Moravians in Prague: A Sociolinguistic Study of Dialect Accommodation in the Czech Republic

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James Wilson

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Department of Russian and Slavonic Studies, University of Sheffield

7 *Data analysis and interpretation*

7.1 Transcription

The interviews were recorded on a Marantz CDR300 portable CD recorder (4kg, width 279mm, height 102mm) connected to a small and unobtrusive Beyerdynamic MPC65V boundary microphone, and the quality of the recordings was generally very high. All of the sociolinguistic interviews (I1) and selected extracts from I2 were transcribed in simplified phonetic notation (see the conventions on transcription at the front of the thesis). Thirty of the 39 interviews were transcribed at the Czech Language Institute, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (*Ústav pro jazyk český, Akademie věd České republiky*), which I later checked, looking in particular at the features under study; I transcribed the others myself in accordance with the same conventions. The recordings were analyzed in GoldWave v5.10. Among the advantages of this audio software are slow-motion playback and background noise reduction; consequently there were very few 'borderline' cases, where it was impossible to identify which variant of the variables under study had been used. Any such instances were omitted from the analysis and not scored. The linguistic variants were then counted manually and coded.

Predictably, there were more incidences of the phonological variables (*v*-insertion (2757; 74 tokens per interview), *é*-raising (3265; 88 tokens per interview) *ý*-diphthongization (1763; 48 tokens per interview)) than the grammatical variables (paradigm unification (831; 22 tokens per interview), *l*-truncation (158; 4 tokens per interview), gender neutralization (102; 3 tokens per interview). The above figures represent the number of tokens for both my informants and Markéta; both used approximately the same number of tokens per interview, the informants' slightly more for some variables (informants' tokens are listed first): *v*-insertion (1670 (45) : 1087

(29)); *é*-raising (1633 (44) : 1632 (44); *ý*-diphthongization (884 (24) : 879 (24)); paradigm unification (517 (14) : 314 (8); *l*-truncation (118 (3) : 40 (1)); gender neutralization (77 (2) : 25 (0.6)). Because there were so few incidences of *l*-truncation and gender neutralization (nine informants had no examples of *l*-truncation and 13 failed to produce a single token for gender neutralization),[115] I decided to omit these variables from the main part of the analysis, although I do comment on them in sections 7.8 and 7.13. Also omitted from the analysis due to an insufficient number of tokens were *é*-raising in adverbial constructions of the type *pokaždé* and in word roots, *ý*-diphthongization in place of SC *í*, and *v*-insertion in word-internal position. The number of tokens elicited in the individual positions of the variables both for Markéta and my informants is shown in Tables 7.1 and 7.3 and also in Table 7.4., which shows the scores for the two West Moravians whose results are studied in isolation from the rest of the informants. In other tables, the data are presented in percentages only, since it has been established that the results are based on a representative number of tokens.

7.2 Markéta's language use

We said earlier that one of reasons for selecting Markéta to record I1 was that her language appeared to be typically Bohemian. Now that the data have been quantified, we can see whether this is correct. Markéta's use of six CC forms is displayed in Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1. In Table 7.1 and elsewhere, the number preceding the forward slash (/) represents the number of instances of the CC variant and the number following the forward slash is the number of occurrences of other forms, either SC or regional. Numbers given in brackets denote the total number of tokens and the figure

[115] Hedin (2005: 95) also reported that certain morphological do not occur enough to be statistically verifiable. In her corpus, there were even fewer occurrences of *l*-truncation (87 tokens) and gender neutralization (67 tokens) than in the present study.

given in percentages denotes the overall CC usage. Scores are listed for all positions that were analyzed and those in italics represent the total scores – the scores for all positions – for each of the six linguistic variables.

Table 7.1 *Markéta's linguistic scores*

Variable	**Position**	**CC score**
v-insertion	Pronouns	284/129 (413) 68.77%
	Prepositions	122/96 (218) 55.97%
	Grammatical words (total)	406/225 (631) 64.34%
	Prefixed lexical words	96/104 (200) 48%
	Non-prefixed lexical words	12/244 (256) 4.69%
	Lexical words (total)	108/348 (456) 23.68%
	Total	*514/573 (1087) 47.29%*
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)	565/0 (565) 100%
	Neuter singular (attributive)	169/2 (171) 98.83%
	Neuter singular (total)	734/2 (736) 99.73%
	Masculine oblique cases	147/1 (148) 99.32%
	Plural	431/0 (431) 100%
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	145/3 (148) 97.97%
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	169/0 (169) 100%
	Total	*1626/6 (1632) 99.63%*
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final	546/16 (562) 97.12%
	Desinence-initial	83/9 (92) 90.22%
	Word roots	145/11 (156) 92.95%
	Prefix *vý-*	1/68 (69) 1.45%
	Total	*775/104 (879) 88.17%*
paradigm unification	Third- / fourth-conjugation	118/8 (126) 93.65%
	Fifth-conjugation	185/3 (188) 98.40%
	Total	*303/11 (314) 96.50%*
l-truncation	*Total*	*7/33 (40) 17.50%*
gender neutralization	*Total*	*24/1 (25) 96%*

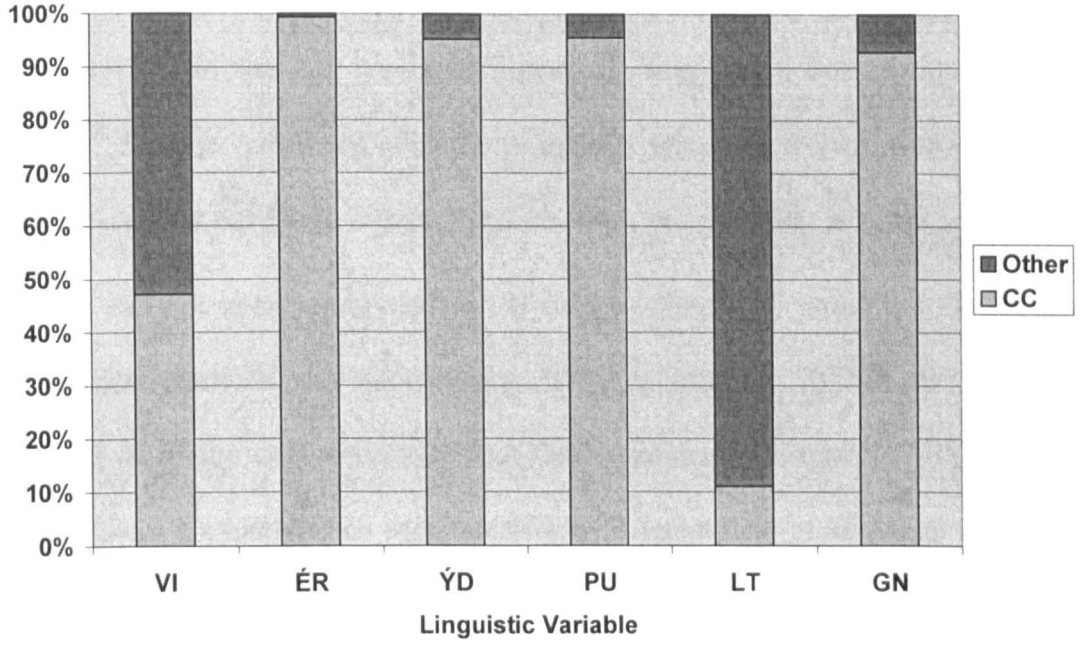

Figure 7.1 *Markéta's linguistic scores*

Predictably, the CC variants occur almost categorically for four of the six variables. For *ý*-diphthongization, Markéta's ratio of CC /ɛj/ increases to 95.3 percent, when examples with the prefix *vý-* are removed, as is shown in Figure 7.1. Out of 69 tokens, only one example of *vej-* (*vejplata* from SC *výplata* 'wage') was recorded and Markéta retained SC /i:/ even in words like *výlet* 'trip', for which Townsend considers CC /ɛj/ neutral.[116] Since there was only one example of /ɛj/ in the prefix *vý-*, it was decided that *ý*-diphthongization should not be scored in this position. Not omitting it would have undoubtedly skewed the results. Contrary to what we might have expected, my insider had a seemingly low rate of *l*-truncation – I suggest 'seemingly

[116] My insider did invariably diphthongize /i:/ to [ɛj] in the word *výška* 'institute of higher education, university' (11/0): *vejška* (*na vejšku*, *na vejšce*, *z vejšky*). In this example, the combination /v/ + /i:/ is not a prefix, which may explain the difference. That said, the converse was observed for *víkend* 'weekend': out of 11 tokens, there were no examples of CC *vejkend*. Here the non-diphthongization may be linked to the fact that *víkend* is of foreign origin.

low', insofar as there is very little empirical data on the grammatical variables.[117] In fact, Markéta used the CC bare-stem forms on only seven out of 40 occasions (17.5%).[118] Despite numerous attempts to explain when the deletion of word-final syllabic /l/ is or is not likely to take place or when *nul*-retention is more probable, *l*-truncation has not been researched to the extent where it is possible to make any reliable generalizations. As Short states, 'there is more to it than the issues of prefixation or of the composition of root-final consonant clusters' (1991: 507-508) and differences are likely to be accounted for by a 'great deal of idiolectal variation'. One interesting point that is worth considering is that of the seven CC forms that were recorded, five were in disyllabic verbs[119] and the other two examples – both examples of *řek*, the CC past masculine tense form of *říct* 'to say' – occurred in sentence-final position.[120]

Another point of interest is the extent to which Markéta uses prothetic /v/. Her overall percentage of CC forms (46.5%) is lower than the mean scores that have been

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[117] In Kravčišinová and Bednářová's study (1968), the ratio of CC forms for *l*-truncation is much higher: the overall score is 79 percent (105 tokens); 82 percent (46 tokens) in (1) 'recordings of informal conversations on children's radio programmes in 1962'; 50 percent (10 tokens) in (2) similar recordings from 1963; and 82 percent (49 tokens) in (3) 'recordings of everyday conversations'. Hedin (2005) also reported a much higher use (45%; 87 tokens) of the CC variant by native speakers of CC in (semi-)formal speech. It seems plausible, therefore, that the low frequency of the CC forms for *l*-truncation in my insider's speech is idiosyncratic. It is also conceivable, among other things, that this feature may vary regionally: prothetic /v/ is observed considerably less in northern Bohemia than it is in other CC-speaking territories (see Jančák 1997: 243); therefore, the same might hold for other CC features. My insider's use of this feature is especially surprising, since in spontaneous speech we would expect to observe an even higher frequency of the CC variant than in the above studies.

[118] Markéta used only *(ne)mohl* 'he could / could not' and never CC *(ne)moh* (14 tokens). Other SC forms included: *stihl* 'he managed', *rozhodl* 'he decided', *vezl* 'he led', *spadl* 'he fell', *táhl* 'he pulled', *všiml si* 'he noticed', *nabídl* 'he offered'. For all of these examples, we might have expected to observe the CC form.

[119] *utek* (SC *utekl* 'he ran away'), *přeběh* (SC *přeběhl* 'he ran over'), *vypad* (SC *vypadl* 'it fell out'), *neřek* (2) (SC *neřekl* 'he didn't say').

[120] Markéta uttered CC *Von to řek.* (SC *On to řekl.* 'he said it.') when the past-tense form was in word-final position on two occasions; however, in all other instances, she used the SC form: *(V)on řekl, že ...* 'He said that ...'. Alternatively, Gammelgaard (personal communication) suggests that the presence of *to* may influence the choice of SC >< CC variant and that certain expressions may be fossilized (see footnote 122).

identified in some other empirical studies.[121] However, *v*-insertion has been shown to be more variable in some areas of north and north-west Bohemia[122] and also in Brno (Krčmová 1974). The literature shows that /v/ is observed (in all reported cases) more frequently in grammatical words than in lexical words, and also that /v/ is more common before prefixed lexical words than it is before non-prefixed lexical words (see, for example, Dejmek 1986). Markéta's scores correspond to this reported trend: /v/ was observed 64.5 percent of the time in grammatical words,[123] whereas for lexical words the CC variant was recorded on only 22.5 percent of occasions. Again, in accordance with mainstream findings, CC /v/ was observed more in prefixed lexical words (48%), in particular in verbs (55.2%) than in non-prefixed lexical words (4.7%).

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[121] With respect to *v*-insertion, Jančák (1974) studied the speech of 13 nine-year-old school children from Prague who had the overall score of 93.06 percent. In a later study of children in Prague (1978), who had at least one parent of Moravian origin, an average of 87.77 percent was reported. Jančáková (1974) analyzed the speech of 24 informants from a village located between the towns of Příbram and Písek in southern Bohemia and the combined average of her informants' use of /v/ was 90.56 percent. Similarly, Dejmek (1986), based on the analysis of over 10,000 tokens, recorded an average of 79.8 percent for his informants in the town of Hradec Králové.

[122] Jančák (1997: 243) recorded CC /v/ in 59.9 percent of cases in his study of language use in the Sudeten regions of northern Bohemia that were resettled after 1945. The lowest ratio of /v/ in this region was reported in Karlovy Vary (52.3%).

[123] Prothetic /v/ was recorded the most in the personal pronouns *on* 'he', *ona* 'she', *oni* 'they' and *ono* 'it' (68.8%), the highest ratio of the CC variant being for *ono* (82.1%). It was observed slightly less frequently in the prepositions *o* 'about' and *od* 'from' (60%). Interestingly, Markéta used CC *vod* in 65.9 percent of all instances, while she used CC *vo* only 51.2 percent of the time.

