Salience and second dialect acquisition

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores to what extent salience is a reliable predictor of second dialect acquisition (SDA). I apply a salience-based approach, according to which the adoption or rejection of a number of linguistic forms is determined by their (socio)linguistic properties, to data from a study of the accommodation of university students from Moravia living in Prague (Wilson 2010). Linguists have tested a salience approach in the analysis of language change, dialect levelling and long-term linguistic accommodation, advancing a set of criteria according to which linguistic features are considered "salient" or "non-salient". I advance a framework for evaluating the salience of six Common Czech (CC) forms and test its effectiveness in predicting which, and to what degree, CC forms are assimilated. I argue that salience alone cannot explain the direction of accommodation or the intensity of SDA and that it is overridden by numerous external factors that are related both to the linguistic variables and to individual speakers.

Key words: salience, sociolinguistics, accommodation, second dialect acquisition, Common Czech

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the effectiveness of a salience model for predicting the outcomes of dialect contact and the degree of second dialect acquisition (SDA), a process by which individuals who move from one region to another acquire a second "dialect" of what is perceived to be the same "language" (Chambers 1992: 674), in a group of first-generation adult migrants. The results are taken from a study of university students from Moravia living at a hall of residence in Prague, Bohemia (Wilson 2010; summarised in Czech in Wilson 2012). Bohemia is a particularly interesting locale for a study of dialect contact and SDA, given the varieties in contact and especially the relationship between Standard Czech (SC) and Common Czech (CC) here. It is expected that readers of this journal will be familiar with the complex Czech language situation and the debate surrounding SC and CC, and here I provide only a summary of the language situation in Bohemia and Moravia from the perspective of dialect contact, and discuss only those works that relate directly to the research topic.

Bohemia has been described as a "quasi-diglossic" community (Bermel 2007) in which SC, a variety used in writing and formal prepared speech and learned through formal education, coexists with CC, a socially (and perhaps regionally) expansive supralocal variety and the mother tongue of approximately 65% of the Czech population, used in informal and semi-formal speech. The language situation in Bohemia is not diglossia *per se* due to the considerable overlap between SC and CC (Čermák 1987, 1993): many linguistic features belong to both codes, speakers are not necessarily able to assign a linguistic feature to a particular language variety[1] and several CC features

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[1] Non-linguists do not interpret the terms *spisovná čeština* "Standard Czech" and *obecná čeština* "Common Czech" in the way that linguists do. *Obecná čeština* is merely a linguistic construct; outside the linguistic community, the label "obecná čeština" is perceived as "substandard language" (Bayerová-Nerlichová 2004: 182–183) and many Bohemians would be surprised if they were told that they spoke *obecná čeština*. Lay

are observed in domains associated with high code and vice-versa. Many CC linguistic features are considered acceptable (by CC speakers) in semi-formal and outgroup communication and some linguists consider CC a second central variety of Czech, while many SC forms are considered stilted and inappropriate in informal communication (Sgall 1990; Sgall & Hronek 1992). Conversely, in central and eastern Moravia and Czech Silesia SC coexists with a number of traditional and regional dialects[2] and language variation here reflects the more widespread standard-with-dialects situation (Chloupek 1995). CC has no special status here; on the contrary, SC is perceived as the sole prestige variety to which speakers gravitate in outgroup and non-informal communication – due to the stigma attached to the localised Moravian dialects (e.g. Balhar 1995) – their efforts resulting in a regionally-tinted pseudo-standard that is far removed from the SC prescribed in grammars and language manuals (Davidová et al. 1997).

From an SDA perspective therefore this contact situation is particularly interesting in that migrants' own dialects are stigmatised in the host community, as is SC in non--formal communication, and CC is a socially expansive majority vernacular but has no special status beyond its catchment area. Moreover, there is a diametrically opposed perception of the role and function of SC in the host and migrant communities. Dialect contact in the Czech Republic is also interesting in that an intuitive hypothesis for the outcomes of contact between speakers of CC and speakers of Moravian dialects was advanced in the early 1990s (part 3). Sgall and Hronek (1992) and Sgall et al. (1992) advanced a "contact hypothesis" according to which (1) Moravians who move to Bohemia quickly drop or avoid marked features of their native dialects and accommodate to Common Czech (CC); (2) Bohemians who move to Moravia do not assimilate localised Moravian forms but instead spread CC into Moravia.

In my previous work (Wilson 2010) I investigated the first part of this contact hypothesis by studying the accommodation of Moravian migrants in Bohemia through a sociolinguistic analysis of the speech of 39 Moravian students living in Prague. The research combined a quantitative analysis of six linguistic variables with qualitative data on informants' level of integration in the host community; its goals were to identify which CC features the migrants assimilated the most (and why) and to explain inter-individual variation in the assimilation of CC forms on the basis of several language-internal and extralinguistic factors. In this paper, I revisit the data to test how well salience can explain the assimilation or rejection of CC forms in an attempt to shed new light on the order in which, and degree to which, CC forms were adopted. Besides approaching accommodation from a variable-specific perspective (i.e. according to which some features of the host variety should be acquired more than others

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perceptions of *spisovná čeština* also differ from linguists' use of the term. Many forms listed by linguists as belonging to SC are seen as "unnatural" or "bookish" and there is a popular opinion, expressed by both Bohemians and Moravians, that certain Moravian dialects represent the standard variety. Clearly, though, lay speakers are aware of variation: regional variation, as well as standard vs. non-standard speech, is widely discussed outside specialist circles, but to date there are no perceptual dialectological data that show how lay speakers label and classify different regional/social varieties of Czech.

  2 Regional dialects in Moravia and CC are usually called *interdialects* in the literature on Czech linguistics.

owing to a set of specific external properties), I suggest that migrants may assimilate any feature of the host variety, even those with a lower SDA potential, and that "variable-specific" factors are overridden by "speaker-specific" factors (i.e. extralinguistic factors unique to an individual speaker).

2. Sociolinguistic salience

The term *salience* is widely used in sociolinguistics, but the concept of sociolinguistic salience itself is notoriously difficult to pinpoint (Hickey 2000: 57), and the term *sociolinguistic salience* is loosely and variously defined (Rácz 2013). Meyerhoff describes salience as "a maddeningly under-defined term when used in sociolinguistics" (2006: 71), and Roller (2016: 11) argues that salience, its causes and effects are routinely confused. The haze surrounding the concept of sociolinguistic salience is most likely borne out of (1) the detachment of sociolinguistic salience form other notions of salience in linguistics and other disciplines and (2) disparity and contradiction in sociolinguists' interpretation and use of the term, especially with regard to which factors cause a linguistic feature to be salient. The focus of this paper is on external factors that affect the acquisition or rejection of salient linguistic features and therefore a summary of the main issues concerning sociolinguistic salience suffices here. For a comprehensive discussion of the different interpretations of salience in sociolinguistics readers are directed to Rácz (2013) and Roller (2016).

