26 Koineization and Accommodation

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In this chapter, I discuss *koineization*, a contact-induced process that leads to quite rapid, and occasionally dramatic, change. Through koineization, new varieties of a language are brought about as a result of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties of that language. Koineization is a particular case of what Trudgill (1986) calls "dialect contact." Typically, it occurs in new settlements to which people, for whatever reason, have migrated from different parts of a single language area. Examples of *koines* (the outcomes of koineization) include the Hindi/Bhojpuri varieties spoken in Fiji and South Africa, and the speech of "new towns" such as Høyanger in Norway and Milton Keynes in England. Dialect contact, and with it koineization, is one of the main external causes of language change – "external" here referring to social factors, in this case migration, which can reasonably be expected to promote change. Contrasted with this are "internal" factors, which have to do with aspects of the structure of a particular language (its phonology and its grammar) which, perhaps because of structural imbalances, are predisposed to change.

1   Koineization as language change

Because koineization can take place relatively swiftly (though probably more gradually than pidginization – see Siegel forthcoming), a central theme of this chapter will be the immediate mechanisms of change rather than the description of longer-term trends that take place over a century or more (like the English Great Vowel Shift or the rise of the auxiliary "do"). I will be posing a number of questions: Are permanent language changes prefigured in the utterances of the people whose speech communities are undergoing change? Is it children, adolescents, or adults who are the main agents of change? Do the social network characteristics of the migrants have an effect? Does it matter whether the

contributing dialects are very different or very similar? How long does it take for a koine to emerge? Are there circumstances in which dialect contact does not lead to the formation of a koine? On the more "linguistic" side, I shall be asking: Which features found in the melting pot of the early stages of koineization survive in the koine, and which are lost? Are there particular characteristics of these features that leads to one outcome or another?

Koineization, as we shall see, typically takes two or three generations to complete, though it is achievable within one. It is in principle possible for us to observe specific cases, though this has (to my knowledge) not been achieved for the complete process. Thus, the literature contains detailed descriptions of koines from a number of parts of the world, together with conjectural reconstructions of the social and linguistic history of the speakers who contributed to the koine. In the literature, we can also find a very small number of descriptions of the inception of koines, with direct observations of the first generation of speakers in new locations. For one established koine, the English of New Zealand, we even have recordings of the offspring of the original English-speaking immigrants (albeit as elderly people) to compare with the modern form of the language.

Labov (1972) shows that language variation is systematic, in that it can be related to social divisions within a community, such as class and gender. Change can be shown to originate with particular social groups based on these divisions. However, a number of linguists have recently argued that language change lies with the individual (Milroy 1992, Croft 2000). Thus, the only circumstance under which language change may result is when the collective use of a new linguistic feature by individual speakers is sufficiently frequent to be taken up as a new norm. This position need not conflict with that of Labov, since these individual-speaker behaviors take place against the backdrop of larger social structures. As we shall see, the individual-as-agent-of-change approach is particularly relevant in the case of koineization, because this is a process which starts with the first generation of incomers adapting their speech to the other speakers they encounter. This adaptation is an example of *speech accommodation*, a research area to which we will return.

2   Mixing, leveling, simplification, and reallocation in established koines

The term "koine" (whose Greek meaning is "common") was first used to refer to the form of Greek used as a lingua franca during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Siegel 1985: 358, Bubenik 1993). It arose as a mixed vernacular among ordinary people in the Peiraieus, the seaport of Athens, which was inhabited by Greeks from different parts of the Mediterranean (Thomson 1960: 34, quoted in Siegel 1985: 358). This kind of "koine" is, of course, rather different from the examples given in the previous section, in that it is not a new variety used as

a vernacular, but rather a compromise dialect used for communication between speakers of other Greek varieties. This Koine later became the language of the Macedonian empire, and was widely used as a second language, though it did acquire some native speakers (Thomson 1960). According to Siegel (1985: 358), the Koine was characterized by *reduction* and *simplification*. "Reduction" refers to "those processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language" (Mühlhäusler 1980: 21), involving, for example, a reduced vocabulary or fewer stylistic devices. To judge from the recent literature, reduction is not pervasive in koines, though, as we shall see, it may be present. However, it is a defining feature of pidgins, whose genesis is very different from that of most koines. (Similarities and differences between these two kinds of contact varieties will be explored in the final section.) "Simplification," which is a notion we will return to repeatedly, refers to "either an increase in regularity or a decrease in markedness" (Siegel 1985: 358, quoting Mühlhäusler). In practice, this means a decrease in irregularity in morphology and an increase in invariable word forms (Mühlhäusler 1974, cited in Trudgill 1986: 103), to which can be added the loss of categories such as gender, the loss of morphologically marked cases, simplified morphophonemics, and a decrease in the number of phonemes. Siegel's recent definition is a useful, very general, reference point:

> A koine is a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects. This occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties.
>
> (Siegel forthcoming)

As Siegel (1985) points out, the term "koine" has been variously used to refer to different aspects of mixed, compromise languages – their form, their function, and their origin – and there has been disagreement as to what should or should not be included in the definition. Two categories stand out, already alluded to above: *regional koine* and *immigrant koine*. The original Koine was at first a regional koine, which did not replace the contributing dialects. By contrast, a new dialect in a new settlement is an immigrant koine, which, once established, becomes the vernacular of the new community, replacing the regional dialects of the original migrants – though not, of course, having any effect on the dialects in their place of origin.

Between these two categories we find *regional dialect leveling*, which, as we shall see, shares certain important properties with koineization. "Regional dialect leveling" refers to the decrease in the number of variants of a particular phonological, morphological, or lexical unit in a given dialect area, and should be distinguished from *diffusion*, which is the spread of linguistic features across a dialect area. Leveling leads to a reduction in differences between dialects and hence a gradual homogenization of the vernacular speech of a region. For example, in many parts of Italy new regional varieties have emerged,

usually centered on a city. Linguistically, they are a compromise between a number of local dialects and the standard language. Some scholars, such as Sobrero (1996: 106), actually refer to these as "koines," a use of the term which has some justification since there is evidence that Italian "koines" do not necessarily supplant the local dialects, with speakers regularly switching between dialect and koine (Trumper and Maddalon 1988). By far the more usual case is dialect leveling entailing the loss, or at least attrition, of dialects. This is widespread in modern Europe (Auer and Hinskens 1996, Hinskens 1996, 1998, Sandøy 1998, Thelander 1980, 1982, Williams and Kerswill 1999) as well as elsewhere (see Inoue 1986, on recent changes in Tokyo). Regional dialect leveling may lead to varieties that resemble any koines that may be spoken in the same region, particularly with respect to simplification – a point I shall return to.

I will be concerned mainly with immigrant koines, or, to use Trudgill's term, *new dialects* (Trudgill 1986: 83). In this section, I outline some of the key features of established koines, before, in the remaining sections, tracing the stages through which a potential koine must pass if it is to reach stability. According to Trudgill (1986: 127), koineization is composed of three processes: *mixing*, *leveling*, and *simplification*. (Elsewhere in his book, he refers just to leveling and simplification – a fact that is unproblematic since leveling can only take place if, in the new speech community, there has been prior dialect mixing leading to the presence of more than one form for a particular linguistic category, such as a vowel, a pronoun, or a suffix.) In koines, we also find what Trudgill has called *reallocation*, which is defined thus: "Reallocation occurs where two or more variants in the dialect mix survive the levelling process but are refunctionalised, evolving new social or linguistic functions in the new dialect" (Britain and Trudgill 1999: 245; cf. Trudgill 1986: 110). We turn now to the first of our examples.

One of the major population movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the shipment of people from the Indian subcontinent to work as indentured laborers in the European colonies (Mesthrie 1993). This resulted in new varieties of Indian languages, particularly Bhojpuri (a Hindi variety of northeast India), being established across a wide region ranging from the West Indies and the Caribbean to South Africa (Mesthrie 1992) and Fiji (Siegel 1987, Moag 1977).

