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# The Interaction between Dialect and Standard Language, and the Question of Language Internationalization

*Viewed from the standpoint of the Germanic languages\**

## Abstract

We consider here in a general survey the interaction between dialect and standard language. First, we will examine the basic language concepts involved (section 1). Subsequently we will discuss the different forms or types of interaction between dialect and standard language, based on the two transfer types in language contact (section 2). We will then deal with language standardization (section 3), and conclude with the broader perspective of language interaction and language internationalization; from the viewpoint of language contact language internationalization parallels to a significant degree language standardization (section 4). There is some overlapping between the sections, as we shall consider similar questions from different vantage points.

While we chose to include language internationalization in a study which was originally intended to be only about dialect and standard language, we broadened the theme of our treatment considerably, so that we had to limit our discussion in other respects and use more references. Because of this our study has become more a programmatic synthesis.

Another restriction is that the topic will be handled from the standpoint of the Germanic languages. We will focus primarily on English when discussing the conceptual basis and language internationalization. Because of its international status and expansion English is uniquely suited to illustrate such issues.

## 1.1 Introductory remarks

We will start with a discussion of the language concepts involved. When studying the interaction between dialect and standard language in a present-day linguistic context as compared to some decades ago, we see that the scope of the subject has expanded and continues to expand. In the past the dialect-standard interaction

was seen mainly from the viewpoint of dialectology. More recently the social aspect became more emphasized. Now we also concentrate on the fact that the dialect-standard interaction is an aspect of language contact and in an important case a form of language acquisition as well. Neither can we ignore language internationalization in so far as it is an extension of standardization and shows certain striking parallels with it. Such an expansion of the focus may be more a question of methodological integration and improvement than of novelty (Daan 1985), but it requires that views from different subfields of linguistics be confronted and matched, which will clearly have an effect on the concepts we use.

## 1.2 Dialect and language

1.2.1 Words, especially contentives, have by nature a high degree of variability and a strong potential for semantic change. This feature of natural languages is designed to cope with the varying and changing semantic needs of the individual and the society. The notions of *dialect* and *language*, even in their technical applications, are no exceptions here. As Wells (1982:3) notes about *dialect*: "In linguistics the term is applied, often in a rather vague way, to any speech variety which is more than an idiolect but less than a language."

In essence, i.e., when referring to the verbal communication system, the concepts of *dialect* and (standard) *language* are the same, and Haugen much to the point (1987:15) states: "One man's dialect is another man's language." The difference between dialect and (standard) language appears to reside primarily in a ranking evaluation, the dialect being viewed as subordinate and regionally confined in relation to the (standard) language as a superordinate or overarching language (cf. German *Überdachung*, Goossens 1973a, 1985). The difference in ranking rests on a variety of factors: on difference in functionality, on geographical expansion, on language or structural distance (affinity)<sup>1</sup> and the subjective rating of this distance by the speakers themselves (Kloss 1985: e.g., 210-1, Weinreich 1953:69-70, 104-6).

1.2.2 The geographical or horizontal aspect of the notion of *dialect* is the original and prevalent one in traditional dialectology. There are, however, social and stylistic or vertical aspects to a dialect, as to any form of language. In its social occurrence any form of language is referred to as *sociolect*.

In the case of either dialect or language monolingualism, the social and stylistic stratifications will either extend over the dialect or the language, respectively. In the case of a dialect-language bilingualism, the social and stylistic

stratifications will often extend complementarily over both the dialect and the language (section 2.4). A term different from dialect may be used for referring to the sociolect, as in Dutch *volkstaal* vs. *dialect* or *streektaal* (Weijnen 1948:7, 1958:19).<sup>2</sup>

There are furthermore stylistic implications in the difference between the written and the spoken language in so far as there are written and spoken styles. In Dutch we can make a distinction between *geschreven taal* and *schrijftaal* or *schrijfstijl*, *gesproken taal* and *spreektaal* or *spreekstijl*.

1.2.3 Both dialect and standard language show variation. It is in the perspective of variation and relative uniformity that we can view a standard language as a reality, as a collection of varieties,<sup>3</sup> and not solely as an imaginary entity, an ideal or a norm. There is always tension between norm and reality, and many factors, including subjective ones, are involved in the delimitation between standard and nonstandard.<sup>4</sup> Also, in dialect research social and stylistic variation is now being rightfully emphasized with methods to describe and formalize it systematically (cf., e.g., Chambers-Trudgill 1980: chapters 3, 4 and 5).

1.2.4 Dialect and standard language are often genetically and structurally closely related, but it is not at all unusual for a standard language to expand over an area where a genetically less related or nonrelated language or dialect is used (language distance). Kloss (1978:60-3) calls it a *dachlose Außenmundart* 'roofless dialect' (e.g., the Flemish dialect in France), while Goossens (1985:288) would prefer to speak in this connection of a *fremdes Dach*. Such a language or dialect is then also in a subordinate relationship to the language that functions as an overarching standard. Indeed, the geographical area covered by a standard language is not linguistically but sociopolitically motivated.<sup>5</sup> There is a great deal of similarity between the expansion of a standard over genetically closely related dialects and the expansion of that standard over other languages, related or nonrelated. Such an expansion also occurs in the internationalization of a language (section 4).

### 1.3 Language variety

1.3.1 In synthesizing our view of the dialect-standard interaction we need a general concept that includes the notions of *dialect* and *language*, and implies language difference and variation in time, space (dialect), society (sociolect; jargon) and style (register), as well as language difference between the individual and the

community, the spoken and the written language. We will adopt the common notion of (*language*)*variety*, with further qualifying modifiers to signify its various aspects.

From a general standpoint we will distinguish between an *individual variety* and a *communal variety*. From the specific viewpoint of our topic, that is, dialect-standard interaction as a specific case of language contact and language acquisition, we will distinguish between *intermediate variety* or *shortfall variety* and *accent variety*. From the broader perspective of language internationalization, we will differentiate between *intranational* and *national variety*, and between *native* and *nonnative variety*. The degree of functionality is still another criterion for differentiating between language varieties (cf. the above-mentioned distinction between dialect and language). Since our taxonomy of varieties is based on different criteria, there is overlapping and intercrossing between the notions.

1.3.2 For the sake of hierarchy, we mention first the distinction between *individual variety* or *idiolect* and *communal variety* or what could be called '*communilect*' ('*communalect*', Kloss 1978:23), the latter indicating any form of speech community. A general observation in this connection is that when using here such notions as *dialect*, *language* and *language variety* without any further qualification, we refer primarily to communities of peer speakers, whose general linguistic behavior can be described in the same way whether we think in terms of the individual or the community; this is valid because of the basic concordance between the ontogenetic and phylogenetic developments. Difference in this connection should only be considered if it is relevant to the argument.

1.3.3 The notions of *intermediate variety* / *shortfall variety* and *accent variety* are directly relevant to our topic.

(i) An intermediate variety occurs in the acquisition process of a language. It is intermediate in so far as it represents a developmental form in what has been termed *interlanguage* in the process of language acquisition (Selinker 1972).<sup>6</sup> Interlanguage, which is a basic concept here, refers to an acquisition continuum or to a gamut of intermediate language forms between the learner's language or source language and the target language or recipient language. Within the specific context of dialect-standard interaction an intermediate variety is a developmental form, a kind of compromise between the dialect and the normative standard. As Weinreich (1953:104-6) notes, such an intermediate variety is not a "crystallization" of a new language. Yet, it may develop to a more or less settled and socialized status, and also be a sociolect. To the extent that it grows independent of interlanguage, it ceases to be an intermediate variety and becomes a



language or language variety in its own right. One might see it then more as a *shortfall variety*,<sup>7</sup> in that it has fallen short of its goal in the process of interlanguage.

(ii) An accent variety is similarly a form of dialect-standard interaction in the interlanguage process, and thus a subset of intermediate variety / shortfall variety. We speak of *accent variety*, when accent, i.e., a set of pronunciation peculiarities or a specific pronunciation pattern,<sup>8</sup> is the prevalent or virtually the only characteristic of the variety. It often represents the final stage of interlanguage and of the acquisition process.

(iii) The qualifying modifiers 'intermediate', 'shortfall' and 'accent' in connection with 'language variety' are different in nature, in that 'intermediate' and 'shortfall' tell us about how the varieties came into being, while 'accent' refers to a structural feature of the variety.

(iv) In line with formations in *-lect*, such as *dialect*, the terms *basilect*, *mesolect* and *acrolect* have also been used in language acquisition (especially in creolistics) for referring respectively to the learner's language or source language (dialect), the interlanguage, and the target language or recipient language (standard language).

1.3.4 How are such *intermediate varieties* / *shortfall varieties* and *accent varieties* to be further characterized?

(i) The semantic contents and connotations of notions are historically and culturally determined. In Europe, dialects are generally assumed to have been moulded to a large extent by early, medieval territories, and they are mostly locally restricted, while the overarching standard languages themselves are regularly developed from those dialects that grew to dominance and spread. In colonization areas such as the United States, where English was imported, and in South Africa, where Dutch was imported and evolved to Afrikaans, there are virtually no dialects in the European sense of the word. Yet, linguists speak also of dialects in relation to local or regional forms of American English. They then refer to areal distinctions which in a European context would be seen rather as regional varieties of a standard language (cf., e.g., Martinet 1960:158). Such regional varieties are indeed not only found in colonization areas, but also in areas that have dialects in the European conception of the word. For instance, there is in the Netherlands a Limburgic variety of the Northern Dutch standard,<sup>9</sup> and in addition there are Limburgic dialects. Therefore, we will distinguish here between *regiolect* (e.g., Kloss 1978:23, Hoppenbrouwers 1985, 1989:84), the regional variety in question, and *dialect*, the traditional, locally restricted variety. This duality has been well recognized in traditional as well as in modern Euro-

pean dialectology. However, the link with language acquisition and interlanguage has to be also clearly perceived.

A regiolect, as opposed to a dialect, has been given different names, for example, in German *Halbmundart*, 'gebildete' *landschaftliche Umgangssprache* (Bach 1960:230 ff.), *neuer Substandard*, *Sekundärdialekt* (Schönfeld in this volume), *stadtabhängiger Verkehrsdialekt* (as opposed to *Basisdialekt*) (Wiesinger in this volume).<sup>10</sup> In English the regiolect is called *mainstream-dialect* (either standard or nonstandard) to distinguish it from the so-called *traditional-dialect* (Trudgill in handout at the Colloquium, and Wells 1982:3 ff.). In certain areas, such as England and the Netherlands, regiolects seem to have reached a fairly stabilized form (Stroop in this volume), while the dialects are disappearing. In other areas, such as Switzerland, the dialects are generally well preserved (Haas in this volume, and cf. section 2.4).

Regiolects differ among each other in a number of ways, depending on such factors as the area, the time, the social circumstances or situations, the language distance between the dialect and the standard, etc. (cf., e.g., Lerchner, Schönfeld, Menke and Wiesinger in this volume). Yet, there is a constant, i.e., the language contact situation in which the dialect speaker while acquiring the standard (in the process of interlanguage) produces a variety which is neither the dialect nor the normative standard, but rather a more or less settled compromise product of the two.

There is no difficulty in applying the concept of *regiolect* to so-called dialectal differences in colonization areas as, e.g., the United States and South Africa, although the notion may then be less associated with rural environments. The difference seems to be mainly one of formation, in that regiolects in colonization areas are the products of strong dialectal or regional levelling probably in an intergenerational perspective. Levelling is indeed an important factor here, although it does not occur with colonization alone, but in other cases of interlingual contact as well.<sup>11</sup> The major role of levelling in such a connection has been recognized as early as the beginning of this century. Wrede (1912) spoke in this perspective of *Ausgleich*, and the notion of *Ausgleichssprache* (*koine*), that is, *levelled (language)variety*, is now often used.

(ii) Regiolects, specifically those that occur within the same nation, are or develop often to accent varieties, and their number seems to be on the rise. Accent varieties represent the last, most settled and socialized stage of the interlanguage development. Articulatory habits belong indeed to the most stable and enduring language domains. Accent is resistant, and efforts to give it up or change it may be frustrating and psychologically costly, even for children (Trudgill

1975:57-8, Van Coetsem 1988:27-8). It amounts to nothing less than breaking ingrained habits. Yet, social factors have often compelled speakers to do so.