Salience has been explored in disciplines such as psychology, computer science, political science and visual cognition as well as in several linguistic disciplines (e.g. semantics, pragmatics, second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, dialectology), and definitions of salience tend to depend on the specific research context (Roller 2016: 8). To begin with, let us look at a dictionary definition of *salience*. In the Oxford Online Dictionary[3] *salience* is defined as "the quality of being particularly noticeable or important" and is synonymous with *prominence*. Therefore, put very simply, a salient feature is one that (for some reason) stands out from other features and attracts our attention. Roller (2016: 8) writes that salient objects "can only be noticed in relation to the particular backdrop against which they stand out" (i.e. salience is context-dependent) and several authors (e.g. Schmid 2007; Roller 2016) talk of two different but related kinds of salience – ontological (bottom-up) and cognitive (top-down). Imagine, for instance, a basket of fruit with nine green apples and one orange orange in it. The orange stands out because of its different properties (here colour), but only because it is different from the other items against this particular backdrop: had it been in a basket with nine other oranges, then it would have been unremarkable. This is an example of bottom-up (ontological) salience whereby an object stands out in a particular context because of its physical properties. More commonly discussed in sociolinguistics is the type of cognitive top-down salience that arises out of contrast between two different ways of speaking. Cognitive units become salient when they are activated

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[3] See <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>.

in a person's working memory and established at their centre of attention (Schmid 2007: 119). This means that expected patterns of speech are formed and deviations from these expected patterns (e.g. standard × regional) also trigger salience. The notions of ontological and cognitive salience are related in that ontologically salient objects have greater potential to be cognitively activated (Schmid 2007: 20).

In sociolinguistics, salience has been described as "the degree to which speakers are aware of some linguistic feature" (Hickey 2000: 57), "a property of a linguistic item or feature that makes it in some way perceptually or cognitively prominent" (Kerswill & Williams 2002: 81) and "a property or set of properties that cause a language variable to be more prominent, more conspicuous for the language users" (Rácz 2012: 58). Rácz points out that within sociolinguistics salience is regarded by many linguists as a special, inherent property and "aspires for a status as a stand-alone theoretical concept" (Rácz 2013: 25); he also (Rácz 2012) treats salience as an "empirically testable property". Recently, some linguists (Rácz 2013; Roller 2016) have drawn a distinction between cognitive salience and sociolinguistic salience, arguing that sociolinguistic salience always involves the social evaluation of linguistic features: while cognitive salience is a prerequisite for sociolinguistic salience, not all cognitively salient features are sociolinguistically salient. According to this view, sociolinguistic salience is a property acquired over time and includes the perception of linguistic features independent of a specific communication.

Sociolinguistic salience is discussed at the level of the linguistic variable and is typically operationalised according to Labov's (1972) classification of linguistic variables into indicators, markers and stereotypes. Though not talking explicitly of salience, Labov (1972) introduced the terms *marker* (= salient feature) and *indicator* (= non-salient feature) to categorise variants with and without social indexation. Markers carry social indexation and are prone to stigmatisation, style shifting, accommodation and hypercorrection (hyperdialectism). Indicators manifest social differentiation but not stylistic differentiation (Roller 2016: 13), they do not serve as class markers, they do not invoke value judgements from speakers of a particular variety (Rácz 2013: 25) and they generally fall below the level of speakers' awareness. The terms *marker* and *indicator* correspond to *primary dialect feature* and *secondary dialect feature*, introduced by Schirmunski, who first tested the notion of salience in a study of dialect levelling in German language islands in Russia in the 1920s (see Auer, Barden & Grosskopf 1998). Stereotypes are highly salient linguistic features that invoke a strong association with a particular variety. Some linguists argue that stereotypes are different from markers in that they are linguistic features of which speakers are cognitively aware and on which they comment (i.e. they are subject to metalinguistic discussion), whereas markers are linguistic features of which speakers are cognitively aware but which do not invoke commentary (Eckert 2008: 463).

Several linguists have advanced criteria according to which they believe linguistic variables become markers. For example, Trudgill (1986: 11) focused on the factors that make linguistic features salient in dialect contact and SDA, Hickey (2000: 62–67) in diachronic language change and Schirmunski (see Auer, Barden & Grosskopf 1998:

163–164) in dialect levelling. Schirmunski considers a primary dialect feature one that (1) has phonetically distinct variants, (2) is lexicalised, (3) is one variant of a binary variable, (4) is easily identified by non-specialists, (5) may preclude intelligibility and (6) cannot be transported into the writing system in a straightforward manner (adapted from Auer, Barden & Grosskopf 1998: 163–164). Hickey, focusing on the development of Irish English, describes eight processes that lead to a linguistic feature becoming salient over time. These include homophonic merger (e.g. the shift of dental fricatives (via dental stops) to alveolar stops resulting in homophony between *thank* and *tank*), phoneme deletion (e.g. simplification of /nd/ clusters to /n/ in words like *found*), insertion (e.g. schwa insertion *film* ['fɪləm]) and replacement (e.g. /ʃ/ for /s/ in words like *skip* and *stop*), grammatical restructuring (e.g. the spread of plural *youse*) and the expansion of a word's semantic range (e.g. *grand* in the sense of "great"). Trudgill (1986) writes that speakers are often aware of variation in cases that a variable (1) has an overtly stigmatised variant, (2) has a high-prestige variant recorded in the orthography, (3) is undergoing change, (4) has phonetically very different realisations and (5) is contrastive (adapted from Trudgill 1986: 11).

These salience indices are, it should be pointed out, subjective attempts to determine how speakers perceive the status of a linguistic variable and assume that all speakers in a given community perceive linguistic forms in the same way as each other as well as in the same way as the linguists do. Rácz (2013) and Roller (2016) argue that, while linguistic features may be perceived differently by individual speakers, markers are recognised by speakers in the same way. The salience indices also highlight problems regarding the interpretation of salience in sociolinguistics. The last three of Schirmunski's criteria are subjective and are associated with the evaluation of linguistic variables by individual speakers or the language community as whole, while some of Trudgill's (1986) criteria have been criticised (Kerswill & Williams 2002; Rácz 2013) due to their circularity. Stigmatisation, for example, is listed is one of the sources of salience, yet a marker leads to stigmatisation. Trudgill also puts forward the notion of "extra--strong salience", according to which a linguistic feature is so strongly associated with the recipient variety that migrants consciously avoid it. As an example he gives /æ/ in the BATH lexical set, which he considers "too American" for speakers of British English. Kerswill and Williams (2002: 89), however, consider Trudgill's notion of extra-strong salience contradictory in that "the very factors that lead speakers to notice and to adopt a feature […] are precisely those that also lead to a feature being avoided".

In SDA, salient linguistic features of the source variety are expected to be dropped and, provided that there are no inhibiting factors (Trudgill 1986), salient features of the recipient variety assimilated. This hypothesis assumes both homogeneity in individuals' linguistic behaviour and cross-linguistic parity, that there is a mainstream pattern of linguistic behaviour in dialect levelling and SDA and that speakers of different varieties will behave in the same way. It also assumes that all markers will be dropped or adopted in the same way. As Kerswill and Williams (2002) point out, Trudgill's criteria indicate only whether a linguistic variable is likely to become a marker and not whether or to what degree a linguistic feature will be adopted or rejected in dialect contact.

My starting point is that all the linguistic forms discussed in this paper are salient (i.e. *markers*); that is, according to the literature (parts 3 and 4), they are all cognitively prominent forms for which style-shifting and stigmatisation are observed – and consequently for which accommodation is expected. Any linguistic change is essentially embedded in a broader sociolinguistic context and is affected by many external processes. Here I explore to what extent a set of "variable-specific" factors (part 4) influence the acquisition or rejection of these linguistic features at the group level, while also considering factors relating to individual speakers ("speaker-specific" factors) that influence the direction and degree of accommodation. This approach is in line with Purschke's (2014) distinction between "salience potential" and "salience perception", which, when applied to the present contact situation, denotes that (1) some linguistic features have a greater SDA potential according to a number factors affecting the individual variables under study (salience potential) and (2) SDA is governed by extralinguistic factors affecting individual speakers (salience perception).