Table 26.1 illustrates the mixed nature of the koine known as Fiji Hindi in one area of its grammar. The form *egā* clearly comes from Braj; in fact, it appears to be a compromise between the various forms available in Braj – an example of what Trudgill (1986: 62) calls an *interdialect* form. The form ī presumably comes from Bhojpuri or Avadhi. The manner in which variants have been selected from the range of possibilities provided by the input dialects is an example of leveling. At the same time, the table shows extensive simplification, involving the loss of distinct suffixes for the first and second persons singular and plural, the third person singular and plural, and, predictably perhaps, a failure to adopt the gender distinction in the second person found in one of the contributing dialects (Bhojpuri). A gender distinction in verb

Table 26.1 Indian Hindi dialects and Fiji Hindi definite future suffixes

	Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	Fiji Hindi
1sg	bō, ab	b~ū, ab	ihaū, ū̃gau	egā
1pl	ab, bī, iha	ab	ihaī, aīgai	egā
2sg (masc.)	bē, ba	bē, ihai	(a)ihai, (a)igau	egā
(fem.)	bī, bis			
2pl (masc.)	bâ(h)	bō, bau	(a)ihau, augau	egā
(fem.)	bū			
3sg	ī	ī, ihai, ē	(a)ihau, agau	ī
3pl	ih, ē, ihen	ihaī, aī	(a)ihaī, aīgai	ī

Source: Siegel (1997: 115)

morphology is functionally redundant, and it is not surprising that it is lost from overseas Hindi/Bhojpuri varieties generally, including South African Bhojpuri (Mesthrie 1993: 40), Fiji Hindi (Siegel 1997: 113), and in Mauritian Bhojpuri except in the past-tense second person singular (Domingue 1980, 1981, cited in Trudgill 1986: 109).

While this simplification can be related to the special conditions of language acquisition in a mixed, or "unfocused" speech community (Le Page 1980; a topic to be explored in a later section), there is one example of simplification (or, arguably, reduction) that seems to stem directly from the threatening situation the indentured laborers found themselves in. Mesthrie explains:

> The same [i.e. reduction – PK] is true of the feature "respect," which is manifested systematically in Indic languages in verbal and pronominal paradigms. It seems this feature did not survive the koineization process in Natal, for there is no systematic morphological way of signaling respect in SB [South African Bhojpuri]. Power relations between interlocutors once indexed by pronoun usage must have given way to the expression of solidarity on the plantations.   (Mesthrie 1993: 40)

This is a very clear indication that, for a koine to form, the speakers must waive their previous allegiances and social divisions to show mutual solidarity. Where they do not, koineization is slowed, or may not result at all, and we will return to this point in the next-to-final section. The absence of solidarity is also a factor in pidginization, where social divisions and restricted communication directly contribute to the reduced nature of pidgins. However, when dialects (and not languages) are in contact as in koineization, speakers can continue to use their own vernaculars for all informal interaction within a newly-formed community (Siegel, forthcoming). When this is coupled with solidarity, mutual accommodation on the part of the speakers results. (See Trudgill 1994, for a discussion of the different outcomes of language contact

Table 26.2   Origins of factory workers in Odda and Tyssedal shortly after establishment

Western Norway	Eastern Norway	Norway (other)	Other countries
Origin of people working at Odda Smelteverk in 1916 (from Sandve 1976: 19)			
81%	5%	7%	7%
Origin of people working at Tyssedal Smelteverk in 1916–18 (from Sandve 1976: 23)			
36%	35%	16%	12%

Source: Information on Odda and Tyssedal derived from Sandve (1976)

and dialect contact. (For a further discussion of overseas Bhojpuri/Hindi, see Trudgill 1986: 99–102, 108–10.)

Our second example is the development of not one, but two separate koines in Odda and Tyssedal, small towns just 5 kilometers apart in southwestern Norway. Both grew up at the beginning of the twentieth century around smelting works located at the head of the Sørfjord in Hardanger to exploit the plentiful supply of hydroelectric power. People moved to these new towns from other parts of the country, with the result that each now has a dialect distinct from surrounding rural varieties. Interestingly, the dialects are radically different, in a way that reflects the regional origin of the majority of the in-migrants. At the same time, they share features which do not have their origins either in the contributing dialects or in the existing speech of the area before industrialization. Sandve (1976) describes the differences between the two new dialects mainly in terms of morpho-lexical variables (the variant forms taken by morphological categories, such as the Norwegian suffixed definite article, and closed-class words, such as pronouns). He finds that the distribution to a considerable extent reflects the dialects spoken by the original migrants. Table 26.2 shows the origins of the workers at the two factories, while table 26.3 illustrates some of the morpho-lexical and phonological features.

It is clear from Table 26.3 that the Odda koine closely resembles the majority, mainly rural dialects of western (strictly speaking, southwestern) Norway, from where the vast majority of migrants arrived. The infinitive suffix is /ɑ/, and the indefinite and definite suffixes of "weak" feminine nouns are /ɑ/ and /u/, respectively, as exemplified by /jɛntɑ/ and /jɛntu/. The pronoun "I" is /eːg/, and words such as *kvit* "white" and *kval* "whale" have /kv/. Nonetheless, this koine contains forms such as /viː/ for western /meː/ "we", as well as the loss of the southwestern cluster /dl/ in favor of /l/ in words such as *alle* "all." At first sight, this could be interpreted as straightforward mixing; however, another factor clearly plays a part. One of the characteristics of leveling is the removal of *marked* forms (Trudgill 1986: 98), where "marked" describes

Table 26.3 Morpho-lexical features in Odda and Tyssedal and in majority West and East Norwegian dialects

(i)	Odda has West Norwegian, Tyssedal East Norwegian variant:			
	Odda	Tyssedal	W Norwegian	E Norwegian
	kasta	kastə	kasta	kastə	"throw" (infinitive)
	jɛnta	jɛntə	jɛntu	jɛntə	"girl"
	jɛntu	jɛnta	jɛnta	jɛnta	"the girl"
	eːg	jɛi	eːg	jɛi	"I" (pronoun)
	kviːt	viːt	kviːt	viːt	"white"
	hɛima	jɛmə	hɛima	jɛmə	"at home"
(ii)	Both Odda and Tyssedal have leveled towards the East Norwegian variant:			
	viː	viː	meː	viː	"we"
	alə	alə	adlə	alə	"all"
	çøt, gʉt	çøt, gʉt	çøːt, gʉːt	çøt, gʉt	"meat", "boy"
(iii)	Simplified and/or interdialect forms:			
	taːk, taːkə	taːk, taːkə	taːk, taːçə	taːk, taːkə	"roof", "the roof"
	kɔmə	kɔməʁ	çeːmə	kɔmər	"come" (present tense)
	sɔːvə	sɔːvəʁ	søːvə	sɔːvə	"sleep" (present tense)
	vɛgaʁ	vɛgəʁ	vɛjjər	vɛgər	"walls" (masc. noun)
	ɛlvəʁ/ɛlvaʁ	ɛlvaʁ	ɛlvar	ɛlvər	"rivers" (fem. noun)

Source: Information on Odda and Tyssedal derived from Sandve (1976)

features that are in a minority in the mix, in terms of the number of speakers who use them, or have a restricted regional currency. The latter is clearly the case here: /meː/ is restricted to the southwest, while /viː/ is found in the rest of Norway, including the regional center, Bergen, as well as in most forms of written Norwegian. The cluster /dl/ has practically the same geographical distribution as /meː/, and is therefore used by a small minority of Norwegian speakers. It is in any case gradually being lost in the rural dialects. By contrast, the maintenance of the pronoun form /eːg/ and the /kv/ cluster is no doubt supported by the fact that both are widespread in western and northern Norway, and are also found in the working-class urban vernaculars in the west, including Bergen.

Markedness (in Trudgill's sense) cannot, however, be a factor in the widespread substitution of a short vowel in items such as /çøːt/ and /gʉːt/, since the long vowel is found in almost all western and many southern dialects. However, the short vowel is found in Bergen and in the east, and (like the loss of /dl/) is beginning to spread throughout the west as part of regional dialect leveling.

Tyssedal has a mainly eastern dialect, the morpho-lexis being eastern in form. This is surprising, given that the proportion of east Norwegians among

the incomers was only 35 percent. Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that other parts of Norway were well represented, as well the presence of a substantial foreign, mainly Swedish workforce, whose speech would have been partly mutually intelligible with that of the Norwegians. The mixing situation in Tyssedal was clearly more complex than in Odda, with greater linguistic differences involved and no one group predominating. Tyssedal must have been a linguistically highly *diffuse* community, and this may go some way to explaining the eastern character of its koine. "Diffusion" is the opposite of *focusing* in Le Page's (1980) terminology: it refers to great linguistic hetero-geneity among the population, with variability both between and within individuals. There is also likely to be an absence of stable norms of any kind, and hence a lack of adult norms for children to converge on – again, a point we will return to. Unmarked forms are more likely to survive here than in koineizing communities which have a dominant group. In this context, it should be noted that, nationally, speakers of various east Norwegian varieties form by far the largest group. Moroeover, many of the eastern forms coincide with the majority Bokmål standard. Thus, the eastern and/or standard forms had a better chance of surviving in Tyssedal than they did in Odda. Standard forms may also have been adopted as a "strategy of neutrality" in a highly diffuse situation (Mæhlum 1992).