(a) In elaborating on our definition of accent variety, we note that as a rule it is proper to a certain geographical area, has an identifying pronunciation pattern, but does not show any significant amount of lexical and grammatical characteristics; in particular, the vocabularies of accent varieties of a language display a high degree of similarity all over the area covered by the language within a nation. This general characterization of accent variety agrees quite well with what Trudgill (in the handout of his lecture at the Colloquium) states about the development of a mainstream-dialect (this corresponds to our intermediate variety/shortfall variety and accent variety), namely: "A probably accurate scenario is one which involves lexical and grammatical homogenisation, but phonetic and phonological differentiation." The relative lexical uniformity of accent varieties, which affects both the active and passive knowledge of the language, is a consequence of the strongly increased and improved communication possibilities in more recent times, as well as the fact that lexical items, specifically contentives, are easily transferable.

With our notion of *accent variety* we accord accent a status of its own as opposed to grammar and lexicon, and so does Trudgill, as we have seen above. Trudgill (1975: 18) and Trudgill-Hannah (1985: 1) have noted in relation to (British) English that the distinction between dialect and standard is determined by grammar and vocabulary, not by accent. This represents an attitude about accent which is quite different from the one prevalent in the first half of this century (Görlach 1988: 155).

We can speak equally well of an accent variety in the case of the British RP (Received Pronunciation). This is one which is not geographically restricted, but rather "a genuinely regionless accent within Britain" as Trudgill-Hannah (1985:9) call it. It can also be considered a sociolectal accent variety.

Accent is a pronunciation pattern that has acquired a certain distinction, regionally and/or socially. One accent may have more social prestige than another, which may in turn be socially stigmatized. Accent may thus not only refer to a regiolect but also to a sociolect. The identification and social evaluation of accent is made against the background of one's own perception of the accent situation, a total of the individual perceptions forming an overall opinion. It is also against this background that intelligibility of an accent is measured, where a relative lack of intelligibility can possibly trigger social stigmatization and rejection.

Lexical similarity between accent varieties is another question that needs to be further addressed. The development to such a similarity within modern com-

munication conditions is not surprising since the lexicon, specifically its contentive component, is the semantically important part of the language, and thus a major factor in intelligibility, which may play a role in the social acceptance of an accent variety, as we have seen. As Stankiewicz (1957:47) observes: "The ability to understand speakers of different speech community ... correlates more closely with lexical similarity than with structural correspondencies between linguistic systems." Equally significant in this connection is that the lexical deviations were considered by far the most serious in a survey by Politzer (1978) with 148 German teenagers, who were asked to evaluate deviations in the German used by English speakers. And Dillard (1985:258), when talking about varieties of nonnative English in the prospect of intelligibility, comes to the conclusion that "if native language syntax is not very important in the type of English spoken, native language lexicon and idiom are extremely important". Finally, while dealing in particular with language distance, Kloss (1978:64, 334-5) regards the lexicon as "das wichtigste Merkmal". Thus, while lexical similarity is considered the most important unifying factor, the criterion is clearly 'intelligibility'. When, however, Weinreich (1953:70, referring to earlier research) states that "it is major deviations of a grammatical type, above all, that are interpreted as a split" (fragmentation), his criterion is not 'intelligibility' but 'structure'. The two opinions are not in contradiction, but conceived from different angles. As far as language fragmentation is concerned, given a continuum of language differentiation in time or space, we have no objective linguistic criteria to decide in an exact way when or where we can speak of different languages or of the same language (Hudson 1980:21-71).<sup>12</sup> It is precisely in such a case that the subjective attitude of the speaker becomes a determining factor.

(b) We will now briefly examine some examples of accent varieties, both regional and sociolectal. In American English there are a number of regional accent varieties that are said to be socially accepted;<sup>13</sup> the lexicon shows then, at a comparable social level, a noticeable degree of uniformity from east to west and north to south. Similarly, Northern Dutch, in the Netherlands, exhibits a remarkable lexical uniformity,<sup>14</sup> while some regional accent differences seem to be socially well accepted, in spite of the fact that they are occasionally considered deviations from the Northern Dutch standard. Although American English and Northern Dutch do not in all respects represent the same situation, both exemplify the type of regional accent variety which is viewed as not being socially stigmatized; the accent variety is in such a case not regarded as being in a subordinate relation to, but rather as a manifestation or a realization of, the standard language (section 1-2-3).

In contrast to the examples of the United States and the Netherlands, a regional accent in Britain carries in opposition to the RP more of a social stigma (Hudson 1980:43).<sup>15</sup> Such a regional accent variety thus has a sociolectal aspect. Yet, attitudes are changing and RP in competition with native accents is now rapidly losing ground as a pronunciation model in Britain (cf. Petyt in this volume).

Another interesting example of the sociolectal accent variety is so-called *Plat Amsterdams* 'broad Amsterdam speech', which is a stigmatized accent variety of Dutch in the town of Amsterdam. Plat Amsterdams is mainly distinguished by accent, and has only very few lexical, morphological and syntactic characteristics, as Schatz (1986:5, 74-5) notes. The stigmatization of an accent variety is here the natural result of the fact that Plat Amsterdams is within the same area (Amsterdam) a sociolect, i.e., the low Amsterdam variety of Dutch, as opposed to the high variety of Dutch as it is spoken in Amsterdam. Within such a sociolectal perspective the accent stigmatization may be more resistant than in other cases.

(iii) That the general attitude towards regiolects is changing is a consequence of the growing social emancipation during the last decades. Significantly increased numbers of people have to acquire and use a standard language and in so doing they often only reach a certain stage in the acquisition of that language. In the process, the earlier idealistic goal of a standard as a language that does not reveal the area of origin of the speaker has become entirely unrealistic. Instead, regiolects that reveal the area of origin of the speakers but allow adequate communication appear to becoming more and more socially accepted. These may develop to *regiolectal standards*, especially as in the case of accent varieties.

(iv) In the following summary we include the language varieties involved in one type of interaction between dialect and standard language, with the dialect being the learner's language and the standard the target language. We match the general notions of *dialect*, *regiolect* and *standard language* with the corresponding ones in language contact and language acquisition:

(1)

I <i>general</i>	II <i>language contact/language acquisition</i>
1. dialect	↔ learner's language, source language, basilect
2. <i>regiolect</i> (regiolectal standard)	↔ <i>interlanguage</i> (intermediate variety / shortfall variety, accent variety), mesolect
3. standard	↔ target language, recipient language, acrolect
- in colonization areas: <i>regiolect</i> (regiolectal standard) ↔ levelled variety	

As we will discuss (section 2), there are other interaction types, such as the one in which the relations are reversed, i.e., where the dialect is the target language and the standard the learner's language. Also, once a regiolect has emerged, interaction develops between the regiolect and the dialect as well as between the regiolect and the standard.

The above represents language varieties from a geographical, regional viewpoint (horizontal aspect), which is that of our topic. The sociolectal (vertical) aspect is exemplified above by *Plat Amsterdams*.

1.3.5 Next, considering the broader perspective of language internationalization, we briefly discuss the distinctions between *intranational* and *national varieties*, and between *native* and *nonnative varieties* of language.

(i) Having given examples of intranational varieties, we now direct our attention to the national varieties.

(a) National varieties of a language (or, as Kloss 1978:66-7 calls them, *pluri-zentrische Hochsprachen*) are also native varieties. Their mutual relationship is complex and often differs from one case to another. They may represent different standards, as in the case of British and American English, which exhibit lexical (and grammatical) dissimilarities in addition to accent differences. The differences are not always clearly demarcated, and with the present "communication explosion" lexical differences are fluid and subject to change (Algeo 1989:e.g., 220, 222 ff.). British and American English each has its own sphere of influence (Görlach 1988:158), British English in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand; American English in Canada. Within each sphere of influence the degree of difference is a variable. "As the two major national varieties influence each other, they influence all other varieties of English too. And those other varieties exert a counterinfluence on British and American" (Algeo, p. 225). As we will see,

English varieties converge lexically, as the result of the growing lexical expansion of American English.

(b) The issue of social acceptance must be raised, this time in relation to a national variety. The case of English in Australia, another colonization area, is interesting, although complex and still an object of debate (cf., e.g., Delbridge 1985, Horvath 1985). Australian English differs from British English through accent and lexicon. As far as pronunciation is concerned, RP or a close variant originally functioned as the norm. In other words, an Australian pronunciation of English was stigmatized. Since World War II this appears to be changing, and a more autochthonous English accent is becoming more and more socially acceptable and promoted, that is, a social stigma is gradually being removed from a national variety of English. This is a trend that we have also recognized for intranational varieties of English.

(c) One could also distinguish an *international language variety*, which extends over a national border. The Limburgic variety of standard Dutch, spoken on either side of the Dutch-Belgian border, may be considered an example. Yet, while recognizing the impact of the national border on the language, one can also see here closely related intranational varieties of two national varieties of Dutch, the intranational Limburgic variety of Northern Dutch and the intranational Limburgic variety of Southern Dutch (section 3.3.2 (i) (b)).

(ii) Besides *native varieties* there are also *nonnative varieties*, further differentiated in *institutionalized varieties* and *performance varieties* (Kachru 1983b:48-9)

(a) Institutionalized varieties of English, also referred to as *New Englishes* (e.g., Pratt et al. 1984), are the ones found, e.g., in Ghana, India, Nigeria and the Philippines. Institutionalized varieties, which as a rule are national varieties, have achieved a certain degree of stability. Kachru (1983b:48-9) mentions several of their characteristics, for example, "they have an extended range of uses in the sociolinguistic context of the nation", and "they have an extended register and style range". The two main national varieties, British and American English, here again have their respective sphere of influence: for example, British English in Nigeria, American English in the Philippines.

As an institutionalized variety, Nigerian English provides us with a representative case of intermediate variety / shortfall variety. In the description by Bamgboṣe (1983), it reflects clearly various stages in the acquisition process. There are four varieties of Nigerian English, following the progression of the latter's acquisition from minimal to maximal. The 'minimal' variety is a pidgin, while the 'maximal' variety is identical to British English spoken by Nigerians who have been educated in England, and is thus not a Nigerian variety by itself.



The two intermediate varieties / shortfall varieties are mainly phonologically and lexically characterized. The one that is closest to British English, also called Educated Nigerian English, is regarded by Bamgboṣe (p. 102) as having the best change of becoming the generally accepted form of English in Nigeria.

(b) Performance varieties of English are those that are used as foreign languages all over the world, e.g., in Egypt or Japan. We will find here intermediate varieties / shortfall varieties also, but in its most common optimal form a performance variety will be an accent variety. The learner's language is then not subordinated to the target language as in the case of dialect-standard interaction.

1.3.6 The degree of functionality may also serve as a yardstick to differentiate languages and language varieties.

(i) In relation with the community that it serves, a language variety fulfills all, some or only one of the communicative functions; this functionality thus ranges from maximal to minimal (Cooper 1982:7ff.). A language or language variety may be used in a functionally restricted way outside of its own area.<sup>16</sup>

(ii) In this connection we briefly compare the notions of *standard language* and *international language*. In general both are based on prestige, but they differ in functionality, as the latter may serve as an auxiliary language and thus have a limited functionality, while the former is at least intended to fulfill all the communicative functions of the community in question. They are both distinct from the *lingua franca* type of language, which is used as an auxiliary language between peoples of different linguistic background, with the prestige criterion being irrelevant. As always, there are borderline cases. The similarity and distinction between language standardization and internationalization will be further dealt with in section 4.

1.3.7 Concluding our discussion on *language variety*, we come back to the subject of social acceptance of accent in order to qualify some of our earlier statements.

(i) When we speak above about the relation between accent and social stigmatization, we mainly repeat current opinions. It appears that we are presently in a process of social 'neutralization' of accent, a process which may be in different developmental stages from one language area to another and from one individual speaker to another. There may be also subtle distinctions involved, and rather than being an either-or question, social stigmatization may be a matter of degree. Also, social stigmatization is overt vs. covert, conscious vs. subconscious, an individual vs. a community feature. As we have stated, overt social stigmatization also appears to depend on the degree of deviation of the accent and how accent

features affect intelligibility. Even in the United States, a regional accent still triggers, consciously or unconsciously, a certain degree of stigmatization. The stigmatized character of the Southern American accent in its most noticeable form cannot be denied. Otherwise, why would Southern speakers living in the North so often adapt their language and suppress the more salient characteristics of their native accent?