3. Methodology

There is no strong variationist tradition in Czech linguistics and most empirical works on Czech have been written in the vein of traditional dialectology. Nevertheless, the linguistic behaviour of Moravian migrants in Bohemia and vice-versa has attracted some attention from Czech linguists and a hypothesis for the outcomes of dialect contact between speakers of CC and speakers of Moravian dialects has been proposed (see, for example, Sgall & Hronek 1992; Sgall et al. 1992). I refer to this hypothesis as the "contact hypothesis". The contact hypothesis consists of two parts: the first part deals with the accommodation of Moravians who move to Bohemia and the second with the linguistic behaviour of Bohemians who move to Moravia. According to its formulators, there are notable differences in the outcome of dialect contact in these two contact situations. Moravians who move to Bohemia are expected to quickly start to avoid or drop marked items of their localised dialects and start to use CC, while Bohemians in Moravia do not generally assimilate regional forms used in the host community but instead help spread CC into Moravia.

The contact hypothesis is problematic for two principal reasons. First, it is not based on empirical evidence but on its formulators' intuitions: part two of the hypothesis is entirely intuitive; part one is largely intuitive but is supported by notes from the informal observation of the speech of Moravian academics working at Charles University in Prague. Second, the hypothesis was advanced by linguists who consider CC a majority vernacular and a second central variety of the Czech national language, and for this reason other specialists reject it, especially the suggestion that the CC is spreading eastwards (Krčmová 1987; Uličný 1995). On the other hand, with regard to the status and prestige of the varieties in contact and on the basis of findings from other studies of dialect contact between mutually intelligible varieties (Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 1994; Matter & Ziberi 2001), which have reported considerable accommodation to the recipient variety, the first part of the contact hypothesis does seem a logical outcome of

contact between speakers of CC and those of Moravian dialects. Clear parallels can be drawn between Kerswill (1994) and Matter and Ziberi (2001) and the present study, as both Kerswill and Matter and Ziberi focused on the outcomes of dialect contact in speech communities in which the source variety is stigmatised and use of the standard variety uncommon outside (semi-)formal communication.

A criticism of the hypothesis is that its formulators have overlooked the different role that SC plays in Moravia as well as the (negative) perception of CC there: factors that may have an important impact on the linguistic outcomes of dialect contact. Both from Bohemia, Sgall and Hronek, perhaps inevitably, view the outcomes of dialect contact from the perspective of a CC speaker. A second criticism is that it is unclear how we should interpret the vague assertion that Moravians in Bohemia start to speak CC or use CC: this assertion covers a range of possibilities from the wholescale adoption and native-like use of CC forms to minimal accommodation and the highly variable acquisition of specific CC features. Two micro-level studies of the linguistic behaviour of short-term migrants, one quantitative (Bachmannová 1996) and one qualitative (Jonášová 2001),[4] investigate the linguistic behaviour of Moravians in Prague, but neither supports the contact hypothesis. Informants in these studies accommodated minimally (Bachmannová) or not at all (Jonášová) to CC. However, both studies have methodological or analytical shortcomings (Wilson 2011) and are based on the analysis of just two (Bachmannová) and three (Jonášová) informants. Lay perceptions, which provide rich linguistic data, are also generally at variance with the contact hypothesis, especially with regard to the linguistic behaviour of Bohemians in Moravia.

To analyse the first part of the contact hypothesis in more detail and to allow for a quantitative analysis of the data, I studied (Wilson 2010) the use of six linguistic variables in the speech of thirty-nine informants from the three main dialect regions in Moravia (central Moravia, eastern Moravia, Silesia).[5] The main research question was whether Moravians in Prague use CC forms. In addition, I looked to answer the following subsidiary research questions:

▪ Which CC features do informants acquire and which do they reject?
▪ Is their accommodation complete or partial?
▪ Do they acquire some forms more than others?
▪ Are CC forms acquired in a specific order?

A further primary aim of the study was to identify associations between informants' assimilation of CC forms and a set of predefined independent variables. As the focus here is on the role of salience in SDA, in this paper I shall simply draw some general conclusions regarding informants' accommodation. A more comprehensive description of informants' linguistic behaviour, the impact of external factors on their acquisition of CC forms and types and patterns of accommodation is given in Wilson (2010).

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[4] Bachmannová studied the accommodation of two informants from the Břeclav region in southern Moravia and Jonášová the accommodation of three informants from northern Moravia. All the informants were short-term migrants who had lived in Prague for between two and six years.
[5] Two of the informants were from western Moravia where CC is the mother-tongue variety and were not included in the main analysis.

Informants were stratified according to four "primary" variables (sex, region of origin, length of residence in Prague, network integration) and three "secondary" variables (attitudes towards CC, subject of study, method of recruitment). Each informant participated in a recorded interview that consisted of two parts. The first part of the interview was an informal and unstructured chat with a native speaker of CC (Markéta) that lasted twenty minutes and on which the quantitative analysis is based. Such an interaction is described by Winford as a "sociolinguistic interview" (Winford 2003: 1). I led the second part of the interview and asked informants various questions about their life in Prague as well as about their attitudes towards CC and other varieties of Czech. I also spent a year carrying out participant observation and monitoring my informants in various social settings and in various contact situations. These informal observations complemented the quantitative data and allowed me to build up a more lucid profile of the informants' day-to-day lives as well as of the community under study, and they helped me to determine why individuals who were very similar in terms of the studied independent variables displayed very different patterns of linguistic accommodation.

Six variables (three phonological and three morphological) were analysed. It was straightforward to select the CC variants because much had already been written about the individual forms, especially about the phonological forms, and hierarchies concerning the areal distribution and social acceptance of CC forms had been proposed in several works (Hronek 1972; Čermák 1987; Sgall & Hronek 1992; Sgall et al. 1992).

The three phonological variables are (1) (o), (2) (é) in word roots and adjectival/pronominal desinences and (3) (ý) in word roots and adjectival/pronominal desinences; they are presented here by the processes affecting them as *v*-insertion, *é*-raising and *ý*-diphthongisation. These three variables/processes are usually presented in Bohemistic studies as *o > vo*, *é > ý* and *ý > ej* and have received most scholarly attention in quantitative works in Czech linguistics.

É-raising is a process by which SC *é* is raised to *ý* (*í*). It occurs both root internally (*mléko* "milk" > *mlíko*, *nalévat* "to pour" > *nalívat*) and in adjectival and pronominal desinences (*dobré* "good" (neut. nom. sing.; nom. pl.) > *dobrý*, *velkého* "big" (masc./neut. gen. sing.) > *velkýho*). *É*-raising does not take place in some foreign borrowings (e.g. *foxteriér* "fox terrier"), the nominal suffix *-ové* and a few domestic words (*jméno* "name", *léto* "summer"). The *é > ý* shift is categorical in the positions where it takes place, though some linguists have argued that in toponyms (Dejmek 1986) and adverbial forms like *poprvé* "for the first time" and *za druhé* "second(ly)" (Jančák 1974, 1978; Jančáková 1974) *é*-raising is more variable.

Ý-diphthongisation denotes the diphthongisation of SC *ý* to CC *ej*. It occurs both in word roots (*týden* "week" > *tejden*, *být* "to be" > *bejt*) and in adjective and pronoun endings (*dobrý* "good" (masc. nom. sing.) > *dobrej*, *velkých* "big" (gen./loc. pl.) > *velkejch*). The *ý > ej* shift is categorical in adjectival and pronominal desinences (with the exception of the masculine/neuter instrumental singular where it *never* occurs), while it is more variable in word roots (Sgall & Hronek 1992: 32) and is on the decline in the prefix *vý-* (Dejmek 1986: 134). It is not observed in some foreign borrowings (e.g. *tým* does not yield **tejm*).