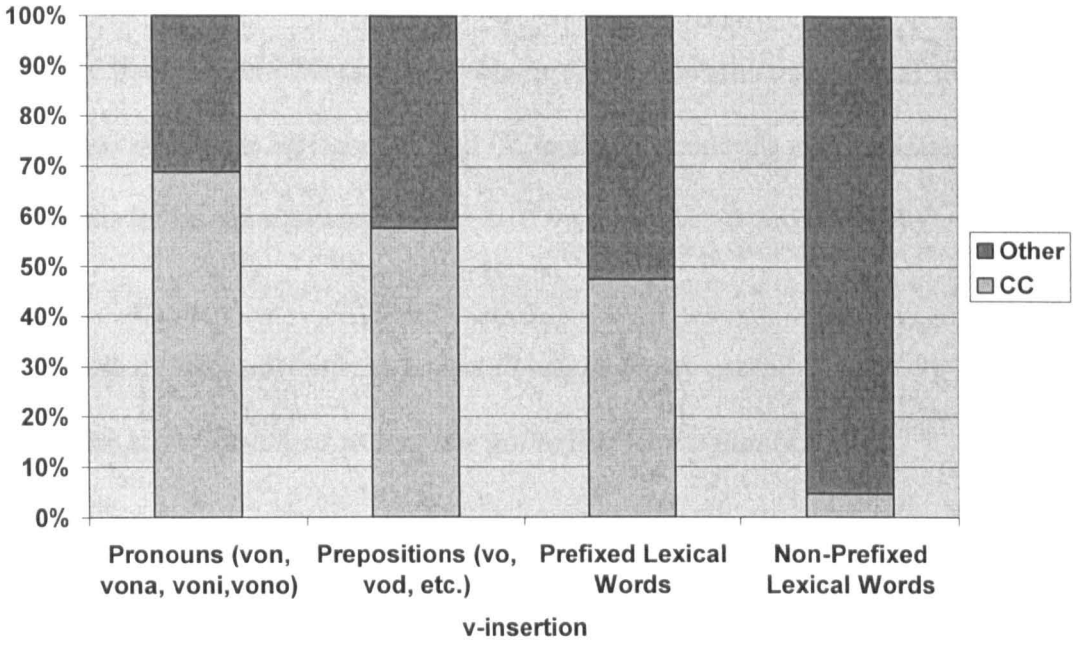

Figure 7.2 *Markéta's distribution of prothetic /v/*

For certain words that have been cited as those that frequently undergo prothesis, only SC variants were observed: *oběd* 'lunch' and its cognate forms (0/16), *osm* 'eight' (0/38), *oko* (*oči*) 'eye(s)' (0/5), *občas* 'sometimes' (0/4), *naopak* 'on the contrary' (0/5). The topic of medicine was discussed in many of the interviews, but not one technical term was found with prothesis, which contradicts Townsend's claim that /v/ is more common in technical terms than the other phonological variants. Prothesis was not observed in words such as *operace* 'operation', *odběr krve* 'blood sample', *ordinace* 'surgery', *ošetření* 'treatment'. For some words, Markéta had variable usage, realizing them both with and without [v]: (*v*)*opravit* 'to repair' (3/2), (*v*)*otevřít* 'to open' (3/4), (*v*)*otázka* 'question' (3/18) and (*v*)*opsat* 'to copy' (2/7) (CC forms are listed first, SC ones second). Markéta's use of /v/ is notably higher in prefixed verbs of motion. Of a total of 36 tokens, verbs in the aspectual pairs (*v*)*odcházet* / (*v*)*odejít* and (*v*)*odjíždět* / (*v*)*odjet* 'to leave' underwent prothesis 29

times. A characteristic feature of Markéta's speech and the speech of the two informants from western Moravia, for whom *v*-insertion was a feature of their native dialects, was switching between SC and CC personal pronouns and occasionally other lexical items in the same utterance:

1. ***Vona*** *to měla udělaný tak že* ***ona*** *i bydlela v ňáký rodině*

   (***She*** *had it arranged so that* ***she*** *got to live with a family*)

2. *... e počkej kolik* ***vono*** *to stálo ...* ***ono*** *byl taky lást minyt*

   (*... e one minute how much did* ***it*** *cost ... was* ***it*** *a last-minute deal as well*)

3. ***Vono*** *to dopadlo nakonec tak že* ***on*** *řekl že ne: že prostě musí jako tady bejt denně v tý Praze*

   (***It*** *turned out that* ***he*** *ended up saying no that he needs to be here every day in Prague*)[124]

4. *No a vona prostě dávala na férovku ti prostě ať si vybereš* ***votázku*** *takže my sme si všichni táhli ... nebo že to bylo průhledný v tom že všichni sme si jako vybrali jednoduchý* ***votázky*** *... a když sme uměli vo- vod začátku do konce viď ... že jenomže sme šli s těma třema naučenejma nebo čtyřma pěti* ***otázkama*** *... no už to začalo ...*

   (*Well to be fair she used to let you pick your own* ***question*** *so we all picked ... or it looked a bit dodgy that we'd all got easy* ***questions*** *... and when we knew*

[124] Interestingly, in all three examples that are given above the CC form is used in combination with the word *to*. Gammelgaard (personal communication) suggests that such examples might be lexicalized and that prothetic /v/ is perhaps more likely to be used when *to* is present. To my knowledge, the few existing quantitative studies of CC forms have not taken function into consideration in interpreting the use of prothetic /v/, and this is certainly worth investigating further.

everything back to front like ...well when we went along with three or four revised ***questions*** *... well it all kicked off ...*)

Example 4 also goes against the value judgements of Townsend's informants, who considered the form *votázka* as 'emotionally coloured' or 'unusual' (1990: 38); Markéta uses it twice in a stylistically neutral utterance (*votázku* (Accusative Singular) and *votázky* (Nominative and as in the above example Accusative Plural)), though she uses the form without prothesis later in the same passage (*otázkama* (Instrumental Plural)), for no apparent reason. With regard to *é*-raising, contrary to what some linguists had found in previous studies, Markéta's use of /i:/ in adverbial constructions of the type *pokaždé* 'every time' and *zadruhé* 'second(ly)' was near categorical (93.3%):

1. *Já právě sem byla teďkon o víkendu v Olomouci no o víkendu středa pátek* ***poprvý*** *v Olomouci*
   (*I've just been this weekend in Olomouc well this weekend Wednesday till Friday* ***for the first time*** *in Olomouc*)

2. *Já sem vlastně dělala tu urologii na* ***podruhý***
   (*I was doing the urology exam* ***for the second time***)

7.3 Informants' language use

The above section describes how the features under study are used by a native speaker of CC. Now, let us turn our attention to the linguistic behaviour of the Moravian informants who participated in the study. First, I shall present the results for the two

informants from western Moravia, whose native variety is, according to the literature, more or less identical to the CC spoken in Bohemia. Second, accommodation will be viewed in terms of the regional forms that informants either dropped or retained and a brief description of the differences in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon between CC and Moravian dialects will be given. In the latter and most substantial part of the present chapter, the results of the quantitative analysis are presented and the data are interpreted and explained.

7.4 West Moravians

As we stated in the methodology (§ 5.2), two speakers from western Moravia were included in the study. Their results are compared to the linguistic scores of my insider. Scores for *l*-truncation and gender neutralization are in italics, since these two variables were not analyzed for reasons explained in 7.1.

Table 7.2 *West Moravians' (N = 2) linguistic scores*

Variable	CC score
v-insertion	64/41 (105) 60.95%
é-raising	108/1 (109) 99.08%
ý-diphthongization	56/25 (81) 69.14%%
paradigm unification	11/12 (23) 47.83%
l-truncation	*0/4 (4) 0%*
gender neutralization	*1/1 (2) 50%*

The results for *é*-raising and *v*-insertion are fairly predictable: CC /i:/ is used almost categorically and a score of 61 percent for *v*-insertion is typical for western Moravia. The informants' use of the other two variables is more surprising. Both informants used CC /ɛj/ more variably than Markéta and informants in most other studies on CC, where the ratio of /ɛj/ is typically above 95 percent. When the scores are studied in

the individual positions, both Nikola and Vendulka use /ɛj/ the most in desinence-final position: 76.5 percent and 83.3 percent, respectively; while both show an almost even distribution of CC and SC forms in word roots: 57.1 percent and 42.9 percent. With regard to paradigm unification, there is an interesting distinction between fifth-conjugation 'aj'-verbs and third- and fourth-conjugation 'ej'-verbs that have merged in different ways in CC and the Moravian dialects. While the two informants use the CC forms far more than their SC equivalents for fifth-conjugation verbs, with a combined score of 76.9 percent, the CC variant was observed only once out of ten tokens for the third- and fourth-conjugation verbs. This perhaps suggests that the innovative Moravian form *-í* is spreading westwards.

7.5 Regionalisms

Before looking at informants' acquisition of the CC variants under study, I shall comment on their maintenance of localized forms that are found in their indigenous dialects. The number of regional forms recorded during the interviews was exceptionally low. Any examples of regional speech were predominantly limited to phonetic indicators, which generally fall beneath the level of speakers' awareness, while morphological, syntactic and lexical regionalisms were observed considerably less. Speakers of Moravian dialects can be readily identified – by those with linguistic training – according to several phonetic and phonological phenomena. Sgall et al. (1992: 30) comment that even in attempts to conceal their region of origin and use the standard, speakers of a Moravian origin can be identified by their pronunciation of words like *sedmdesát* 'seventy' as [ˈsɛndɛsaːt] instead of [ˈsɛdumdɛsaːt] or of *bil* 'he hit' as [bʲɪl] with a palatalized labial rather than [bɪl] with unpalatalized /b/. There are many other markers of Moravian pronunciation and some of these were identified in

the interviews.

There are, for instance, considerable differences between Moravian and Bohemian dialects in voice assimilation before vowels, certain consonants and over morpheme and word boundaries. Regressive assimilation occurs more in Moravian dialects than in SC or CC. Speakers of Moravian dialects are often identifiable by their pronunciation of consonants that form part of a voiced – voiceless pair before the sonorants *j, l, m, n, ň, r* and the consonant *v*, and before vowels over a morpheme or word boundary. Moravians show a tendency towards voiced pronunciation whereas Bohemians tend to devoice; therefore, Moravians tend to realize *až jindy* 'another time' as [ˈaʒ͡jɪndɪ] while the typical Bohemian pronunciation is [ˈaʃ͡jɪndɪ]. Other examples include Moravian [ˈuʒ͡ɲɪgdɪ] >< Bohemian [ˈuʃ͡ɲɪgdɪ] for *už nikdy* 'never again' and [snad͡jo] >< [snat͡jo] for *snad jo* 'probably'.[125] A stereotypical feature of Moravian speech is the phonetic realization [-zmɛ] (Bohemian [-smɛ]) in the words *jsme* 'we are', and colloquial *kdybysme* ... 'if we ...' and *abysme* ... 'so that we ..., in order that we ...'.[126] This pronunciation prevailed in the speech of my informants, although some realized *jsme* as both [zmɛ] and [smɛ].

Other common phonetic regionalisms that were observed frequently in the interviews include the assimilation of the consonants *v, z, s, k* before vowels and the sonorants *j, l, m, n, ň, r*. Moravian speakers generally favour the voiced realizations (see, for example, Adámková 2004); thus, [ˈz͡radoscɪ] rather than [ˈs͡radoscɪ]

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[125] Examples of Moravian pronunciation from the interviews include: *nic nemohla* [nɪd͡z ˈnɛmofila] 'she couldn't do anything', *kvůli toho* [ˈgvu:lɪ ˈtofio] 'because of that', *Jak ses měla?* [ˈjak sɛz ˈmɲɛla] 'How did you get on?', *tak jo* [ˈtag jo] 'okay then', *Budeš opakovat ročník* [ˈbudɛʒ ˈopakovad ˈrot͡ʃɲi:k] 'You'll be repeating the year'.

[126] The SC forms of *kdybysme* and *abysme* are *kdybychom* and *abychom*. They are used almost exclusively in writing and in official (spoken) discourse.

s radostí 'with pleasure' and [ˈg̯mamɪn͡tsɛ] as opposed to [ˈk̯mamɪn͡tsɛ] *k mamince* 'to mum'. In non-vocalic preposition-phrase constructions of the type *v Anglii* 'in England', *s Antonem* 'with Anton', *k oknu* 'towards the window', glottal stops occur before morpheme-initial vowels and voiced consonants are devoiced in SC and CC (Townsend and Janda 1996: 274); therefore, [ˈf ʔanglɪɪ], [ˈs ʔantonɛm], [ˈk ʔoknu]. In Moravian dialects, glottal stops are absent [ˈv̯anglɪɪ], [ˈz̯antonɛm], [ˈg̯oknu] and the preceding voiceless prepositions are normally voiced. My data show a degree of inter-speaker variation in this respect: for example, Aleš pronounces *z oboru* 'from the profession (of)' as both [z̯oboru] and [s ʔoboru].[127] Vocalic prepositions undergo dissimilation: *se sestrou* 'with (my) sister', *se psem* 'with the dog' may be pronounced [ˈzɛ sɛstr-oː], [-uː], [-u], [-oːᵘ] (Slovak *so sestrou* [ˈzo̯sɛstrou]) and [ˈzɛ̯psɛm].[128] Likewise, [ˈzɛbra-] >< SC *sebrat* 'to take' (cf. Slovak *zobrať* [ˈzobrac] where Slovak pronunciation has influenced orthography, originally form Late Common Slavonic **sъbьrati*). The above types of Moravian regressive assimilation were omnipresent in the recorded interviews.

Another common Moravian-Bohemian phonetic opposition is the pronunciation of the orthographic consonant cluster <sh>, which undergoes regressive assimilation and is realized [zfi] in Moravian dialects, while in Bohemia the assimilation is progressive and <sh> is pronounced [sx].[129] Probably the best-known example is *na shledanou* 'good bye', pronounced [ˈna̯sxlɛdanou] in Bohemia and

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[127] The transcripts of Moravian speech in Davidová et al. (1997) also show variation in the use of glottalized and non-glottalized forms.

[128] The pronunciations [ˈzɛ̯psɛm] and [ˈzɛ̯sɛstrou] are also heard in some areas of central Bohemia.

[129] Both pronunciations are listed as standard in Hůrková (1995: 28).

[ˈna͡zfilɛdanou] in most Moravian dialects. Other words in which this opposition occurs include *shoda* 'agreement', *shořet* 'to be destroyed by fire' and *shromáždit* 'to collect'; while for other words with the cluster <sh> only the pronunciation [zfi] is observed (even in Bohemia), as in *shora* [ˈzfiora] or *shůry* [ˈzfiu:rɪ] 'from above' (see Hůrková 1995: 28). In the interviews there were two recordings of [ˈzfia:ɲɪm] in the phrase *sháním práci* 'I'm looking for a job' and Tomáš pronounced the past-tense verb from *shodil* (from *shodit* 'to lose weight') as [ˈzfioɟɪl]:

> *tak to mě úplně šokovalo co sem tam četl ... tak na tom byl hodně špatně ...* ***zhodil*** *třicet pět kilo ...*
> *(it really shocked me what I read in the papers ... he was in a really bad way ...* ***he'd lost*** *thirty-five kilos ...)*

There are many cases in Moravian dialects where pronunciation without glottal stops (*výslovnost legátová*) is dominant over SC and CC pronunciation with glottal stops (*výslovnost rázová*) in morpheme-initial vowels and over a morpheme boundary where two vowels occur next to each other. In SC and CC, a stop occurs before morpheme-initial vowels: *tak ale* [ˈtak ˈʔalɛ], *tak, aby* [ˈtak ˈʔabɪ]; however, Moravian speakers favour [ˈtag͡alɛ] [ˈtag͡abɪ], with voicing of voiceless consonants. This was observed very frequently in the interviews. Similarly, *šel jsem spat a* [ˈspat ˈʔa] >< Moravian [ˈspad͡a] or [ˈspaɟ͡ɑ] 'I went to sleep and ...' and *chceš udělat ...* 'do you want to ...' [xt͡sɛʃ ˈʔudɛlat] >< [xt͡sɛʒ͡ˈudɛla-]. The same process occurs across morpheme boundaries after a prefix or proposition: *neumím* 'I am not able' (written as one word) SC and CC [ˈnɛʔumi:m] >< Moravian [ˈnɛ͡umi:m], *do*

Itálie 'to Italy' [ˈdo ʔɪtaːlɪɛ] >< [ˈdo̯ɪtaːlɪɛ].

Common to all Moravian dialects are short vowels in mono- or disyllabic nouns *prah, blato, rano* >< SC and CC *práh* 'threshold', *bláto* 'mud', *rána* 'wound'; or in certain monosyllabic verb infinitives: *bit, pit, dat,* >< SC and CC *bít* 'to beat', *pít* 'to drink', *dát* 'to give' are common in Moravian dialects. However, just three examples were recorded: two instances of *mět* (SC *mít* 'to have') and one of *chtět* (SC *chtít* 'to want'). Other phonological forms that are labelled as typically occurring in Moravian dialects were also generally absent in the recorded interviews: there were only two examples of the Moravian instrumental plural ending *-ama* after soft consonants were observed: *s těma stavařama* and *s těma havařama*; and not one instance of common Moravian /ʃt͡ʃ/ in place of SC /ʃc/: *dešč* (*déšč*), *ščípat* >< SC and CC *déšť* 'rain', *štípat* 'to bite; sting' was recorded.