(ii) As suggested, lack of stigmatization of accent seems to be the trend of the future, at least if what happens in the development of English as a world language may be considered indicative and symptomatic. When promoting RP, the expressed concern of Daniel Jones was to expand the intelligibility of English, but this is a problem that may well be solved by self-regulation. Strevens (1985:28) pointedly notes that “in the last resort, global mutual intelligibility in English is maintained by those who need it: those who don’t need it don’t achieve it. And those who do need it, achieve and maintain it by using the same global dialect, standard English, because it will support any accent you care to use with it.” When Görlach (1988:156, 168) remarks that lexical unification between national varieties of English grows and that lexical expansion emanates from the United States (cf. Kahane 1983:233) and in the same way but to different degrees influences England,<sup>17</sup> Australia and other countries, he concurs with Strevens’ view. In so far as a lexical expansion within the English-speaking world promotes lexical unification, and in so far as lexical difference between national varieties of English decreases accordingly, national varieties of English are on their way to accent varieties. Indeed, while acknowledging the growing lexical unification of national varieties, Görlach also mentions that the difference in pronunciation norms seems rather to increase than to decrease. With the strong trend to social levelling and egalitarianism, the future does not seem to favor stigmatization of an accent, especially one that does not do anything other than simply reveal the speaker’s area of origin.<sup>18</sup>

## 2.1 The dialect-standard interaction as a case of language contact: the two transfer types

2.1.1 The interaction between dialect and standard language is a particular case of language contact, the latter implying competition and change. We will first summarize our general view of language contact, as we have discussed it in detail in our monograph on loan phonology of 1988. In language contact there is a source language, the *sl*, and a recipient language, the *rl*. These form a transfer relation (in the general sense of the word), with language material being transmitted from the *sl* to the *rl*:

(2)

$sl \rightarrow rl$

We have to differentiate further between two transfer types depending on whether the *sl* speaker or the *rl* speaker is the agent of the action. If in the transfer of material from the *sl* to the *rl* the *rl* speaker is the agent, the action is *borrowing* or what we have called *rl agentivity*. If, however, in the transfer of material from the *sl* to the *rl* the *sl* speaker is the agent, the action is *imposition*<sup>19</sup> or what we have called *sl agentivity*. In determining which of the speakers, the *rl* speaker or the *sl* speaker, is the agent of the action, we use the criterion of *linguistic dominance*, the latter referring to the fact that the speaker has a greater knowledge or proficiency in one of the two languages. In *rl agentivity* (borrowing), the *rl* speaker has by definition a greater proficiency in the *rl* than in the *sl*, and he is therefore linguistically dominant in the *rl*; as a bilingual he is an *rl* bilingual (*RL / sl*). If we use capitalization to indicate the linguistically dominant member in the transfer relation between *sl* and *rl*, *rl agentivity* can be adequately represented as follows:

(3)

$sl \rightarrow RL$

In *sl agentivity* (imposition), on the other hand, the *sl* speaker has a greater proficiency in the *sl* than in the *rl*, and he is thus linguistically dominant in the *sl*; as a bilingual he is an *sl* bilingual (*SL / rl*). Using again capitalization *sl agentivity* is as follows:

(4)

$SL \rightarrow rl$

In practice there will often be differences in linguistic dominance in the bilingual individual and/or in the bilingual community between parts of the *rl* and *sl*, differences which can be ascribed to functional dissimilarities. Furthermore there may be shifts in linguistic dominance from one time to another in the individual and in the community. Also, a bilingual virtually may have the same proficiency in the *rl* and in the *sl*, reducing to zero the difference in linguistic dominance between the contacting languages. In such a case the difference between the two transfer types also tends to be neutralized.

A very important fact is that language has a constitutional property of *stability*. Certain language components or domains (e.g., phonology) are more stable, while other such domains are less stable (e.g., vocabulary). There are thus

differences of stability in language, which were already recognized in the previous century and are often referred to in the literature. However, distinction in stability based on language domains is an oversimplification. For example, within the vocabulary itself, it is necessary to distinguish between a more stable primary vocabulary, including, e.g., functors, and a less stable secondary vocabulary, generally contentives. While we mention in our monograph a number of factors in stability, such as frequency, structuredness and saliency, we also conclude (p. 34) "that both the elaboration of a precise and detailed hierarchy of the stability of language constituents, domains or subdomains and the investigation of code-termining and counteracting factors or circumstances remain very much concerns for future research". In ongoing research on the interaction between dialect and standard language in Twente (the Netherlands), Van Bree (1985, and in this volume) focuses on the question of stability. Whereas we saw consciousness and abstraction as one of the factors in stability (p. 33), he convincingly argues that the degree of stability of language constituents are primarily related to the degree of consciousness and abstraction, although he does not ignore other factors (cf. also Van Bree 1990: 307-10).<sup>20</sup>

A language in contact with another language will tend to maintain its stable domains or subdomains. If the *rl* speaker is the agent, he will tend to preserve the more stable domains or subdomains of his language, e.g., his phonology, while accepting vocabulary items from the *sl*. If, on the other hand, the *sl* speaker is the agent, he will also tend to preserve the more stable domains or subdomains of his language, e.g., his phonology and specifically his articulatory habits, which means that he will impose them upon the *rl*.

In borrowing, the transfer of material from the *sl* to the *rl* primarily concerns the less stable domains or subdomains, particularly vocabulary, while in imposition, such a transfer involves the more stable domains or subdomains, particularly phonology.

Consequently, each transfer type has its own characteristic general effect on the *rl*, and consideration of the two transfer types with the stability factor accordingly has predictive power.

Confusion of the two transfer types, which has been a common fact in previous research and a serious obstacle to our understanding of language contact, has led many scholars to believe that everything from phonology to semantics can be 'borrowed'. Virtually everything can indeed be 'transferred' or 'transmitted' from one language or dialect to another, but part occurs through borrowing or *rl* agentivity and part through imposition or *sl* agentivity.

2.1.2 From the viewpoint of the two transfer types there are four basic linguistic forms of interaction between dialect and standard language. In each of *rl* agentivity (diagram (3)) and *sl* agentivity (diagram (4)) there are two possibilities depending on whether the borrowing occurs from the dialect into the standard language or from the standard language into the dialect, or whether the imposition occurs from the dialect upon the standard language or from the standard language upon the dialect. Using again capitalization for indicating the linguistically dominant member, we can represent the four interaction types as follows:

(5)

<i>sl</i>	→	<i>rl</i>	
1. DIALECT	→	standard	( <i>sl</i> agentivity, imposition by dialect)
2. standard	→	DIALECT	( <i>rl</i> agentivity, borrowing by dialect)
3. dialect	→	STANDARD	( <i>rl</i> agentivity, borrowing by standard)
4. STANDARD	→	dialect	( <i>sl</i> agentivity, imposition by standard)

Another factor, *social dominance*, is less relevant in this context, as it does not affect the cases as such, the standard normally being the socially dominant language. We will now consider the different cases of dialect-standard interaction.

## 2.2 The four basic forms or types of dialect-standard interaction

2.2.1 The first basic form of interaction between the dialect and the standard language, which we will call *interaction type 1*, is *sl* agentivity, with the dialect imposing upon the standard language (DIALECT → standard).

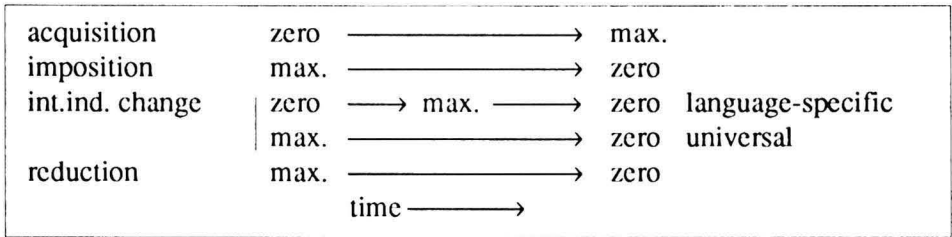
(i) This type of dialect-standard interaction is very important, as it underlies to a significant extent the process of language standardization (section 3). With the development and expansion of a standard language a dialect speaker will learn and use that language. We are thus faced here primarily with *second language acquisition*, in which the *sl* or the dialect is the linguistically dominant learner's language, while the *rl* or the standard language is the target language.

In second language acquisition we have two different learning situations, the 'artificial' classroom-environment situation and the 'natural' real life situation. Both situations are applicable in the case of a dialect speaker acquiring the standard.

(ii) The second language acquisition process involves generally four variable factors, which represent operations, namely: *acquisition*, *imposition*, *internally*

*induced change*, and *reduction*. Imposition is actually a form of externally induced change, while internally induced change has either a language specific or a universal character. To these operations evaluation procedures may be applied, such as *simplification* and *complication*. For example, an imposition may amount to simplification in one case and to complication in another; this also corresponds to what Weinreich (1953:18) has called *under-differentiation* and *over-differentiation*. An operation may be viewed from other angles. For example, an internally induced change may be a regularization or an overgeneralization. The greater the language distance between the dialect and the standard language, the less extensive will be the operation of the four variable factors. Especially internally induced change and reduction will be minimal if the dialect and the standard are closely related genetically. The variable factors are not equally represented in all forms of second language acquisition, and they do not uniformly apply to each of the *rl*'s domains or subdomains. Although they interact, and may in some cases be difficult to distinguish, each of the variable factors has its own development. Using 'maximal' and 'zero' as delimiting poles, their developments can be represented as follows:

(6)



Van Leuvensteijn (personal communication) points out an interesting distinction in focus between acquisition and imposition on the one hand, and internally induced change and reduction on the other. With acquisition and imposition we refer primarily to the extremes, i.e., the standard and the dialect, respectively, while with internally induced change and reduction it is the intermediate area, i.e., interlanguage, which is brought to the foreground.

(iii) We will now consider the variable factors separately.

(a) The acquisition process of the *rl* or target language evolves from zero to maximal. The dialect speaker's attention will primarily be directed towards the contentive part of the standard's vocabulary, that is, the semantic hard core of the standard language; it is the most dynamic and versatile subdomain and also the most readily acquired. In case of a dialect that is genetically closely related to the

standard language, the core vocabulary of the dialect will not be all that different from the standard language vocabulary. The dialect speaker will then apply so-called *correspondence rules* (also called *input-switch rules*, *conversion rules*, even *transformation rules*): *x* of the dialect corresponding to *y* of the standard language in one set, *x* of the dialect is converted to *y* in the standard language in a correspondent set (e.g., Moosmüller 1988, Stern 1988). For example, in dialectal Dutch *loaten* and *moaken* [ɔ:] corresponding to *laten* and *maken* of the standard, *droagen* of the dialect will be converted to *dragen* of the standard. Lexical similarity (section 1.3.4 (ii) (a)) and correspondence rules, i.e., linkage between the lexico-semantic and the phonological-grammatical levels, are precisely the elements that underlie the structuralist notion of *diasystem* (Weinreich 1954, Goossens 1969:18-22 with further references). Correspondence rules are basic in the acquisition process of a genetically closely related standard language or dialect; in this connection affinity between dialect and standard language is therefore an important factor. However, correspondence rules lead to overgeneralization or hypercorrection (Trudgill 1986:66ff) and consequently to internally induced change ((c) below).

(b) Imposition evolves from maximal to zero and thus counters acquisition. Through the acquisition process, the dialect speaker keeps imposing parts or elements of his dialect, the *sl*, upon the standard language, the *rl*. Such parts include primarily the most stable domains or subdomains of the dialect, for example, the phonology, specifically articulatory habits. It is through the imposition of *sl* articulatory features upon the *rl* that an accent originates.

Also, the morphology is a very stable domain, and is not transferred in its entirety to the *rl* or target language. When the dialect and the standard language are genetically closely related, they normally share a great deal and especially the basic part of their morphologies, and separate morphological elements or usages may be imposed from the dialect upon the standard language.<sup>21</sup>

During the acquisition of a standard language by a dialect speaker the imposition process also includes elements from less stable domains or subdomains, such as vocabulary items, but these generally offer less resistance and show a strong tendency to disappear. Yet, more stable elements of the vocabulary, such as functors, especially prepositions, which indicate grammatical relations, are also often maintained and imposed upon the standard even after subjective completion of the acquisition process (Nuytens 1962:e.g., 123-5, Van Coetsem 1988:70 and Van Bree in this volume).

If the dialect is genetically less related or nonrelated to the standard language, the acquisition process amounts to foreign language learning and will therefore be more elaborate, although here again accents develop.



In connection with what has been stated above about consciousness as a stability factor (section 2.1.1), it is interesting to consider here what Labov (1972:178 ff.) has called a *change from below*, that is, a change occurring below the level of consciousness, and a *change from above*, that is, a change occurring above the level of consciousness. Imposition is a form of externally induced change and seems in principle to be a change from below. In general the learner, i.e., the dialect speaker, is not aware that he imposes his own dialectal usage upon the target language, i.e., the standard language, although he may become aware of it in certain cases (cf. now Guy 1990:in particular 51, 54-5).