V-insertion denotes the insertion of prothetic /v/ before word-initial /o/ (e.g. *on* "he" > *von*, *okno* "window" > *vokno*, *odejít* "to leave" > *vodejít*) and before word-internal /o/ after a morpheme boundary (in particular after a non-vocalic or monosyllabic preposition-based prefix (*naopak* "on the contrary" > *navopak*). In theory, /v/ may be added to any word beginning in /o/, though linguists argue that while some words always take /v/, in others *v*-insertion is much less likely or never takes place (Dejmek 1986; Townsend 1990). Empirical research has shown that *v*- occurs more in grammatical words than in lexical words and more frequently in prefixed lexical words than in non-prefixed lexical words (Chromý 2017). Within Czech linguistics variation for this and other variables is traditionally measured on a word-by-word basis according to the principle that a particular shift takes place in some words but not in others. This method is arguably quite reliable for *é*-raising and *ý*-diphthongisation; for *v*-insertion, however, the choice of variant is influenced by a number of socio-demographic and social psychological factors and inter-individual, idiolectal and situational variation is much more complex than for the other phonological variables.

The three morphological variables are (1) third-person plural verbal inflection (present/future tense) in fourth- and fifth-conjugation verbs (2) verbal inflection in the masculine past tense of first- and second-conjugation verbs and (3) adjectival and pronominal inflection in the nominative plural. In this and other works I label these variables by the processes affecting them as (1) paradigm unification, (2) *l*-truncation and (3) gender neutralisation. Paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs and *l*-truncation are both phonological processes, but they occur only in a specific morphological environment and are thus treated in Czech linguistics as morphological variables.

Paradigm unification is an umbrella term covering two processes: (1) the merger of verbs of the *sázet* sub-class with those of the *prosit* / *trpět* sub-classes in the third-person plural of the present and (perfective) future tenses (in the direction of *sázet*) of fourth--conjugation verbs (SC *trpí* "they suffer" > CC *trpěj*; SC *sázejí* "they bet" > CC *sázej*; SC *prosí* "they ask" > CC *prosej*) and (2) the truncation of word-final *-í* in the third--person plural of the present and (perfective) future tenses of fifth-conjugation verbs (*dávají* "they give" > *dávaj*). These two processes were grouped together out of convenience and because both processes affect the same morphological environment. They will be treated separately in parts of this paper. The SC > CC shift is categorical for both verb classes.

L-truncation denotes the deletion of word-final *-l* in the masculine past tense of first- and second-conjugation verbs (SC nesl "he carried" > CC nes; SC *tiskl* "he printed" > CC *tisk*). In some second-conjugation verbs there is an alternative masculine past-tense suffix in *-nul*, which for some verbs is codified as standard. Townsend (1990) and Sgall et al. (1992) argue that *-nul* forms are more likely in non-prefixed verbs or in verbs in which a difficult consonant cluster is left after word-final *-l* has been truncated. Bermel (2006) discusses the complexity surrounding the masculine past tense of first- and second-conjugation verbs on the basis of corpus data.

Gender neutralisation denotes the merger of masculine animate (*ti velcí* "those big"), masculine inanimate and feminine (*ty velké*) and neuter (*ta velká*) plural adjectives and

pronouns in the nominative plural to a single form in CC (*ty velký*). Here the term is used in a narrower sense to denote the loss of a gender distinction between masculine animate and inanimate adjectives and pronouns (i.e. SC *ti velcí* vs. CC *ty velký*). This shift is categorical. The SC form is very rare in Bohemia but normal in Moravia where there has been a merger between feminine and neuter adjectives and pronouns but not between masculine animate and inanimate adjectives and pronouns.

4. Salience-based predictions

The CC variants of the six variables were categorised according to the following five criteria: frequency, areal distribution, social acceptance, metalinguistic discussion, and complexity, with the assumption that:

- high-frequency linguistic features will be acquired more than low-frequency linguistic features;
- linguistic features used over a wide area will be acquired more than linguistic features with a narrow geographical distribution;
- linguistic features that are commonly used outside informal communication will be acquired more than linguistic features restricted to or avoided outside informal communication;
- linguistic features that are the object of overt metalinguistic discussion will be acquired more than linguistic features that are not discussed within the migrant community;
- simple CC linguistic features will be acquired more than complex CC linguistic features.

In the variationist literature, phonological variables have been shown to be more frequent than morphological variables and, as we see in Table 1, this was true of my data. Table 1 shows the total number of tokens elicited for each variable (during a sociolinguistic interview that lasted twenty minutes), the average number of tokens elicited per interview and the breakdown of tokens recorded for Markéta and for the informants.

Table 1: Tokens elicited for the six linguistic variables

Variable	Tokens (total)	Tokens per interview	Markéta	Informants
é-raising	3265	88	1632 (44)	1633 (44)
v-insertion	2757	74	1087 (29)	1670 (45)
ý-diphthongization	1763	48	879 (24)	884 (24)
paradigm unification	831	22	314 (8)	517 (14)
l-truncation	158	4	40 (1)	118 (3)
gender neutralisation	102	3	25 (0.6)	77 (2)

We might assume that greater exposure to a particular linguistic feature will increase linguistic awareness and consequently the likelihood of SDA. Recent studies (e.g. Labov et al. 2011), however, reject frequency as the sole or main determinant of salience. Rácz (2012: 61) writes that "a variable has to be frequent enough to be noticed, but noticing it depends on something else" and found no link between frequency and the salience of

definite article reduction (DAR) – a process by which the definite article *the* is reduced to a glottal stop [ʔ], a voiceless plosive stop [t] or a voiceless dental fricative [θ] – in the north of England. Roller (2016) suggests that in some cases low frequency might trigger salience.

There is a major difference between the phonological and morphological forms with regard to areal distribution. All the studied CC morphological variants are encountered only in CC-speaking territories (Bohemia and western Moravia), while the phonological forms – prothetic *v-* in all positions, diphthongised *ej* in desinence-final position and raised *ý* in all positions except the oblique cases of feminine singular adjectives and pronouns – are observed in central Moravian dialects.

There are also notable differences regarding the social acceptance of the individual CC forms. Social acceptance denotes the degree to which a CC form has gained currency outside informal communication and the examples presented here are based on acceptability hierarchies posited by Hronek (1972: 19–22), Čermák (1987: 142–148) and Sgall and Hronek (1992: 28–29). Generally, of the phonological variants, word--final *ej* and *ý* in all but the oblique cases of feminine singular adjectives and pronouns carry a high degree of social acceptance and are often observed in semi-formal speech; conversely, root-internal and desinence-initial *ej* (*velkejch* "big" (Gen./Loc. Pl.) are restricted both regionally and socially. Prothetic *v-* has a different status (according to Hronek 1972 and Sgall & Hronek 1992): speakers tend to use the CC forms less frequently outside informal communication, especially in (some) lexical words; Čermák, however, considers *v*-insertion as acceptable as *é*-raising. According to the hierarchies of social acceptance, *l*-truncation and gender neutralisation carry a high degree of social acceptance in CC-speaking areas. The CC forms for *l*-truncation are common in (semi-)formal spoken discourse, as shown in data elicited by Kravčišinová and Bednářová (1968) and Hedin (2005). Krčmová (1979: 72) suggests that for CC speakers gender neutralisation is used as standard and Sgall et al. (1992: 234–235) list SC forms like *dobří sportovci* "good sportsmen" as variants that are considered "bookish" by speakers of CC; empirical data, however, suggest that gender neutralisation could be marked in (semi)formal communication (Hedin 2005). Paradigm unification is discussed only by Čermák (1987), who considers the CC forms less acceptable outside informal communication than the other CC morphological variants.