Yet in one respect the two koines show continuity with the region in which they were established: both have the uvular [ʁ] for /r/, a pronunciation that has been diffusing out from the towns throughout the west and south of Norway for the past 100 years, replacing an alveolar articulation (see Chambers and Trudgill 1998). The pre-new town Odda/Tyssedal area already used the uvular [ʁ] (Gjørv 1986: 28). What is surprising is its adoption in Tyssedal, whose dialect in almost all other respects has a strongly eastern character. A possible explanation for this is that it is an early example of the leveling between the two towns which, according to Sandve (1976), mainly involves the adoption of Odda features by younger people in Tyssedal.

Finally in our discussion of these Norwegian koines, we look for cases of simplification and interdialect forms. First, we note the absence in both dialects of the velar-palatal alternation in nouns whose stems end in /k/, /g/ or /ŋ/. In western and central dialects, the definite form substitutes a palatal for the velar, giving /tɑːçə/ for "the roof;" cf. the indefinite /tɑːk/. Both koines have the form /tɑːkə/. However, this apparent simplification may be the selection of a "simple" feature from among the possibilities offered by the input dialects. Second, we observe that, in Odda, the forms /kɔmə/ and /sɔːvə̃/ are used for the present tense of "come" and "sleep." These are simple in that they do not show the present-tense stem change found in some "strong" verbs in parts of the southwest (as in /çeːmə/ and /søːvə/, cf. infinitives /kɔmɑ/ and /sɔːvɑ). It is likely that these are genuine interdialect forms – it is unlikely that they existed in any of the input dialects, since they combine the simplified, eastern stem with the western strong-verb suffix /ə/. Interestingly, similar forms are increasingly found more generally in western dialects through leveling (Sandøy

1987: 234), an indication that, in all dialect contact situations, the same processes are found. The third feature does seem to have arisen in the koine itself, since there is only recent evidence of it in the rural dialects (Helge Sandøy, pc): this is the Odda noun plural system represented by the forms /vɛgɑʁ/ and /ɛlvəʁ/, which (as table 26.3 shows) differ from the majority western variants. These show an increase in morphological regularity, the reasoning being as follows. In west Norwegian dialects, masculine and feminine nouns fall into two classes, depending on whether the plural ending is /ɑr/ or /ər/. Most, but not all, masculine nouns, like *hest* "horse", take /ɑr/, while feminine nouns, like *seng* "bed", tend to take /ər/. What has happened in Odda is that this pattern has been generalized to *all* masculine and feminine nouns, leading to the new, interdialect forms /vɛgɑʁ/ and /ɛlvəʁ/.

All the features mentioned in the paragraph above are identical to developments in another western Norwegian koine: that of Høyanger, a new town which grew up under very similar conditions to Odda and Tyssedal (Omdal 1977, Trudgill 1986, 95–106). The Høyanger dialect is strikingly similar to that of Odda, a fact which reflects the mainly western origin of the incomers. However, it contains features characteristic of its somewhat more northern location in Sogn (from where many of the migrants came), especially an alveolar /r/ and the infinitive ending /ə/. The results from the three towns taken together demonstrate that the features that survive the leveling prior to koine formation reflect not only the role of simplification but also the importance of the geographical origins of the original migrants. The latter has been explored by Trudgill and his co-researchers in an investigation of the origins of New Zealand English, to be discussed later (Trudgill 1998, Trudgill et al. 2000).

Our final example of a koine is, in fact, often not regarded as one at all: the variety of spoken Hebrew that has emerged in Palestine/Israel since about 1900. The crucial difference is that the first modern speakers of Hebrew spoke it as a *second* language. This meant that, in the Hebrew input to the modern spoken variety, there were substrates reflecting a number of different languages. What leads Siegel (1997: 129–30) to accept it as a koine is that all the features of koineization can be found. Modern Hebrew is a revived classical language which now performs all the functions of a community vernacular. In its pre-modern form, it ceased to be a vernacular around AD 200, but it continued to be used both as a liturgical language and as a written and spoken lingua franca among Jews in Europe. The decisive phase in its modern revival as a spoken language came with the establishment by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda of the Hebrew Language Council in 1890. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Hebrew was promoted by the occupying forces, including the British Mandate of 1922–48. By 1948, there were Hebrew-using institutions, including a Hebrew radio station (see Blanc 1968, and Ravid 1995, for further details).

Today, practically all the Israeli-born population are speakers of Modern Hebrew, which preserves much of the lexis, morphology, and syntax of the old language. Ravid points to the rather slow stabilization of the contemporary language (we return to this issue later in this chapter), and states that, even

today, it has "a number of parallel constructions, none of which has been rendered obsolete by the others" (Ravid 1995: 5). She gives the following examples, which all translate as "the king's clothes":

1 bigdey ha-mélex
   clothes-of the-king

2 ha-bgadim ʃel ha-mélex
   the-clothes of the-king

3 bgadav ʃel ha-mélex
   clothes-his of the-king

Ravid states that "they complement each other and are used in distinct semantic, syntactic and pragmatic contexts, constituting part of the linguistic competence of the Modern Hebrew speaker" (1995: 5). We can say that the variability in the input to modern Hebrew has not been leveled in this case, but has been *reallocated* to new functions.

   As already pointed out, a defining feature of Israeli Hebrew is the fact that the input was a series of second-language varieties with European and other substrates, particularly Yiddish and Arabic. We must also assume that the first speakers' proficiency in Hebrew varied a great deal, showing varying degrees of interlanguage (Selinker 1992). All of this took place in a situation where there was no established native spoken norm. A look at the consonant system shows the effect of these substrate languages. Glinert (1989: 10) points out that there has been considerable reduction in the phonological inventory when compared to the liturgical language. Like many other Semitic languages, Biblical Hebrew had a distinction between the pharyngeal consonants /ħ/ and /ʕ/ and the velar /x/. Neither /ħ/ nor /ʕ/ was acquired by most of the (adult) Ashkenazi immigrants, whose first languages were European. Instead, they merged /ħ/ with /x/ – a phone widely found in European languages – and deleted /ʕ/ altogether. The Sephardic Jews, who had an Arabic substrate, used the pharyngeals in their Hebrew vernacular. In the majority, high-status Ashkenazi-based vernacular, the pharyngeals have been leveled out (or never acquired) despite being widely considered to be correct. This leads to an unusual sociolinguistic situation. According to Blanc (1968: 245), when "General" (or majority Ashkenazi) speakers want to "improve" their speech for whatever reason, they use /ʕ/ when the orthography demands it, without changing other aspects of their speech. On the other hand, /ħ/ is not adopted by these speakers, because it is apparently too closely associated with Oriental speech (in Trudgill's 1986 terms, it has "extra-strong salience" – a notion to be discussed below). This treatment of the two pharyngeals – their social evaluation and their sociolinguistic patterning – is a complex case of *reallocation*.

   Just as with regular sound change, the leveling and simplification of the Hebrew consonant system has led to complications in the morphology. (See

Aitchison 1991, on the effect of phonological change on morphology.) Unlike the koines discussed so far, Modern Hebrew is morphologically more opaque (irregular) than its antecedent. Ravid (1995: 133) argues that this is because of the "phonological erosion" due to its being "revived as a spoken medium using a new phonological system only loosely related to that of Classical Hebrew, with entire phonological classes being obliterated." This is, of course, the point at which Modern Hebrew is radically different from other koines, whose speakers are first-language users of the input varieties. Not surprisingly, she finds among child learners the development of nonstandard reanalyses of morphological classes promoted by the principles of "Transparency, Simplicity and Consistency." The ability of these reanalyses to persist into adult usage and then to become mainstream is, however, constrained by literacy and the "literate propensity towards marked structures" (Ravid 1995: 162). Israeli Hebrew was relatively slow to stabilize; we will return to reasons for this in a later section.

3 The Pre-koine: Linguistic Accommodation by the First Migrants in a New Settlement

We now deal with koineization itself, viewed as a process with distinct but overlapping stages and a variable but finite time span. If and when it reaches completion, a koine, or a "new dialect," results. Trudgill identifies the following three stages of new-dialect formation, in his opinion roughly corresponding to the first three generations of speakers (Trudgill 1998, Trudgill et al. 2000):

Stage	Speakers involved	Linguistic characteristics
I	adult migrants	rudimentary leveling
II	first native-born speakers	extreme variability and further leveling
III	subsequent generations	focusing, leveling, and reallocation

As we shall see, there is a great deal of variability in the time-depth of koineization, with focusing being possible already by Stage II, and the absence of focusing sometimes persisting over several generations of Stage III. In this section, we deal with Stage I, what Siegel calls the "pre-koine". Siegel states:

> This is the unstabilized stage at the beginning of koineization. A continuum exists in which various forms of the varieties in contact are used concurrently and inconsistently. Levelling and some mixing has begun to occur, and there may be various degrees of reduction, but few forms have emerged as the accepted compromise. (Siegel 1985: 373)

The question we address in this section is the following: How does this rudimentary mixing and leveling eventually find its way into the everyday speech of the first generation of koine speakers? Given that definable changes have

occurred as a result of koineization, it follows that these changes must be foreshadowed *in some way* in the speech of the pre-koine generation. Trudgill proposes an extension of *speech accommodation theory* to account for this process (Giles and Powesland 1997/1975, Giles and Smith 1979, Giles and Coupland 1991, Giles et al. 1991, Trudgill 1986: 1–4). Simply put, accommodation theory assumes that interlocutors converge linguistically (and on other behavioral dimensions) when they want to gain each other's approval, show solidarity, etc., and that they diverge when they do not. Accommodation can be mutual, or one-sided. It can be "downward" (as when a higher-status person uses lower-status forms, or what he or she believes to be lower-status forms), or it can be "upward" (the inverse pattern). Accommodation is therefore a response to a conversational context (though it can also be used to define the context). When people speak different varieties, as in a new settlement, the dialect differences are likely to be exploited – consciously or passively – as part of accommodation. This can explain the mechanism behind the survival of majority forms in a koine: there will be more "acts of accommodation" involving the adoption of majority rather than minority variants simply because there are more conversational contexts in which this can take place.