(c) The third variable factor, internally induced change, has a dual character in that it is language-specific or universal. Internally induced change will indeed be activated on the basis of a language-specific requirement, evolving from zero to maximal to zero, or when a structure emerges that violates universal principles, evolving from maximal to zero.

The following is an example of language-specific internally induced change. It is a case of a correspondence rule that is overgeneralized. While the dialect speaker is learning the standard language, he is not aware of all the differences between the dialect and the standard, and as a result he may apply overgeneralization or hypercorrection. For example, the plural *damen* of *dame* 'lady', which is or was quite common in Southern Dutch, is in line with the rule of plural formation of Dutch words in *-e*, e.g., *zede* 'custom', plural *zeden*. Yet, in Northern Dutch a great number of words in *-e* can have a plural in *-n* or *-s*, e.g., *ziekte* 'sickness', plural *ziekten* or *ziektes*, although in such cases the plural in *-s* is usually felt as more colloquial. The two plural formations are also found in foreign words, e.g., *periode*, plural *periodes* or *perioden*, apparently without much difference in stylistic connotation. In Northern Dutch the word *dame* [da:mə] can, however, only be *dames* in the plural, and this usage is followed in the Southern Dutch standard. The Southern Dutch plural *damen* is therefore an internally induced usage (overgeneralization of the *-n* plural formation) that also occurred in Southern Dutch dialects, here mostly in the form *dammen*, singular *damme*, the latter with the short [a] vowel in accordance with the French pronunciation.<sup>22</sup>

Internally induced change is to be equated with change from below, that is, a change that occurs below the level of consciousness. As such it occurs automatically. In the case of overgeneralization the dialect speaker has to be made aware of the exception in the standard language.

(d) Reduction, which is the fourth variable factor to be considered, affects in particular the inflectional morphology. As far as we are involved in an acquisition process, reduction is a proficiency-related strategy based on avoidance. Here

again, the degree of affinity between dialect and standard language is an important factor. Indeed, reduction occurs most obviously when the contacting languages are genetically less related or nonrelated, especially as in pidginization. On the other hand, in the case of a dialect and a genetically closely related standard language, reduction plays only a minor role and concerns individual elements or minor parts of the language. For instance, while learning the standard, the dialect speaker may avoid using certain words of that standard.<sup>23</sup>

(e) While the discussed variable factors (acquisition, imposition, internally induced change and reduction) refer to operations, there are other variables, such as age and gender of the speakers, which affect interlingual contact and in particular the interaction between dialect and standard language.<sup>24</sup>

(iv) As our analysis of the variable factors suggests, the acquisition process of a standard language starting from a dialect is a gradual development.

(a) Dialect, the learner's language or *sl*, and standard language, the target language or *rl*, are the poles of the acquisition continuum, along which the acquisition process of the standard language proceeds in a gamut of intermediate or compromise developments (e.g., Wiesinger in this volume); such intermediate varieties constitute, as we have seen, the interlanguage process, and they reflect what we have called the *regiolect*.<sup>25</sup> The concept of *interlanguage* is characterized by a high degree of variability,<sup>26</sup> and so are the intermediate language realizations in the acquisition process of a standard language. For example, Southern Dutch (as used in Belgium), being still in the process of standardization, illustrates quite clearly the great variability that characterizes the interlanguage phenomenon. Although we were not the first to do so, more than thirty years ago we noted a broad variation range in the standardizing process of Dutch in Belgium.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, when speaking of *landschaftliche Umgangssprache* and *Halbmundart*, Bach (1950:5 and 230) states that these show "fließende Übergänge von großer Schwingungsbreite", that is, 'flowing transitions of a broad swinging range'.

(b) The interlanguage development may be interrupted as in the case of pidginization. Or the acquisition process may not be objectively completed, and in the dialect-standard interaction regiolects, e.g., shortfall varieties and accent varieties, develop (section 1.3.3). The acquisition process is then counteracted by the other variable factors, imposition, internally induced change and reduction; there may be also no motivation or need on the part of the language learner to complete objectively the acquisition process.

(c) We have noted (section 2.1.1) that a bilingual may develop the same or a comparable proficiency in the *rl* and in the *sl*. In such a case the tendency is towards zero difference in linguistic dominance between the contacting languages and towards neutralization of the difference between the transfer types. Whereas

with clear-cut *rl* or *sl* agentivity each transfer type has its own characteristic general effect on the *rl*, with neutralization of the difference between the transfer types, the effect on the *rl*, here the dialect or the standard, is usually less characteristic.

2.2.2 The second basic form of interaction between dialect and standard language, *interaction type 2*, is *rl* agentivity, with the dialect borrowing from the standard language (standard → DIALECT). The borrowing primarily concerns the vocabulary, especially its contentive component. The dialect borrows more and more words from the standard and loses his lexical characteristics, the dialect becoming lexically more similar to the standard. There is consequently on the lexical level dialect-standard or vertical convergence, which occasions interdialectal or horizontal convergence.<sup>28</sup> For example, while in the Netherlands the Northern Dutch standard exhibits regional 'accents', as we have seen (section 1.3.4 (ii) (b)), it also shows a comparatively strong lexical uniformity, and influences the Northern Dutch dialects, which give up more and more their lexical peculiarities.

While interaction type 1 is the most common form of *sl* agentivity and imposition, interaction type 2 is the most common form of *rl* agentivity and borrowing. There are numerous examples of this interaction type. It occurs quite naturally in the contact between immigrant languages such as Norwegian and English in the United States. A very famous case is also the contact between Middle English and Norman French, described in some detail by Van Coetsem (1988:131 ff.). Another example is the contact between Dutch and Frisian, the latter as used in the northwestern part of the Netherlands. As a language distinct from Dutch, Frisian reacts to the influence of Dutch in a similar way as the Northern Dutch dialects do. The general profile of the Frisian-Dutch language contact is that of *rl* agentivity, Frisian borrowing from Dutch, although *sl* agentivity is also involved in particular cases. While in that process the Frisian lexicon is to an important extent being dutchified, Frisian preserves better its own phonology and morphology. Yet, there is an important attitudinal factor that counteracts the dutchification of the Frisian lexicon, a factor that is far stronger in Frisian than in the Northern Dutch dialects, i.e., the Frisians' conscious perseverance to maintain their linguistic and cultural identity.

Borrowing often goes with phonological, grammatical and/or lexical adaptation (Van Coetsem 1988:8). In this way the borrowing language or dialect receives new material, while preserving and even reinforcing its phonological, morphological and lexical characteristics. Recently Gerritsen-Brussaard (1989:138 ff.) illustrated such a case of borrowing with adaptation. Dutch dialects that have the word *kaste* for standard Dutch *kast* 'cupboard, etc.', have borrowed standard

Dutch *ijskast* 'refrigerator' mostly as *ijskaste*, that is, with lexical adaptation. It is noteworthy that the adaptation took place in a majority of cases, however, not all the time, because imitation or borrowing may prevail over adaptation.

2.2.3 The third basic form of interaction between dialect and standard language, *interaction type 3*, is again *rl* agentivity, with the standard language borrowing from the dialect (dialect → STANDARD). Since the standard is the *rl*, interaction type 3 may affect the standard directly, although usually only in a minor way. As noted, borrowing will then primarily affect the less stable domains or subdomains, that is, the vocabulary, specifically its contentive component. In so far as the standard language is socially dominant vs. the dialect, borrowing from a dialect into the standard language will in general only be motivated by need, e.g., for achieving certain (stylistic) effects, or when regional words or phrases refer to objects, situations or views which show a wider than local interest or application. For example, the word *Rucksack* was originally Upper German used in the Alemannic dialects of the Alpine areas (cf. dialectal *Ruck* without umlaut vs. standard German *Rücken*). The word *Rucksack* was borrowed into standard German, and also into English. Here again with borrowing, phonological, grammatical and lexical adaptation may occur. For example, Dutch *rugzak* represents a lexical adaptation of German *Rucksack*.

2.2.4 The fourth basic form of interaction between dialect and standard language, *interaction type 4*, is *sl* agentivity, but this time the standard language is the *sl* and the linguistically dominant language (STANDARD → dialect). The standard speaker imposes standard usage upon the dialect. He may do so while acquiring the dialect. If both the dialect and the standard are maintained, we have a situation of *stable bilingualism* (Fishman 1972: 91 ff., Louden 1988) or *additive bilingualism* (Romaine 1989: e.g., 107 referring to W. Lambert); if on the other hand, the standard is acquired and used at the cost of the dialect, we have a case of *subtractive bilingualism* and possibly of *dialect attrition*, which we will discuss next.

### 2.3 Language or dialect attrition and death

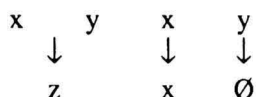
2.3.1 That languages and dialects are subject to attrition, that they can go out of usage or 'die', is a commonly known fact. Attrition does not mean that the process lacks systematicity (e.g., Van Marle 1990: 24ff.). Language contact, being a form of competition, implies selection and thus also elimination. As there are different forms and aspects of attrition and death, a number of taxonomies

have been proposed and distinctions made, such as between intragenerational and intergenerational attrition, between attrition in the individual speaker and attrition in the community, between attrition in the first and the second language, etc. (Van Els 1986:4, Jaspaert 1986:37 ff.). Also, distinctions are based on the kinds of death situations, e.g., sudden death and gradual death, or on the processes in dying languages, etc. (Campbell-Muntzel 1989). Hamp (1989:204 ff.) distinguishes between death “without capitulation” and death “with accommodation”. As an area of investigation, language or dialect attrition and death is still in an organizational stage.<sup>29</sup>

A point to remember is that languages and dialects are communicative functions of the human being. As such, they do not ‘live’ and ‘die’. We should be well aware that the metaphoric use of such notions as *life*, *obsolescence* and *death* in connection with language may be misleading.

2.3.2 In the literature the notion of *attrition* refers to two cases, one in which the dialect is being lost through a compromise process in the interlanguage development, and another one in which the dialect is being lost as a direct result of the lack of functionality and usage. Although there may be intermediary forms, in the former case, the result is a merger (the product of which being usually different from the target language), in the latter case, it represents an actual loss:

(7)



(i) In the first case, a speaker, acquiring a second or foreign language and becoming linguistically dominant in it, loses proficiency in his own language; in particular, a dialect speaker, acquiring and using a standard language, loses proficiency in his dialect. This may result in the latter’s attrition, which happens not only in the case of individual speakers, but also in the case of speech communities. This common form of dialect attrition represents the reverse of language acquisition, as it is the complementary losing of the dialect in the acquisition process of the standard during the interlanguage development. In this losing of the dialect the same variable factors as in interaction type 1 (imposition, internally induced change and reduction) seem to be operative in the dialect, of course, with the exception of acquisition. However, what is affected first and foremost by change and attrition is evidently the lexicon, as it is, as we have noted (section

2-1-1), the least stable domain (cf. also Hinskens 1986, Vousten-Smits-Schroen 1986).

The development that we consider is a succession of two forms of *sl* agentivity, one with imposition of the dialect upon the standard (interaction type 1), and one with imposition of the standard or a variety of the standard upon the dialect (interaction type 4) (see, e.g., Van Bree in this volume). The linguistic dominance shifts from the dialect to the standard (or a variety of the standard, regiolect); the native dialect becomes the second language (dialect) while the standard (regiolect) shifts from second to first language. Usually the succession of the two forms of *sl* agentivity appear to extend over different generations.

It seems that in this case of attrition similar changes are found in both 'healthy' and 'dying' language developments. In concrete examples it is then difficult if not impossible to establish whether we are dealing with reflexes of language attrition or language contact. In the Dutch area the Limburgic dialect of Maastricht has been considered from the viewpoint of dialect attrition (Münstermann-Hagen 1986:79, 81,84, Münstermann 1989:66-100), although the dialect still covers a "full range of functions". In this case the idea of attrition is clearly based on the general assumption that the Dutch dialects are somehow disappearing. However, are the considered changes really indicative of attrition? For example, in the dialect of Maastricht a number of verbs belong to the weak conjugation while their standard equivalents belong to the strong conjugation (e.g., Dutch *schuiven* 'to shove, push, slide'). Since in a normal development as well as in some forms of language contact the general trend in the Germanic languages is to give up the strong conjugation (cf., e.g., Afrikaans, Van Coetsem 1988:142-3), one might expect the Maastricht dialect to maintain the weak verbs. However, what really happens is that the weak verbs in that dialect are being replaced by their strong counterparts from standard Dutch. Such a replacement is clearly nothing other than imposition from standard Dutch upon the Maastricht dialect, which thus loses indeed one of its characteristics. However, is imposition in this context a reflex of regular language contact or of language attrition?