On a more localized level, progressive assimilation of the consonant clusters *cv* [t͡sv], *kv* [kv], *sv* [sv], *tv* [tv] to [t͡sf], [kf], [sf], [tf] is common in Silesian dialects; thus, SC *cvičit* 'to exercise', *květina* 'flower', *svůj* 'one's own', *tvrdý* 'hard' are realized [ˈt͡sfɪt͡ʃɪt], [ˈkfjɛcɪna], [sfuːj] ([sfuj]) and [tfr̩diː] ([tfr̩di]). The only examples of this in the recorded interviews were two occurrences of [kfalɪtɲiː] *kvalitní* 'of good quality (adj.)', uttered in both cases by Jarda, a male informant from Třinec in Silesia. Otherwise, penultimate stress and vowel shortening, the two trademark phonological features of Silesian dialects, were generally absent. In fact, there were no examples of penultimate stress in the recorded interviews and only a few isolated incidences of the non-realization of long vowels were observed, including [ˈf̯por̩atku] *v pořádku* 'okay' and [ˈf̯prat͡sɪ] *v práci* 'at work'. Several other examples were recorded in adjectival desinences, in particular in ubiquitous

phrases of the type *to je dobré* 'that's good', *to je pitomé* 'that's stupid', realized as ['to jɛ 'dobrɛ] and ['to jɛ 'pɪtomɛ]. Two speakers from eastern Moravia produced regional phonological forms *říct* and *díl*, where in SC and CC /ɛ:/ has been raised to /i:/ to *říct* 'to say' and *dýl* 'longer' (CC only; SC *déle*), *odpoledňo* from SC *odpoledne* '(in the) afternoon', and a few others. A regional phonological form that we might have expected to some extent is central Moravian /ɛ:/ in place of /i:/ in examples such as *vysoké kluk* 'a tall boy' or *velké strom* 'a big tree'; however, this was not recorded at all.[130] In East Moravian dialects, we occasionally see the suffix /ɛj/ or /ɛ:j/ in the genitive, dative and locative of hard feminine adjectives, as in Slovak, but only one example was recorded in I1: *sem z takovej vesnice na východ od Uherského Hradiště* 'I'm from a village to the east of Uherské Hradiště'.

Other salient features that are common to all or most Moravian dialects were observed only sporadically. A characteristic feature of all Moravian dialects is the total or partial absence of the Czech umlauts (*přehláska*): *a* → *ě*/C'_ and *u/ú* → *i/í*/C'_.[131] The vocalic shifts took place in all Bohemian dialects, with exceptions in some dialects in southwestern Bohemia (see Hoffmannová 2001: 31). In Moravian dialects, however, the shift *a* → *ě*/C'_, often termed the 'first umlaut', is absent in word-final position, which means that Moravian forms are similar to those of other Slavonic languages: SC and CC *ovce* 'sheep', but Moravian *ovca* (as in Slovak,

[130] Central Moravian /ɛ:/ is the result of *ej*-monophthongization, evolving from non-standard /ɛj/ – much more widespread in the Baroque period than it is today – which developed from /i:/: /i:/ → /ɛj/ → /ɛ:/.

[131] The Czech umlauts denote sound changes whereby back vowels became front vowels in word-final position after a soft consonant or in the middle of soft consonants. The first Czech umlaut (often depicted by the formula *a* → *ě*/C'_) took place in the thirteenth century; it denotes a sound change whereby *a* became *ě* (*e*) after or between soft consonants. Short (1993: 461) lists the examples *duša* → *dušě* → *duše* 'soul' and *ležati* → *ležěti* → *ležet* 'to lie'. The second umlaut (*u/ú* → *i/í*/C'_) took place in the fourteenth century when the back vowel *u* (*ú*) was fronted to *i* (*í*) after any soft consonant: *jug* → *jih* 'south'.

Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Russian and Bulgarian). In word-internal position, the first umlaut shift has taken place in most dialects of the Central Moravian group, but not in East Moravian or Silesian dialects; therefore, the forms *držet* 'to hold', *střílet* 'to shoot' are observed throughout Bohemia, western Moravia and central Moravia, but in East Moravian and Silesian dialects the forms *držat* (cf. Russian *держать*; Slovak *držať*) and *střílat* (cf. Russian *стрелять*; Polish *strzelać*) with alternative regional suffixes *-ť*, *-č* or *-ć* are encountered in the traditional dialects.

The second umlaut shift *u/ú* → *i/í*/C'_ also did not take place in Moravian dialects. Therefore, in word-final position we encounter (in traditional dialects) the forms: *našu kašu,* and *našú kašú* (with regional variations in the suffix *-ó* and *-u*) >< SC *naši kaši* 'our porridge' (Accusative Singular) or *naší kaší* (Instrumental Singular). In a similar way to the development of the first umlaut, the second shift did take place in Central Moravian dialects in word-internal position, with some exceptions *klúč* >< SC *klíč*; however, it did not take place in other Moravian dialects, hence the regional forms *ludé* (cf. Russian *люди*; Polish *ludzie*; Slovak *ľudia*), *cuzy* (cf. Russian *чужой*; Polish *cudzy* 'somebody else's'; Slovak *cudzí*) *košula* (cf. Polish *koszula*) >< SC *lidé* 'people', *cizí* 'foreign, other', *košile* 'shirt'. The lack of the second umlaut is especially noticeable in Moravian dialects in present-tense third-person plural verb suffixes: Moravian *oni vědú* >< SC *oni vědí* 'they know', *dělajú* (*-ijó*, *-iju*, *-ijou*) >< *dělají* 'they do'.[132] As a result of intensive dialect levelling in Moravia, the SC forms are widespread and regional forms that have not undergone the umlaut shifts (*nepřehlasované tvary*) are observed predominantly in morphological endings. Root-

[132] Interestingly, there has been a reversal of the second umlaut shift in the present-tense third-person plural suffixes in fifth-conjugation verbs of the *psát* 'to write' type and in sixth-conjugation '-ovat' verbs. Thus, alongside SC *tancují* 'they dance' or *píší* 'they write' speakers also use *tancujou* and *píšou*. The same is true for the first-person singular: *tancuji* and *píši* have the doublet forms *tancuju* and *píšu*. The 'reversed' or older forms are occasionally considered colloquial or expressive and the umlauted forms are encountered more in formal communication (see *Příruční mluvnice češtiny* 1995: 331-332).

internal examples are by and large restricted to commonplace lexicalized forms or are used in regional phrases, as in the Wallachian idiom *Aj zutra bude deň*, which is used in the same manner as SC *Zítra je také den* 'Leave it until tomorrow', or as in the regional Silesian saying *děvucha bez břucha je jak kastrol bez ucha* 'a girl without a belly is like a pan without a handle'.

With regard to nouns, the only regional forms that were recorded in I1 are *konvicu* (SC *konvici* 'bucket' (Accusative Singular)), *hranica* (SC *hranice* 'border'), *slivovica* and the accusative form *slivovicu* (SC *slivovice* (*slivovici*) 'plum brandy') *prácu* (SC *práci* 'work' (Accusative Singular) – all in the interview with Gábina, a female informant from eastern Moravia who had lived in Prague for just six months – and *nemám televizu* (SC *nemám televizi* 'I don't have a television'), uttered by Jirka, a law student from Olomouc in central Moravia. More examples that are due to the lack of the umlaut shifts in Moravian dialects were identified in verbs and pronouns. The present-tense first-person singular regionalism *chcu* was recorded 14 times (23.7%) occasions out of a total of 59 tokens and particularly common was the form *ju*, the Moravian equivalent of SC *ji* 'she' (Accusative Singular), and its variant form *ňu*:

1. Radek: *teď sem **ju** teď sem **ju** objednával k těm Číňanům zase na tu akupunkturu a na to léčení ... tak na celej říjen sem **ji** objednal ... to máš sezení sedm set a platím to já*

   (*now I've made **her** now I've made **her** an appointment to see those Chinese (people) for that acupuncture and for the treatment ... I've got **her** booked in for the whole of October ... one session costs seven hundred and I'm paying for that*)

2. Jirka: *ekonomku sem uvažoval tu sem nakonec se na* ***ňu*** *vykašlal protože to by mě asi nebavilo dávat pozor v té škole na tu matiku*
(I thought about doing economics but in the ended I gave ***it***[133] *up as a bad job because I didn't fancy the maths part of it)*

Gábina produced the present-tense third-person plural forms *majú* (SC *mají* 'they have'), *pěstujú* (SC *pěstují* 'they breed [livestock]') and *vyexpedujú* (SC *vyexpedují* 'they will dispatch'), which are also the result of the umlauts not taking place in Moravia. Although paradigm unification has several forms in Moravian dialects, both supralocal and localized, apart from the two regional forms listed above, only eight other Moravianisms were recorded, all of them in the interviews with informants from central Moravia.[134] Interestingly, there was a preference for the regional form in the present-tense third-person plural of the verb *chtít*. Out of a total of 15 tokens, the Moravian variant *chcou* was recorded eight times (53.3%), while CC *chtěj* was observed six times (40%) and SC *chtějí* just once (7%). Otherwise, regional morphological forms were observed only sporadically.

In Czech, there are doublet forms for the possessive pronouns *můj* 'my', *tvůj* 'your(s)' and *svůj* 'one's own' (the reflexive personal pronoun); thus, for the neuter singular both contracted *tvé* and non-contracted *tvoje* are used as standard. However, in SC the use of the non-contracted possessive pronouns is only permitted in certain positions (throughout the feminine singular, in the nominative and accusative of the neuter singular, and in the nominative and accusative of the plural). In Moravian dialects, the non-contracted forms have spread throughout the entire paradigm and

[133] The form *ji* (*ni*) can also mean 'it' when it refers to a feminine object.

[134] *spravijó* (SC *spravují* 'they are fixing'), *přezkoušijó* (SC *přezkoušejí* / *přezkouší* 'they will review'), *hledijó* (2) (SC *hledí* 'they are looking'), *stačijó* (SC *stačí* 'they are enough'), *musijó* (SC *musejí* / *musí* 'they must'), *jezdijou* (SC *jezdí* 'they are going'), *vysvětlijou* (SC *vysvětlí* 'they will explain').

here we regularly observe non-standard forms like *mojemu* or *mojimu* (SC *mému* (Dative Singular)) or *tvojeho* or *tvojiho* (SC *tvého* (Genitive Singular)). In the interviews, the regional forms *v mojim* ... (SC *v mém* ... 'in my ...') and *svojeho* (SC *svého* (Genitive Singular)) were recorded.

With regard to regional syntactic constructions, a distinctive feature that was captured on several occasions was the preference for the genitive / animate accusative pronouns *něho* 'him' in prepositional phrases such as *bez něho* 'without him' (Genitive) and *na něho* 'at him' (Accusative), where Bohemians tend to favour the form *něj* (*bez něj*, *na něj*).

> Gábina: ... *a brácha ten je ...* ***z něho*** *bude farář*
>
> (... *and my brother's a ... he's going to be a parish priest* [lit. **from him** there will be a parish priest])

Other syntactic regionalisms were identified almost exclusively in the speech of informants from Silesia. There were several recordings of *kvůli toho* (SC *kvůli tomu* 'because of that, for that reason'), with the genitive of the demonstrative pronoun *ten* 'that' (*toho*) instead of the dative (*tomu*) and with occasional voicing of word-initial /k/ to /g/ before voiced /v/ [ˈgvuːlɪ]. Many of the informants who showed high levels of accommodation had not dropped this form and *kvůli* / *gvůli toho* seems to be lexicalized. Conversely, when *kvůli* 'due to, because of' was used with other words or phrases, it was followed almost exclusively by the dative case: *gvůli těm předmětům* 'because of those subjects', *gvůli rehabilitaci* 'due to rehabilitation', *gvůli mamce* 'for mum', *gvůli tomu fotbalu* 'because of the football', *kvůli zimě* 'because of the cold weather', *kvůli lidem z Brna* 'thanks to the people from Brno', *gvůli* / *kvůli němu* (4)

'because of him (it)', *kvůli státnicím* 'for the state exams', *kvůli škole* 'for school'.[135] There were also several instances of *kde* or *tady*, meaning 'where' and 'here' for 'location' only (I am here, he was there), used in place of the directional forms *kam* '(to) where' and *sem* '(to) here' in both I1 and I2 with informants from Silesia, as in the following two examples from I2:

1. Aleš: *nelíbí se mi z toho prostého důvodu že my zme odmala ve školách učeni mluvit spisovně ... já přijdu* ***tady*** *a tady se spisovně nemluví*
   (*I don't like it for the simple reason that from an early age we're taught in school to speak Standard Czech ... I come* ***here*** *and here they don't speak Standard Czech*)

2. Alex: *jako já s tim žádný problém vůbec nemám jo ... že sou lidi kteří se třeba já nevim za tu moravštinu třeba i styděli nebo mně to tak přišlo že se snažili hned jak* ***tady*** *přišli tak se hned snažili mluvit jo že ' krásnej ' a to a bylo vidět že na to nejsou vůbec zvyklí jo že to ze sebe tlačí jo (.) jako já s tim nemám žádný žádný problém*
   (*I've got no problem at all with it ... the fact that some people perhaps I don't know felt ashamed about their Moravian dialect or it struck me that they tried as soon as they arrived* ***here*** *they tried straight away to talk like 'krásnej'* [with CC endings] *and you could see that they weren't used to it and that they had to try really hard ... I've got no no problem with it*)

[135] Only Radek had counterexamples of this: *gvůli té Mladé fronty* 'because of the Mladá fronta (a Czech newspaper)' and *gvůli posrané České republiky* 'because of the bloody Czech Republic', both of which are in the genitive.

In the first example Aleš responded to the question *What do you think about the way people speak in Bohemia?*; in the second, Alex talks about Moravian speech and whether he feels pressured into dropping regional forms. Other more isolated examples included the use of the preposition *o* in time phrases where in Bohemia *v* is more common (*o půl třetí* >< *v půl třetí* 'at half-past two' (cf. Polish *o (w)pół do trzeciej*) and there was also an example of the hypercorrect genitive ending *-u* to which Balhar alludes (1995) in his description of hyperadaptation in Silesian dialects:

> Jarda: *ta výuka toho **jazyku** na té vysoké škole je taková docela ... nevim ňák jak to říct no ... není kfalit- no nevim jestli kfalitní ale prostě, je toho málo no* (***language** teaching at the university is ... I don't know how I should put it ... it's not very goo- well I don't if it's good or not, but there's not enough of it*)

Despite considerable differences between CC and Moravian dialects in the lexicon (see CLA 1 and 2 for a comprehensive list of regional forms), the interviews produced strikingly few regional lexical forms and forms that are considered stereotypical of Moravian speech were generally not encountered. To illustrate this point, first-person singular *(j)su* [ɹ̃] (SC *jsem* 'I am' often pronounced [sɛm]) and *nejsu* (SC *nejsem* 'I am not'), one of the most stereotypical features of Moravian speech, was recorded just nine times. Similarly, third-person plural *(j)sú* [ɹ̃ː] and *nejsú* were observed far less than SC *jsou* [sou] 'they are' and *nejsou*. Among the more common Moravianisms were *dědina* (SC *vesnice* 'village'), *gátě* or *gatě* (SC *kalhoty* 'trousers'), *všeci* (SC *všichni* 'everybody') and *děcka*, which literally means 'children' but has an extra meaning in Moravian dialects as 'friends; the boys, the

girls' and is common in the phrase *s děckama* 'with the boys / girls', an equivalent of CC *se známejma* and SC *s přáteli*. Other ubiquitous lexical items used throughout Moravia such as *šak* and *tož*, which roughly correspond to SC and CC *vždyť* and (*no*) *tak*, which are frequently translated as 'well' or 'well then', but in reality have a much wider range of uses, were also observed infrequently. Also prevalent was *že* (*že jo*) in its function as a tag question 'isn't it', 'weren't they', 'wasn't she', and so on. Examples included: *To musí být hodně sladké, že?* 'I bet that's really sweet, isn't it?' and *Mezi nima sou prostě rozdíly, že?* 'They're simply different, aren't they?'. Surprisingly, CC *viď* was used by some informants, despite being singled out in I2 as 'ultra CC'.[136] Occasionally, the place name *Olomouc* was treated by informants as masculine (*ten Olomouc, do toho Olomouce, v tom Olomouci*), although in SC its gender is feminine (*ta Olomouc, do té Olomouce, v té Olomouci*). Similar differences are observed for other toponyms such as *Příbram* and *Chudrim*.[137] Among the more localized regionalisms, mainly from East Moravian dialects, forms such as *skama* (often written *zkama*, as in the phrase *Zkama (j)si?* an East Moravian variant of *Odkud jsi?* 'Where are you from?') and *stama* (*ztama*) >< SC *odtud* 'from there', *ďúrek*, an expressive term for an undesirable place to live (cf. SC *díra* 'hole'), *býval* in sense of *bydlel* 'he lived' and *lesti* (SC *jestli* 'if') were identified. The only resistant feature I identified was the regional conjunction *aj* – similar to SC / CC *i* or *také* / *taky* 'and, also'. A total of 37 tokens of *aj*(*i*) were elicited:

[136] Jirka says that he has started to use *viď* in Moravia, where *že* is the local form and that he sometimes confuses the two, occasionally producing the hybrid construction *viď že*.