The link between these individual acts and the new dialect, according to Trudgill, is *long-term accommodation* (Trudgill 1986: 11–38), which can be defined as semi-permanent changes in a person's habitual speech after a period of contact with speakers using different varieties. Long-term accommodation results from the cumulative effect of countless acts of *short-term accommodation* in particular conversational interactions. These changes are then picked up by the next generation, who will begin the process of focusing. Trudgill discusses a number of cases of long-term accommodation in the context of the linguistic and social constraints that promote or inhibit the acquisition of particular features. Before we consider these below, we must examine two questions: (1) What is the evidence that the features found in dialect leveling and koines really are foreshadowed in short-term accommodation? (2) What is the evidence that these features are found in the long-term accommodation of the original adult migrants?

3.1   Evidence that short-term accommodation foreshadows leveling and koine formation

The link from individual behavior in specific contexts (short-term accommodation) to a future koine could involve the following mechanisms. First, the features of the future varieties are adopted by adult and child migrants in individual acts of accommodation to other speakers who happen to use them already. This has been called a "behavioral-frequency model" (Auer 1998, Hinskens and Auer forthcoming). Second, accommodation may not be in response to a particular interlocutor, but to images, or stereotypes, of the group the interlocutor belongs to, or of a socially attractive group not actually

represented in the immediate context (cf. Bell 1997, on the role of different kinds of audience). This can be labeled an "identity projection model" (Auer 1998). Third, in the case of interdialect forms, we cannot be dealing with accommodation at all, since such forms are not in the dialect mix; therefore, they must be created by these speakers. There is clear evidence of the "behavioral-frequency model" in Trudgill's account of his own accommodation to his Norwich interviewees (Trudgill 1986: 7–10), though the changes only took place in the case of markers (see below, on "salience"). Coupland's (1984) study of speech accommodation by a travel agent to her customers is another case in point. However, as Auer points out, even though there is demonstrable accommodation, Coupland interprets this more in line with the "identity projection model":

> Sue [the travel agent] is not attempting to reproduce the actual levels of standardness for particular variables that she detects in the speech of her interlocutors; rather, she is attempting to convey via her pronunciation and presumably other behaviors, verbal and non-verbal, a persona which is similar to that conveyed by her interlocutors.   (Coupland 1984: 65)

Taking this non-interactional approach to accommodation may also help us understand the spread of dialect features by geographical diffusion where face-to-face contact with users of the diffusing features is rare, if it is present at all. An example is the rapid and recent spread of the merger of /f/ and /θ/ in British English (Williams and Kerswill 1999, Trudgill 1986: 53–7).

However, studies which concentrate on dialect leveling and koineization provide only marginal evidence of the use of the new, leveled features in short-term accommodation between speakers of different dialects. In an investigation of dialect leveling in the Limburg region of the Netherlands, Hinskens (1996: 447–52) finds that short-term accommodation on the part of speakers interacting with speakers of other varieties does not follow the predictions of accommodation theory. The theory predicts that speakers should reduce dialect features that are not shared with the interlocutor, and preserve features that are. This turns out not to be the case, accommodation being much less differentiated and more "across the board," regardless of the interlocutor's variety. More striking still are the results of a study of ongoing dialect leveling in *Lëtzebuergesch*, the Germanic language of Luxembourg, by Gilles (1996, 1997). He discusses Luxembourg speakers' belief that they accommodate each other's speech in inter-dialect communication, but finds that this is not the case (see discussion in Auer 1998, and Hinskens and Auer, forthcoming). An extremely telling micro-example of non-accommodation is the following excerpt from a conversation between two strangers, FA from the north of the Grand Duchy and AN from the south (Gilles 1996: 7):

FA	Bas du och nach am zweete Jor?	"Are you also in the second year?"
AN	Nä am ischte [iʃte] Jor.	"No, in the first year."
FA (echoing)	Am éischten [eɪʃtən].	"In the first (year)"

Both speakers use their own variant, a pattern which is general in Gilles's data. Despite this, leveling is present in the language.

   In summary, it appears that short-term accommodation as a precursor to dialect leveling follows the same patterns as speech accommodation generally: a speaker may well converge with another's dialect, but we should not expect this to be the only pattern. Accommodation theory and conversation analysis show that interactions are highly complex, with a number of agendas on the part of the speakers – and the creation of a new dialect is not one of them. The need to distinguish between actual speech accommodation and other factors was already recognized by Thakerar et al. (1982) when they posited a "psychological dimension" to accommodation. This refers to "individuals' *beliefs* that they are integrating with and differentiating from others respectively" [emphasis in original] (Thakerar et al. 1982: 222). We need to accept this complexity if we are to understand the nature of the input to koineization.

3.2   *Evidence that the features found in dialect leveling and in koines are foreshadowed in the long-term accommodation of the original adult migrants*

While the information on short-term accommodation is complex and rather unclear, the same cannot be said for the relationship between long-term accommodation and the outcomes of dialect leveling and koineization. Our example is the speech of adult rural migrants in the city of Bergen in western Norway (Kerswill 1994a). Because they are a linguistic minority in a city, they are not potential "koineizers." However, as we shall see, their accommodation to Bergen urban vernacular involves the adoption of some of the features found in Odda and Høyanger as well as in the increasingly leveled dialects of rural southwest Norway. We start with a transcript of portions of a recorded conversation between Mr. BS, a 41-year-old industrial worker who moved to Bergen at the age of 24, and another rural migrant.

   The most striking facet of this extract is its extreme variability. Not only are features from the two dialects mixed within an utterance, but they also appear within a single word, as in ['fɾɛmtiːɛ], which is ['fɾɑmtiːɛ] in the rural dialect, and ['fʁɛmtiːdn̩] in Bergen dialect. The mixing among this group of speakers is relatively unrestricted, with great variation both between and within individuals. As we shall see in the next section, this is also characteristic of the first native-born generations in many koines (Trudgill 1998, Trudgill et al. 2000, Omdal 1977).

   While this variability is, of course, not characteristic of established koines, some of the features involved include those which appear in the west

Table 26.4 Extracts from conversational data for Mr. BS, a rural migrant in Bergen

Example	Comment
(i) [ɪ f<u><u>ɾɔ</u></u> ˈmoːlø<u><u>ɪ</u></u>n<u><u>ɛ</u></u>] i frå Måløya "from Måløya"	Rural dialect
(ii) [fɔ̞ɜʉ ˈ<u><u>sʊ</u></u>ːv<u><u>ɑ</u></u>] får ikkje du sova? "Can't you get to sleep?"	Rural dialect
(iii) [f<u><u>ɛ</u></u>ɾ ˈflɑskəkl<u>ɪ</u>ɾ<u><u>ĩ</u>ɟ<u>ɛ</u></u> ˈdɛn j<u>ɪ</u>k ˈ<u>ɾ</u>ɛt ˈɪn soṇ vɑ ˈh<u><u>ɛɛ</u></u>lt . . .] for flaskeklirringa den gjekk rett inn så han var heilt . . . "because the rattling of the bottles, it went straight in so it was completely . . ."	Mixture of rural and Bergen dialect
(iv) [bjœ<u>ɪ</u>g<u>ɛ</u>n] Bjørg-the "Bjørg" (female personal name + Bergen idiomatic addition of article in Bergen common gender form)	Mixture of rural and Bergen dialect
(v) [o jɑ ˈh<u><u>ʊ</u>ṇ</u> jɑ] og ja ho ja "oh yes, her"	Bergen dialect
(vi) [<u><u>ɛ</u></u>ɪn g<u><u>ɔ</u></u>ŋ ɪ ˈf<u>ɾ<u>ɛ</u></u>mtiː<u><u>ɛ</u></u>] ein gang i framtida "some time in the future"	Rural and Bergen dialect, with within-word mixing
(vii) ˈsɑː<u>k<u>ɛ</u>n</u> ˈʊptɑ<u><u>ː</u></u> dɛg] saka opptar deg "the matter at hand keeps you busy"	Bergen dialect

Key: Bergen features: <u>single underlining</u>
Rural dialect features: <u><u>double underlining</u></u>
Unmarked forms (i.e. both rural and Bergen): normal type
Except for /r/, the features marked are morpho-lexical.