(ii) In the second case of attrition, as a result of lack of functionality and usage a language or dialect is actually being lost. Structural change and loss take place, which themselves result from loss of function; loss is also no longer compensated.

It remains to be determined what the characteristic symptoms, the 'diagnostic' changes of this case of language attrition and death are, what constitute, in the terms of Hamp (1989), the "signs of health and death" (cf. also Jaspaert et al. 1986:40). We have to make a distinction between structural (internal) and social (external) characteristics. Perhaps we may formulate as a hypothesis that if there

are structural characteristics of attrition, they will be represented in those kind of changes that occur nowhere else than with imposition (*sl* agentivity) upon a socially nondominant language or dialect (which is interaction type 4 in the context of the dialect-standard interaction). As to the social indicators of language or dialect attrition, they are found in the functionality and usage of the language or dialect, for example, in a rapid decline of the number of its speakers.

## 2.4 Diglossia and code switching

*Diglossia* and *code switching* offer also examples of dialect-standard interaction. While diglossia refers to a language contact situation, as do bilingualism or multilingualism, code switching is like the transfer types a process or strategy used in a language contact situation. Future research will have to concentrate here on problems of definition and delimitation.

Diglossia expresses a functional complementarity often with prestige difference of H[igh] and L[ow] between the languages, language varieties or dialects involved (e.g., Fisman 1972:91 ff., Romaine 1989:31 ff., Haugen 1987:92 ff.), for example, Nynorsk and Bokmål in Norway (Venås and Hanssen in this volume), Swiss German dialects and Swiss standard High German.

Code switching is a shift from one language or dialect to another by the same speaker and within the same speech act or within the course of a conversation (e.g., Lehiste 1988:93, Romaine 1989:110 ff. with further references, and Macha in this volume).<sup>30</sup> Further investigation will have to focus on the delimitation of code switching vis-à-vis the two transfer types, as well as on the constraints to code switching. The question of code switching between dialect and standard language has been discussed, for example, by Giesbers (1989), who confronts the theory with a corpus of data from a Limburgic dialect in the Netherlands, and by Werlen (1988:111 ff.), who examines cases of code switching between Swiss standard High German and Swiss German dialects in medical interviews.<sup>31</sup>

## 2.5 Pragmatic aspects

Finally, *pragmatic* aspects of language play also a role in dialect-standard interaction. Language or dialectal differences can be more than just phonic, grammatical or lexical. There is, for example, the case of positive or negative response tags to the same question or statement, depending on the area in Southern Dutch (Belgium), e.g., *het is toch maar weinig* 'it is only a little', with the response (confirmation) *ja* 'yes' in the eastern part, and *nee(n)* 'no' in the western part



(example mentioned by O. Leys; cf. also Meeussen 1943). Such a usage is transmitted from the dialect to the standard (interaction type 1).

### 3.1 Aspects and components of language standardization

Language standardization, which is our next subject, can be considered from different angles (e.g., Joseph 1987). We will discuss the points that appear most germane to our topic. The components of language standardization, commonly referred to in sociolinguistics and which we will incorporate in our treatment, are *selection*, *codification*, *elaboration of function* and *acceptance* (Hudson 1980:33, referring to E. Haugen). We will start with a discussion of the *community of interaction* as the social correlate of the *speech community*.

### 3.2 Community of interaction and speech community

3.2.1 Language or dialect is an open system that by nature is subject to change. It can absorb new elements or give up material that is no longer functional. Language has a great potential to satisfy the communicative needs of the community that uses it. While the general question of adequacy between society and language is very important and deserves to be extensively discussed, we cannot go into it here. Directly relevant to our topic is that language standardization shows how a geographical expansion of a community is paralleled by a corresponding spread of its language, and this is a point that we will examine more closely.

3.2.2 When speaking of a community and its geographical expansion, we actually refer to what has been called in German dialectology a *Verkehrsgemeinschaft* (Bach 1950:80 ff.), or a *Kommunikationsgemeinschaft* (Besch 1988:205), that is, a *community of (social) interaction*. In English we often speak rather loosely of *community*, without any further qualification, or of *group (subgroup)*. The community of social interaction is intended here as a general concept covering any form of human community, also the speech community;<sup>32</sup> language is indeed a universal and basic component of society. Of crucial significance is the correlation between the community of interaction and the speech community.<sup>33</sup>

A community of interaction exerts a centralizing and cohesive effect, and forms the social setting for the expansion and contraction of linguistic phenomena. It corresponds to a communication need with a variety of motivations (Mattheier 1988). Communities of interaction are of varying nature and of different form and size, in that they refer, for example, to political, administrative,

economic, cultural, religious and other units. They also differ by their impact on speech. For example, a nation, as a political and administrative unit, has a far greater impact on speech than a cultural organization. Communities of interaction, including and intersecting one another in hierarchical and intercrossing relationships, form totalities, in which political and administrative boundaries (as in the case of nations) appear to be most basic and prevalent. The complexity of such totalities and their modifications in the course of time not only account for the specific character of dialect boundaries as bundles of isoglosses, but also for the irregularly intercrossing pattern of isoglosses. The isogloss, demarcating one linguistic feature, is thus the correlate of a social (political, cultural, etc.) boundary, while isoglosses in their various configurations (e.g., Goossens 1969:15-8) are the synchronic compression of the expansion or contraction of successive changes in the diachronic perspective. In other words, communities of interaction and their modifications form the social settings for what happens in and with speech communities, namely, *divergence* and *convergence*,<sup>34</sup> the presence or absence of a community of interaction respectively having a unifying or diversifying influence on speech.

This macroscopic view of the relation between societal development and language evolution, between communities of interaction and bundles of isoglosses, is a meaningful one, in spite of the fact that we are generally not able to correlate the various isoglosses to their respective communities of interaction, because we are very insufficiently informed about the societal development in question. In general history keeps better track of political and administrative boundaries than of other demarcation lines.

Another matter concerns the general background against which language standardization takes place, as a converging phenomenon within a given community of interaction. Standardization may vary from one place to another and from one time to another. There is a marked difference in nature, extension and cohesiveness between communities of interaction in the past and the present. An originally prevalent divergence is being gradually replaced by a dominant convergence. An important stage in that development was the forming of nations with their particularly strong and centralizing administrative apparatus and their hierarchical organization; until recently *cuius regio, eius lingua* (Décsy 1973:171-2) has been an often occurring rule of government. Nation forming is, however, not the end of the development, since communities of interaction are now becoming larger and are growing to global proportions. Standardization is being strongly promoted by sociopolitical, socio-economic and sociocultural changes, by increasing industrialization and technological advances, by greater population

mobility, and by the development and improvement of mass media that constantly reduce distance and unify more and more the planet.

### 3.3 How does language standardization come about and develop?

3.3.1 First, how do the dialect-standard interaction types discussed in section 2 relate to standardization? The first form of interaction between dialect and standard language, interaction type 1, i.e., *sl* agentivity, is the one that basically underlies language standardization.<sup>35</sup> While the standard language is being formed and acquired, the dialect imposes upon the standard language (DIALECT → standard); there is here an acquisition continuum (interlanguage), to which corresponds a standardization continuum. The other types of dialect-standard interaction co-occur or are involved with standardization, but are of secondary significance from the viewpoint of standardization. Interaction type 3 has a direct, usually minor, effect on the standard. Interaction types 2 and 4, as well as dialect attrition affect the subordinated dialects, not the standard (cf. diagram (5)).

From the standpoint of the interaction types the notion of *standardization* can therefore have two meanings a narrow, specific one, when only the effect on the standard is considered (interaction types 1 and 3), and an extended one, when the effect on the subordinated dialects is additionally taken into account (all interaction types and dialect attrition). We will use the notion of standardization in both senses, with the context revealing which meaning is involved.

3.3.2 Language standardization consists of two aspects, the formation of a standard language and its spread. These two aspects are usually intimately intertwined.

(i) In a common scenario, the dialect of a particular region becomes dominant among other dialects.

(a) The development to dominance of this particular dialect, the *synecdochic dialect* as Joseph (1987:e.g., 2) calls it, normally goes together with the growth to political, economical and cultural supremacy of the region in question. In this context to become dominant means that a dialect, which is a local language with a restricted functionality, broadens its domain of operation. There are differences between dialect and language that are implied in their distinct functionality, such as that the dialect is usually not written or codified while the standard language is. The emerging standard is indeed strongly supported by a written form and follows a development of its own as compared to the dialect or dialects from which it originated (cf. Van Leuvensteijn in this volume); it also undergoes levelling.

The development of standard English in Britain, with Southern England and in particular the region of London as the standardizing area, offers an example of a development that consistently remains within the same area. In other cases the standardization proceeds along a more sinuous path. Following the changing centers of political, economical and cultural hegemony, we see, for example, how the standardization of Dutch started out on a modest scale in the South, in Flanders and subsequently in Brabant, and continued around the end of the 16th century in the North, specifically in Holland, where it could develop unhindered. This represents a relocation of the gravity center of standardization, again largely supported by a written form (cf. also Goossens 1985).

(b) A standard language as a dominant language will quite naturally spread from its original geographical location to the urban centers of other regions in the greater community of interaction, subsequently expanding from these urban centers to the surrounding rural areas (Klocke 1927, Trudgill 1974).

This expansion is strongest within the limits of the basic (political and administrative) community of interaction. Above (section 3-2.2) we have repeatedly mentioned political and administrative boundaries as formatives of communities of interaction that have a significant speech-differentiating impact. For example, the expansion of the standard language in the Netherlands went on and is still going on, gradually and naturally, within the national boundaries of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. On both sides of the Dutch-Belgian border, people speak or spoke the same or similar dialects, which are (were) thus clearly part of a dialect continuum. However, the standard languages that these people use are different varieties, determined by different nations or different basic communities of interaction (Van Coetsem 1957, 1970, Goossens 1972:10-26, and cf. section 1-3.5 (i) (c) above).<sup>36</sup> These standards then in turn influence the dialects, reinforcing the differentiating effect of the national border. More recently Deprez (1985) has shown that the Netherlandic-Belgian border remains remarkably effective as a language boundary even in an area of very close interaction such as the well-known Belgian Baarle-Hertog enclave in the Netherlands. Similarly, the Netherlandic-German border illustrates very clearly the case of a political border that has become in time a sharp language boundary (Goossens 1985:300, Berns 1990:79).

(ii) Certain factors often interfere with the above scenario of standardization: specifically, the formation as well as the expansion of a standard may be influenced by migration and colonization.

(a) Neighboring dialects may contribute to the formation of a standardizing language. For example, in England in the 14th century, following a strong popu-

lation influx in London from the Midlands, the latter's contribution to standardizing English is significantly reinforced (Görlach 1988:142).

In colonization areas, where speakers of different dialects or even different languages meet, and because of a need for mutual understanding, a more or less levelled idiom may develop on the basis of a given, often already dominant dialect or language. German offers an illustrative example. The standardization process from which modern standard German ultimately evolved, had its roots before the 13th century when East German regions were colonized by speakers from other areas. A more or less levelled *Ostmitteldeutsch*, East Middle German, developed, which has been called a *koloniale Durchschnittsprache* (Bach 1950:e.g., 193), or *Ausgleichssprache*, a colonial levelled language.<sup>37</sup> This East Middle German formed the basis for the language used in the 14th, 15th, 16th centuries by the important chanceries of the Saxon electorate and of Prague. Also, the fact that Luther used the language of the Saxon chancery as the basis for his Bible translation (16th century) was undoubtedly a crucial factor in the development of East Middle German to the German standard language (cf. also Schönfeld in this volume)

(b) As to the expansion of a standard language or of a standardizing language, it follows patterns that we find in language spread in general (Cooper (ed.) 1982), and is for an important part a question of diffusion. However, such an expansion may also be implemented by migration and colonization, particularly in the internationalization process of a language. Standardization and internationalization may overlap, and the colonization areas mentioned earlier, namely the United States of America and South Africa concern not only standardization but also internationalization.