[137] There are several other examples of a gender opposition in SC (and CC) and in Moravian dialects. In the following examples SC / CC *bota* 'shoe' >< Moravian *bot* (*but*), SC / CC *okurka* 'cucumber' >< Moravian okurek, SC / CC *kobliha* 'doughnut' >< Moravian *koblih* the Moravian form is masculine and the SC and CC equivalent is feminine, while in SC / CC *hadr* 'cloth' >< Moravian *hadra*, the Moravian form is feminine and the SC / CC forms masculine.

1. Jirka: ... *a jako teď si plánuju že třeba bych chtěl* ***aj*** *poznat tady ten Břevnov jako třeba podivat se na ten leto- ... bylas někdy na tom letohrádku Hvězda?*
   (... *and now I'm planning that I'd maybe like to* ***also*** *find out a bit more about Břevnov maybe go and see that summ- ... have you ever been at the Summer Palace?*)

2. Jirka: ... *a všichni ... tam byla zima jak něco ... já v kulichu ... prostě všichni měli krátký gatě občas* ***aj*** *tričko ne ...*
   (... *and everybody ... it was really cold there and I was in my hat and that ... and everyone there was wearing short trousers and sometimes* ***even*** *just a t-shirt without a coat ...*)

7.6 Types of accommodation

As Kerswill (1994: 5-6) discusses, 'contact-induced individual behaviour covers a range of disparate phenomena'. These phenomena include code-switching, borrowing, the formation of interdialects and, due to an imperfect command of the host variety, hyperdialectisms – and it is assumed that in first-generation contact the host variety is seldom fully assimilated. In the present study, several types of accommodation were identified. The accommodation continuum ranged from speakers assimilating all the CC forms under study and using them in an identical manner as native speakers of CC do to complete non-accommodation, that is, the failure to acquire any of the CC forms. Accommodation of the majority of informants is located between these polar types of linguistic behaviour. Some informants acquired all the variants but used them variably and inconsistently, some acquired some of the variants but not others, some had exceptionally high rates of acquisition for some of the CC variants, whereas they

acquired other variants only marginally, or not at all, and so forth. As we predicted, there was a large amount of both inter- and intra-speaker variation, which at first blush appears to be random and is difficult to ascribe to any of the social factors. Partial accommodation was manifested in several ways. This included frequent alternations between SC, CC and regional forms and the incomplete assimilation of certain CC forms, which were used in some positions but not others or were used highly inconsistently. Some instances of incomplete accommodation are highlighted below:

1. Iva: ... *bylo tam jako* ***pěkné obložení*** ... *na záchodě* ***nový sprchovej kút*** ...
   (... ***it was nicely panelled*** ... *there was* ***a new shower unit*** *in the bathroom* ...)

2. Tomáš: ***Chci být*** *normální státní zástupce nebo soudce* ***chcu*** *dělat pro stát takže si nemyslim že budu* ***mět*** *ňák extra* ***velké*** *platy.*
   (*I* ***want to be*** *a normal government employee or a judge* ***I want*** *to work for the state so I don't think I'll be on really* ***big*** *money.)*

3. Aleš: ... ***přetrhl*** *sem si meniskus a* ***natrh*** *sem si vazy.*
   (... *I* ***tore*** *my cartilage and* ***ripped*** *some ligaments.*)

4. Zdeňka: *To bude docela* ***takové dobrý*** *no.*
   (*That will be* ***kind of good.***)

The four examples of a much larger stock of variant usage highlight the regular mixing of SC, CC and regional forms. In the first example, Iva produces the hybrid

form *nový sprchovej kút*. This shows the combination SC / regional + CC + regional and, according to the rules identified by Kučera in his early statistical studies, a combination of the type *nový sprchovej* would be unacceptable in CC. Dušan also produced several hybrid forms, including *Von ňákej tátův známý emigroval* 'One of my dad's friends emigrated', where we would expect *známej* rather than *známý*, and the masculine past-tense form *vodpadl* (SC *odpadl* 'it fell off; it got cancelled'), where theoretically the use of prothetic /v/ is permissible only if word-final /l/ is truncated, since in a single word CC morphology can combine with SC phonology but not vice-versa (see Kučera 1955): *odpadl* (SC phonology /o/ + SC morphology /l/), *vodpad* (CC phonology /vo/ + CC morphology (Ø)), *odpad* (SC phonology /o/ + CC morphology (Ø)), **vodpadl* (CC phonology /vo/ + SC morphology /l/).[138] Example 4 shows the same incomplete accommodation: although Zdeňka raises /ɛ:/ to /i:/ in *dobrý*, she does not in *takové* and this is also classed as an infringement of the rules. Example 3 shows variation where a CC form is acquired in some words but not others, here in the same utterance. There were several other instances of variable acquisition of *l*-truncated forms. In I2, Zdeněk used *řek* and *spadl* 'he fell' in the same utterance, and later *já bych řekl* but *toho jsem si nevšim* in quick succession; Milan produced a similar example in I1:

> ... *nebo by mě* ***napadl*** *nebo by mi to někdo* ***řek*** ...
>
> (... *or it would* ***occur*** *to me or someone would* ***tell*** *me* ...)

[138] However, according to Kučera's later research (1973), it might be more appropriate to view the hybrid form *vodpadl* as 'unusual' as opposed to 'impermissible', since Kučera's earlier claim that CC morphology can be combined with SC phonology but vice-versa is true only of particular examples; it is not a general principle. Kučera does not consider any examples where *v*-insertion and *l*-truncation are possible in the same word. The form *vodpadl* is perfectly natural in some Central Moravian dialects.

He uses the bare-stem form *řek* but does not delete word-final /l/ in *napadl*. In this particular instance, *řek* is a much more common word and might be acquired as a lexicalized item. The phrase *já bych řek* is ubiquitous in CC, whereas the masculine conditional (past tense + by) form of the verb *napadnout* occurs less frequently. Example 2 shows mixing between SC and regional forms, with SC *chci* and regional *chcu* occurring in the same utterance.

There was a high degree of intra-speaker variation at all levels and informants tended to switch between SC, CC and regional forms. Milan, for example, used *do vojenské nemocnice* 'to the military hospital' and CC *do vojenský nemocnice* in the same utterance; Emil and Denisa use SC *být* 'to be' and *týden* 'week' on some occasions but CC *bejt* and *tejden* on others; Radek continually switched between the SC (and CC) feminine singular personal pronoun *ji* (accusative) and regional *ju*; and Tomáš also varied usage of regional and SC forms, using the localized forms *říct*, *chtět*, *mět* on some occasions and their SC counterparts *říct* 'to say', *chtít* 'to want', *mít* 'to have' on others. Although accommodation did seem to involve in some cases the modification of entire phonological sets and not merely acquisition on a word-by-word basis, the third type of Trudgill's incomplete accommodation 'hyperadaptation' was not observed – if we accept that Kučera's rules are not entirely rigid and we do not consider the infringement of them as hyperdialectisms, that is. There were no concrete instances of interdialectal and hyperdialectal forms, although one informant did have an unusually high level of *v*-insertion, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

One of the interesting points to come out of Bachmannová's (1996) study was the issue of what I have termed 'one-off accommodations', which are to be understood as speakers' repetition of all or part of their interlocutors' utterance

containing linguistic variants that are otherwise not found in the speakers' native dialect and which they would almost certainly not use usually.[139] Such transient accommodations were observed both on the part of my insider and on the part of my informants. Markéta, for instance, produced the following examples:

1. Dan: *Až za **tou střediskou**?*

   Markéta: *Až za **tou střediskou** nahoru kolem těch paneláků ...*

   (Dan: *Behind **that shopping centre**?*

   Markéta: ***Behind that shopping** centre up by those blocks of flats ...*)

2. Josef: *... pivo maj stejný jako český, protože to zakládali **čeští** sládkové ...*

   Markéta: ***čeští** sládkové ... fakt?*

   (Josef: *... they've got the same beer as us* [lit. same beer as Czech beer] *because it was set up by **Czech** brewers ...*

   Markéta: ***Czech** brewers ... really?*)

In the second example, Markéta uses SC *čeští* in place of CC *český*, which was considered very odd, since the SC forms are generally considered unnatural by speakers of CC. In fact, this was the only SC form for gender neutralization that she produced and we can state confidently that it is the result of a one-off accommodation. The first example is also very strange. In SC, CC and most other dialects the gender of the noun *středisko* 'centre' is neuter and its instrumental singular form is *střediskem*. Dan, however, declines this word as if it were feminine

[139] To give an example from English, a speaker of the Geordie dialect might say, for instance, *He's **went** to the shop*, to which I might reply on the spur of the moment *He's **went** to which shop?* under the influence of the preceding utterance. Under other circumstances, I would never use this form, since in my dialect only ***gone*** is possible.

(*střediskou*) – it is unclear whether the form is a regionalism or just a slip of the tongue – and Markéta copies this usage. On other occasions, one-off accommodations were witnessed in the opposite direction and informants imitated Markéta's language use:

1. Markéta: *A co bys chtěla udělat za obor? Už si ňák* ***přemejšlela****?*
   Alena: *Já sem* ***přemejšlela*** *možná tu pediatrii ale jako fakt nevim.*
   (Markéta: *And what do you want to specialize in? Have you already* ***given it some thought****?*
   Alena: *I* ***was thinking*** *maybe paediatrics but I really don't know.*)

2. Markéta: *Potom poprvý ty lidi takhle potkáš jo?* ***[S kterejma]***
   Standa: ***[S kterejma]*** *si třeba četuješ ... .*
   (Markéta: *Then you meet these people for the first time? ...* ***[With whom*** *...]*
   Standa: ***[Who]*** *you chat to for instance ... .)*

The likelihood of the first example being a one-off accommodation is high, insomuch as this is the only instance – besides *prej*, which appears to have a special status (§ 7.8) – of diphthongized /ɛj/ that Alena produced (26 tokens); therefore, we might expect that on another occasion she would have used SC *přemýšlela*. The same is true for the second example. Apart from the form *kterejma*, Standa uses exclusively SC /i:/, both in desinence-initial position (8 tokens), including the form *kterýma*, and root internally (11 tokens); this, again, does not include *prý / prej*, for which Standa uses only the CC form (4 tokens). We should point out, nevertheless, that this type of

accommodation was rare. In most situations, informants did not reproduce the alien forms uttered by Markéta or vice-versa, as is illustrated in the following examples:

1. Tomáš: ... *až ve* ***štvrtém*** *ročníku.*

   Markéta: *Až ve* ***štvrtym*** *ročníku?*

   (Tomáš: ... *not until the* ***fourth*** *year.*

   Markéta: *Not until the* ***fourth*** *year?*).

2. Regina: *Ne,* ***ona*** *je na třetí* ***lékařské.***

   Markéta: ***Vona*** *je na třetí* ***lékařský,*** *aha ...*

   (Regina: *No,* ***she's*** *in Third Fac.* [Third Faculty of Medicine, Charles University]

   Markéta: ***She's*** *in Third Fac., aha ...*)

3. Milan: ... *jo, Filip ten je snad v* ***Českém*** *Krumlově.*

   Markéta: *Ten je v* ***Českym*** *Krumlově na chirurgii.*

   (Milan: ... *yeah, Filip he's in* ***Český*** *Krumlov I think.*

   Markéta: *He's in* ***Český*** *Krumlov working as a surgeon.*)

4. Markéta: ... *takže už* ***druhej*** *rok nebo ...*

   Tomáš: ... ***druhý*** *no.*

   (Markéta: ... *so already the* ***second*** *year or ...*

   Tomáš: ... *yeah, the* ***second*** *year.*)

In examples 1 and 3, Markéta uses the CC form[140] in the masculine locative of the adjectives *čtvrtý* 'fourth' and *Český* (*český*) 'Czech', although SC /ɛ:/ is the form used in the preceding utterances. In example 2, Markéta makes two alterations: she inserts /v/ in *ona* (*vona*) and raises /ɛ:/ to /i:/ in *lékařské* (*lékařský*). Tomáš behaves similarly in example 4: although Markéta uses CC *druhej*, he replies using SC *druhý*. Therefore, it is fair to state that such occasional accommodations under the influence of the interlocutor are not as typical as Bachmannová (1996) suggests.

Informants also corrected themselves after using a CC form, switching immediately to SC. However, only five 'self-corrections' were observed in over 34 hours of recording. Below are three examples:

1. Rosťa: ... *sou tam* ***takový*** *sou tam* ***takové*** *problémy které* ...

   (...*there are* ***such*** *there are* ***such*** *problems which* ...)

2. Rosťa: ... *v* ***tý*** ... ***té*** *nemocnici* ...

   (... *in* ***that*** ... ***that*** *hospital* ...)

3. Tomáš: *Mám mluvit hlasitěji? Stačí kdyžtak* ***říct*** ... ***říct*** *no.*

   (*Should I speak louder? Just* ***say*** ... ***say***, *ok.*)

[140] In both cases, /i:/ is shortened to [iˑ] or [ɪ]. This is quite common in desinence-initial positions, in particular before /m/.

7.7 The qualitative data

7.7.1 Informants' attitudes towards Common Czech

Informants who participated in the study were asked to comment on CC. The material presented in this section is based on their answers to question 7 in the attitude section of the second interview (§ 5.8): *What do you think about the language spoken in Bohemia?*. Informants were scored between 1 and 5 with respect to their attitudes towards CC, 1 being 'very negative' and 5 being 'very positive'. Out of the 37 informants that took part in the research, six scored 1 'very negative', fourteen scored 2 'negative', sixteen scored 3 'neither negative nor positive (indifferent)', and only four informants scored 4 'positive'; not one informant was awarded the score of 5 points 'very positive'. This initial observation supports claims that Moravians generally dislike the type of Czech spoken in CC-speaking territories, which is described here among other things as 'annoying', 'amusing' and 'hideous'.