Source: Kerswill (1994a: 148)

Table 26.5 Simplificatory processes found in southwestern Norwegian varieties

Process		Presence in the long-term accommodation of rural migrants in Bergen?	Presence in West Norwegian dialect leveling?	Presence in West Norwegian koines?
(i)	Simplification of /dn/, /dl/, and /bm/ to /n/, /l/, and /m/ in e.g. /fidnɑ/, /ɑdlə/, /kobmɑ/	yes	yes	Odda, Tyssedal (Høyanger did not have clusters)
(ii)	Reduction in vowel inventory	yes (specifically, avoidance of /ɐ/ and /ɐː/: /gɐlv/ > /gɔlv/ "floor", /veːrə/ > /vɔːrə/ "been" (part.)	yes (general reduction; Sandøy 1987: 238–9)	yes (general reduction)
(iii)	Loss of the morphophonemic velar-palatal alternation in e.g. /tɑːk/ – /tɑːçə/	yes	yes (Sandøy 1987: 234)	yes
(iv)	Loss of vowel change in present tense of some strong verbs, e.g. /tɛːk/ > /tɑːɾ/, "take" (present)	yes	yes (Sandøy 1987: 236)	yes

Norwegian koines and in west Norwegian dialect leveling. Table 26.5 lists simplificatory features noted in the speech of the rural migrants recorded for the study (Kerswill 1994a), along with information as to whether they occur in koines and dialect leveling in the region.

It is in fact likely that some of these ostensible simplifications represent the straightforward borrowing of a Bergen item, since in most cases the Bergen form is identical to the simpler variant. However, for process (ii) – the loss of /ɐ/ and /ɐː/ – this cannot be the case. In almost all the relevant words, these vowels are replaced by /ɔ/ or /ɔː/ – a simple, predictable substitution. However, this does not always represent a convergence with Bergen dialect, which

has a range of vowels, and often differing lexical forms, for these words. For example, rural /heːvə/ "head" is replaced by /hɔːvə/, not by Bergen /hɔvə/ or either of the standard forms *hode* or *hovud*. Similarly, /skɐ̞ːtə/ "shot" (past participle) appears as /skɔːtə/, rarely as Bergen /skʉt/ (Kerswill 1994a: 157, 159–61). Of course, we cannot claim that any of these simplifications have been arrived at individually by the particular speakers who were recorded, because there remains the possibility that these simplifications form part of a "norm" of migrant speech (Kerswill 1994a: 145–7) – and are therefore spread to new individuals by borrowing. Yet, the processes are natural, and it is likely that some of the speakers do respond to the contact situation with simplification. Moreover, the rural migrants do *not* acquire complex features of the Bergen dialect (Kerswill 1994a: 161–2).

We return now to the factors that inhibit or promote the adoption of linguistic features in long-term accommodation. Trudgill discusses a number of cases, including British people living in the USA, Americans in Britain, and Swedes in Norway. Dealing mainly with phonological changes, he finds that accommodation follows similar patterns, the basic order being as follows.

1 "Natural" and phonologically predictable phonetic changes. An example is the early adoption of the tap [ɾ] for intervocalic /t/ by British people in the USA, as in *letter* – in this case a feature already present to some extent in many British people's speech (Trudgill 1986: 19).
2 Substitutions of phonemes in clearly defined lexical sets. An example is the substitution of /æ/ for /ɑː/ in items like *dance*, *last*, *half*, by the same group (Trudgill 1986: 18).
3 "Complex" changes, some of which may never be acquired. These include:

   (i)   the reversal of a merger, as when older Canadian children living in Britain generally fail to separate the sets of *cot* and *caught*, which are merged in Canadian English (Chambers 1992: 687–8);
   (ii)   the use of phonemes in what are phonotactically impermissible positions in the speaker's own dialect, exemplified by the failure of English migrants in the USA to realize /r/ non-prevocalically, e.g., in *cart* (Trudgill 1986: 15–16);
   (iii) the acquisition of lexically unpredictable phonological processes. An example is the Philadelphia "short *a*" pattern. This refers to the tensing and raising of the vowel in words like *man* and *bad*, which is both phonologically and lexically determined – that is to say, tensing/raising only takes place before certain consonants, and there are lexical exceptions; this feature is rarely learned even by young child incomers to Philadelphia (Payne 1980, Roberts and Labov 1995, Trudgill 1986: 36–7, Kerswill 1996: 186–7).

This ordering is in effect a difficulty hierarchy, with features higher up being psycholinguistically "easier" and, other things being equal, more likely to be

involved in accommodation. (See Kerswill 1996: 200, for a more elaborated hierarchy which adds lexical, grammatical, and prosodic features.) The order predicted by this hierarchy interacts, however, with the factor of *salience*, invoked by Trudgill to explain why some features are adopted earlier, or later, than others. Trudgill states that the following factors (adapted from Trudgill 1986: 11) lead to greater awareness of a linguistic feature, so that it becomes a *marker*, in Labov's sense, and therefore has the potential to become salient:

1   the variable has at least one variant which is overtly stigmatized;
2   the variable has a high-status variant reflected in the orthography;
3   the variable is undergoing linguistic change;
4   variants are phonetically radically different;
5   variants are involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts in the accommodating speaker's variety.

Trudgill states (1986: 37): "During accommodation, it is indeed salient features of the target variety that are adjusted to, except that, in the case of adults at least, a number of factors combine to delay this modification to different extents." These factors include those that come under (ii) and (iii) in the difficulty hierarchy. To complete the model, Trudgill adds a further inhibitory factor: that of *extra-strong salience*. One of the conditions leading to salience is the involvement of a phonological contrast. However, in some cases this can lead to a heightened awareness on the speakers' part, so that the feature becomes a stereotype and therefore something to be avoided. This, in Trudgill's view, explains why northern English speakers tend not to acquire the southern vowel /ɑ:/ in *dance* for their own /æ/, while they may acquire southern /ʌ/ in *butter*. In the *dance* case, they are aware that southern speakers use a different phoneme from themselves, while with *butter* they are less aware of it, because /ʌ/ is not a phoneme for them (Trudgill 1986: 155).

   Trudgill's account is intended as a comprehensive model of long-term accommodation. However, there are certain problems with it. Most particularly, these concern the role of extra-strong salience. It seems that the same criterion, that of the presence of a contrast in the speaker's dialect, can lead either to a feature's adoption or to its rejection (Hinskens 1996: 10–13). One solution to the problem is to look at a feature within the linguistic system of both dialects, as well as viewing it from a dialect geography and social perspective. The *dance* case involves a number of common lexical items, including *grass*, *bath*, *chance*, *last*, and *past*. Because of this, and because it involves a phonemic contrast, it is easily stereotyped and easily labeled: southerners talk of the northern "flat" *a*, while northerners hear the southern variant as "posh," doubtless because it also occurs in Received Pronunciation. A second example comes from the dialects in the rural hinterland of Bergen in southwest Norway. As we saw, these dialects have two vowels, /ɐ/ and /ɐː/, which are not found in the city. They are widely considered "ugly;" speakers, both rural and urban, comment on them spontaneously. It therefore comes as no surprise that they

are being leveled out, as well as being removed in the long-term accommodation of rural people moving to the city. Reasons for their extra-strong salience probably lie in the fact that they are both regionally restricted and phonetically distant from other vowels, typically /ɔ/ and /ɔː/, which are used in the same words in other dialects (Kerswill 1994a: 157).

Even with explanations such as these, we come up against difficulties. In a study of long-term accommodation among eastern German (former GDR) migrants to western Germany, Auer et al. (1998) apply criteria for salience that are broadly similar to Trudgill's, with some additions; in particular, they draw a more explicit distinction than he does between "objective" (linguistic) and "subjective" (social and social psychological) parameters. The principal additional linguistic criterion is whether or not a feature is *lexicalized* – that is, it is not possible to predict on phonological grounds which lexical items are involved. We have already seen an example of lexicalization in the Philadelphia "short *a*" pattern. Of the 12 phonological variables they investigated in the Upper Saxon Vernacular (USV) of the migrants, three will serve to illustrate their point.