In both countries the language reflects a high degree of dialectal or regional levelling, as is often the case in colonization areas (section 1.3.4 (i)). It is difficult to say what kinds of English have been brought over to North America, although there has been no lack of discussion about this topic; "the new 'American' population that came directly from England was diverse and heterogeneous" (Dillard 1985:53), and, as can be gathered from Dillard's (1985) discussion of "a social history of American English", dialectal or regional levelling has been applied in this area, as there was a diversity of immigrants and of language contact, including pidginization and second language acquisition. In relation to levelling Mencken (1941:5, 354) notes that all the "Early writers on the American language remarked its ... freedom from dialects", and he cites an interesting quote from John Witherspoon, a Scottish clergyman, who came to North America and lived there in the second half of the 18th century. Witherspoon stated in 1781 that "The vulgar in America speak much better than the vulgar in England, for a very

obvious reason, viz., that being much more unsettled, and moving frequently from place to place, they are not so liable to local peculiarities either in accent or phraseology." And Witherspoon went on saying: "There is a greater difference in dialect between one county and another in Britain than there is between one state and another in America" (cf. also Görlach 1988:165).

Similarly, the seventeenth-century Dutch imported in South Africa was not strongly standardized and showed dialectal features (Raidt 1983:16-8). The speakers of that language may well have avoided and thus levelled out confusing dissimilarities (Combrink 1978:71-6, elaborating on O'Neil 1978:20-9, and cf. Van Coetsem 1988:143).

(iii) Contrary to what is often assumed, pidgins and creoles are not, with respect to standardization, a separate breed of languages (e.g., Weinreich 1953:69, Kloss 1978:75). Such languages can develop to standards, and in this process decreolization occurs. For example, although one can debate the degree to which Afrikaans is a pidginized and creolized language, there can be no doubt that it is a standardized Germanic language (Van Coetsem 1988:129-44).

(iv) In the standardization expansion a continual dialect-standard interaction produces regiolects (sections 1.3.4 (i), 2.2.1 (iv) (b)).

3.3.3 A factor of eminent significance in standardization is the written language form.

(i) In the early standardization stages the written language form appears to be the major factor guiding standardization,<sup>38</sup> while the acquisition process is then more a passive one. Different stages in the "text production" have been considered (Joseph 1987: 76 ff. referring to Kloss 1978:52 ff.). German again offers a good example of the significance of the written language in the earlier stages of its standardization development. Middle High German, a prestigious literary language, the chancery languages (*Kanzleisprachen*) with the sixteenth-century printer languages (*Druckersprachen*) are all standardizing written languages (*Schriftsprachen*). Middle English offers comparable examples (Görlach 1988:141 ff.).

As long as a standard language is exclusively or mainly represented in a written form and the dialects function as the spoken language, a spoken form of the standard will be to a large extent an imitation of the written form, and it will naturally show absence of social and stylistic stratification. Illustrative of this point is the example of Dutch in Belgium, at least as it was spoken a couple of decades ago (Van Coetsem 1957:24, Goossens 1987:290). In that country the dialects are very much alive, and a spoken standard, which is strongly supported by the written form,<sup>39</sup> is far from being generally used. In the Netherlands, on the contrary, the standardization of Dutch has moved much more towards comple-

tion,<sup>40</sup> and there is a commonly used spoken standard, which exhibits social and stylistic stratification. As we have stated earlier, we can speak of two national varieties of Dutch, Northern Dutch in the Netherlands and Southern Dutch in the northern part of Belgium. In our study of 1957 (p. 22-3) we mention an example of the interaction between dialect and standard language. Where in Northern Dutch as well as in the Southern Dutch dialects the commonly used word for 'to marry' is *trouwen*, a Southern Dutch speaker, applying his version of standard Dutch, may well speak of *huwen*, a word that belongs to the written style, and that therefore will be labelled *boekentaal* 'bookish' by the Northern Dutch speaker. Indeed, the standard spoken by Southern Dutch speakers has been perceived as 'bookish' (cf., e.g., Uijlings 1956:83, Geerts 1985:93, and Willemyns-Van de Craen 1988:123). Although the example might be dated, it remains valid.

(ii) More progressive stages in the standardization process show the development of a spoken standard, as, e.g., in the mentioned case of Northern Dutch. In other words, next to a written language with written style stratification, in normal conditions a spoken standard develops with social and stylistic stratification.

(iii) With language standardization goes normally codification (e.g., dictionaries, grammars), which in turn contribute to the regularization and homogenization of the standard. This may develop to strong and even excessive prescriptiveness, while in general self-regulation is more effective. For the question of regularization and codification, as, e.g., in English, see Görlach (1988).

There are often discrepancies between language as a spoken communication tool and its codification. To a large extent such discrepancies are due to the fact that language development is an ongoing process, albeit at variable rate, while language codification occurs at variable intervals.

3.3.4 Dialects are in competition in standardization (selection), but so, too, may be standard varieties or standardizing varieties (regional varieties) themselves. In different areas of genetically related dialects independent standardization processes may occur, which may then enter in competition with one another, with possibly one of the competing standard or standardizing varieties supplanting the others. For example, in the German area *Ostmitteldeutsch*, East Middle German, gradually supplanted another important chancery language, *Gemeines Deutsch*, Common German, which, based on Upper German, was used as a standard language in southern Germany and Austria.



3-3-5 Language standardization (in the extended meaning of the word) is a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

(i) The standardization process, in which a dialect grows to dominance and spreads, represents dialect-standard convergence or vertical convergence, which in turn occasions interdialectal or horizontal convergence (section 2-2-2). The latter also occurs in colonization areas and may be part of the standardization and internationalization processes (section 3-3-2 (ii)). A typical example of convergence, either vertical or horizontal, is the regiolect itself, which occurs in stabilized or stabilizing forms. In so far as there is stabilization, borrowing by the regiolect may also occur, either from the standard (interaction type 2) or from the dialect (interaction type 3).

(ii) Language standardization is sometimes visualized as a pyramid or triangle representing the development from dialects to a standard language (e.g., Moser 1950: 225 ff.). This pyramidal representation may be practical and suggestive, but it is an oversimplification. It has obviously been conceived in the line of thinking that produced the family tree of languages.

3-3-6 There is also the question of functionality (elaboration of function) of a standard or standardizing language, as we have already mentioned (section 1-3-6). A standardizing language broadens its functionality (section 3-2-2 (i) (a)), and ideally, a standard language fulfills all the communicative functions of the society that it serves; it is then the communication medium of the community, of its administration, economy, literature and science, for example. Difference in the frequency of usage of the communicative functions is also a factor to take into account.

3-3-7 Difference in the rate of the standardizing development and in the rate of expansion or spread of the standard depends on a number of social circumstances. For example, in our part of the world recent social developments, as well as the growing communication possibilities are factors that no doubt speed up language standardization and spread, and counteract the use of dialect.

3-3-8 Finally, the speaker's general language awareness and in particular his evaluative (positive, negative or neutral) attitude towards dialect and standard language is another factor in the standardization process. Language awareness is often increased by linguistic oppression, when a speech community is somehow on the defensive.

Acceptance of a standard "by the relevant population as *the* variety of the community – usually, in fact, as the national language" is a requirement (Hudson

1980:101-2). The standard is then a unifying factor, and has been politically used as such. There is an important political aspect to standardization (Joseph 1987:72 ff.).

Language awareness may express itself in various ways. For example, self-identification may be a motive to promote a specific variety of a standard language, as in the case of Southern Dutch (Deprez 1981, Ureland (ed.) (1986:90ff.), Geerts 1985:101-2).

#### 4.1 Language standardization vs. language internationalization

4.1.1 In the broader perspective of language standardization we will also look at language internationalization.<sup>41</sup> They are both multifaceted phenomena, which to a large extent share a common basis. Dialect-standard interaction and language standardization are then part of a greater contact development that also includes language interaction and language internationalization (globalization); indeed, internationalization is an overlapping extension of standardization. Both standardization and internationalization, exhibiting competition and selection (Wardhaugh 1987), are basically the same development at different stages of convergence and expansion.<sup>42</sup> They are part of the total language evolution that has divergence and convergence as evolutionary prototypes (section 3.2.2). In turn this language evolution reflects the societal development, i.e., change in the basic communities of interaction.

We have mentioned the difference in functionality (section 1.3.6 (ii)) between *standard language* and *international language*. We have also noted (section 3.3.1) that *standardization* can have two meanings: a narrow one in which interaction types affect only the standard, and an extended one in which interaction types affect both the standard and the subordinate dialects (cf. diagram (5)). Similarly, *internationalization* can have two meanings: a narrow one in which interaction types affect only the internationalized language, and an extended one in which interaction types affect all languages involved. Diagram (5) is then as follows:

(8)

<i>sl</i>	→	<i>rl</i>
1. LANG. 1	→	lang. 2 (sl agentivity, imposition by LANG. 1)
2. lang. 2	→	LANG. 1 (rl agentivity, borrowing by LANG. 1)
3. lang. 1	→	LANG. 2 (rl agentivity, borrowing by LANG. 2)
4. LANG. 2	→	lang. 1 (sl agentivity,, imposition by LANG. 2)

4.1.2 Dialect-standard interaction / language standardization and language interaction / language internationalization display fundamental parallels, but also differences, which are more of a circumstantial or functional nature.

(i) We first list some other parallels between the two phenomena.

(a) In internationalization like in standardization, the contact is primarily based on interaction type 1. In the process of interlanguage intermediate varieties / shortfall varieties occur in internationalization as well as in standardization, as is illustrated by Nigerian English (section 1.3.5 (ii) (a)).

(b) Like in dialect-standard interaction (section 2.2.1 (iv) (c)), in language interaction we find cases of less well characterized distinction between the two transfer types, i.e., less predictable 'mutual infiltration' of the contacting languages. Dillard (1985:246-7) remarks that "the battle between English and Spanish in Puerto Rico has been a real struggle, not without damage to the speakers of both languages if not to the languages themselves".

(c) Mainly as a result of semantic interference, and specifically of borrowing (interaction type 2), the more recent development of the languages in the Western world, where English is presently the dominant language, illustrates very clearly internal mutual convergence,<sup>43</sup> in the same way as dialect-standard interaction and standardization do (sections 2.2.2, 3.3.5 (i)). Yet, we should not think that such an interference between languages is something new (e.g., Meillet 1926:343-50, Wandruszka 1971); it has taken place in the past, however, not on the large scale it is occurring now. With the growing possibilities of communication the languages of the Western societies become more and more comparable,<sup>44</sup> mostly in their less stable domains or subdomains, that is, in the contentive parts of their vocabularies (words and phrases).<sup>45</sup> The growing correspondence between European languages is reflected in a rapidly increasing amount of so-called *internationalisms* (Braun et al. (eds.) 1990, Jabłoński 1990, both with further references). Braun (1990:32) mentions G. Korlén as having stated in 1976 that the internal semantic structure of most European languages is so related, "daß man berechtigt ist, von einem abendländischen Sprachausgleich zu sprechen". This is a case of conceptual levelling.

While they grow towards greater correspondence mainly in their vocabularies, and again as dialects do in dialect-standard interaction, the European languages preserve better their more stable domains, in particular their phonologies and grammars. The lexico-semantic influence that these languages are now undergoing from English is a unifying factor. Yet, newly imported foreign words and phrases remain subject to the specific phonological, grammatical and lexical adaptation of each particular language (cf. section 2.2.2); furthermore, such adaptation, particularly the phonological one, shows differences of degree as well as

variation (Van Coetsem 1988:20-1, Jabłoński 1990:189 ff.). Another form of adaptation in the borrowing process is represented by loan translations for which some speech communities show a certain predilection.<sup>46</sup>

As we have observed (section 2-2-2), together with interaction type 1 (*sl* agentivity, acquisition) interaction type 2 (*rl* agentivity, borrowing) is the most common form of interlingual contact. It is therefore not surprising that Kahane (1983:232-3) mentions and discusses them together in relation with the concept of *world language*, stating that the latter “implies a two-pronged process of acquisition and integration” (corresponding to our interaction types 1 and 2, respectively).

(d) As in dialect-standard interaction (section 2-2-3), interaction type 3 occurs in internationalization; this is exemplified by English borrowing *perestroika* from Russian.

(ii) We also mention some differences between dialect-standard interaction / language standardization and language interaction / language internationalization. These differences are to a large extent directly related to the potentially important functional distinction between dialect and language (section 1-2-1).

(a) In general the functional distinction between dialect and standard language in standardization is very important, but the same distinction between languages in internationalization is unimportant or virtually nonexistent. Because of this, interaction type 2 has a far greater significance in internationalization than in standardization.

(b) While in standardization a complex and elaborate formation of the language is intertwined with its expansion, in language internationalization it is the spread of the language that is the primary event. The multiple causality of this spread, in which migration and colonization usually play a major role, is far more difficult to pinpoint than in the case of standardization.

