

Language Variation – European Perspectives V

Edited by
Eivind Torgersen
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Brit Mæhlum
Unn Røyneland

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Selected papers from the Seventh International Conference
on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 7),
Trondheim, June 2013

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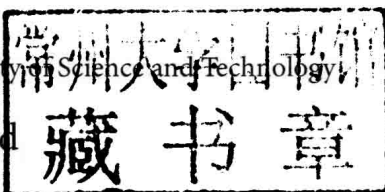
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Language Variation – European Perspectives V

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Volume 17

Language Variation – European Perspectives V. Selected papers from the
Seventh International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 7),
Trondheim, June 2013

Edited by Eivind Torgersen, Stian Hårstad, Brit Mæhlum and Unn Røyneland

Introduction

Eivind Torgersen¹, Stian Hårstad², Brit Mæhlum³ &
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and Technology / ⁴University of Oslo

The contributions in this volume are based on papers presented at the Seventh International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 7), which was held in Trondheim, Norway from 26 to 28 June 2013. 145 delegates from 28 different countries attended the conference. The conference hosted 103 papers and 4 posters on various aspects of language variation and change including code-switching, acoustic phonetics, linguistic ethnography, language change, dialect levelling, morphology, syntax, acquisition of variation, education, historical linguistics, language ideology.

The plenary speakers were Jen Hay (*Word memory and regular sound change*), Åse Mette Johansen (*“Welcome to our Norway”: A sociolinguistic perspective on contemporary Sáminess*) and Jennifer Smith (*Delete do, non /u:/, one or two? The loci of inherent variability in children*). Due to illness, Åse Mette Johansen was, unfortunately, unable to attend the conference.

The conference programme included five panels: *The Faroe Islands: A linguistic laboratory* (organised by Karoline Kühl, University of Copenhagen), *Exploring sociolinguistic determinants of linguistic complexity* (organised by Sali A. Tagliamonte, University of Toronto and Paul Kerswill, University of York), *The integration of historical linguistics and sociolinguistics in the study of language in the metropolis; four examples and a discussion: Bergen, Brussels, Copenhagen, London* (organised by Frans Gregersen and Anders Stæhr, University of Copenhagen and Wim Vandenbussche, Free University Brussels), *The social meaning of /s/: A cross-linguistic perspective* (organised by Nicolai Pharao and Marie Maegaard, University of Copenhagen and Erez Levon, Queen Mary University of London) and *Use of sociolinguistic data and theory in the teaching of languages in school* (organised by Hilde Sollid, University of Tromsø and Randi Solheim, Eivind N. Torgersen and Stian Hårstad, Sør-Trøndelag University College).

The 17 articles in this volume were selected from 26 papers submitted for publication, and went through an extensive process of reviewing. An overview of the articles is included in Table 1. The overview includes the varieties and languages

Table 1. Overview of the papers

Author(s)	Variety	Linguistic level	Phenomenon
Evangelia Amadou	Romani, Turkish, Greek	Code-switching	Morphological mixing
Julie Auger, Jake Wycoff	Picard	Morpho-syntax	Co-ordinating conjunctions
Maja Bitenc, Karmen Kenda-Jež	Slovene	Phonology	Dialect contact, mobility
Claudia Bucher	Swiss-German	Code-switching	SMS communication
Massimo Cerruti, Riccardo Regis	Italian, Piedmontese	Morpho-syntax	Dialect/standard convergence, diagglossia and regiolects
Tanya Karoli Christensen, Torben Juel Jensen	Danish	Syntax	Word order in complement clauses
Stuart Dunmore, Cassie Smith-Christmas	Gaelic, English	Code-switching, language ideology	Relationship language choice and expressions of language ideology
Lauren Hall-Lew, Amie Fairs, Alan A. Lew	Scottish English (Edinburgh)	Language ideology	Tourists' language attitudes
Tina Hildenbrandt, Sylvia Moosmüller	Austrian German	Phonetics	Pronunciation of -ig
Sandra Jansen	British English (Cumbria)	Phonology	Variants of (r), language change
Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson, Elísa Guðrún Brynjólfsdóttir, Rannveig Sverrisdóttir	Icelandic Sign Language	Syntax	Word order in WH-questions
Karoline Kühl	Faroe Danish	Various	Language documentation, structure of Faroe Danish
Manuel Padilla-Moyano	Basque, Labourdin	Morpho- phonology	Written correspondence, epenthesis rules
Anja Schaufuß	German (Upper Saxony)	Phonology	Variation in spoken Standard German
Erik Schleef, Nicholas Flynn, Michael Ramsammy	British English (Manchester)	Phonetics	Production and perception of (ing)
Thea R. Strand	Norwegian (Valdres)	Dialect practices, ideology	Commodification and enregisterment
Jane Stuart-Smith, Tamara Rathcke, Morgan Sonderegger, Rachel Macdonald	Scottish English (Glasgow) language change, age-grading	Phonetics	Automatic measurement of Voice Onset Time,