The level of metalinguistic discussion of the CC forms was determined from informants' comments in the second part of the recorded interview (part 3). Informants talked about all three phonological forms during the interviews, referring specifically to individual features (e.g. talking about "that *v-*" or "that *ej*"). All three CC phonological forms are *stereotypes* in this regard and we can test Trudgill's theory of extra-strong salience (Trudgill 1986) with respect to their acquisition. Informants did not mention the morphological variants.

Three factors need to be borne in mind with regard to complexity: (1) whether phonotactic constraints preclude or decrease the likelihood of assimilation, (2) whether a variable has a binary or multivariant output and (3) whether the recipient dialect form is used categorically. Chambers (1992) divided features into simple and complex rules

in his study of SDA among Canadian adolescents living in England. Simple rules are those by which a variable has a discrete binary output and in which the switch between variants is categorical and admits no exceptions; that is, one variant can be replaced by another in all environments and the variable has only two variants. Complex rules denote variables that have at least three variant forms. Migrants tend to assimilate the variants of simple rules early and the variants of complex rules later or not at all. Some highly complex rules are assimilated only partially even by very young migrants who are otherwise successful in achieving native-speaker competence in a second variety (Payne 1980). Unfortunately, Chambers' classification cannot be easily applied to the variables in this study. Take, for example, *é*-raising and *ý*-diphthongisation. Both variables have a binary output, yet the shift is not categorical because there are certain environments in which *é*-raising and *ý*-diphthongisation do not occur. For this reason I proposed the term *semi-simple rule* and suggested that for such variables migrants' accommodation may result in hypercorrection due to overgeneralisation (Wilson 2011). The variables are classified according to the three criteria linked to complexity below:

- *é*-raising: (1) no phonotactic constraints (*ý* is found in word roots (e.g. *dýka* "dagger", *kýla* "hernia") and is the nominative/accusative (inanimate) masculine singular ending for adjectives (e.g. *dobrý* "good")); (2) binary output with CC form possible in most environments; (3) semi-simple rule;
- *ý*-diphthongisation: (1) no phonotactic constraints (*ej* occurs in words roots (e.g. *cejn* "bream", *mejdan* "party") and at the end of words in nouns (e.g. *kolej* "student dormitory") and in the imperative form of fifth- and some fourth-conjugation verbs (e.g. *zavolej* "call"); (2) binary output with CC form possible in most environments; (3) semi-simple rule;
- *v*-insertion: (1) no phonotactic constraints (word-initial *vo* is observed in many SC/ regional words (e.g. *voda* "water", *volat* "to call")); (2) binary output with unknown distribution of CC form; (3) *simple/semi-simple rule*;
- paradigm unification: (1) no phonotactic constraints (many words in SC end in -*aj*, -*ej* and -*ěj*); (2) multivariant output (SC / local Moravian / supralocal Moravian / CC) with CC form possible in all environments (categorical use); (3) complex rule;
- *l*-truncation: (1) some phonotactic constraints (complex consonant clusters may prevent the CC bare-stem form); (2) multivariant output with CC (truncated) form possible in many verbs; (3) complex rule;
- gender neutralisation: (1) no phonotactic constraints (phonologically the CC nominative/accusative plural form of adjectives is the same as the SC/regional nominative/accusative (inanimate) masculine singular form of adjectives); (2) binary output with CC form possible in all environments (categorical use); (3) simple rule.

Gender neutralisation is the only simple rule, *é*-raising and *ý*-diphthongisation are semi-simple rules, and *l*-truncation and paradigm unification are complex rules. The status of *v*-insertion is open to interpretation. In my previous works (Wilson 2010, 2011) I classified paradigm unification as a simple rule, on the basis of a binary choice

between CC and any "other" variant[6] and the CC form being categorical, and *v*-insertion as a semi-simple rule similar to *é*-raising and *ý*-diphthongisation. Here I put forward a more cautious classification of *v*-insertion and paradigm unification is treated as complex variable due to its multivariant output. *V*-insertion does not fit neatly into any category owing to the uncertainty surrounding the distribution of the CC form. If we accept that *v* can be inserted in some words beginning with *o* but not in others, then *v*-insertion is a semi-simple rule; if we assume that *v*-insertion is theoretically possible in any word beginning with *o*, then *v* is a simple rule.

Table 2: SDA potential of CC forms

SDA potential	Linguistic feature(s)	Description
1	▪ *ý* in all positions except the oblique cases of feminine singular adjectives and pronouns ▪ *ej* in desinence-final position ▪ *v-* in grammatical words	▪ high frequency ▪ encountered in parts of Moravia ▪ common outside informal communication ▪ known and discussed within migrant community ▪ semi-simple rule
2	▪ *ý* in the oblique cases of feminine singular adjectives and pronouns ▪ *ej* in desinence-initial position and in word roots ▪ *v-* in lexical words	▪ reasonably high frequency ▪ restricted to cc-speaking regions (*ý*, *ej*) ▪ less common outside informal communication ▪ known and discussed within migrant community ▪ semi-simple rule ▪ variable use (*v-*, *ej*)
3	▪ gender neutralisation	▪ low frequency ▪ restricted to cc-speaking regions ▪ common outside informal communication ▪ not discussed within migrant community ▪ simple rule
4	▪ paradigm unification ▪ *l*-truncation	▪ low frequency ▪ restricted to cc-speaking regions ▪ common outside informal communication ▪ not discussed within migrant community ▪ complex rule

In sum, I expected informants to acquire the high-frequency, geographically widespread and socially more acceptable phonological forms the most. Despite their high level of social acceptance in CC-speaking regions I expected the CC morphological forms to be adopted less than the phonological forms, given their considerably lower frequency and narrower areal distribution. Simple rules should be assimilated more than complex rules. My predictions are summarised as follows:

▪ informants will assimilate the high-frequency, geographically widespread and socially acceptable phonological forms most;

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6 All six variables were treated as binary variables, with the variants CC and "other" (Wilson 2010). The category "other" included both SC and regional forms. As I was interested in the extent to which informants adopted CC forms, I considered this simplified approach appropriate; moreover, for some variables the regional and SC forms are identical (part 5). Here I consider "regional" and "SC" forms as separate categories.

- informants will assimilate CC forms that are (near-)categorical more than those that are variable;
- simple rules will be assimilated more than complex rules;
- informants will assimilate the morphological forms less than the phonological forms.

On a feature-specific level, I placed CC forms within "tiers" according to their SDA potential from most likely to be adopted (1) to least likely to be adopted (4) (see Table 2).

5. Results

To explore informants' accommodation as fully as possible, the results are presented in three ways. First, Markéta's use of the studied variables is compared to that of the informants (see Table 3). By looking at Markéta's language scores we see how a native speaker of CC uses the forms and by comparing her scores to the informants' scores we see how the linguistic behaviour of the Moravian migrants differs from that of native Bohemians. Second, we look at the overall assimilation of the individual CC forms in the environments in which they were studied to identify which features of the recipient dialect informants used the most. Finally, the results are presented at the level of the individual informant and I explore inter-individual differences in the assimilation of the CC forms with regard to the evaluation of the studied variables.