Two types of negative response were elicited. Some informants thought that CC 'butchered' the beautiful Czech language and that it is 'an absolute disgrace'. Such views were expressed by Alena who referred to the way of speaking in Bohemia as *hrůza* 'awful', Dan who calls it *hnus* 'disgusting' and Tomáš sums up CC as *to je odporné* 'it's appalling'. Additionally, the terms *nespisovný* 'non-standard' and *nespisovnost* 'non-standardness' were observed frequently in informants' descriptions of the language spoken in Bohemia; as Renáta puts it, the Bohemians speak *hrozně nespisovně* 'terribly non-standard Czech'. Interestingly, others were amused by the way Bohemians speak and CC to them sounded 'comical' or 'silly'. Zdeňka, for example, was 'shocked' the first time she heard someone speak CC, describing this variety as *směšné* 'funny'. This was typical of other informants' first encounter with speakers of CC and Alex expresses a very similar view:

... když sem tady nestudoval a když přijel ňáký Čech k nám na Moravu a začal mluvit tak my sme se všichni smáli protože oni natahujou že jo ... nám to nám to přijde směšné.

(*... when I wasn't studying here and when a Bohemian came to Moravia and started to talk we all laughed because their vowels are really long, aren't they ... we find that we find that funny.*)

With respect to individual CC forms, the qualitative data suggest that informants find some forms more acceptable, or less objectionable, than others and while some forms are evidently tolerated by the informants, others are categorically rejected. The most negative response was engendered by forms with prothetic /v/ and word-internal /ɛj/. Several informants, for instance, said that they would never use 'that *v*'. Alena listed *vokno* (SC *okno* 'window') as particularly unpleasant and Renáta and Maruška both objected to *ovce* 'sheep' being preceded by /v/. There were several objections to word-internal /ɛj/: Luboš characterized CC forms such as *vejkend* (SC *víkend*) and *vejlet* (SC *výlet* 'trip') as 'ultra-CC' examples and said that he would not use them even if he were to live 30 years in Prague; Bára also perceived *vejkend* very negatively and listed CC *bejt* and *tejden* (SC *být* 'to be' and *týden* 'week') among the forms she liked the least; Alena listed CC *sejr(a)* (SC *sýr* 'cheese') as one of the 'worst' features of CC; Josef disliked word-internal /ɛj/ in the verb *cejtit* (*se*) (SC *cítit* (*se*) 'to feel'; and there were several references to CC *zejtra* (*zítra* 'tomorrow'). As we might have anticipated, certain lexical items were also perceived negatively. These included the stereotypical Bohemianisms *koukej* 'look', *hele* 'hey', used in attracting someone's attention, *viď* a tag-word that corresponds to English 'isn't it', 'wasn't it',

'haven't we' and the like, and *vole* which occurs frequently in familiar communication, most often between male speakers, without necessarily fulfilling any semantic function.[141] Such is the resentment towards these forms that Tomáš, a passionate and patriotic Moravian, commented in I2 that if you used these forms in his home town in eastern Moravia you would 'be beaten up'. Some informants did, however, use them. Zdeňka, although being linguistically conservative in terms of the six CC variants under study, used *hele* on a number of occasions and some of the informants occasionally used *viď* in place of their native *že*. With respect to features of CC that Moravians find humorous, Josef was particularly amused by the realization [jɛ͡tst] for the infinitive *jet* 'to go' and its various derivatives *přijet* 'to arrive', *odjet* 'to leave', and so forth, and, although none of the informants reported that they had incurred problems in understanding their Bohemian interlocutors and their regional forms, several were puzzled by the Bohemianism *přijdu dýl* (SC *přijdu později* 'I will come later'), which they called nonsensical.

Conversely, informants seemed happy to adopt the CC morphological endings, though at the same time acknowledging that they were non-standard. Terezka, for instance, said she would use those 'bad endings' (*špatné koncovky*), but that she would never dream of using /v/, citing the example *z vokna* (SC *z okna* 'out of the window'). Likewise, Tomáš commented that if he were to use CC forms, then he would only use features like *dobrej*. Some speakers even attached some kind of covert prestige to the CC morphological endings, preferring them to the SC and their native forms. Drahomíra, for instance, asserts that:

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[141] The following is a typical example of how *vole* is used in informal (often though not always male-only) communication: *Nazdar **vole**! Jak je **vole**! Kdes byl **vole**? Dlouho jsem tě neviděl **vole**!* 'Alright, mate! How's it going? Where've you been lately? I've not seen you for ages!'.

U nás se hodně dává jako 'é' na konci jako 'hezké' ... 'škaredé' a tady se dává 'ý' no takže to je takový pohodlnější to není tak spisovný nezní tak spisovně.

(Where I'm from we use 'é' at the end [of a word] like 'hezké' ... 'škaredé' and here they use 'ý' and it's more convenient it's not as official it doesn't sound so official.)

Therefore, in order to sound less official or stilted, informants are willing to use CC endings, which in their opinions are not as bad as the other CC forms. Nevertheless, although the non-standard CC endings were clearly the most tolerated forms, informants disliked the way that the Bohemians realized them. Informants commented, almost unanimously, that they disliked the Prague 'accent'. Speakers in Prague and some other regions of Bohemia tend to have, in the informants' words, an 'extra-long' realization of /i:/ in word-final position, which is often represented in popular literature as *-íií* or *-ýýý* (*to je dobrýýý*). Informants said that they would use, and did use, phrases of the type *to je dobrý* 'that's good', *dobrý* often realized ['dobri·], but that they did not and would not pronounce them 'like a speaker from Prague'.[142] Interestingly, this point was raised most often by speakers from Silesia, whose native dialects lack vocalic length.

Besides informants who evaluated the host variety negatively, many were indifferent towards CC, evaluating it neither negatively nor positively, and some

[142] There are differences in the realizations of vowel phonemes in Bohemia and Moravia, with the pronunciation in Bohemia (at least in central Bohemia) being more lax and open. Cummins (1993: 160) argues that speakers from Brno have a more closed pronunciation of the diphthong /ɛj/ than speakers in Prague do, while Svozilová (1999: 78) talks of a more open realization of short /ɛ/ in the direction of /a/ and short /ɪ/ in the direction of /ɛ/ in the speech of people from Prague.

informants suggest that attitudes towards CC become less hostile the longer individuals spend in the host community. Šárka states:

> *Ze začátku mně to vadilo protože mně vadilo že ničí tu češtinu že mně to přišlo že úplně przní tu češtinu ... teď sem se zvykla mluvim taky tak to jo ale ze začátku mně to hodně vadilo jak se tady mluví.*
>
> (*At first it used to get on my nerves because it annoyed me how it destroyed the language it seemed that it murdered the language ... now I've got used to it I talk like that myself now but at the start it used to really annoy me how they talk here.*)

Simona believes that it only takes a short time to get accustomed to the Bohemian way of speaking:

> *Když přijedeš tak ty první dny ti to hrozně bije do uší 'hele' 'vole' 'je to dobrý' a takhle ... teď už sem se dostala do tý fáze že to říkam taky ... ze začátku mně vadilo že to není spisovná čeština že to hodně komolej ty slova ale teďka už tak mluvim taky tak to mi nepřijde no.*
>
> (*When you first arrive it really sticks out like a sore thumb 'hele' 'vole' 'je to dobrý' and that sort of stuff ... now I've got to the stage where I say those things myself ... at first it bugged me that it's not Standard Czech and that they really mess up the words but now I talk like that myself so it doesn't seem so bad.*)

Nevertheless, although some informants said they had become more tolerant towards CC the longer they had spent in Prague, a Spearman rank correlation showed a very weak positive correlation between length of residence and attitudes towards CC (r = 0.057, $p > 0.05$).

Only four informants evaluated CC positively or – put more precisely – viewed it less negatively than their native dialects. Milena, my highest acquirer, preferred CC to her native Silesian dialect, which she describes as 'provincial', and Ilona, also from Silesia, describes CC as 'melodic' and 'pleasing to the ear':

> *Je to takový ušim libovější než to než ta ostravština teda ta slezština ... je to takový pěkný ... melodický.*
>
> (*It* [*the Prague accent*] *sounds nicer than that than the Ostrava dialect or the Silesian dialect I should say ... it's kind of nice ... melodic.*)

The most surprising description of CC, which runs contrary to the comments of the majority of my informants and to existing attitudinal data, was expressed by Radek, an informant from Central Moravia. He was the only informant in the study who thought that the Bohemians speak in a more standard way (*spisovněji*) than the Moravians do:

> *... moravština má hodně podob a je hodně nespis- nebo je taková nespisovná ... ty Pražáci mluví hodně spisovně i Čecháčci mluví hodně spisovně takže určitě čeština v Čechách je čeština spisovnější ... na Moravě je taková čeština víc lidová.*

(... *In Moravia people talk in lots of different ways and it's really non-stan- it's non-standard ... the Praguers speak in a really standard way and the way those Bohemians talk is very standard therefore the Czech they use in Bohemia is more standard ... in Moravia it's more colloquial.*)

7.7.2 Informants' self-reported data on accommodation

Informants were also asked to comment in I2 on how they thought their speech habits had changed during in their time in Prague. Almost all of them reported that their speech had altered in some way, some believing the changes to be permanent, while others talked of short-term modifications to their linguistic behaviour and thought that they accommodated differently to different individuals. Informants' views of their own accommodation can be traced along a continuum, ranging from informants who thought that their linguistic behaviour had changed only minimally to those who believed they spoke like a native Bohemian. Some thought that they had picked up the occasional CC form, some thought they used mainly CC morphological endings, some thought they spoke more like a Bohemian in some situations than others, and some thought that as soon as they go back home they immediately revert back to their native dialect. Several informants reported that the outcome of a prolonged stay in the host community had resulted in them speaking in a way that Bohemians could still identify them as being from Moravia, but their speech had become detached from their native dialects to the point that they were often mistaken as outsiders in their native speech communities.[143] Many believed their speech habits had changed to the

[143] This is certainly true for adolescents acquiring a second dialect. Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007: 673) argue that the second dialect leaves an 'indelible imprint on the transported individual', giving as an example the linguistic behaviour of Tagliamonte's three children. All of them were under the age of five when they moved from Canada to York in northern England, where they lived there for six years, and, although returning to Canada before they reached the critical age, their speech still contains features of the second dialect.

extent that they could be no longer be placed by non-specialists to a given dialect area and they said that their idiolect was something between 'Bohemian' and 'Moravian'.[144] Radek had lived in Olomouc, Ostrava, Liberec, Plzeň and Prague and he says that he has picked up features from all the local dialects and this has turned his speech into *dokonalý guláš* 'complete hodgepodge'. Other interesting accounts of the hybridization of their idiolects were expressed in I2 by Dušan, Ilona and Renáta:

1. Dušan: *S mým přízvukem je to tak asi bych řekl ... když sem tady tak mluvim ... jako mi řeknou že mluvim moravsky a když přijedu domů tak řeknou že mluvim česky jako že mám český přízvuk.*
   (*To describe my accent I'd say ... when I'm here I talk ... they tell me I speak like a Moravian and when I go home then they tell me I speak like a Bohemian that I've got a Bohemian accent.*)

2. Ilona: *V Havířově všichni říkají že natahuju a tady zase většinou říkají že jde slyšet ta moravština.*
   (*In Havířov they say I protract my vowels and here they normally say they can hear my Moravian accent.*)

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[144] Informants talked of speaking either *moravština* 'Moravian' or *čeština* 'Bohemian', rather than naming specific dialects. The noun *Čech* and the adjective *český* besides meaning 'Czech', as in a citizen of the Czech Republic (Bohemian, Moravian or Silesian) or in the case of *český* pertaining to any part of the Czech Republic (including Moravia and Silesia), are also used, rather confusingly, in a narrower sense to mean 'Bohemian'. Therefore, *čeština* depending on the context can mean either 'the Czech language' or 'the type of Czech spoken in Bohemia'. Consequently, dialectologists are faced with a problem in describing the various Czech dialects, since the terms *česká nářečí* or *české dialekty* mean 'Czech dialects' as a whole, including the dialects spoken in Moravia and Silesia. To avoid ambiguity, they use the somewhat cumbersome term *česká nářečí* or *české dialekty v užším smyslu*, which literally translates as 'Czech dialects in the narrower sense'. Understandably, some Moravians are unhappy with the name *Česká republika* 'Czech Republic', since they see it as denoting only the western half of the country.

3. Renata: ... *v Ostravě mi říkají že mluvim pražsky a v Praze mi říkají že mluvim ostravsky ... a v Brně mi říkají že mluvim úplně blbě protože nemluvim ani tak ani tak.*

   (... *in Ostrava they tell me I speak like somebody from Prague and in Prague they tell me I speak like somebody from Ostrava ... and in Brno they say that I speak totally weird because I don't talk one way or the other.*)

Even the low-scorers on the attitudinal scale thought that their language had become closer to CC. Alena's statement seems to sum the situation up extremely well; in response to the question *What do you think about the language that the Bohemians speak?* she replied:

No hrůza ... a nejhorší je že už to chytám tu pražštinu.

(*Awful ... and the worst thing is I've already to pick up the Prague dialect.*)

In her opinion, although she strongly disliked CC, she had been unable to stop herself accommodating. In general, informants saw accommodation to CC or the adoption of particular CC forms as an inevitable consequence of living in Prague. Franta, for example, says that CC *leze mi do huby* 'simply slips into my mouth' and Denisa and Martina also perceive the assimilation of CC forms as something that just happens:

1. Denisa: ... *je asi tak že je hodně nakažlivý že prostě když se bavim tak do toho ňák přídu automaticky.*

   (... *it's probably just highly infectious that when I'm speaking I just go into it automatically.*)

2. Martina: *No když sem přišla do Prahy tak sem z toho byla fakt docela vyjukaná ... sem na to chytla spíš alergii no ... ale teď zas tady žiju a prostě se tomu neubráníš a chytneš ... chytneš ty manýry jejich no takže mluvim taky 'ej' a všechno je 'krásný:' a 'přídu dýl'.*

(*Well when I came to Prague I was a bit surprised about it ... it really got on my nerves ... but now I live here and you don't put up any barriers you just pick it up ... you pick up their mannerisms and now I also use 'ej' and say everything's wonderful* [using *krásný* instead of *krásné*]) *and I say also say 'přídu dýl'*).

As we have already discussed, there appears to be a clear hierarchy of forms and informants are more tolerant towards some CC features than they are towards others. While forms with prothetic /v/ and word-internal /ɛj/[145] and lexical items like *hele*, *koukej* and *viď* are by many considered overly stereotypical of the host culture and are by many consciously avoided,[146] non-standard CC morphological endings are considerably less marked. Many said that CC forms, in particular morphological endings, are *hodně nakažlivé* or *hodně chytlavé* 'highly infectious'. Terezka argues:

[145] Describing *ý*-diphthongization in words such as *zejtra* and *vejkend*, Luboš says *To je extrém!* 'That's the extreme!'. He considered these forms 'ultra-CC' and went on in I2 to say that he would never use forms such as *vejkend* or *vejplata* 'even if he had lived in Prague for 20 years or more'.