investigated, the linguistic level concerned, and the specific language phenomenon that was examined. Romani, Turkish, Greek, Slovene, Picard, Swiss-German, Basque, Danish, Italian, English, Gaelic, Icelandic Sign Language, Faroe Danish and Norwegian are the languages investigated in this volume. The papers focussed on phonetic and phonological variation (Bitenc and Kenda-Jež; Hildenbrandt and Moosmüller; Jansen; Schaufuß; Schleef, Flynn and Ramsammy; Stuart-Smith, Rathcke, Sonderegger and Macdonald), morpho-phonology (Padilla-Moyano), syntax (Christensen and Juel Jensen; Jónsson, Brynjólfssdóttir and Sverrisdóttir), morphosyntax (Auger and Wycoff; Cerruti and Regis), language ideology, linguistic practices and language attitudes (Strand; Hall-Lew, Fairs and Lew; Dunmore and Smith-Christmas), code-switching (Amadou; Bucher) and language documentation (Kühl).

A brief summary of the individual articles included in this volume follows.

Evangelia AMADOU discusses variation in Romani as the language is spoken by Muslim communities in Greek Thrace. It has previously been claimed that Turkish constituents are part of the grammar and that the variety therefore is a *fused lect* which means that these constituents are not subject to variation. Amadou shows that code-switching is integrated with speech where nouns typically take on Romani morphology, while verbs always retain a Turkish morphology. A reason for the observed phenomenon is that the Thrace Romani community is multilingual with norms for the mixing of the languages involved. There is relatively little inter-speaker variation, nor effects of family and peer network.

Julie AUGER and Jake WYCOFF investigate the use of co-ordinating conjunctions in Picard. Unlike standard French, Picard has two coordinating conjunctions. By examining spoken and written data from one older and two younger speakers, the authors examine the conjunctions' distribution to determine whether they are different conjunctions or allomorphs of the same underlying form. The result is a complex interplay of constraints at several grammatical levels. They interpret this as an ongoing process of grammaticalisation. The two conjunctions, *pi* and *et pi*, have lost some of their grammatical components, such as temporal value for *et pi* among the younger speakers. However, there is some individual variation and the authors conclude that more data, and an investigation of additional variables, are needed.

Maja BITENC and Karmen KENDA-JEŽ analyse the effects of dialect contact in the speech of two geographically mobile Slovene speakers who commute daily to the Slovene capital Ljubljana. Five phonological variables were investigated together with the informants' language attitudes and perceptions of their own and the other speaker's language use. The two speakers have fairly similar backgrounds but vary in their degree of use of local dialect features. The first speaker uses local variants in most domains/speech styles and is critical of speakers who

accommodate to a more standard variety of Slovene and additionally reports no negative experiences with their own dialect use. The second speaker uses fewer local variants, accommodates more, and has had more negative experiences regarding local dialect use. In its current format, this is a pilot study, but nevertheless it is one of the first variationist investigations of Slovene.