Table 3: Informants' language scores compared to those of a native speaker of CC (Markéta)

	Markéta				Informants			
	CC	Other	Total	CC usage (%)	CC	Other	Total	CC usage (%)
v-insertion	514	573	1087	47.29	255	1415	1670	15.27
é-raising	1626	6	1632	99.63	705	928	1633	43.17
ý-diphthongisation	774	104	810	95.56	288	596	884	32.58
paradigm unification	303	11	314	96.50	234	283	517	45.26
l-truncation	7	33	40	17.50	21	93	114	17.80
gender neutralisation	24	1	25	96.00	11	66	77	14.29

It is clear from these results that informants differ markedly from Markéta in their use of the studied variables. While Markéta uses four of the six CC forms almost categorically, the informants' use of the CC forms is much more variable. Markéta used the CC forms for *v*-insertion notably less than informants in some other empirical studies in central Bohemia (Jančák 1974, 1978; Jančáková 1974); however, her results are similar to those elicited in northern Bohemia where she is from (Jančák 1997).[7] There may also be accommodation on Markéta's part either due to informants' infrequent use of prothetic *v*- or to a conscious effort to avoid this variant. *L*-truncation in her speech appears odd, especially given that the CC forms are "accepted and used currently as normal" (Čermák 1987: 142) and are even unmarked in semi-official communication (Hedin 2005), and warrants further investigation. With regard to the informants' scores,

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[7] Markéta was born and raised in Ústí nad Labem in northern Bohemia. At the time of the interviews she had lived in Prague for 7 years.

we see that accommodation has taken place for all the variables.[8] A more lucid picture of informants' accommodation is obtained when we look at the scores in individual positions (see Table 4).

Table 4: Assimilation of the individual CC forms

	Variable	CC score (%)
1	paradigm unification (fifth-conjugation)	56.21
2	*é*-raising (neuter singular predicative)	51.84
3	*é*-raising (inanimate plurals)	48.31
4	*é*-raising (masculine / neuter oblique adjectives / pronouns)	47.80
5	*ý*-diphthongization (desinence-final)	41.02
6	*é*-raising (neuter singular attributive)	36.14
7	*é*-raising (feminine oblique adjectives)	32.34
8	paradigm unification fourth-conjugation)	29.38
9	*é*-raising (feminine oblique pronouns)	26.11
10	*ý*-diphthongization (desinence-initial)	24.68
11	*v*-insertion (pronouns)	23.70
12	*ý*-diphthongization (word roots)	18.35
13	*l*-truncation	17.80
14	*v*-insertion (prepositions)	14.84
15	gender neutralization	14.29
16	*v*-insertion (prefixed lexical words)	11.70
17	*v*-insertion (non-prefixed lexical words)	4.48

The first interesting observation is that the CC form for paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs was assimilated more than any other CC form, and this comes as a surprise in view of the salience-based predictions. It is also interesting that only for paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs and *é*-raising in neuter singular predicative adjectives do informants use the CC form more than other variants – and even in these two cases use of the CC form is only marginally higher than that of other forms. Therefore, while we cannot reject the first part of the contact hypothesis that Moravians in Bohemia use CC, we can assert that CC is not the dominant variety in the speech of first-generation adult migrants (students). Assimilation of the CC form is lower than 20% in six of the studied environments and lower than 30% in ten environments. The results are in line with the salience-based predictions in positions (2) through (6) in which the CC variants are high-frequency, geographically widespread phonological forms that have a high level of social acceptance in non-informal communication.

Predictions for the assimilation of the CC forms for *é*-raising were also reasonably accurate: informants, as expected, used the CC form less in the oblique cases of feminine adjectives and pronouns. There is a roughly even distribution of the CC form in the neuter singular predicative, plurals and oblique cases of masculine/neuter adjectives

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[8] Prothetic *v*-, *ý* > *ej* in desinence-final position and *é* > *ý* in all positions except the oblique cases of feminine singular adjectives and pronouns occur in central Moravian dialects; therefore, informants from central Moravia were excluded from the analysis in these positions.

and pronouns, while informants use the CC form notably less in the oblique cases of feminine adjectives/pronouns and in the neuter singular attributive. This last observation is particularly interesting because, according to existing quantitative data, native speakers of CC show no such distinction in the use of the CC form between attributive and predicative attributives. It is also noteworthy that there is a lower incidence of the CC form in feminine oblique pronouns than in feminine adjectives. Most recordings of (é) in oblique feminine pronouns were of the form *té*, the genitive/locative/dative form of the demonstrative pronoun *ten* "that", and a speculative suggestion is that high--frequency *té* is lexicalised.

The salience-based predictions proved to be less robust for most other variables. The results for *ý*-diphthongisation, for example, are not as consistent with the predictions as those results discussed above. A low uptake of the CC variant in word roots was predicted, but desinence-final -*ej*, predicted to be among the two most frequently adopted CC forms, was adopted less than expected (41.02%). Also noteworthy is the relatively minor difference in the assimilation of *ej* in desinence-initial position (24.68%) and in word roots (18.35%). On the one hand, these results mirror variation in *ý*-diphthongisation in the recipient community in that desinence-final -*ej* is more frequent, has a wider areal distribution and a higher level of social acceptance than *ej* in other positions, and *ej* in word roots is variable. On the other hand, it is perhaps surprising that informants did not use *ej* more widely or that a higher degree of assimilation was not observed in desinence-initial position, in which the CC form is categorical among native speakers of CC.

The prediction that informants would adopt the CC variants of the morphological variables less than the CC variants of the phonological variants was, if we disregard results for *v*-insertion, accurate. It is surprising, though, that the CC form of gender neutralisation, the only simple rule, was adopted less than the CC variants of *l*-truncation and paradigm unification, which are both complex rules. This goes against the prediction that simple rules would be acquired more than complex rules. In previous works (Wilson 2010, 2011), I proposed that the CC morphological variants would be adopted in a similar way. Here a more detailed discussion of the morphological variables is needed. There is a notable difference between paradigm unification and the other two morphological variables in that the SC and regional forms are the same for gender neutralisation and *l*-truncation, while there are distinct regional forms for paradigm unification: in fifth-conjugation verbs there are three variants (regional, SC, CC) and in fourth-conjugation verbs, four (regional, "pan-Moravian", SC, CC). The pan--Moravian form (-*i*), which is expansive, is identical to the SC form.

While there is no distinction between most of the phonological forms in SC and informants' idiolects either,[9] non-standard morphological forms tend to be more stigmatised

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9 In traditional central Moravian dialects -*é* (and not -*ý*) is observed for (ý) in masculine singular nominative/accusative adjectives, as in the phrase *Já su tak šťastné* "I'm so happy". This phrase in particular became a catchphrase after it was uttered by Bolek Polívka in the film *Dědictví aneb Kurvahošigutntág* (1992), but otherwise -*é* in this position is peripheral and not characteristic of younger speakers' idiolects. Silesian dialects lack vocalic length; therefore, word-final -*ý* in *dobrý* is realised [ɪ] (or [i] / [iˑ]) and not [iː]. In some eastern

and are often seen as mistakes. Therefore, if Moravians perceive CC forms as deviations from "the standard", then the CC morphological forms may be consciously rejected. Jutronić argues that non-standard morphological forms "are felt, privately and socially, to be more unacceptable than phonological, accentual or prosodic features which are more tolerated" (Jutronić 2010: 456).[10] While the role of SC in dialect contact was not taken into account in the original contact hypothesis (Sgall & Hronek 1992), it needs to be discussed here. Prestige or socially non-stigmatised forms should prevail in contact situations. But what is a prestige or socially non-stigmatised form here? Is it the SC or the CC form? Is it the SC form for some variables and the CC variant for others? Are the same forms prestigious and socially acceptable in both the recipient and migrant communities? Are the same forms prestigious and socially acceptable for some migrants but not for others? There is no easy answer to any of these questions and for different individuals the answer might be different. If informants consider SC the prestige variety or a variety "good enough", then accommodation to CC might be minimal, especially for *l*-truncation or gender neutralisation: variables for which Moravians can simply stick with the form they use normally. If CC is seen as the prestige or most unmarked variety, then we can expect a higher degree of accommodation, especially for gender neutralisation: the only simple rule.