[146] This is a further example of the importance of extralinguistic factors in second dialect acquisition. According to Principle One of Chambers's (1992) principles of dialect acquisition (§ 6.6), lexical replacements are acquired faster than pronunciation or phonological rules. However, this holds true only if lexical forms of the host dialect are not marked. Indeed, I would suggest that stigmatized lexical forms are much easier for speakers to consciously avoid than marked pronunciation or phonological features.

Nelíbí se mi jejich přízvuk ... jako fakt oni mluví hrozně to mi není moc sympatické ale už sem na to zvyklá a mnohdy používám taky ty špatné koncovky jejich jakoby.

(I don't like their accent ... it's awful how they speak I don't like it but I've got used to it and now I regularly use those bad endings they use as well.)

Informants also admitted that forms that were previously stigmatized and that they used to avoid had been acquired to the stage that they felt perfectly natural and informants started to use them automatically on a long-term basis. This is aptly summed up by Zdeněk:

... já třeba z Hodonína používám 'é' ... ale už sem začal používat 'ý' ..... no už se mi tam plete podvědomě ... ze začátku to tak nebylo ... sem byl zvyklý používat to 'é' na konci určitejch slov a potom pomaličku občas se tam zapletlo 'ý' a teď už sem v situaci kdy prostě mi přijde normální říct jako na konci toho slova 'ý'.

(...Me being from Hodonín I use 'é' but I've already started to use 'ý' ..... it's started to slip into my speech without me knowing ... at first it wasn't like that ... I was used to using 'é' at the end of certain words and then as time went on an 'ý' would occasionally slip in there and now I'm in a situation where it seems perfectly normal to use 'ý' at the end of a word.)

Interestingly, a clear majority of informants suggested the first stage of accommodation involves modifications to their accents (intonation patterns) and that adaptation to CC occurred primarily at the suprasegmental level. Almost all reported

that they had acquired the Prague intonation pattern, the majority believing that this 'just happened', without any special effort on their part. Many informants also claimed that members of their family or their friends had commented that they had picked up a 'Prague accent'.[147] According to informants' reports in I2, the Moravian intonation pattern immediately provokes unwanted attention and reveals speakers' region of origin. The informants were especially keen to lose those features that marked them as coming from Moravia; thus, besides modifying their accent they tried to drop or reduce other marked regional items and stigmatized features of their native dialects. Standa, for instance, was particularly conscious of the central Moravian present-tense third-person plural verb forms such as *dělajó* and *mluvijó* and Tomáš, an east Moravian, said that he tried not to use regional lexical forms which in his opinion might preclude mutual intelligibility or that might make him look provincial.[148] Therefore, in summary, the perceptual data suggest that the minimum requirement in the accommodation process is to: (1) drop forms of the native dialect that might not be fully intelligible to members of the host community or that might be perceived as provincial or humorous; and (2) to reduce differences in their distinctive accent (intonation). Conversely, although not one informant considered that accommodation in the direction of CC was essential, many did admit to using CC features and thought that the assimilation of CC forms was inevitable.

7.8 Patterns of assimilating Common Czech forms

Table 7.3 shows the distribution of the ratio of CC forms to other (standard or regional) forms.

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[147] Informants use the term 'accent' in the sense of intonation but not other areas of pronunciation.

[148] Tomáš gave the example *rožnout*, a Moravanism that is used over relatively large area and corresponds to SC and CC *rozsvítit* 'to turn on the light'.

Table 7.3 *Informants' (N = 37) linguistic scores*

Variable	Position	CC score
v-insertion	Pronouns	159/512 (671) 23.70%
	Prepositions	46/264 (310) 14.84%
	Grammatical words (total)	205/776 (981) 20.90%
	Prefixed lexical words	31/234 (265) 11.70%
	Non-prefixed lexical words	19/405 (424) 4.48%
	Lexical words (total)	50/639 (689) 7.26%
	Total	*255/1415 (1670) 15.27%*
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)	211/196 (407) 51.84%
	Neuter singular (attributive)	60/106 (166) 36.14%
	Neuter singular (total)	271/302 (573) 47.29%
	Masculine / Neuter oblique cases	87/95 (182) 47.80%
	Plural	229/245 (474) 48.31%
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	65/136 (201) 32.34%
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	53/150 (203) 26.11%
	Total	*705/928 (1633) 43.17%*
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final	210/302 (512) 41.02%
	Desinence-initial	38/116 (154) 24.68%
	Word roots	40/178 (218) 18.35%
	Prefix *vý-*	*0/86 (86) 0%* [not scored]
	Total	*288/596 (884) 32.58%*
paradigm unification	Third- / fourth-conjugation	62/149 (211) 29.38%
	Fifth-conjugation	172/134 (306) 56.21%
	Total	*234/283 (517) 45.26%*
l-truncation	*Total*	*21/93 (118) 17.80%*
gender neutralization	*Total*	*11/66 (77) 14.29%*

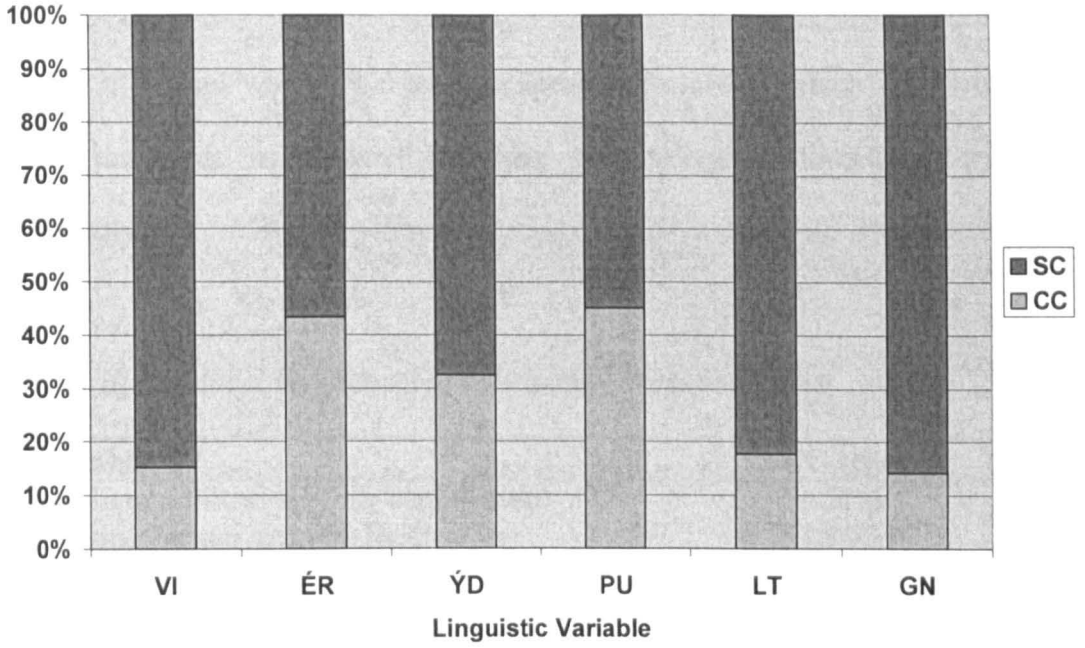

Figure 7.3 *Informants' linguistic scores*

Table 7.3 and Figure 7.3 show the combined scores for 37[149] informants. They highlight, on the one hand, that the Moravian informants use more SC (or regional) forms than CC forms, unlike Markéta, although, on the other hand, we see that a considerable amount of accommodation has taken place, given that none of the variants under study are found in the informants' native dialects. As was predicted in the previous chapter, two of the grammatical variants, *l*-truncation and gender neutralization, were among the forms that informants acquired the least. However, contrary to expectations, the CC variants of paradigm unification were acquired more than the phonological variants. This unexpected finding will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. With regard to the phonological variants, the two most expansive forms, diphthongized /ɛj/ and raised /i:/ were predictably acquired the

[149] The scores for 37 informants are calculated for all the variables except *v*-insertion. Prothetic /v/ is used in the native dialects of three informants from central Moravia; therefore, for *v*-insertion the numbers and percentages represent the combined score of 34 informants. All informants from central Moravia are not scored for *ý*-diphthongization in desinence-final position and *é*-raising in all but the oblique cases of hard feminine adjectives and pronouns.

most, more so in some positions than others. Instances of prothetic /v/ were rare, especially in lexical words. We get a more lucid picture of which CC forms were acquired the most in Table 7.4, where the individual forms are presented hierarchically.

Table 7.4 *Hierarchical breakdown of informants' accommodation*

	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 (third- / 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%[150]
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%

Table 7.4 shows that informants' level of acquisition is the highest for paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs, although considerably lower for paradigm unification in third- and fourth-conjugation verbs. The CC 'aj'-forms (*dávaj*) were acquired more than any other feature. Otherwise, the results confirm that the primary candidates for acquisition are the high-frequency phonological forms that have a wide areal distribution and that have spread to various non-informal sociolinguistic domains. Informants show a high rate of acquisition for CC /i:/ in

[150] *von* (25.4%); *vona* (28.8%); *voni* (14.6%); *vono* (36.8%).

place of SC /ɛ:/, in particular in neuter singular predicative position, in ubiquitous phrases of the type *to je dobrý* (SC *to je dobré* 'that's good'), *to je skvělý* (SC *to je skvělé* 'that's great'), *to je strašný* (SC *to je strašné* 'that's awful') *to je blbý* (SC *to je blbé* 'that's silly'), in inanimate plurals and in the oblique cases of masculine adjectives and pronouns. Conversely, there were fewer instances of CC raised /i:/ in the oblique cases of feminine adjectives and pronouns, a position where *é*-raising is restricted to CC-speaking territories. That said, differences in the acquisition of /i:/ in the oblique cases of hard feminine adjectives and pronouns and in other positions were not as marked as we might have expected in view of the theoretical studies considered in the previous chapter.

It was also confirmed that there are important differences regarding the acquisition of /ɛj/. While desinence-final /ɛj/ was among the forms informants acquired the most – though less than we might have anticipated – desinence-initial and root-internal /ɛj/ were among the forms that speakers tended to reject. Root internally, /ɛj/ was acquired at approximately the same rate as *l*-truncation and gender neutralization. I did, however, find an interesting exception. The CC adverb *prej*, expected to behave in same way as forms such as *zejtra*, *tejden* or *bejt* in terms of its acquisition, seems to have a special status. The CC variant was recorded on 25 out of 33 occasions (75.8%) and was observed in the speech of even the most linguistically conservative informants, who were among the lowest scorers on the accommodation and attitude indices and who did not use CC /ɛj/ in other positions.[151] Interestingly, the data elicited in other empirical studies also suggest that *prej* has a special status in

[151] Tomáš, an informant with an extremely negative perception of CC and the lowest scorer on the integration index used the CC form *prej* on three occasions, although in other instances he showed zero acquisition of diphthongized /ɛj/. This finding was consistent in the speech of other low scorers.

CC-speaking territories. Viewing the distribution of word-internal /ɛj/ across native speakers of CC, Dejmek (1986: 134) reported variation between *být* and *bejt* and *týden* and *tejden*, where in these cases (and others) the CC forms outnumbered their SC equivalents, but out of 65 tokens, only *prej* (never SC *prý*) was used. Of course, this still does not explain why it was acquired so often.[152]

Predictably, *l*-truncation and gender neutralization were among the CC forms that were acquired the least. Although an insufficient number of tokens was gathered for both of these variables, from the instances that were recorded we can talk with a reasonable amount of confidence of a trend whereby these forms are avoided. Generally speaking, acquisition of CC forms such as *řek* or *dobrý sportovci* was parallel to that of forms with prothetic /v/, insomuch as they were observed only in interviews with high-scorers on the integration index who had lived in the host community for five or more years. Although prothetic /v/ meets several of the criteria that make variants primary candidates for assimilation (high-frequency, salient, no phonotactic constraints, wide areal distribution), it was generally avoided, even in grammatical words where its status among native speakers of CC is much higher than in lexical words. Prothetic /v/ was acquired very sporadically, in many cases just one or two grammatical forms were recorded out of 50 or more tokens. The acquisition of forms with prothetic /v/ does, nonetheless, mirror native speakers' use of this variable, insofar as it was observed more in grammatical words than in lexical words and it was also used extremely variably, as in the example uttered by Rost'a:

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[152] Although the form *prej* evolved from older *praví* / *prají* (§ 6.2.3) as opposed to being a 'classic' case of /i:/ → /ɛj/, it is unlikely that this is in any way relevant. A possible explanation for the higher ratio of CC forms identified in this and other studies is that the variable occurs in word-final position (cf. *dobrej* >< *dobrejch*).

Vona** je snad **o** dva roky starší než **on.

*(I think that **she's** about two years older than **he** is.)*

Several factors could have contributed to the non-adoption of /v/. First, *v*-insertion is a variable rule and is governed by a range of external constraints. Second, native speakers continuously switch between forms with and without /v/ in the same utterance. Third, the apparent social decline of /v/ is manifested in speakers' attitudes towards it. An important finding in I2 was that informants consider /v/ as being 'ultra CC' and one of the most 'annoying' or 'horrible' features that Bohemians use. To return a previous observation, we said that Trudgill's notion of extra-strong salience seems to have two manifestations in the present study. On the one hand, as a result of their progression into what I have termed 'elevated CC', raised /i:/ and diphthongized /ɛj/ in certain positions are tolerated and socially acceptable, thus they are attributed with 'positive' extra-strong salience. Conversely, prothetic /v/ on a functional level has remained stagnant or has even receded, which means that here the extra-strong salience in this case is 'negative'. In addition, some informants reported an inability for whatever reason to acquire /v/.[153]

7.9 The relationship between the dependent and independent variables

As stated in the introduction, a primary objective of the study is to analyze informants' linguistic behaviour in relation to a set of pre-selected social variables. So far I have looked at the combined scores of all 37 informants from a purely linguistic

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[153] Franta said *To 'vokno' mi ňák nejde přes pusu* and Ilona stated *To 'v' nemůžu zachytit.* In the second instance, Ilona emphasizes she 'can't seem to pick it up', although she would not necessarily object to using it, while Franta 'can't bring himself to say it'.

viewpoint. Now I turn to the analysis of the relationship between assimilation of CC variants and the four social variables. The initial procedure in quantitative analysis is to study one by one the relationship between the linguistic and social variables, that is, to investigate the 'individual' correlations between the dependent and independent variables. In most cases, the initial statistical tests will be insufficient to make reliable and accurate claims about how, say, women use variant X more than men or that speakers over the age of 55 have a lower distribution of Y than speakers between the ages of 11 and 25. Unless only one out of the various social parameters proves significant for all the dependent linguistic variables under study, further statistical tests will need to be performed.

An integral part of modern-day variationist sociolinguistics is to validate data by using statistical tests of significance that can confirm the elicited results are not the product of chance. Relying solely on relative percentages can often prove misleading and the percentages cannot uncover important patterns in the data, as we shall see in the present study. However, it is also necessary to look beyond the statistical figures and to present data graphically, since charts and graphs often reveal interesting and important patterns and trends that are not conveyed by the numerical scores. To begin with, an 'analysis of variance' test will be performed on the data. This method compares mean scores and scores around the means and produces what is know as the 'F-ratio'. As L. Milroy (1987a: 122) comments, the F-ratio is controlled by 'the raw score, ... the size of the group and the manner in which the scores *within* the group are distributed or vary round the mean'. In addition, the F value is tested in terms of its significance. The result is the 'p' value. Results are considered statistically significant if 'p' is equal to or less than 0.05 (written $p < 0.05$) and highly significant results are when p is equal to or less than 0.01 (< 0.01). Put another way, when the

probability of a given result being a product of chance is less than one in 20 or for highly significant results when there is less than a one-in-one-hundred chance of a result being random. Results that are not significant are represented as $p > 0.05$, unless the level of significance is only marginally over 0.05, in which case the exact value is given. In the tables, scores that are statistically significant are highlighted in bold print.