Claudia BUCHER deals with code-switching in Swiss-German in a corpus of text messages. Both the grammatical properties of the code-switched elements and the functions of the code-switching were investigated. BUCHER shows that code-switching in text messages is different from other modes because different communicative codes are employed in text messages, including communicative codes from pragmatics. It is also argued that multi-factorial regression analysis at several levels should be employed, including type of code-switching, position in the message and the performed pragmatic action. In addition, the annotation protocol of text messages for corpus linguistics is discussed.

Massimo CERRUTI and Riccardo REGIS discuss the relationship between dialect and standard with specific reference to Piedmontese and Italian, as provided by Auer's (2005) typology of "dialect/standard constellations". Specifically, the authors discuss the *diaglossia* type, i.e. the dialect-to-standard continuum where we find regiolects. Within this typology, they analyse verb forms to depict the dynamics of intralinguistic and interlinguistic convergence related to the ongoing standardisation processes in Piedmontese. They argue that the local situation is best described by operating with two continua: one for Italian and one for the local dialect, and they outline a model where the rural dialect-standard of the dialect, i.e. Piedmontese, feeds into the regiolect-standard continua of the language, i.e. Italian.

Tanya Karoli CHRISTENSEN and Torben JUEL JENSEN employ mixed model analysis to investigate word order variation in complement clauses in Danish. Specifically, they examine the role of sentence adverbials in relation to a word order distinction in Scandinavian languages signalled by the relative position of sentence adverbials and the finite verb. Only internal factors were found to (statistically) explain the variation in word order and the authors argue that their results support an account where the sentence adverbial following the verb is used as a foregrounding device in line with the semantico-pragmatic hypothesis.

Stuart DUNMORE and Cassie SMITH-CHRISTMAS examine Scottish Gaelic-English bilinguals' interactions in two corpora of bilingual speech. They are interested in how language choice, Scottish Gaelic vs. English, relates to expressions of language ideologies and the interactional contexts in which these expressions take place. DUNMORE and SMITH-CHRISTMAS then discuss how speakers orient to language ideologies related to language policy and argue that code-switching offers the interactant a way to "voice the other" when expressing negative views of

language policy and practice. They conclude that the interactional motivations for drawing on this “other” voice in the discourse is to distance themselves from the content of what they are saying.

Lauren HALL-LEW, Amie FAIRS and Alan A. LEW discuss the intersection between language attitudes and tourism. They analysed tourists’ attitudes towards variation in the local language variety in Edinburgh. A significant effect was found in the interaction between the discourse context and the tourists’ motivations for visiting the city; an interaction which they suggest is linked to place authenticity. They propose that the joint commodification of ‘intelligibility’ and ‘authenticity’ explains this variability. Their results raise questions about how the commodity value of travel motivation, and the associated context of language use, influence language attitudes.

Tina HILDENBRANDT and Sylvia MOOSMÜLLER investigate the pronunciation of the derivational suffix *-ig* in standard German, standard Austrian German and Viennese German. The pronunciation of *-ig* is probably one of the most overtly prescribed features of the German language. In their data, most of the speakers of standard Austrian German have a stop pronunciation for this feature, which is the most standard/prestigious variant, while a fricative pronunciation is frequently found in Viennese German. They then compared their results to the pronunciations of news anchors on Austrian television who are often regarded as model speakers of Austrian German. Unexpectedly, the news anchors have a majority of fricative variants, which is different from HILDENBRANDT and MOOSMÜLLER’S other speakers and also existing descriptions of standard Austrian German. It remains to be seen whether the fricative pronunciation is perceived as a dialect pronunciation or associated with prestige.

Sandra JANSEN presents a quantitative analysis of prevocalic (r) in Carlisle English. Linguistic variation in Carlisle is often explained in terms of external factors, mainly due to the city’s location on the border between Scotland and England. This paper, however, investigates internal factors. Historically, there is a complex distribution of variants in the local area, but JANSEN shows that there is also an ongoing process of levelling of the constraints on prevocalic (r) in Carlisle English where [r] is replaced with the more supraregional variant [ɹ]. The process is gradual, and there is an effect of the preceding consonant where, in particular, alveolar stops disfavour taps. Similar processes involving prevocalic (r) have been observed in other varieties of English.