From the low uptake of the CC forms of gender neutralisation and *l*-truncation it seems that the former is true: informants felt it unnecessary to accommodate because their own form was good enough for the contact situation and/or because deviating from a "correct" grammatical form was considered inappropriate. Variant choice for paradigm unification is different. Informants had at least three variants from which to choose and because the regional variant is stigmatised and prone to mockery there is a strong motivation to accommodate. The direction of accommodation is not necessarily uniform: some informants may perceive the CC form as most suitable for the contact situation, others may see the SC form as situationally neutral and others, wanting to index their Moravian identity, may use, or even overuse, regional forms (divergence). The choice depends ultimately on the aims of the individual migrant; importantly, though, accommodation, either convergent or divergent, seems more likely here than in cases in which the SC and regional form are identical. This argument is supported by the different uptake of the CC forms for paradigm unification in fourth- and fifth-conjugation verbs. While for fourth-conjugation verbs there is a pan-Moravian form (-*i*) that is identical to the SC form and that migrants can use as a neutral variant, there is no such choice for fifth-conjugation verbs. Aware of the social stigma attached to their localised forms, informants had a much stronger motivation to accommodate, either through upward shifting to SC or via convergence to CC, for paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs.


Moravian dialects -*ej* replaces word-final -*é* in oblique feminine singular adjectives (e.g. the genitive/dative/locative form of *nový* "new" is *novej* (as in Slovak)), but, again, this variant is highly localised and typical only of older rural speakers.

[10] Jutronić argues that regional morphological endings in the dative/locative/instrumental plural in the Split vernacular are "dying out" because they are perceived by speakers as mistakes.

There is no easy explanation as to why in paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs informants chose the CC form over the SC form or why they used the CC form of paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs more than any other CC form. A speculative suggestion is that this is the only environment in which there is a three-way choice between regional, SC and CC forms; when migrants cannot simply "rely" on the SC variant identical to the regional form accommodation to CC becomes more likely. Here we assume that informants did use a regional form before coming to Prague, but there is no hard evidence to support this assumption.[11] Perhaps there is a structural explanation, accommodation being more likely in the case of (phonological) *í*-truncation (*dávají* "they give" > *dávaj*) than (grammatical) structural replacement/merger (*prosí* "they request", *trpí* "they suffer", *sázejí* "they bet" > *prosej*, *trpěj*, *sázej*). This might also explain the very low uptake of the CC form of gender neutralisation (merger), which was the only simple rule, yet it was assimilated less than the CC form of *l*-truncation (complex rule). In this regard, perhaps *í*-truncation (and *l*-truncation) should be treated as phonological variables even though the phonological processes affect only specific environments. At least, forms like *dávají* and *dávaj* are structurally more similar than *velcí* and *velký* (or *prosí* and *prosej*) and this might affect SDA. If *í*-truncation is somehow processed by speakers a phonological phenomenon, then perhaps forms like *dávaj* are not perceived as grammatical errors. This is plausible in that the CC forms for paradigm unification are, according to Čermák (1987), the least acceptable of the CC morphological variants and thus, according to Jutronić's (2010) hypothesis, should be avoided. The low uptake of *l*-truncation in relation to *í*-truncation can be explained by the structural complexity of *l*-truncation (Bermel 2006). These hypotheses are certainly worth exploring.

Frequency is also worth considering here. For paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs 306 tokens were recorded compared to 211 for paradigm unification in fourth-conjugation verbs, 114 for *l*-truncation and 77 for gender neutralisation. Paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs was therefore the most frequent of the morphological variables and, for the sake of comparison, was more frequent than *v*-insertion in prepositions (302), *ý*-diphthongisation in desinence-initial position (154) and *é*-raising in the oblique cases of masculine and neuter adjectives and pronouns (182). As paradigm unification has not been studied in equal measure to the other variables and because the literature on language variation in Moravia is heavily grounded in traditional dialectology, with a focus on regional peripheral forms used by older speakers, it is conceivable that paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs is undergoing change and that this change has not been reflected in the literature. The CC forms could be spreading into (parts of) Moravia. It is conceivable that paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs (Wilson 2010 and other studies) has been classified incorrectly. Are we really

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[11] Only 8 regional third-person plural forms in *-jó* (*-ju*) were recorded in the interviews: all were uttered by central Moravians and all were in fourth-conjugation verbs. Though I did not expect to observe many regional forms, given the strong motivation to drop regionalisms, it is interesting that regional forms were recorded only for fourth-conjugation verbs, for which there is a pan-Moravian form identical to the SC form, while no regional forms for fifth-conjugation verbs were recorded.
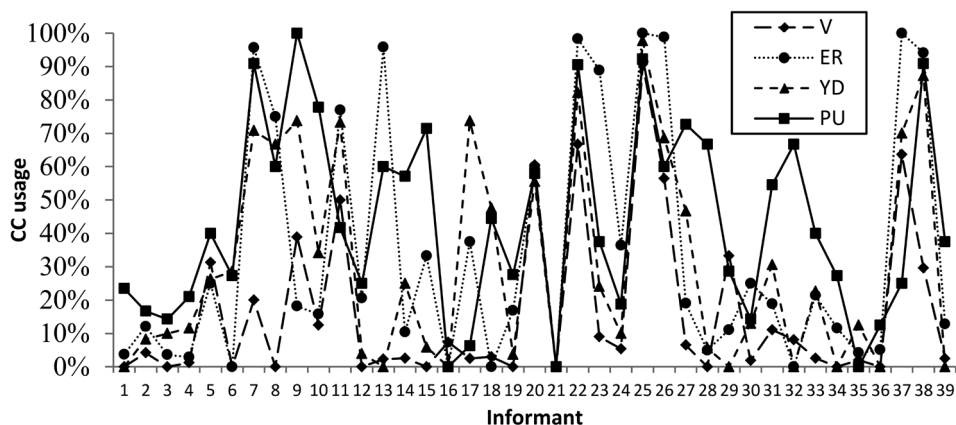
Figure 1: Inter-individual variation

dealing here with a (relatively) high-frequency, geographically widespread phonological form with a high level of social acceptance in non-informal communication?

CC *v-* was assimilated minimally, even in grammatical words in which *v-* is categorical for some native speakers of CC, in which the SC > CC switch is always possible and in which the CC forms are arguably making inroads into non-informal communication. We might argue that informants rejected CC *v-* for two principal reasons: (1) because *v-* is stigmatised in the migrant community, which was apparent from comments elicited in the recorded interview (overt stigmatisation), and (2) because native speakers of CC do not use CC *v-* categorically in lexical words (complexity). The low uptake of CC *v-* in grammatical words might appear surprising, though another speculative suggestion is that migrants do not differentiate between "grammatical" and "lexical" *v-* and have the same perception of CC *v-* in all environments. We might draw a parallel here with *ý*-diphthongisation, the CC form of which was also adopted less than expected. Perhaps stigmatisation in some environments causes the wholesale rejection or delays assimilation in environments in which a linguistic feature is unmarked (e.g. desinence-final -*ej* or *v-* in grammatical words) among CC speakers. On the other hand, the distribution of CC *v-* in informants' speech does reflect native CC speakers' use: informants used it more in grammatical words, though only marginally so, and more in prefixed lexical words than in non-prefixed lexical words.

At the start of this paper, I proposed that variable-specific features could be overridden by speaker-specific ones and that, regardless whether a salient feature is particularly pertinent (i.e. has a high SDA potential) or not, different speakers will adopt or reject linguistic features in different ways. When we look at the results at the level of the individual speaker, we do find confirmation that some informants adopt linguistic features with a low SDA potential, while other informants reject or adopt only minimally features assigned a high SDA potential.