7.9.1 Differences in accommodation in view of region of origin

First, let us look at accommodation in relation to the informants' region of origin. The fact that there are marked differences between informants' native dialects was expected to bear some influence on their assimilation of forms from the host variety. I predicted that informants from central Moravia would acquire the most CC forms due to the proximity between central Moravia and CC-speaking areas and the greater amount of dialect contact and face-to-face interaction between individuals from these two dialect regions.

Table 7.5 *Differences in accommodation in view of speakers' region of origin*

Variable	Position	Central Moravians (N=10)	East Moravians (N = 14)	Silesians (N = 13)	Level of significance
v-insertion	Pronouns	12.59%	18.45%	18.98%	F 0.143, p > 0.05
	Prepositions	7.61%	11.02%	14.93%	F 0.164, p > 0.05
	Grammatical words (total)	11.24%	14.84%	17.05%	F 0.113, p > 0.05
	Prefixed lexical words	10.26%	3.96%	11.96%	F 0.577, p > 0.05
	Non-prefixed lexical words	2.60%	1.79%	6.84%	F 0.624, p > 0.05

	Lexical words (total)	6.36%	2.75%	9.17%	F 0.651, p > 0.05
	Total	*9.49%*	*9.50%*	*13.95%*	*F 0.174, p > 0.05*
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)		52.53%	44.02%	F 0.347, p > 0.05
	Neuter singular (attributive)		44.67%	31.35%	F 0.600, p > 0.05
	Neuter singular (total)		49.23%	40.37%	F 0.344, p > 0.05
	Masculine / Neuter oblique cases		48.98%	36.27%	F 0.624, p > 0.05
	Plural		38.40%	35.98%	F 0.022, p > 0.05
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	15.09%	22.06%	28.80%	F 0.329, p > 0.05
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	17.22%	17.14%	30.13%	F 0.491, p > 0.05
	Total	*17.08%*	*41.04%*	*36.38%*	*F 1.491, p > 0.05*
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final		38.34%	25.25%	F 0.837, p > 0.05
	Desinence-initial	43.71%	13.89%	15.27%	F 1.912, p > 0.05
	Word roots	25.06%	12.67%	18.54%	F 0.485, p > 0.05
	Total	*34.98%*	*29.89%*	*21.58%*	*F 0.565, p > 0.05*
paradigm unification	Third- / fourth-conjugation	26.08%	24.37%	21.40%	F 0.061, p > 0.05
	Fifth-conjugation	61.71%	47.97%	59.70%	F 0.484, p > 0.05
	Total	*44.34%*	*40%*	*46.89%*	*F 0.184, p > 0.05*

Table 7.5, however, shows that differences between the mean scores from the three different dialect regions are for the most part minor and 'no' significant results were obtained. Contrary to our expectations, speakers of Central Moravian dialects did not use more CC forms for *v*-insertion, *é*-raising or *ý*-diphthongization than speakers from other parts of Moravia, where these forms are not encountered in the local dialects. Therefore, geographical proximity and the fact that these forms are found in Central Moravian dialects did not have the anticipated effect on accommodation. In fact, Central Moravians were the lowest scorers both for *v*-insertion and *é*-raising, by a considerable margin in the latter case.[154] Further statistical tests were performed whereby informants from East Moravia and Silesia were merged (N = 27) and compared to the mean score of the informants from Central Moravia. We earlier anticipated that due the presence of diphthongized /ɛj/ in desinence-final position in Central Moravian dialects informants from this region might use more than informants from East Moravia and Silesia in other positions. The same was predicted for *é*-raising: /i:/ is observed in Central Moravian dialects in all but the oblique cases of feminine adjectives and pronouns. The results are very interesting. While Central Moravians outscore other informants in terms of *ý*-diphthongization in desinence-initial position of adjectives and pronouns (43.71% : 14.58%; $F = 2.982$, $p = 0.094$) – the differences are smaller for *ý*-diphthongization in word roots (25.06% : 16.14%; $F = 0.472$, $p > 0.05$) – they score lower for *é*-raising in the oblique cases of feminine adjectives (15.09% : 25.31%; $F = 4.688$, $p < 0.05$), which is the only significant finding, and marginally lower for feminine pronouns (17.22% : 23.40%; $F = 1.212$, $p > 0.05$). There were no significant differences between the mean scores of the East Moravian and Silesian informants for any of the variables.

[154] This is most probably due to the fact that the Central Moravians were scored only for *é*-raising in the oblique cases of hard feminine adjectives and pronouns.

It is not easy to explain the difference between the Central Moravian informants' acquisition of CC forms with diphthongized /ɛj/ and raised /i:/ in 'non-native' positions – that is, why our prediction was confirmed for *ý*-diphthongization but not for *é*-raising. A speculative explanation is that /ɛj/ is perhaps spreading into Central Moravian dialects in other positions, while /ɛ:/ in the oblique cases of feminine adjectives and pronouns is resisting change; perhaps, in the opinions of Central Moravians, /i:/ in this position is too stereotypical of the host community or stylistically marked for Central Moravians. On the other hand, *é*-raising is a non-native feature in all positions in East Moravian and Silesian dialects (Hronek 1972: 23) and speakers from these dialect regions may not necessarily distinguish between using /i:/ in, say, *to je dobré* 'that's good' >< *to je dobrý* and *na druhé lékařské (fakultě)* >< *na druhý lékařský* 'at the Second Medical Faculty'.

In sum, we can reliably conclude that speakers from different areas of Moravia follow a similar pattern in accommodating towards CC and region of origin as a standalone factor does not have a significant impact on speakers' accommodation.

7.9.2 Sex-related differences in accommodation

Sex was identified as a potentially interesting variable in view of the trends that have been highlighted in the variationist literature concerning the linguistic behaviour of men and women. On the other hand, since little is known about sex differentiation in accommodation-based studies, it was difficult to predict if and how sex-related differences would be manifested.

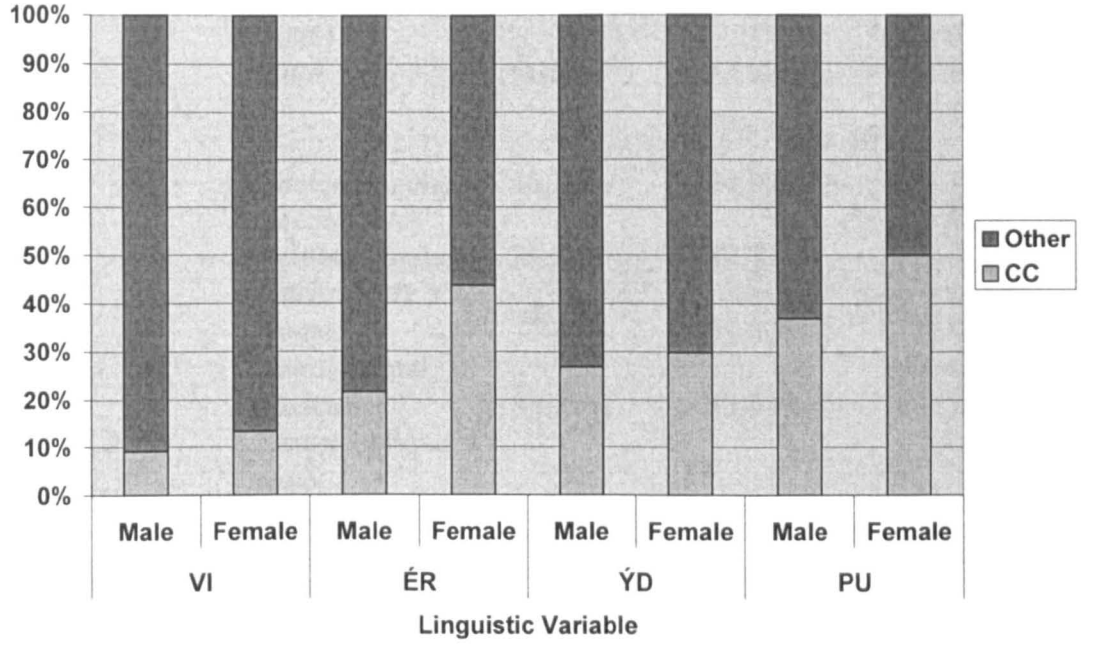

Figure 7.4 *Sex-related differences in accommodation*

As we see in Figure 7.4, women outscore men for all the four variables that were analyzed: their level of acquisition of the CC variants is marginally higher for *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization, while it is notably higher for *é*-raising and to a lesser extent for paradigm unification. The scores for the individual positions are presented in the Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 *Sex-related differences in accommodation*

Variable	Position	Male (N = 18)	Female (N = 19)	Level of significance
v-insertion	Pronouns	13.92%	21.42%	F 2.724, p > 0.05
	Prepositions	10.92%	12.94%	F 1.120, p > 0.05
	Grammatical words (total)	12.75%	17.42%	F 1.284, p > 0.05
	Prefixed lexical words	7.06%	9.72%	F 0.927, p > 0.05
	Non-prefixed lexical words	1.71%	6.34%	F 3.746, p = 0.062

	Lexical words (total)	4.18%	7.94%	F 1.500, p > 0.05
	Total	*9.22%*	*13.42%*	*F 1.615, p > 0.05*
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)	40.33%	54.90%	F 1.170, p > 0.05
	Neuter singular (attributive)	26.88%	47.77%	F 2.983, p = 0.098
	Neuter singular(total)	33.89%	53.82%	F 2.818, p > 0.05
	Masculine / Neuter oblique cases	31.31%	52.34%	F 1.163, p > 0.05
	Plural	26.07%	46.17%	**F 6.717, p < 0.05**
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	11.12%	33.16%	**F 20.688, p < 0.001**
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	11.05%	31.84%	**F 17.076, p < 0.001**
	Total	*21.61%*	*43.65%*	***F 11.880, p < 0.01***
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final	27.75%	35.47%	F 2.651, p > 0.05
	Desinence-initial	17.85%	27.02%	F 1.325, p > 0.05
	Word roots	15.17%	21.75%	F 2.105, p > 0.05
	Total	*26.76%*	*29.85%*	*F 0.001, p > 0.05*
paradigm unification	Third / fourth-conjugation	25.59%	22.15%	F 0.672, p > 0.05
	Fifth-conjugation	40.24%	70.55%	F 1.993, p > 0.05
	Total	*36.81%*	*50.02%*	***F 5.041, p < 0.05***

The only position where men outscore women is for paradigm unification in third- and fourth-conjugation verbs, and here the difference between the male and female informants is negligible (25.59% : 22.15%). In fact, women outscore men on 16 out of 17 occasions – if we include the results of *l*-truncation and gender neutralization, for

which female informants also acquired slightly more CC forms for these two variables than men (25% : 17.38%; F = 3.248, p = 0.083 (*l*-truncation); 18.19% : 12.28%; F = 1.274, p > 0.05). The statistics show, however, that differences in accommodation between the male and the female informants are significant only for paradigm unification and *é*-raising in some positions. Nevertheless, at this stage it appears that we have made an important discovery, since we have identified that women use more CC forms than men.

7.9.3 Differences in accommodation in view of length of residence in the host community

Now let us turn our attention to the third independent variable – length of residence. Our initial assumption was that the informants who had lived the longest in Prague would in theory use the most CC forms, although material elicited in similar studies rejects the hypothesis that the longer a speaker lives in a particular community the more his or her speech becomes closer to the variety spoken there (HPD 1978, Kerswill 1994). As an initial step, informants were placed into three groups with respect to the time they had spent in the host community ('0-2.5 years', '2.5-5 years' and '5 years +') and an analysis of variance test was used to illustrate differences between the linguistic behaviour of these groups. The scores are given in Table 7.7 below.

Table 7.7 *Differences in accommodation in view of length of residence*

Variable	**Position**	**0-2.5 years (N = 14)**	**2.5-5 years (N = 12)**	**5 years + (N = 11)**	**Level of significance**
v-insertion	Pronouns	4.91%	13.60%	45.93%	**F 7.745, p < 0.01**
	Prepositions	0%	8.55%	37.49%	**F 5.387,**

					p < 0.05
	Grammatical words (total)	2.85%	10.55%	44.01%	**F 9.063, p < 0.001**
	Prefixed lexical words	4.16%	5.09%	22.21%	F 1.899, p > 0.05
	Non-prefixed lexical words	2.02%	2.70%	9.53%	F 0.807, p > 0.05
	Lexical words (total)	3.29%	3.44%	15.86%	F 1.700, p > 0.05
	Total	*3.08%*	*7.40%*	*32.63%*	***F 4.027, p < 0.05***
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)	37.13%	53.34%	51.43%	F 0.427, p > 0.05
	Neuter singular (attributive)	26.94%	47.50%	37.50%	F 0.414, p > 0.05
	Neuter singular (total)	33.57%	52.56%	45.34%	F 0.476, p > 0.05
	Masculine / Neuter oblique cases	33.64%	50.14%	42.16%	F 0.307, p > 0.05
	Plural	31.66%	42.67%	35.70%	F 0.147, p > 0.05
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	19.65%	26.71%	22.11%	F 0.102, p > 0.05
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	23.21%	18.24%	23.64%	F 0.073, p > 0.05
	Total	*22.90%*	*41.89%*	*35.90%*	*F 0.999, p > 0.05*
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final	10.87%	38.33%	40.57%	F 1.628, p > 0.05
	Desinence-initial	8.64%	26.57%	30.81%	F 1.077, p > 0.05
	Word roots	9.76%	20.32%	27.80%	F 1.113, p > 0.05
	Total	*14.91%*	*35.73%*	*37.38%*	*F 2.380, p > 0.05*
paradigm unification	Third- / fourth-conjugation	13.46%	26.60%	34.83%	F 0.414, p > 0.05
	Fifth-conjugation	48.46%	61.60%	58.83%	F 0.432, p > 0.05
	Total	*31.75%*	*49.48%*	*52.25%*	*F 1.987,*

p > 0.05

The tests show that with the exception of *v*-insertion in grammatical words (pronouns $F = 7.745$, $p < 0.01$; prepositions $F = 5.387$, $p < 0.05$; Total 9.063, $p < 0.001$), the other findings are not statistically significant. It should be pointed out, however, that just as linguists should not rely solely on relative percentages and should incorporate statistical tests in order to validate their data, they should also look beyond the statistical data. Statistics sometimes hide the truth about usage instead of revealing it and, if we present the data in a line graph, it is strikingly obvious the way in which accommodation works with respect to three of the linguistic variables.