Jóhannes Gísli JÓNSSON, Elísa Guðrún BRYNJÓLFSDÓTTIR and Rannveig SVERRISDÓTTIR investigate age-related variation in WH-questions in Icelandic Sign Language, specifically the use of Verb Second (V2) which is a feature of Icelandic and many other languages, but not sign languages. Their results show that having V2 in WH-questions is largely restricted to the speech of young speakers

of Icelandic Sign Language and the authors hypothesise that this is because the young speakers have received their education in elementary school through contact signing where they have also learnt written Icelandic. As a result, their speech is influenced more by spoken and written Icelandic than the speech of older generations who received their primary education during a time when sign languages were not regarded as being “real” languages and the use of sign language in the classroom was suppressed.

Karoline KÜHL provides a descriptive profile of Faroe Danish, the variety of Danish used on the Faroe Islands, but an unknown variety to most inhabitants on the islands. KÜHL presents a communicative profile of the variety and offers a structural outline of Faroe Danish. The diachronically stable contact between Faroese and Danish has caused changes at all linguistic levels in the Faroese variety of Danish leading to the existence of specific Faroe Danish features. These include syllable-timing and a spelling pronunciation which includes the lack of some vowel contrasts, different pronunciations of some vowels and consonants and differences in the use of some verbs and pronouns.

Manuel PADILLA-MOYANO discusses traditions in written Basque and, in particular, the differences between the language of private correspondence, and the language of literary texts written in the Labourdin dialect of Basque (one of the literary dialects found in the French part of the Basque country). The recently discovered letters from 1757 that form the basis of his investigation document specific linguistic features lacking in the printed tradition of Labourdin. This is because the letters are written by members of society who had lower social status. Two epenthesis rules are analysed: the insertion of a [β] after *u* and the insertion of [j] after *i*. The letters document two productive phonological anti-hiatus phenomena that have not been previously described.

Anja SCHAUFUSS investigates the use of standard-dialect variation in the Upper Saxon region of Germany. Using d-measurements, where the difference between a narrow phonetic transcription and the codified standard pronunciation is calculated to quantify the relationship between a regional variety and the standard, she shows that the local variety is almost extinct, however, all the speakers investigated used regional variants to a small extent. An indepth analysis revealed that the speakers used the local variants stylistically rather than as regional markers.

Erik SCHLEE, Nicholas FLYNN and Michael RAMSAMMY investigate attitudes towards (ing) in Manchester. (ing) has three variant pronunciations in the area: [ɪŋ], [ɪn] and [ɪŋg] where the latter is a local variant. In a production study, [ɪŋg] was confirmed as a variant pronunciation among young adult speakers, mostly used in formal styles. They then conducted a perception study with two aims: a

comparison with findings on (ing) in American English and an examination of the social meanings of variants of (ing) in Manchester. The results for [ɪŋ] and [ɪn] confirm findings elsewhere in that [ɪŋ] is perceived as more articulate, educated and less casual. The local variant [ɪŋg] is a prestige variant strongly associated with very formal and uptight speech. As a whole, the findings for Manchester for (ing) are therefore different from other varieties where only two variants for (ing) were investigated.

Thea R. STRAND examines contemporary meanings and uses of dialect in local economic and cultural development projects in rural Valdres in Norway. She discusses how different dialect practices in the area offer overt support for local linguistic and cultural revitalisation. In particular, she shows how the use of a small number of local dialect items in the public domain has increased the popularity of the dialect among younger speakers, but at the same time this process of the commodification of specific words and expressions may also threaten the traditional dialect as a whole, such as a reduction in the grammatical constraints.