1 (A:) – USV velarized (rounded, back) low vowel: standard [ɑː], USV [ɔ̈ː], as in *wahr* "true".
2 (AI) – USV monophthong for the standard diphthong: standard [aə], USV [ë:], as in *kein* "no" (determiner). It is lexicalized in that it is restricted to those standard German words which contain /ai/ derived from MHG (Middle High German) /ei/, not MHG /iː/. USV [ë:] merges with /ɛː/, which occurs in another lexical set, e.g., in [lë:bm̩] *leben* "to live"; hence, in accommodation to standard German, a merger must be undone.
3 (P,T) – USV syllable-initial voiceless lenis stops instead of fortis stops: standard [p], [t], Saxon [b̥], [d̥], as in *paar* "some", *Tante* "aunt". The USV feature involves a merger between standard German /p, t/ and /b, d/. Accommodation entails the undoing of a merger.

Table 26.6 shows that, by their criteria, (A:) is non-salient, while (P,T) and (AI) are rather more salient. In the table, a "yes" entry is evidence of salience. Auer et al. (1998) then compare this classification with the percentage loss of the USV features between the first interview and the last, two years later. These percentage changes (a positive score represents a loss), shown in table 26.7, do not match expectations at all.

The authors' predictions that (A:) would shift the least, and (AI) the most, were patently not borne out. They argue (Auer et al. 1998: 182) that the fact that (AI), along with a similar variable, (AU), is lexicalized shelters it from loss; however, they admit that this is not an explanation for the "relatively positive prestige of the vernacular realizations" of (AI) and (AU), and refer to the fact that the Berlin vernacular has similar monophthongs. In the case of (P,T), expectations are met: a salient, stigmatized pronunciation is rapidly dropped. However, (A:) is subject to massive attrition as well, even though

Table 26.6   Salience of three Upper Saxon variables in contact with standard German – "strong" vernacular realizations

	Variable		
Criterion	(A:)	(P,T)	(AI)
Merger to be split?	no	yes	yes
Discrete variable?	no	no	yes
Lexicalization?	no	no	yes
Style differences?	yes	yes	—
Represented in writing?	no	yes	yes
Stereotyping?	no	yes	yes

— data not available
Source: Auer et al. (1998: 177, table 2a)

Table 26.7   Percentage loss of "strong" Upper Saxon realizations of three variables over a two-year period

	(A:)	(P,T)	(AI)
Percentage loss	65%	72%	−3%

Source: Auer et al. (1998: 180)

this feature only fulfils one of the criteria for salience (style shifting, which as an explanation of salience is circular). While (A:) does not involve phoneme replacement, it can be argued that USV [ɔː] could be taken by some listeners for standard German /oː/ as in *Chor* "choir" – a possibility not mentioned by the authors – in which case its behavior is less surprising. The authors conclude that, for this variable at least, the subjective factors (represented by style shifting) outweigh the objective ones.

Auer and his colleagues find that there is little match between the objective and subjective criteria. However, for the lexicalized variables "objective" criteria do play a part; for the remainder, different "subjective" ones seem to take precedence. Moreover, salience "does not indicate the attitudinal polarity (positive or negative) of this [social and interactional] significance, let alone its precise 'ideological value'" (Auer et al. 1998: 184).

Yet, salience of either kind is clearly an extremely significant factor in dialect accommodation, as a related case study of an individual migrant showed (Auer et al. 1997). In this study, a man who had accommodated during the first year restored most of the USV features by the end of the second, as a result of a drastic change in his social network, attitudes, and degree of integration following an industrial accident. The authors show that the features which changed, first to standard, then back to USV, were mostly the ones

the main study had already identified as "salient" by the six criteria given in table 26.4. The non-salient variables mainly had a "flat" graph rather than the "zig-zag" pattern of the salient ones.

The problem with salience is that it may consist of a far more disparate range of effects than research has hitherto been able to uncover, both linguistic and non-linguistic (Kerswill and Williams, forthcoming). The fairly wide range of factors discussed in this section goes some way to address this point.

4   Focusing: The Language of the Koineizing Generation(s)

Trudgill's second stage of new-dialect formation involves the first generation of children born in the new community. As we saw above, he states that this stage is characterized by "extreme variability" and "further leveling." We will examine five cases to see the extent to which this characterization is true: New Zealand English; Høyanger; the speech of children in the English new town, Milton Keynes; Modern Hebrew; and, finally, children's speech in the Norwegian Arctic territory of Spitsbergen. To anticipate: we find broad similarities among speakers of this generation, and conclude that focusing usually belongs to the following generation (the migrants' grandchildren). Particular conditions may mean that focusing takes place earlier, later, or not at all. Moreover, variations we observe are ascribable to a small set of social and linguistic factors.

The data for Trudgill's New Zealand study come from recordings made by the National Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand in 1946–8. As Trudgill (1998) explains, "[t]he recordings were oral history pioneer reminiscences, mostly from people who were the children of the first European settlers in New Zealand. . . . About 325 speakers born between 1850 and 1900 were recorded." This generation of people represents the first native-born speakers of English in New Zealand – though of course they were elderly by the time they were recorded. The most striking fact about this data archive is its tremendous variability, both between and within individuals. Trudgill (1998) argues that, in situations where there is no single, stable adult model, children are able to choose from a wider variety of adult models than otherwise. Also, in the absence of a stable peer-group variety, adults, especially parents and other caregivers, will have a greater than usual influence on children's speech (Trudgill et al. 2000). In such a situation, one can expect individuals to make novel selections of features from the available choice. This turns out to be the case. Thus, Mr. Malcolm Ritchie has the following features:

1   /θ/ and /ð/ are realized as dental stops, [t̪] and [d̪], as in Irish English;
2   Syllable-final /l/ may be clear (i.e. non-velarized), as in Irish English;
3   He has h-dropping in words like *home*, an English feature absent in Ireland;
4   He has a distinction between /ʍ/ and /w/, thus distinguishing *which* and *witch*. This feature is never combined with h-dropping in the British Isles.

Not surprisingly, there is great inter-individual variation even between people with near-identical backgrounds. For example, Mr. Ritchie's sister-in-law, Mrs. H. Ritchie, attended the same school at the same time as he did, yet has some quite different features in her speech. Unlike Mr. Ritchie, she has close realizations of /æ/ as [ɛ] and /e/ as [e], while he typically has more open variants.

Despite this variability, there is evidence of leveling in this group of speakers. For example, there is an almost complete absence of the use of the vowel /ʊ/, as in FOOT, in the STRUT set – a feature of the northern half of England. In terms of the demography of the settlers, northern speakers were certainly in a minority, and it had clearly been leveled out already in the first generation of native-born speakers.

Trudgill does not provide any information about the transition from Stage II to the fully-fledged, focused Stage III of present-day New Zealand English. However, he comments on the relationship between the apparently random speech of the earlier generations and present day speech, as follows:

> The "original" [i.e. highly individual] mixtures demonstrated by *individual* informants such as Mr. Riddle are the result of random selection. But the proportions of variants present in the accents of groups of second-stage speakers in a particular location, *taken as a whole*, derive in a probabilistic manner from, and will therefore reflect at least approximately, the proportions of the same variants present in the different varieties spoken by their parents' generation *taken as a whole*.

Trudgill examines some of the features of Stage III in the light of the proportions of those features found in his Stage II corpus. Thus, 75 percent of the speakers (and, to judge from available statistics, a majority of the earliest immigrants from the British Isles) did not use h-dropping in words like *house*, despite the fact that this is the norm in much of England today; h-dropping has almost completely disappeared from modern New Zealand English. A similar explanation can be put forward for the maintenance of the distinction between /ʍ/ as in *which* and /w/ as in *witch*, despite its being rapidly lost in England.

Trudgill's findings on the early speech of New Zealand match Omdal's comments on the Norwegian town of Høyanger very closely indeed. Høyanger was founded in 1916 and received in-migrants from various parts of Norway. Omdal writes:

> As it turned out, the first generation to be born and raised in Høyanger, i.e., people who today [=1977] are in their fifties, do not have a uniform dialect, but have a spoken language that to a great extent bears the imprint of their parents' dialect. There is a good deal of variation between individuals. (Omdal 1977: 7; my translation)

We can presume that the reasons for the lack of early focusing in Høyanger are similar to those adduced for New Zealand: but are there any specific, local circumstances that gave this result? It turns out that, in the early years of

Høyanger's existence, there was considerable social segregation between the families of managers and professionals and those of the workers, with housing in different parts of the town. Crucially, while the workers mainly came from the same county as Høyanger, the managers and professionals came from the east of the country. This meant that linguistic convergence between the two groups could only take place later, as social and geographical allegiances became more oriented toward the new community. A second factor is the relatively large linguistic differences between dialects in Norway, particularly at that time; the factor of dialect differences would have played a similar part in New Zealand. (See Kerswill and Williams 2000: 73–4, for a more detailed discussion of Høyanger.)