Figure 1 shows the considerable inter-individual variation that was recorded. The accommodation range in this study went from zero accommodation (one case) to

complete accommodation (two cases), and all the types of partial accommodation discussed by Trudgill (1986: 62) were observed. Such inter-individual variation is typical of first-generation contact; partial accommodation (i.e. accommodation falling between the extremes of the accommodation continuum) is also characteristic of first-generation contact. The two instances of complete accommodation, according to which informants assimilate all the CC forms under study and display a native-speaker pattern in their use, are presented in Table 5 below (in comparison to Markéta's scores).

Table 5: Full accommodation (use of CC form)

Variable	Markéta	Milena	Martina
v-insertion	47.29%	90.70%	66.70%
é-raising	99.63%	100.00%	98.30%
ý-diphthongisation	95.56%	97.70%	82.20%
paradigm unification	96.50%	92.30%	90.50%
l-truncation	17.50%	100.00%	No tokens elicited
gender neutralisation	96.00%	100.00%	100.00%

The scores in italics indicate that fewer than five tokens were elicited for *l*-truncation and gender neutralisation. Both informants differ marginally from Markéta in their use of the CC forms and both have a higher percentage of CC forms for *v*-insertion than Markéta; I argued in previous works (Wilson 2010, 2011) that the notably high distribution of CC *v*- in Milena's speech is the result of hyperdialectism, but this is true only if *v*-insertion is viewed as a semi-simple rule and that *v*- is not possible in all words with word-initial *o*-. The fact that these two informants acquired all the studied CC variants, including those with a low SDA potential, as well as the observed variation in accommodation more generally, indicates that variable-specific factors are superseded by factors relating to individual speakers. If SDA was influenced by variable-specific factors alone, a more homogeneous pattern of accommodation across the informant population would be expected, and Figure 1 shows that this is clearly not the case.

6. Conclusion

The results show that Moravians in Prague do assimilate CC forms, as Sgall and Hronek suggest, and they allow us to make several concrete assertions about the accommodation of Moravian migrants in Bohemia. First, the linguistic behaviour of most Moravian migrants in Prague differs markedly from that of native speakers of CC. It is not true that Moravians who move to Bohemia speak CC like native Bohemians, as might be inferred from the contact hypothesis. Informants acquired some CC forms more than others and use CC forms more variably than native speakers do. In only two of the seventeen environments analysed in this study did informants use the CC form more than other forms: in paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs (56.21%) and *é*-raising in neuter singular predicative adjectives (51.84%). Conversely, in eight of the studied environments informants' use of the CC form was less than 25 percent.

Second, informants generally assimilated the geographically widespread and socially more acceptable CC phonological forms and rejected more localised forms as well as forms that are stigmatised in the migrant community and/or whose use is complex. Here it is important to note that there is not a direct link between the hierarchies of areal distribution and social acceptance discussed in Sections 3 and 4 and the order in which individual CC forms were acquired and are used in the migrant community. Third, there is considerable inter-speaker variation, some informants using the studied variables in the same way that native speakers use them and others showing hardly any traces of accommodation. The accommodation of the majority of informants fell between these two extremes and the inter-individual variation is not random but conditioned by a range of external factors (Wilson 2010).

The framework advanced in Section 4 for predicting the SDA potential of salient features worked fairly well for several variables, yet there are several cases in which it did not serve as a reliable predictor of the adoption or rejection of the CC forms. For example, predictions for the assimilation of the CC forms of paradigm unification, *v*-insertion and gender neutralisation were inaccurate. Moreover, speaker-specific factors are more important than external factors that relate to the linguistic variables, and SDA potential alone is not a reliable indicator of whether and to what extent a linguistic feature will be adopted. A case in point is Trudgill's notion of extra-strong salience (part 2), according to which migrants reject stereotypical features of the recipient variety. This study shows that the adoption of stereotypes depends both on the social evaluation of individual linguistic variables and on the goals of the individual speakers as well as factors associated with his/her idiolect. As a short-term migrant with no intention of staying in the recipient community, Trudgill consciously avoided adopting certain variants of the recipient variety. Moreover, his native dialect is not overtly stigmatised in the recipient community and the motivation to accommodate was therefore weak. Conversely, long-term migrants who wish to set up home in a new speech community may consciously adopt stereotypes in the hope that their linguistic convergence will increase their chances of being accepted by members of their new community. This is especially true when individuals' native dialects are stigmatised and non-accommodation may hinder successful integration. Kerswill in a study of Stril migrants in Bergen whose rural dialects are perceived very negatively in the recipient community reported that some of the older migrants were told by their employers that if they did not speak "properly" they would have to leave their job (Kerswill 1994: 37). Here, in stark contrast to Trudgill, migrants were under considerable pressure to accommodate.

CC *v*-, *ej* and *ý* are all stereotypes (i.e. they all carry extra-strong salience), yet they are assimilated differently: *ej* and *ý* were among the forms adopted most by informants, while the uptake of *v*-, regardless of environment, was very low. I argued in Section 5 that *v*- was generally rejected because of complexity or stigmatisation (or a combination of the two factors). Nevertheless, some informants did adopt *v*- and we need to consider speaker-specific factors to understand variation in SDA. Milena, for instance, used *v*- twice as much as Markéta, while other informants who were similar to Milena

in terms of their region of origin, the time they had spent in Prague and their level of network integration assimilated CC *v-* minimally or not at all. Participant observation revealed that Milena was particularly conscious of her native Moravian dialect and very keen to be part of the "in-crowd". She therefore made a conscious effort to converge to the language norms of the recipient community, possibly over-accommodating and using *v-* in situations where CC speakers of the same age, level of education and community of practice would not use it.[12] The important point here is that the adoption of stereotypes (and of markers) depends chiefly on speaker-specific factors.

In sum, let us look to interpret the relationship between salience and SDA. First, it is impossible to judge whether a linguistic feature will be adopted or rejected on the basis of salience (cognitive prominence) alone. A salient feature is more likely to be acquired than a non-salient feature, but not all salient features will be acquired and salient features will be acquired in different ways in relation to a number of external factors. Second, a set of factors, some general and probably some case-specific, relating to individual linguistic variables affect the SDA potential of a linguistic feature. This means that some salient features stand a greater chance of being adopted within the population as a whole than others. Third, and most importantly, the adoption or rejection of a feature, regardless whether it is salient and has a high SDA potential, is ultimately governed by a set of factors relating to the individual speaker, and "speaker--specific" factors override "variable-specific factors". Although accommodation in this study was generally located between the "zero" and "complete" ends of the accommodation continuum, there is considerable socially conditioned variation between these two extremes, and I do not think that is possible to talk of a mainstream pattern of accommodation to CC. This conclusion is naturally subject to interpretation, given that there is no clear boundary between mainstream and atypical accommodation, but Figure 1, in my opinion, shows not a typical pattern of accommodation skewed by outliers but rather variation along a continuum. This assertion is bolstered by the observation in Wilson 2010 that speakers' accommodation to CC correlated primarily with their level of integration within the recipient community (i.e. informants' personal experiences influenced SDA). It is, of course, possible that the SDA potential model that I used is itself flawed and potentially overlooks several important criteria; yet I still believe that, no matter how elaborate the model, speaker-specific factors will still come out on top.

To fully understand SDA in dialect contact situations, linguists have to take into account a range of factors relating to the varieties in contact, the linguistic variables and individual speakers, and any study of SDA has to take into account variation at the level of the individual. Only through qualitative research involving participant observation and an ethnographic approach is it possible to explain inter-individual variation in SDA. And even then the reasons behind such variation may not be quantifiable (or perhaps even identifiable) or require further psycholinguistic or neurolinguistic input, which to date has not been employed in variationist studies of dialect contact.

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[12] Chromý (2017) argues that the use of *v-* is on the decline in Bohemia.

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