Finally, Jane STUART-SMITH, Tamara RATHCKE, Morgan SONDEREGGER and Rachel MACDONALD investigate the voicing contrast in Glasgow English plosives in sets of recordings from the 1970s and the 2000s. An automatic measurement algorithm was employed for predicting Voice Onset Time in voiceless and voiced plosives. The result revealed correct or close to correct measures for two-thirds of the data and the method allowed for fast analysis of a large number of tokens. The results also document an ongoing change involving the lengthening of aspiration for /p/ and /t/, and a trend to having a longer release phase in their voiced counterparts.

We are grateful to the ICLaVE international scientific committee (Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens, Paul Kerswill, Tore Kristiansen, Mats Thelander, Juan Villena Ponsoda and Stavroula Tsiplakou) for their advice, and for their abstract and paper revision. Several anonymous reviewers were also involved in abstract evaluation and the revision of paper submissions for this book. ICLaVE7 received generous financial support from *Sør-Trøndelag University College*, the *Norwegian University for Science and Technology*, *Torstein Erbos gavefond* and the *Free Speech Foundation* that is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

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A corpus-driven analysis of Romani in contact with Turkish and Greek*

Evangelia Adamou

The French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS)

The speakers of Muslim communities living in Greek Thrace are typically trilingual in Romani, Turkish and Greek. In an earlier work (Adamou 2010) it is said that Thrace Romani is an example of a *fused lect*, defined as a form of stabilized code-switching (Auer 1998). The claim was that Turkish constituents were part of Romani's grammar and that, unlike code-switching and language mixing, were not subject to variation. The present work contributes to this discussion through a corpus-driven analysis of Thrace Romani. The analysis of a 5,000 word conversational corpus establishes a quantification of the mixing of the three languages, per word class and per speaker, showing that in a majority of cases switching is insertional and that there is little inter-speaker variation.

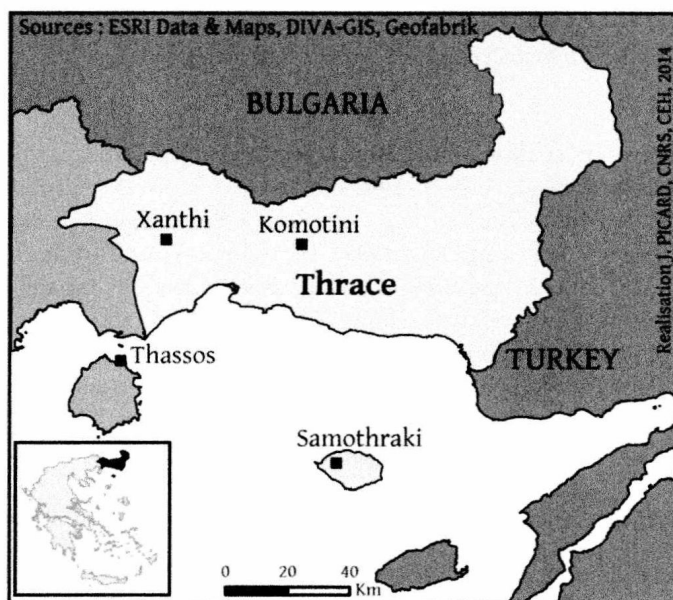
Keywords: trilingualism; variation; Romani; Turkish; Greek; fused lect

1. Introduction

This paper presents results from a pilot study on the variation of Romani spoken by Muslim communities in Greek Thrace (see Map 1). The speakers of these communities are typically trilingual in Romani, Turkish and Greek. In an earlier work (Adamou 2010) it is said that Thrace Romani is an example of a *fused lect*, defined as a form of stabilized code-switching: “while LM (Language Mixing) by definition allows variation (languages may be juxtaposed, but they need not be), the use of one ‘language’ or the other for certain constituents is obligatory in FLs; it is part of their grammar, and speakers have no choice.” (Auer 1998, 15). The claim was

* The present research was conducted with funding from the CNRS-LACITO, support from the ANR program “Towards a multi-level, typological and computer-assisted analysis of contact-induced language change” 2010–2014 (ANR-09-JCJC-0121-01) coordinated by Isabelle Légèlise, and by a grant overseen by the French National Research Agency (ANR) as part of the “Investissements d’Avenir” program (ANR-10-LABX-0083). I wish to thank the Romani speakers for their collaboration in this research and François Sermier for his precious help with the statistics.

that Turkish constituents are part of Romani's grammar and that, unlike code-switching and language mixing, they are not subject to variation. The present work contributes to this discussion through a corpus-driven analysis of Thrace Romani. It also contributes to the discussion on multilingual communities' code mixing involving an oral tradition language.