Koineization did, however, ensue in the next generation: "To find a uniform spoken variety, we must move a generation on, to people who are in their 20s or younger. The speech of these people gives the impression that it is just as 'firm' as in other similar places with a more stable population growth" (Omdal 1977: 7; my translation).

We now have a clearer picture of the relationship between Trudgill's three stages. The observations from New Zealand are entirely consistent with what we have seen of the relationship between the speech of the Bergen rural migrants (who can be taken to represent Stage I of a west Norwegian leveling/koine formation process), the speech of the first native-born generation in Høyanger (Stage II), and the features found in the koines which subsequently developed there and in Odda and Tyssedal (Stage III).

Our next example is the southeast English new town of Milton Keynes, designated in 1967 in a location roughly 80 kilometers from London, Oxford, and Cambridge. From that date to 1991, the population of the area rose from 44,000 to 176,000. Recordings were made of children and adults in 1991–2, some 24 years, or one generation, after its foundation. Further recordings of a different sample were made in 1996 (Kerswill and Williams 2000, Kerswill 1994b, Cheshire et al. 1999). Thus, almost all the child speakers in the samples were the offspring of adult migrants to the town. We consider first the degree to which this first native generation has focused its speech, in comparison with that of the caregivers. The variable (ou) refers to the realization of the offset of the vowel /əʊ/ as in *goat*, which is currently being fronted in southeast England. The parents of the children originate from various parts of Great Britain, and would therefore be expected to show a range of pronunciations for this vowel, from both the southeast and elsewhere. In order to see whether any focusing among the children has occurred, we can compare the fronting scores for the parents (only the mothers were recorded in the study) with those of their children. The variable has the following values:

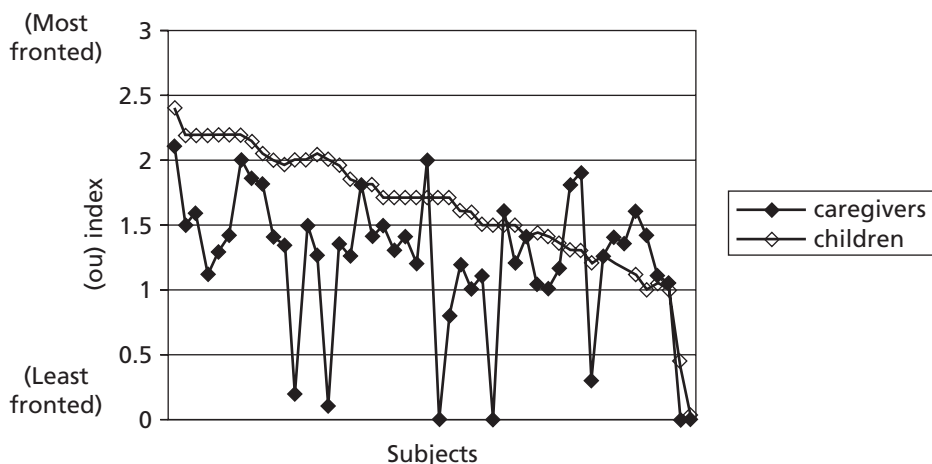|		
(ou) – 0: [oː], [oʊ]	score: 0	(Northern and Scottish realization)
(ou) – 1: [əʊ], [əʉ̞]	score: 1	(older Buckinghamshire and London)
(ou) – 2: [əɤ]	score: 2	(fronting)
(ou) – 3: [əɪ]	score: 3	(fronting and unrounding)

Figure 26.1 Association of Milton Keynes children's (ou) scores with those of their caregivers

Source: Kerswill & Williams (2000, p. 102)

Figure 26.1 shows the association of the children's scores (ranked from highest to lowest) with those of their caregivers. Two points should be noted. First, with two notable exceptions (at bottom right on the graph), the overall range of the children is much smaller than that of their caregivers, suggesting a high degree of focusing. The caregivers' scores reflect their regional origins, with the six very low scorers coming from outside the southeast. Thus, the caregivers' vowel realizations are not reflected at all in their children's scores. On the evidence of this and other variables (Kerswill and Williams 2000), Milton Keynes children seem not to be much influenced by their parents' speech – in distinct contrast to the first generation native speakers in New Zealand and Høyanger. The fact that the two exceptions just mentioned turn out to be 4 year olds suggests that it is the older, not the younger children who are engaged in the focusing – a point to which we will return. Moreover, the fact that the children's scores are significantly higher also suggests that they are orienting their focusing towards the new, fronted norm for this vowel (Kerswill and Williams 2000: 101).

The Milton Keynes study also allows us to examine which age group is most involved in the formation of the koine. We saw in the previous section an example of adult migrants' speech, characterized by a high degree of mixing and instability, yet also anticipating the forms that will appear in a later koine. In Milton Keynes, most of the adults speak linguistic varieties that are far more similar to each other than do their Norwegian counterparts. This, we must assume, is because of the extensively leveled nature of British English, especially in southern England; in any case, it means that investigating their long-term accommodation is difficult.

However, the Milton Keynes child data allows us further insights into the early stages of koine formation. It has recently been argued that language
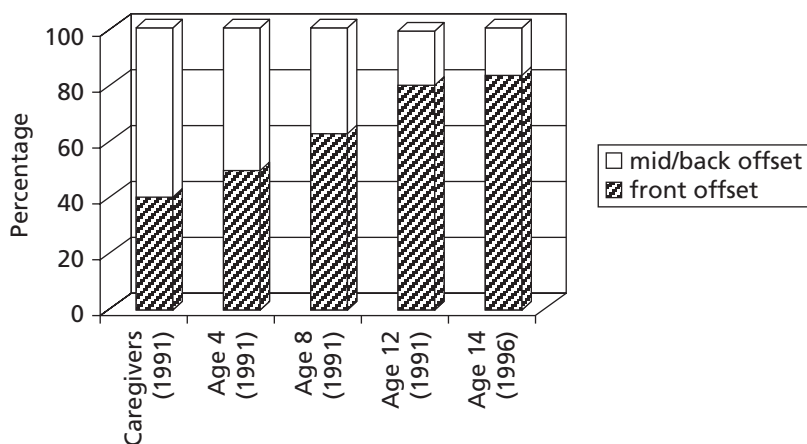
Figure 26.2 Percent front/non-front offset of (ou) (*goat*), Milton Keynes women and girls

Source: Cheshire et al. (1999), Kerswill and Williams (2000)

change is unlikely to be mainly due to misanalyses of adult grammars on the part of young children during their acquisition phase, for two main reasons. First, developmental forms that appear in child language are rarely the same as those which appear in change (Croft 2000: 47). Second, young children, for sociolinguistic reasons, are not able to be part of the diffusion of changes (Aitchison 1981: 180). Instead, it seems likely that older children and adolescents are the main "agents of change", because of their willingness to innovate and their orientation towards their peer groups and older adolescents (Eckert 2000; Kerswill 1996). Careful examination of the Milton Keynes children's and adolescents' data allows us to draw conclusions about their contribution to any new dialect that may develop there. Figure 26.2 recodes the data from Figure 26.1 into two categories: mid/back offset and front offset, and adds information from the adolescents recorded in 1996.

As can be seen, the amount of fronting increases with the age of the subjects from 1991 (the 4, 8, and 12 year olds), while the adults have the lowest score. Interestingly, the 14 year olds recorded in 1996 show a further small increase. Bearing in mind that the 14 year olds would have been 9 in 1991, these results strongly suggest that the children themselves actually increase their fronting as they reach adolescence. Figure 26.3 shows a rather similar result for another vowel that is currently being fronted, /uː/ as in *goose*, with the process remaining vigorous into the teens.