(c) In internationalization the range of languages or language varieties involved, including pidgins and creoles, is far greater than in standardization. In this connection we note that reduction is far more operative in internationalization than in standardization, as, e.g., pidginization shows.

(d) In language interaction and internationalization, this being an aspect of foreign language acquisition, the learner’s language is not subordinated to the target language as in the case of dialect-standard interaction and standardization.

(e) As to attrition, we have some idea of its role in standardization, but we know far less about its role in internationalization. Given the difference in function referred to under (a) above, attrition is bound to be more severe in standardization than in internationalization.

(f) Because of the nature of the ethno-cultural differences between languages and language varieties pragmatic aspects will be in general far more consequential in language interaction / language internationalization than in dialect-standard interaction / language standardization (section 2.5).

## 4.2 English as the leading international language

4.2.1 In the past, as is well-known, a number of languages have become prestigious, and have also served in different functions as auxiliary languages in certain areas of the globe. In the present competition to achieve the status of global language, English was in the view of Mencken (1941:593) already half a century ago “far ahead of any competitor”, and it is now the unchallenged front runner. A unique concurrence of external factors, and even an internal one, has determined the present international status of English, as well as its potential to further strengthen that status. Such factors occur elsewhere but not in the combination and totality that characterizes English.

(i) In matters of language Britain has been very successful as a colonial power, as it has established English all over the world. The United States, a former British colony, has significantly contributed to promoting English as a world language, and it seems now to play even the leading role in this respect. Being represented as a native language in four world continents, English presently has more than any comparable language a strategically favorable international distribution. Languages as Spanish and French have achieved international status, but not by far to the same extent as English.

There are many reasons why English continues to be thriving as an international language, e.g., it is a symbol of technological modernism and liberalism, and it is a preferred language in trade and science (e.g., Fishman 1983:15, Haugen 1987:85, 144). By the very fact that so many people all over the world learn and use English as an auxiliary, international language, there is a very decisive factor at work. English is used and promoted by a constantly and rapidly growing number of nonnative speakers, so much so, that their amount may now surpass that of the native speakers. This “spread has reached such an order of magnitude that it is now significantly fostered by the *non-English* mother-tongue world” itself (Fishman 1983:15). This nonnative English is “the other tongue” or “the other side of English”, as Kachru (1983a) has characterized it. English seems indeed to become less the ‘property’ of the English mother-tongue nations and more the language of choice of the international community. If this evolution, that is, the gradual dissociation and growing to independence of English from its

'grandparent and parent' countries, Britain and the United States, goes on, it could lead to a tremendous breakthrough, indeed to a 'coming of age' of English as the global communication medium. This would have all kind of (good and bad) consequences for both the native and nonnative English-speaking communities. English would then become politically, ethnically and culturally a 'neutral' language. The fate of the English language would be dissociated more and more from the political fate of the mother-tongue countries.<sup>47</sup>

(ii) An internal feature of English, its strong analytic make-up, may be a favorable factor in its international expansion. It should, however, be well understood that this analytic make-up could only be of some significance after English had achieved an international status. We certainly do not concur with the old and popular opinion among nonlinguists that English is a 'simple' and 'easy' language to learn.

(a) English is well prepared internally for its international mission, and Haugen (1987:87) has stated this in a direct and suggestive way: "The Germanic base brought to England by the Anglo-Saxons has been reduced to an almost creolized set of form words in a more analytic than synthetic grammar. The lexicon reflects the successive ruling elites of England from the Romans and Celts to the Vikings and the Normans. By natural selection it has achieved a form that meets the needs of an international language better than any of its artificial rivals like Esperanto."

(b) The development of English to an analytic language is a metaconditioned, internally induced change that affected all of the Germanic languages to different degrees; in English the development has reached its most progressive stage (with Afrikaans as a case in itself), which has been explained as the result of multiple contact with neighboring languages or dialects (e.g., O'Neil 1878, Van Coetsem 1988:51-2, 136-7). English has also been amply exposed to language contact outside of Europe and has absorbed a variety of lexico-semantic material from other cultures. It has also not been subject to a strongly centralizing standardization as has been the case with French.

(c) The question is how the analytic make-up of English can be seen as a favorable factor in the internationalization of that language. The answer is that from the very beginning of the acquisition of English, and more than is the case with any other comparable international language, the learner can readily resort to reduced varieties for the convenience of less sophisticated or less demanding communicative situations. In other words, more than any other international language, English lends itself easily for usage with a minimal knowledge of the language. In the first half of this century a reduced variety of English was designed and codified by C.K. Ogden as *Basic English* (British, American, Science, International, Commercial) to serve as an international auxiliary language.<sup>48</sup> This

Basic English has a lexicon of only 850 words, the reduction occurring mainly on the lexico-semantic level, since English has a naturally reduced morphology (in spite of the strong verbs).<sup>49</sup> Although Basic English, which is thus partly an artificial language, did not experience any better reception than completely artificial languages such as Esperanto and Volapük, it proved a point, namely, that English could be conveniently reduced, without necessarily becoming, e.g., 'foreign talk' (Lattey 1989) or a 'pidginized' variety. This brings us to conclude that if an artificially formed and codified Basic English can be applied, so can reduced varieties of English that are naturally and spontaneously formed in response to a need by individual learners and users of the language, this being done with a limited vocabulary as well as with phonological and possibly syntactic imposition (interaction type 1).<sup>50</sup>

4.2.2 Some have viewed internationalization as a threat to the very existence of English, as we know it now. The idea has been expressed that, given its global expansion, English may split up into a variety of dialects or languages in a similar way as did, for instance, Proto-Germanic and Proto-Romance. Actually, English is now represented in more varieties than ever, mutually intelligible and unintelligible ones. Yet, the comparison of English with Proto-Germanic and Proto-Romance is flawed (cf., e.g., Strevens 1985:25 ff.), because of a complete difference in the prevailing communication conditions existing between the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Romance times and now. The question of language fragmentation must be seen against the background of the general communicative development of human society. At the time of the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Romance fragmentations, divergence occurred as a natural consequence of the fact that the Germanic and Romance speech communities had stretched themselves beyond the limits of their respective basic communities of interaction. With the now existing and still growing possibilities for global communication and interaction, it is virtually impossible for English to overextend itself. In the future, divergence will only be able to take place in areas where the trend to internationalization is absent or irrelevant. However, even in such areas the trend to globalization is bound to take place sometime, and as soon as this occurs, convergence will most probably take over and remove the effects of the former divergence. There is in the case of English a constant or at least recurrent 'corrective' presence or availability of standard varieties. And, as Dillard (1985:251) points out, we observe now "a greater approximation to prestigious varieties of English among the non-native speakers who abound in many parts of the world". Interesting in this connection is the development of varieties of English in mainland China. As Cheng (1983:138) reports: "When China is inward-looking, the English there



acquires more Chinese elements"; he refers then in particular to an early phase when Chinese Pidgin English developed (starting from the 17th century) and later declined. But he adds, also referring to more recent times, that: "when China is outward-looking, English there is more like the norm in the West." Indeed, if English maintains its international status in the growing global communication pattern, the possibility of an irreversible fragmentation of the language is virtually nonexistent.

### **4.3 Language internationalization and the future global language constellation**

4.3.1 With the above succinct comparison between standardization and internationalization, specifically the internationalization of English, the question automatically arises what the global language constellation in the (far) future might be. However, do we have the necessary data to handle such a question?

(i) The fact is that we do not know enough about the effects of standardization on dialects, the process being far from completed. And we are even less informed about internationalization. Do dialects disappear under the pressure of a standard language? In some cases they obviously do. In other cases they disappear by dissolving into compromise forms between the dialect and the standard. In certain areas, such as in Switzerland in case of diglossia, they even survive, at least for now. For all this there are underlying social factors, which, however, are subject to change, and may lead to irreversible situations.

(ii) We see how strongly some communities react when their languages as a symbol of their cultural identities are threatened. In fact, together with language internationalization and triggered by political and nationalistic considerations, the number of standard and / or literary languages in the world has significantly increased (Burney 1962:120-1, Fishman 1983:18). The nature of the human being and his relationship to his language or dialect is intricate and changeable, being determined or motivated by a complex interplay between reason and emotion. This makes predicting very hazardous. The human being has a social nature, but an inherent need for self-affirmation as well. There is a continual interaction between the individual and the community, between the group and the subgroup, but this interaction is always in a state of tension. Furthermore, language as communication tool reflects a specific way of conceptualizing.

(iii) We cannot be sure that such a trend as the internationalization of English will continue. Against all expectations circumstances may change, and with them a trend may be counteracted, stopped or even reversed.

Even English, as the international front runner language, is challenged. While until recently it has been *de facto* if not *de jure* the (only) official language in the United States,<sup>51</sup> Spanish has started to challenge this position in certain areas of the land (Guy 1989, Adams-Brink (eds.) 1990).

If English becomes more and more *the* global auxiliary language, will it stay an auxiliary language or trigger extinction of other languages. "If English 'enjoys' the position of being virtually the 'H' language in a world diglossic situation" (Dillard 1985:253), what will stop it from eliminating the use of some or even all other languages? To state it as extremely as can be, could we be on our way to a monolingual global community, however far in the future such an idea might have to be projected? Could in such a case the need for self-affirmation or self-identification be satisfied through the deliberate use of varieties of one language, that is, through language variation, language shibboleths and especially accent (pronunciation) differences? Or will humanity somehow preserve or recoup a multilingual society through forms of diglossia with, e.g., English as the auxiliary language, that is, through regulation "via both status and corpus planning" (Fishman 1983:16 ff.)? Fishman (p. 18) notes that "little languages have learned to stand their ground with respect to English, and to carve out domains into which English has little or no entree".<sup>52</sup> Why then could well established languages with great and venerable (written) traditions not survive?

4.3.2 We are not the first or the only ones to wonder and be ambivalent about the possible 'side effects' of language internationalization. Considering the lack of success of a Scandinavian intercommunication language, Haugen (1987:81) concludes on a rather pessimistic note that "The alternative for Scandinavians is to turn to an outside language, formerly German, now English, in their mutual contacts. One regrets this necessity, if that is what it is. In the long run it would mean the death of all the Nordic languages and the cultures they represent." But at a later stage of his discussion (p. 88-9), stating that "in Scandinavia one also encounters fears that English may lead to extinction of the native languages", he adds more optimistically: "It is my conviction that this is unlikely; we know of no such example."

For the time being we lack the necessary perspective to establish how far the similarities and differences between standardization and internationalization reach. The only thing we are able to do in this respect is to formulate the basic relationship. And while dealing with the issue, we hope to have asked the appropriate questions, but we are also very much aware that only time and more research will supply the answers.

## Footnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Language distance and functionality are also the factors contained in the well-known distinction between *Abstand-* and *Ausbausprache*, that is, respectively, 'language by virtue of structural distance' and 'language by virtue of standardization' (e.g., Kloss 1978:23 ff., Weinreich 1953:69, and see also the discussion in Joseph 1987:2-3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the case of French *patois* vs. *dialecte*, as interpreted by Dauzat (1938: 30); see, however, also Martinet (1960:154 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> From a pedagogical viewpoint one can see this in the prospect of difference in norm; cf., e.g., Valdman (1989:264-7).

<sup>4</sup> Interesting in this respect is the situation of Dutch in Belgium as described by Geerts (1985:102 ff., with further references). For limitation to variation in the standard, cf. Joseph (1987:127-9).

<sup>5</sup> Recent discussions of such cases are found in Dorian (ed.) (1989).

<sup>6</sup> Terms other than *interlanguage* have been used; see Van Coetsem (1988:57-8).

<sup>7</sup> We owe the term to Strevens (1983:28), who uses the notion of *shortfall variation* in reference to interlanguage.

<sup>8</sup> The term *accent* has different meanings in linguistics. In the context of our discussion, it refers to a *distinguishing* way of pronouncing, a *characteristic* whole of articulatory habits, or a "mode of utterance" (OED) *peculiar* to an individual, an area or a social level; the fact that a 'way of pronouncing' has an areal or social connotation is the key point here. In this meaning *accent* is the layman's usage of the word, but it is now regularly utilized in sociolinguistic studies. Research will have to determine the linguistic implications of the notion.

