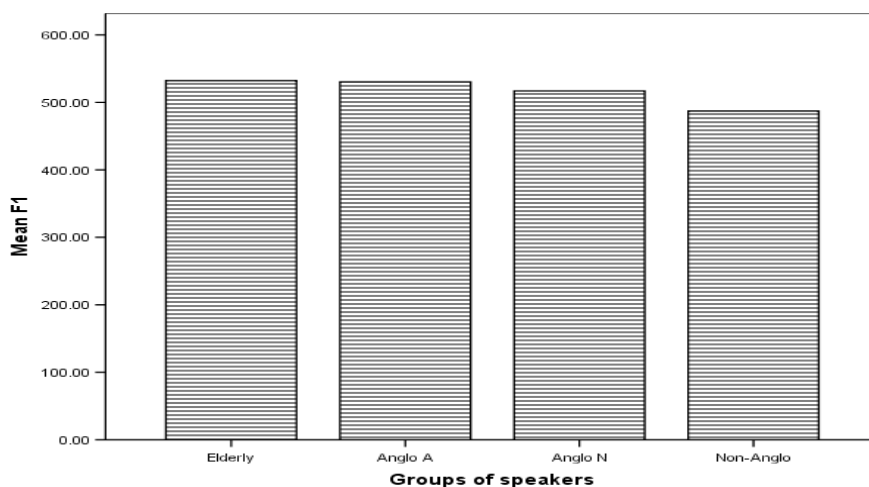

Figure 8: Bar chart illustrating the raising of GOAT, as measured by F1 (first formant).

Figure 9 shows fronting of GOOSE. This monophthong is included here because it displays significant variation according to friendship network, as we saw in the discussion of monophthongs. There is, thus, a significant difference between Anglo speakers with Anglo networks (score 3) on one hand and Anglo speakers with non-Anglo networks (scores 4 and 5) and non-Anglo speakers on the other.
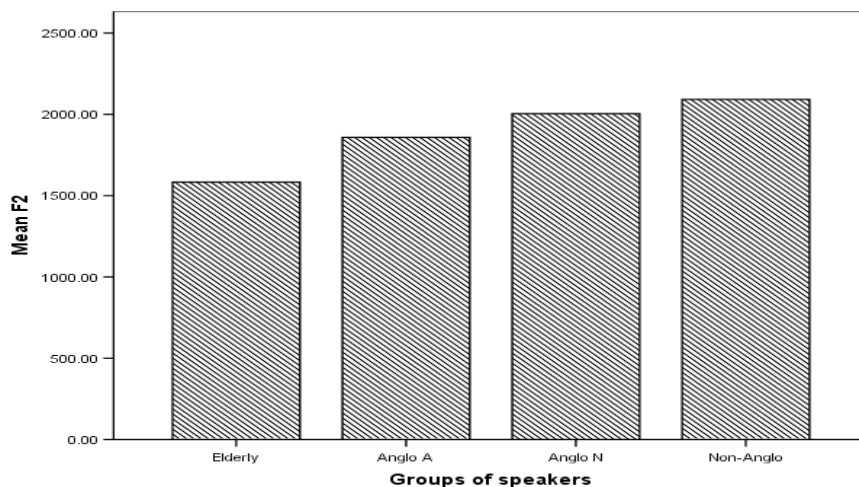

Figure 9: Bar chart illustrating the fronting of GOOSE, as measured by F2 (second formant).

We note that it is the non-Anglo speakers who are in the lead in the diphthong changes as well as the fronting of GOOSE, followed by the Anglo speakers with largely multiethnic networks.

5. Consonant changes

5.1 H-dropping

H-dropping is traditionally regarded as a feature of London English. Recent years have, however, seen a reduction in H-dropping in south-east England (Williams & Kerswill 1999). /h/ was analysed in stressed word-initial position. The young speakers in Hackney have less H-dropping than the elderly speakers overall (p<0.001). Average percentages of H-dropping for the young speakers are 11.0% in Hackney while it is 58.1% for the elderly speakers. The Anglo speakers (18.0%) have more H-dropping than non-Anglo speakers overall (3.9%; p<0.001). There are small differences between the groups of young speakers. Anglo female speakers have 18.6% H-dropping and the Anglo male speakers 17.5%. Non-Anglo female speakers have 0% and the non-Anglo male speakers 6.0%. There is no effect of friendship network on the amount of H-dropping in Hackney: Anglo speakers with Anglo network have 18.9% and Anglo speakers with non-Anglo network have 17.7%.

5.2 K-backing

Back /k/ was analysed in word-initial position in front of non-high back vowels (STRUT, START, LOT and THOUGHT). Examples are *cousin*, *car*, *cot*, *caught*. The variants [k‒] and [q], which are auditorily relatively easy to perceive, were coded as 'back'. The feature was not used by elderly speakers at all. There is a small difference between the ethnic groups in their use of the back variants. The average frequency amongst the Anglo speakers is 70.2% and amongst the non-Anglos 65.0%, a difference which is not significantly different. The young female speakers are less likely to use the most back variants than the male speakers ($p < 0.005$). Although ethnicity does not show up as a significant factor, there is a main effect of friendship network ($p < 0.01$) and this is due to Anglo speakers with an Anglo network being less likely to use the back variants ($p < 0.05$). The Anglo speakers with a non-Anglo network were not significantly different from the non-Anglo speakers.

5.3 DH-stopping

DH-stopping involves the use of [d] for word-initial /ð/. Average percentage word-initial DH-stopping in Hackney is 58.0%. DH-stopping is more common amongst non-Anglo than Anglo speakers ($p < 0.001$): 67.2% vs. 42.0%. The feature is also slightly more common amongst female speakers, 61.7%, than male speakers, 55.7%, ($p < 0.05$). Average use of DH-stopping amongst Anglo female speakers is 37.2% and amongst non-Anglo females 80.0%. Corresponding figures for Anglo male speakers are 46.1% and for non-Anglo male speakers 60.2%, differences for both sexes being significant ($p < 0.001$). The Anglo speakers with non-Anglo networks have significantly less DH-stopping than the Anglo speakers with an Anglo network and the non-Anglo speakers ($p < 0.001$). DH-stopping is a traditional Cockney feature and this is probably the reason for the high proportion amongst the Anglo speakers with Anglo networks. The highest individual users, however, are the male speakers with an Afro-Caribbean and African background, with near-categorical [d] for /ð/ in word-initial position.

5.4 TH-fronting

Not surprisingly, we find a massive difference between the young and old speakers in Hackney in their use of [f] for /θ/. The elderly speakers are less likely than the young speakers to have word-initial TH-fronting (29.7 %; $p < 0.001$). Word-initial TH-fronting amongst the young speakers is high: 86.5%, and there are small, sometimes significant differences between the groups. The Anglos are more likely to have TH-fronting than the non-Anglos ($p < 0.05$), 89.7% vs. 84.1%. Other than this, there are small and insignificant differences between the groups of young speakers with regard to ethnicity. However, amongst the groups of Anglo speakers, the Anglo speakers with a non-Anglo network have more TH-fronting that the Anglo speakers with an Anglo network, 91.3% vs. 84.7%. The Anglo speakers with a non-Anglo network are significantly different from the non-Anglo speakers ($p < 0.01$), but the Anglo speakers with an Anglo network are not.