On the face of it, focusing has been fully achieved in the speech of Milton Keynes children. However, there are characteristics of this new speech community which are not typical of long-established settlements. We return to this point in the final section.
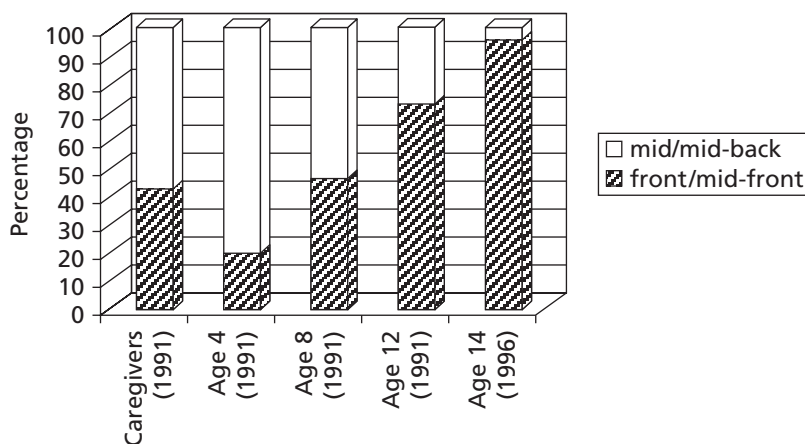
Figure 26.3   Percent front/non-fronted variants of (uː) (*goose*), Milton Keynes working-class women and girls

Source: Cheshire et al. (1999), Kerswill and Williams (2000)

The koines we have looked at in this chapter have generally become focused by the time of the third generation (the grandchildren of the migrants) – though for Milton Keynes it is too early to say. As we saw earlier, Modern Hebrew arose under somewhat different conditions, with second-language speakers forming the input. Despite this, it seems that a measure of stability was reached by that generation, too, despite the continued massive immigration to Israel and the fact that most, even Israeli-born, people continued not to be native speakers. Blanc (1968) sets out the stages of stabilization in terms of "typical" 45-year-old speakers and their communities at different points in time. They are as follows, with Trudgill's stages given in parentheses (adapted from Blanc 1968: 239–40):

1 1900: Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's contemporary. East European, a Yiddish native speaker. He refers to written sources to guide him in his speech. (Stage I)
2 1930: Still likely to be of East European birth or background, and not a native speaker. (Stage II) The children of this group start to diverge, and level their speech, especially in their informal style (incipient Stage III).
3 1960: A 50–50 chance of being a native speaker. By now, there is considerable leveling of "communal differentiation" (that is, it is no longer possible to tell people's language background from their speech). His informal speech is imitated as a matter of course by many new speakers. (Stage III)

It is clear from this that new, leveled norms began to be established 30–40 years after the first migrations (that is, Blanc's stage 3 speakers when they were children), in other words, in the speech of the second native-born generation.

Finally, we briefly look at a new community which, despite having existed for over 90 years, has never developed a koine. This is the Norwegian Arctic territory of Spitsbergen (Svalbard) (Mæhlum 1992), where, because families stay on average only for ten years, there is no possibility of a stable adult norm. Children there have an "unclear dialect identity" (Mæhlum 1992: 123), expressing identification both with the "home" town or village on the mainland and with Spitsbergen. Very much in line with findings from New Zealand and Høyanger, these children apparently retain more influence from their parents' speech than children do in established communities. Consequently, they are much more heterogeneous, as well as internally inconsistent. Mæhlum argues that they use code switching, dialect mixing, and a version of standard East (Oslo) Norwegian as "strategies of neutrality."

Three main points emerge. First, the *kind and level of social integration* of the new community affects the speed of koineization. Thus, a socially homogeneous community is likely to koineize faster than one with considerable social divisions. Perhaps surprisingly, continued massive immigration seems to have only a minor inhibitory effect on koineization – as long as, crucially, there is a stable "core" of speakers who remain after the initial settlement who can act as a focus for new incomers (cf. Mufwene's "founder principle" 1996); this factor differentiates Israel from Spitsbergen. Second, *children's access to peer groups* is crucial. Child speakers must be able to interact freely with other, perhaps older, children for them to be able to establish norms in the absence of a stable adult model. The development of adolescent norms is likely to be accelerated by compulsory schooling – a point made by Britain (1997a: 165), in the context of slow dialect leveling in the Fens of eastern England following seventeenth-century migrations (on this, see Britain 1997b). Schooling in early New Zealand was sporadic and not centralized, because many of the settlements were remote and communications were poor; this is obviously not true of Milton Keynes. (See Eckert 2000, on the role of the adolescent years in socialization and language change, and the importance of the school.) Third, the *degree of difference between the input varieties* will affect the amount of accommodation that individuals have to engage in. In Milton Keynes (unlike all the other cases considered in this chapter), the dialect differences are for the most part subtle, being restricted to minor subphonemic variations. As a result, most of the usual heterogeneity found among first-generation children is simply bypassed, given sufficient opportunities for contact among children and adolescents, and focusing toward a new variety is accelerated.

5   Koineization and Continuity

In this final section, we compare koineization with other forms of contact-induced language change. The reason for doing so is to answer the question, "Are there any characteristics which distinguish a speech community with a

koine as its everyday vernacular from one which uses a language variety which is the result of 'normal' transmission across the generations?" It seems clear that, although koine formation shares some features with pidgin and creole development, especially in the crucial role of face-to-fact contacts between speakers of different language varieties, it is very distinct from these. Siegel (forthcoming: 6–7) sets out criteria differentiating koine formation from pidgin and creole genesis, as follows:

1   Koine formation involves continuity, in that speakers do not need to abandon their own linguistic varieties. This is not so for pidgin and creole development.
2   In koine formation, there is no "target variety." In pidgin and creole development, there is a target variety.
3   Koine formation requires intimate and prolonged social interaction between speakers. We must assume that this is not so in pidgin and creole development, where contact is restricted.
4   Koine formation can be a long process; pidgins and creoles are thought to develop rapidly from an immediate need for communication.

We can take issue with the first of these points. Continuity is not clear-cut, in that a community using a koine is likely not to have the "normal" contact with earlier generations' speech. This places a koine between a pidgin or creole, where transmission is interrupted, and a dialect that is the result of "normal" transmission. Normal transmission is defined by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 9–10) as taking place when "a language is passed on from parent generation to child generation and/or via peer group from immediately older to immediately younger." Our final example will illustrate this intermediate status of a koine.

As we have already noted, Milton Keynes children use features that are characteristic of general dialect leveling the southeastern area, including the fronting of /əʊ/ as in *goat* and /uː/ as in *goose*. How can we be sure that the developments are the result of koineization, and not regional dialect leveling by geographical diffusion? We now look at evidence showing that, even if the outcome of the two processes is similar, the mechanism is different, because of the discontinuity that exists across the generations in Milton Keynes. We examine the vowel /aʊ/ as in *mouth*, which appears to be converging on an Received Pronunciation-like /aʊ/, moving away from local pronunciations such as [ɛɪ] and [ɛʊ+]. Table 26.8 shows how this change appears in apparent time in Reading, a town roughly the same size, and distance from London, as Milton Keynes, but with a long-established local population (Cheshire et al. 1999). There has clearly been a substantial shift away from the older forms to a leveled [aʊ].

Table 26.9 shows the corresponding data from Milton Keynes. With the inclusion of data from the "young adult" generation, this gives an apparent-time snapshot of four generations of the area, with the new town being

Table 26.8 Percentage use of variants of /aʊ/ (*mouth*), Reading Working Class, interview style

Survey of English Dialects	[ɛʊ]	[ɛɪ]	[ɛː]	[aːˠ]	[æʊ]	[aʊ]
(SED) informants, 1950–60s	✓					
Elderly (2f, 2m)	53.5	38.1	3.3	0.0	4.1	0.7
Girls age 14 (n = 8)	0.0	2.3	0.0	8.0	0.0	90.4
Boys age 14 (n = 8)	3.8	3.2	0.0	5.7	0.0	87.1

Source: Orton et al. (1968)

Table 26.9 Percentage use of variants of /aʊ/ (*mouth*), Milton Keynes Working Class, interview style

Survey of English Dialects	[ɛʊ]	[ɛɪ]	[ɛː]	[aːˠ]	[æʊ]	[aʊ]
(SED) informants, 1950–60s	✓					
Elderly (2f, 2m)	63.2	25.6	9.8	0.0	1.2	0.0
Women age 25–40 (1991 data; n = 48)	0.0	0.0	11.7	17.2	38.6	31.5
Girls age 14 (n = 8)	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	4.7	88.8
Boys age 14 (n = 8)	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.3	3.8	83.1

Source: Orton et al. (1968)

established between the "elderly" and "women's" generations. Despite the similarities, there are differences between the two towns. In Milton Keynes, there appear to be three stages in the development of this vowel: first, a period of stability in which [ɛʊ] and [ɛɪ] predominated, followed at the height of the Milton Keynes settlement in the 1970s by a period of greater heterogeneity in which [æʊ], the form favored by the majority of the in-migrants (represented here by the women aged 25–40), was dominant. A "re-focusing" finally began with the second-generation migrants (today's children), who are settling on [aʊ]. Starting with the "elderly", there is a marked discontinuity in the scores between each succeeding generation, shown particularly by the total absence of the older forms in the speech of the women and children. This reflects the lack of social continuity in this town, where most children have parents as well as grandparents originating elsewhere. In Reading, young WC speakers are similarly rejecting the regionally marked forms in favor of [aʊ]. However, it is significant that some young speakers retain the old forms of their grandparents in a way that is indicative of the strong social continuity in this working-class

part of Reading. It is this distinction between the absence and presence of continuity that marks a koine from a "normal" regional variety: the outcomes may, in the end, be the same, but the mechanism is quite different.

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