Map 1. Map of the area of Thrace, Greece

Section 2 presents the data, Section 3 the results of the analysis, and Section 4 the concluding remarks.

2. Data

The Thrace Romani corpus includes data from story-telling,¹ interviews with the researcher and in-group conversations between 21 Roma speakers in the presence of the researcher (see Figure 1). The data were collected during four field-work visits carried out between 2007 and 2010. The recordings took place in the house, yard or workplace of one of the participants. Alongside the main group of speakers, several friends and family members regularly stopped by, very common

1. Available online at the Pangloss collection, <http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/pangloss/index.htm>.

practice in Romani communities. Although verbal interactions of all the participants were transcribed, the participation of the speakers varies considerably. For the inter-speaker variation analysis, only the productions of 10 speakers were considered, namely 8 women and 2 men, aged from 12 to 50. All speakers had little or no formal schooling in Turkish or Greek and Romani is an oral tradition language therefore providing evidence from language contact with little institutional pressure. Most of the speakers grew up in Thrace but had also spent several years in other Greek cities for work.

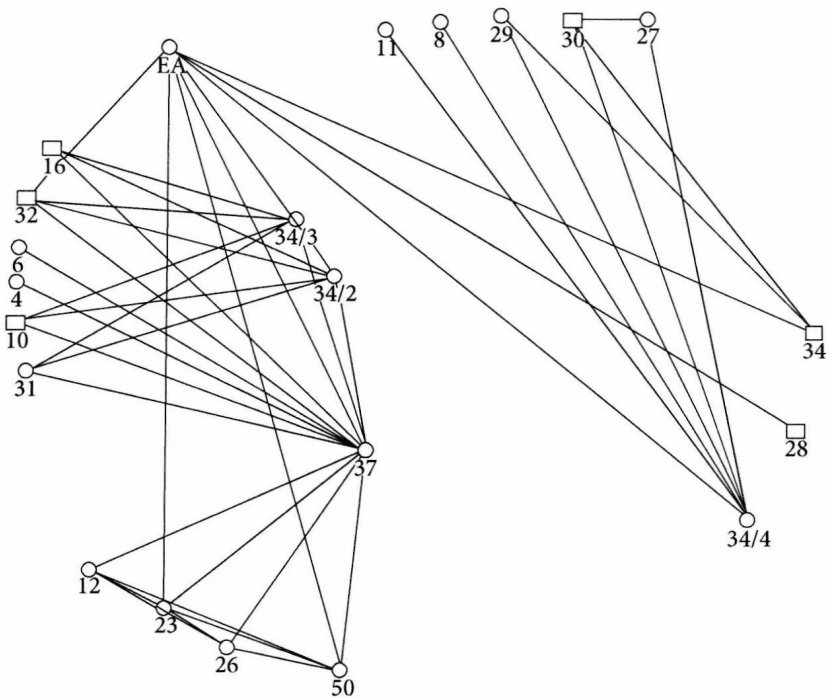


Figure 1. Verbal interactions in the Thrace Romani corpus (participants' age and sex are coded, circles for female participants and squares for male participants, EA for the researcher)

The data have been transcribed with a specifically developed tool, *Jaxe*,² which makes it possible to tag the constituents with regard to the languages in contact and other sociolinguistic information. Each word was tagged as Romani, including all Indic words and borrowings from previous language contact settings, i.e. Persian, Armenian, Byzantine era Greek, Romanian, Ottoman era Balkan Turkish,

2. Developed by Pascal Vaillant for the program ANR-09-JCJC-0121-01.