<sup>9</sup> *Northern Dutch* refers here to the variety of Dutch used in the Netherlands as opposed to *Southern Dutch* as the variety of Dutch used in the northern part of Belgium.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. French *patois françaisé, français régional* (Dauzat 1938:33 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> It is ascribed to a strategy known in sociology as *accommodation* and applied in the study of language and dialect contact (e.g., Trudgill 1986, Van Coetsem 1988:167), that is, the speakers of the contacting languages or dialects concentrate on shared features and avoid dissimilarities.

<sup>12</sup> For the notion of *diasystem*, see section 2.2.1 (iii) (a).

<sup>13</sup> E.g., already Bloomfield (1933:49): "In matters of pronunciation, especially the range of standard English in America is wide: greatly different pronunciations, such as those, say, of North Carolina and Chicago, are accepted equally as standard."

<sup>14</sup> The distinction in the 'gender' system of substantives (producing a difference in pronominal reference) between Northern and Southern Dutch dialects is considered part of the overall Dutch standard (*Woordenlijst* 1954), and does not appear subject to social stigmatization (cf. also Van Leuvensteijn in this volume).

<sup>15</sup> French influence may have been at work here, in spite of the developmental differences between French and English (Grillo 1989, and also Görlach 1988:150). Social stigmatization of regional language varieties and dialects, and especially a strong tendency to centralization are features which characterize the standardization process of French, which may have had a certain impact on the standardization processes of other European languages.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Daan et al. (1985:50): "Een *cultuurdialect* is een taal die wel als communicatiemiddel van een kleine groep gebruikt wordt, maar tevens buiten die groep, als gevolg van een hogere economische en culturele ontwikkeling van het gebied waar dat dialect wordt gesproken."

<sup>17</sup> Already in the winter of 1929-'30 when in London, Mencken ventured to say: "The Englishman, whether he knows or not, is talking and writing more and more American. He becomes so accustomed to it that he grows unconscious of it. Things that would have set his teeth on edge ten years ago, or even five years ago, are now integral parts of his daily speech" (Mencken 1941:31).

<sup>18</sup> In light of all this, one may perhaps envision a certain directionality in the development of the two now clearly differentiated varieties of Dutch, the Northern one in the Netherlands and the Southern one in the northern part of Belgium. The fact that the latter is still in the process of standardization contributes significantly to the distinction. With the very favorable communication circumstances, the two Dutch varieties may through a process of self-regulation proceed further on the way to a relative lexical uniformization and end up being nothing more than different nonstigmatized accent varieties (Knops 1982:239, Geerts 1985: 101-2).

<sup>19</sup> In our monograph of (1988:2) we introduced *imposition* as a technical term opposed to *borrowing*. We did this because such terms as *interference*, promoted by Weinreich (1953:1), were not specific enough. We also noted that the word *imposition* had "occasionally been used as a nontechnical term", and for this we referred (p.163) to Grosjean (1982:190), Milroy (1983:43), Gass (1983:70) and Trudgill (1983:205). We could also have referred to Weinreich (1953:18) himself, who wrote: "Over-differentiation of phonemes involves the imposition of phonemic distinctions from the primary system on the sounds of the secondary system, where they are not required." Interestingly, also in French the verb *imposer* has been used in precisely the context in which we apply it technically. See Burney (1962:25): "Là même où ils ont l'air de survivre, les dialectes sont extraordinairement pénétrés de français commun. Ils tendent à se dissoudre peu à peu dans la langue commune qui leur impose jusqu'à des mots-outils ('afin que', 'vu que', 'là où' entrent ainsi dans ses parlers méridionaux)."

<sup>20</sup> Van Bree makes further distinctions in stability based on circumstantial or situational differences, e.g., first vs. second language acquisition.

<sup>21</sup> Interesting in the broader perspective of interlingual contact is the occasional *s* transfer from the verbal system of English to that of American Dutch (e.g., *schrijfs* for *schrijft* 'writes', *praats* for *praat* 'talks') (Van Marle-Smits 1988:42, Van Marle-Smits, forthcoming).

<sup>22</sup> The Southern Dutch dialectal form *damme* with [a] is based on the French pronunciation, while standard Dutch (that is, in this case Northern Dutch) *dame* with [a:] is based on the spelling. However, the name of the checkers game is in both Northern and Southern Dutch *dammen*(*spel*). For comparable cases of difference in the way of borrowing (from French) via either pronunciation or spelling between Northern and Southern Dutch, cf. Van Coetsem (1988: 101 ff.).

<sup>23</sup> Outside of the acquisition process, reduction may not be proficiency-related; for example, accommodation may also result in reduction.

<sup>24</sup> As far as gender is concerned, cf. now Brouwer (1989).

<sup>25</sup> Hoppenbrouwers (1985:150): "In gebieden waar het regiolect wordt gebezigd, vinden we een continuüm van tussentaalvormen met de algemene taal als eindpunt van deze reeks."

<sup>26</sup> In Eisenstein (ed.) (1989) a number of studies (especially in theoretical part I) discuss the occurrence and mechanism of variation in interlanguage from different angles.

<sup>27</sup> Van Coetsem (1957:21): "De verbreiding en ook de vorming van de algemene omgangstaal is dus thans in Vlaams-België nog steeds een proces in wording. Van een eenheidstaal in de zin van het Noordnederlands of van het Frans kan daar om begrijpelijke redenen vooralsnog geen sprake zijn. Elk min of meer ernstig streven tot distantieering van het dialect in de richting van de algemene taal kan op het ogenblik in Vlaams-België "beschaafd" worden genoemd. En deze pogingen vallen nogal verschillend uit naar gelang van de omstandigheden waarin de taalgebruikers zich bevinden, zoals hun geboorte- of verblijfplaats, leeftijd en graad van ontwikkeling; dialectische en Franse invloeden laten zich hierbij in ruime mate gelden. De taalvorm van de Vlaamse "beschaafdsprekers" beweegt zich dus tussen een soort van gezuiverd dialect en, in enkele gevallen, een zogoed als zuiver Noordnederlands." Cf. also Goossens (1973b:230).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Auer - di Luzio (1988:5): "when distinguishing *Umgangs*- and *Ausgleichssprachen* one has to keep in mind that horizontal convergence is usually influenced by a co-existent standard variety (if there is one), that is, it incorporates aspects of vertical convergence between dialect(s) and the

standard as well. In a parallel fashion, vertical convergence usually diminishes differences between neighbouring dialect varieties and therefore also implies aspects of *koineformation*."

<sup>29</sup> For language attrition and language death, whose research is very much involved in methodological issues, cf., e.g., Dorian (1981), Dressler (1981), Lambert-Freed (eds.) (1982), Hagen (ed.) (1986), Weltens et al. (eds) (1986), Dorian (ed.) (1989), all with further references.

<sup>30</sup> In a broader sense *code switching* has also been used to refer to a comparable shift from one style or register to another within the same language or language variety. In such cases it seems more appropriate to speak of *style* and *register switching*.

<sup>31</sup> The notion of *relexification* applied in research on pidginization-creolization has also been mentioned as a form of interaction between dialect and standard language (Wells 1982:7); cf. now also Van Bree (1990:309). It is defined by Lehiste (1988:95) as: "Very rapid replacement of the vocabulary of a language by lexical items taken from another language."

<sup>32</sup> The notion of *speech community* (*linguistic community*) is differently defined (Hudson 1980: 254 ff.).

<sup>33</sup> In this connection one can refer to the overall picture drawn by Haugen (1987:27 ff.) of what he calls "an ecological model", which is based on his earlier research, as well as on work of J. Gumperz, J. Fishman and W. Labov.

<sup>34</sup> There are problems with the evaluation of isoglosses, especially with their grading, although we should consider differences in stability between, for example, lexical and structural isoglosses. We cannot go into these questions here (for a discussion, cf. Chambers-Trudgill 1980: chapters 7 and 8).

<sup>35</sup> Number 2 of *Sociolinguistica. International Yearbook of European Sociolinguistics*, which has been published in 1988 and is edited by Mattheier, is devoted to the study of language standardization, in particular in the Germanic languages. The volume contains some new and updating contributions to the subject, e.g., Görlach dealing with English (in an informative and important study), Besch with German, Loman with the Scandinavian languages, Willemyns and Van de Craen with Dutch in Belgium.

<sup>36</sup> Chambers-Trudgill (1980:10 ff.) use in this connection the term *heteronomy* (dependence), this being the opposite of *autonomy* (independence), and they write (p. 11): "The Dutch dialects are heteronomous with respect to standard Dutch, and the German dialects to standard German. This means, simply, that speakers of the Dutch dialects consider that they are speaking Dutch, that they read and write in Dutch, that any standardising changes in their dialects will be towards Dutch, and that they in general look to Dutch as the standard language which naturally corresponds to their vernacular varieties." In such a conception standard Dutch and standard German are superimposed varieties on the dialect continuum.

<sup>37</sup> In this connection it may be useful to mention the study of Scholtmeijer (1990) about the Dutch variety used in an area which has been during this century reclaimed from the sea (*Zuiderzee*) and colonized by immigrants from different parts of the Netherlands. Unfortunately, the study deals virtually only with pronunciation questions (accent). Whereas the speakers of the older generation, the immigrants themselves, keep naturally their original accents, the speakers of the younger generation, born in the new area, have, quite expectedly, uniform (peer) accents of the neighboring regions where they go to work and where they partly come from. This also can be considered a form of levelling.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Haarmann (1988). How much the written form functions as a guide especially in the beginning stages of language standardization is illustrated by what the average dialect speaker of (Southern) Dutch of a former generation considered standard speech, namely *op (naar) de letter spreken* 'to speak as it is written'.

<sup>39</sup> There are other factors involved, as more recent research has clearly shown (e.g., Geerts 1985).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Hagen (1986:106): "Als men de verspreing en aanvaarding van de standaardtaal ziet als de diffusie van een innovatie, zou men mogen vaststellen dat het innovatieproces op dit moment in Nederland diep doorgedrongen is in de 'late meerderheid', terwijl het in Vlaanderen pas net de 'vroege meerderheid' bereikt lijkt te hebben."

<sup>41</sup> Language internationalization is a not a new research topic; see Burney (1962:105 ff., with earlier references).

<sup>42</sup> Although internationalization can result from a split, it is in reference to expansion that we consider it here.

<sup>43</sup> The idea is certainly not new. Cf., e.g., Burney (1962:104): "Les langues s'interpénètrent." The borrowing does not have to be only from English. For example, German *einschätzen* 'to evaluate' has been borrowed during the last decades into Dutch, *inschatten* (not yet occurring in earlier editions of Van Dale (1961<sup>9</sup>) and Koenen (1951<sup>28</sup>) and from Dutch into Frisian, *ynskatte* (e.g., in *Út de smidte fan de Fryske Akademy* 24 (1990, 3:18).

<sup>44</sup> We use here the general and neutral term *comparable* to avoid such notions as *congruent* and *equivalent*, which are used in this context in specific meanings; cf., e.g., Schaefer (1990:64-5).

<sup>45</sup> For stability differences, cf. also Volmert 1990:55.

<sup>46</sup> In this connection, see the typological distinctions in mixed languages proposed by Décsy (1973:184) and Kloss (1978:334 ff.).

<sup>47</sup> E.g., Kachru (ed.) (1983), in particular Ferguson (1983:ix-xi), Kachru (1983a). Platt et al. (1984:201), Flaitz (1988:1).

<sup>48</sup> Basic English has had "a number of competitors on its own ground", see Mencken (1941:605).

<sup>49</sup> A comparable Basic French or Basic Spanish would contain 2000 words and have a far more complex grammatical component than Basic English (Burney 1962:77). Basic English has only 18 verbs, with *to get* having an extensive range of meanings.

<sup>50</sup> How much an analytic make-up is now a natural attribute of an international auxiliary language is shown by the fact that in 1903 the Italian mathematician Giuseppe Peano proposed for the purpose of an auxiliary language a 'simplified' Latin as a *language without inflection* (!) (Burney 1962:84-5).

<sup>51</sup> In the case of English in the United States one could speak of a 'national' language instead of an 'official' language; see Ruiz (1990:18-20).

<sup>52</sup> In an interesting study about Breton vs. French, Kuter (1989:82) also refers to people, who "feel that efforts to maintain 'little languages' are a waste of time." Kuter mentions the case of the Parisian professor Gérard Antoine, who in *Le Figaro* of december 13, 1975 asked the question whether "[I]t is wise or opportune to urge little French children towards a bi- or tri-lingualism turned not towards the future of the planet, but towards the past of a little country." However, it would be also interesting to know how Antoine would react, if French would develop to a 'little language' in a global environment of perhaps a distant future; this is not necessarily an unrealistic or rhetorical question, considering how much French has lost of its international expansion in the past five decades.

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