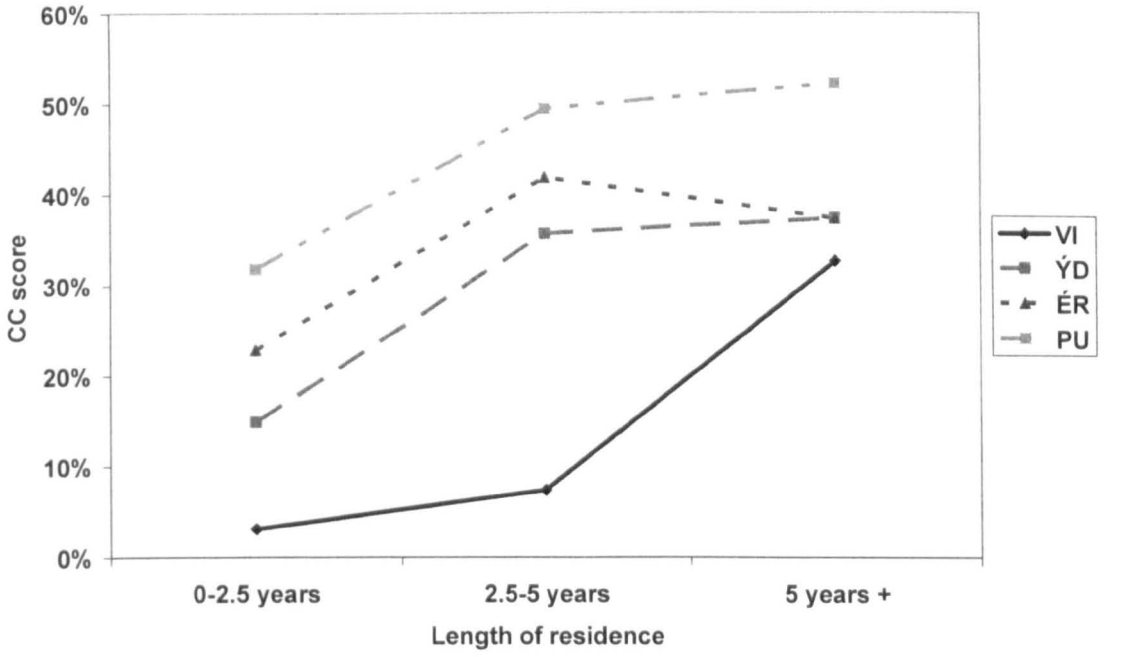

Figure 7.5 *Differences in accommodation in view of length of residence*

Viewing the data presented in Figure 7.5, we see that with the exception of *v*-insertion there is a clear pattern of acquisition for all the other variables: there is a

relatively sharp rise in the use of CC forms between the '0-2.5 years' and '2.5-5 years' subgroups and then the acquisition process seems to stabilize. We see an almost identical route of acquisition for the three variables, although for *é*-raising the '5 years +' subgroup uses marginally less CC forms than the '2.5-5 years' subgroup. These results, therefore, strongly support the notion that after a relatively short time, in the present case after about 2-2.5 years – or at least at some point between 2.5 and 5 years – the impact of length of residence on the assimilation of variants of the host variety becomes less significant and is overridden by other social factors. On the other hand, it seems that *v*-insertion is acquired later than the other variants: there is relatively little variation in the '0-2.5 years' and '2.5-5 years' subgroups and then a sharp rise in the '5 years +' subgroup. This holds for acquisition of /v/ in both grammatical and lexical words, as we see in Figure 7.6.

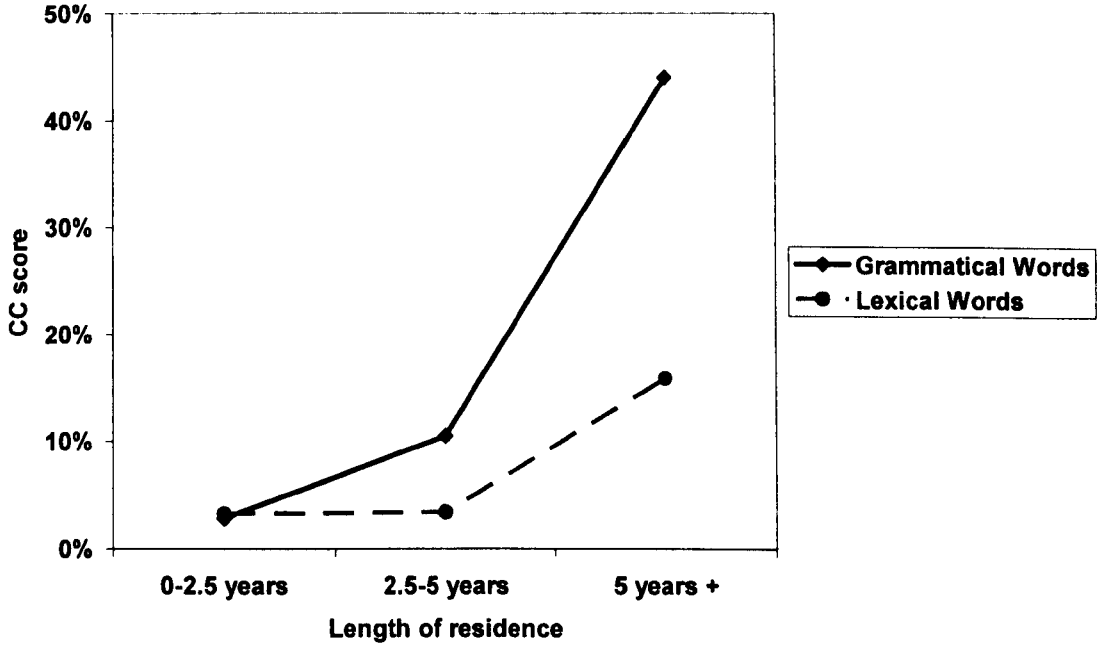

Figure 7.6 *Differences in v-insertion in view of length of residence*

The interesting 'rise-drop' pattern that was identified for *é*-raising is consistent in all positions, except in the oblique cases of feminine pronouns, where a 'drop-rise' pattern is observed.

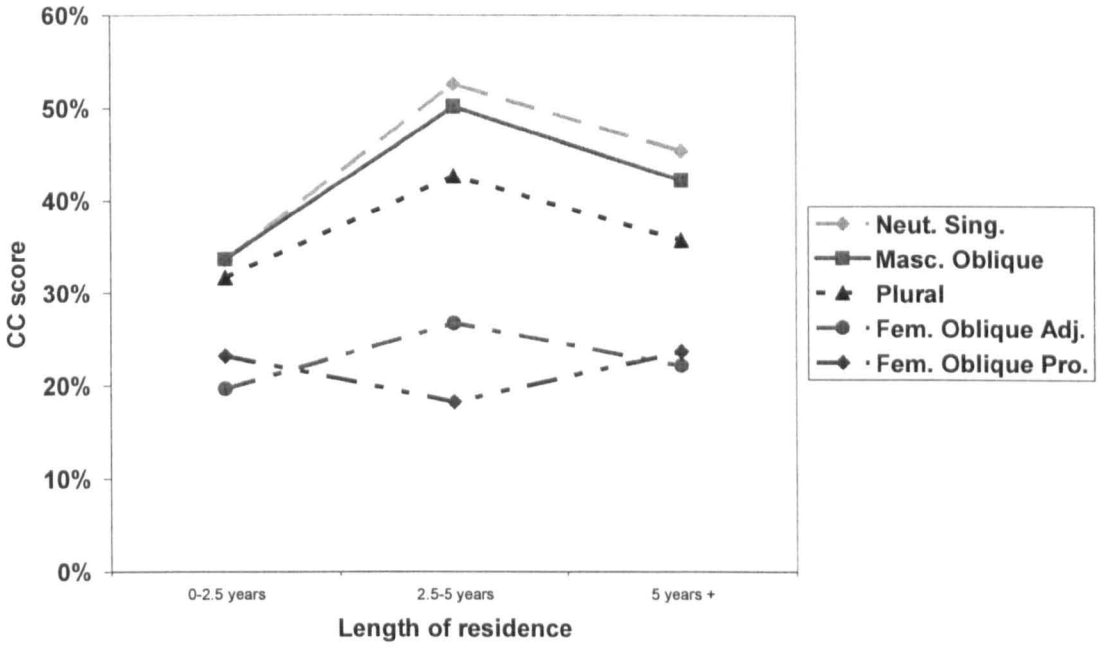

Figure 7.7 *Differences in é-raising in view of length of residence*

The fact that *é*-raising in the pronoun forms behaves differently is most probably due to there being only minimal differences between the three groups. This pattern is surprising and an initial reaction is to check for biases in the '2.5-5 years' and '5 years +' subgroups. A significant difference in network integration between the two groups was considered a potential reason for the slight decrease in acquisition. However, the '2.5-5 years' subgroup (N = 12) has a mean network score of 7.5 points and the '5 years +' subgroup (N = 11) has a mean network score of 7.36, only marginally lower. This does not explain why the level of acquisition is lower in the '5 years + subgroup'. This strange and unexpected patterning can perhaps be accounted for in view of speaker sex: in the '2.5-5 years' subgroup there are 8 female informants and 4 male informants, while in the '5 years +' subgroup there are more male than female

informants (7 : 4). This seems plausible, insomuch as we have already established that sex-related differences are significant for *é*-raising, more so than for *ý*-diphthongization and paradigm unification, and, as we shall see in a moment, female high-scorers generally accommodate more than male high-scorers.

When length of residence is recoded into two categories: '0-2.5 years' and a new group of '2.5 years +' (N = 23), the differences between the mean scores is statistically significant for *ý*-diphthongization ($F = 10.396$, $p < 0.01$) but not for *é*-raising or paradigm unification. If length of residence is recoded into '0-5 years' (N = 26) and '5 years +', then the only significant correlation is for *v*-insertion ($F = 47.417$, $p < 0.001$), which we would have expected from the data in Figure 7.5. Based on the above evidence, we can conclude that there is only a significant correlation between length of residence and the assimilation of two of the four variables: *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization. There is less variation over time, however, in terms of the acquisition of /i:/ or the adoption of CC third-person plural forms in *-ej* or *-aj*.

So far, the relationship between informants' length of residence and their linguistic behaviour has been measured by creating somewhat artificial boundaries between speakers who have lived in Prague between X and Y years. The practice of grouping informants to display patterns of linguistic variation is a common method in the variationist paradigm and it has been proved to show interesting patterns of variation; however, the artificial grouping systems employed so far may not be capable of showing important differences between individual speakers. Obviously, not only is it important to identify differences in the linguistic behaviour of speakers who have lived in the host community for up to two-and-a-half years and those who have lived for five years of over, we also want to be able to explain variation at the individual level and compare the linguistic behaviour of a speaker who has lived in

the host community for, say, just one year with another individual who has lived there for two years and, so on. To achieve this, linguistic scores were correlated with the number of years informants had lived in Prague using the Spearman rank order correlation, which was calculated in SPSS 14. 0.1.

The Spearman rank order is a bivariate statistical test that has been employed in studies that have sought to identify the relationship between speakers' linguistic behaviour and their position within a particular community or network (Gal 1979, L. Milroy 1987a (1980), Bortoni-Ricardo 1985). It is used in this study to correlate scores on the integration index and levels of acquisition and it can also be employed here in correlating informants' length of residence and their accommodation. Scores are measured between -1, which is a perfect negative correlation, and 1, a perfect positive correlation; a coefficient close to 0 implies there is little correlation between the two variables under study. Therefore, this test is capable of identifying whether or not speakers use more CC forms the longer they live in Prague. The Spearman (Rho) coefficient is tested for significance using the 't-test', which gives the value 'p', which we interpret in the same way as for the F value (§ 7.9). The results are presented in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 *Correlations between years spent in the host community and accommodation*

Variable	**Position**	***R***	**Level of significance**
v-insertion	Pronouns	**0.503**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Prepositions	**0.578**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Grammatical words (total)	**0.510**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Prefixed lexical words	0.258	$p > 0.05$
	Non-prefixed lexical words	0.088	$p > 0.05$
	Lexical words	0.218	$p > 0.05$

	(total)		
	Total	***0.396***	***p < 0.05***
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)	0.247	p > 0.05
	Neuter singular (attributive)	0.173	p > 0.05
	Neuter singular (total)	0.245	p > 0.05
	Masculine / Neuter oblique cases	0.155	p > 0.05
	Plural	0.117	p > 0.05
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	0.129	p > 0.05
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	0.129	p > 0.05
	Total	*0.306*	*p > 0.05*
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final	**0.382**	**p < 0.05**
	Desinence-initial	0.213	p > 0.05
	Word roots	**0.345**	**p < 0.05**
	Total	***0.339***	***p < 0.05***
paradigm unification	Third- / fourth-conjugation	0.282	p > 0.05
	Fifth-conjugation	0.183	p > 0.05
	Total	*0.283*	*p > 0.05*

The more detailed correlation tests confirm the earlier results that length of residence correlates with some variables more than it does with others. Table 7.8 shows that *é*-raising and paradigm unification are not influenced by length of residence as a standalone factor, while there seems to a significant relationship between length of residence and *v*-insertion and, to a lesser extent, *ý*-diphthongization. That said, the coefficient for *v*-insertion ($r = 0.396$) is only a relatively weak positive correlation and we should not make any definite conclusions based on this result; the correlation between *ý*-diphthongization and length of residence is even weaker ($r = 0.339$). The first important finding is that between length of residence and *ý*-diphthongization the correlation is significant only in desinence-final position of

adjectives but not in other positions. The situation with respect to *v*-insertion is very interesting. While length of residence and *v*-insertion in lexical words are correlated only slightly, there is a relatively strong correlation between them in grammatical words and these results are highly significant. In order to demonstrate the correlations in a more lucid manner, the scores are presented below in scatter charts.

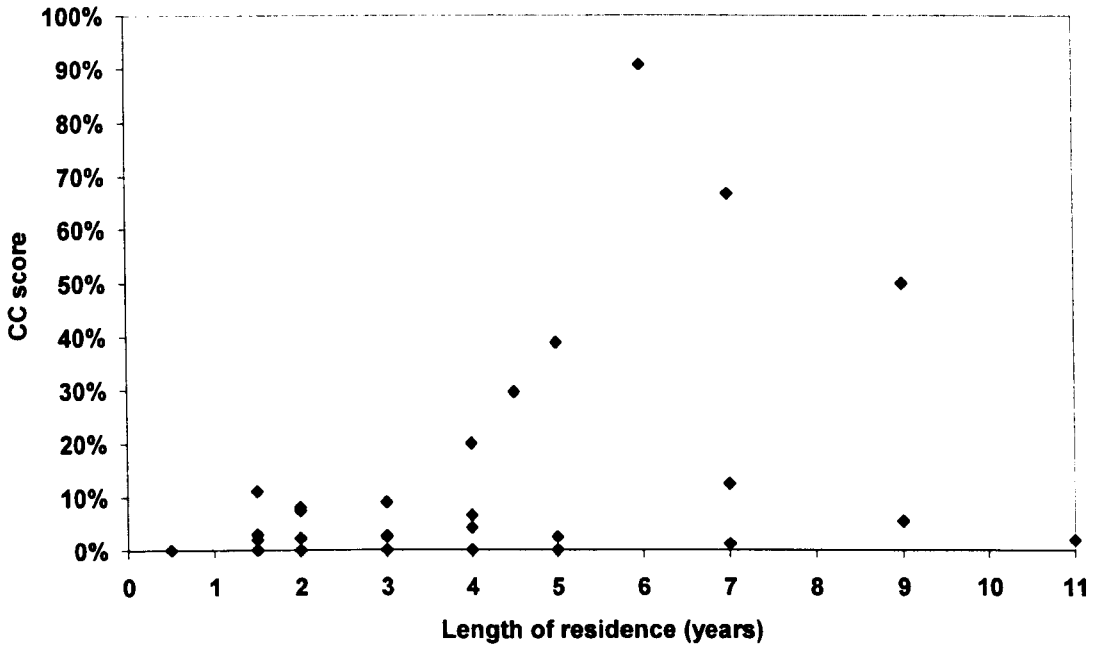

Figure 7.8 *Correlations between length of residence and v-insertion*

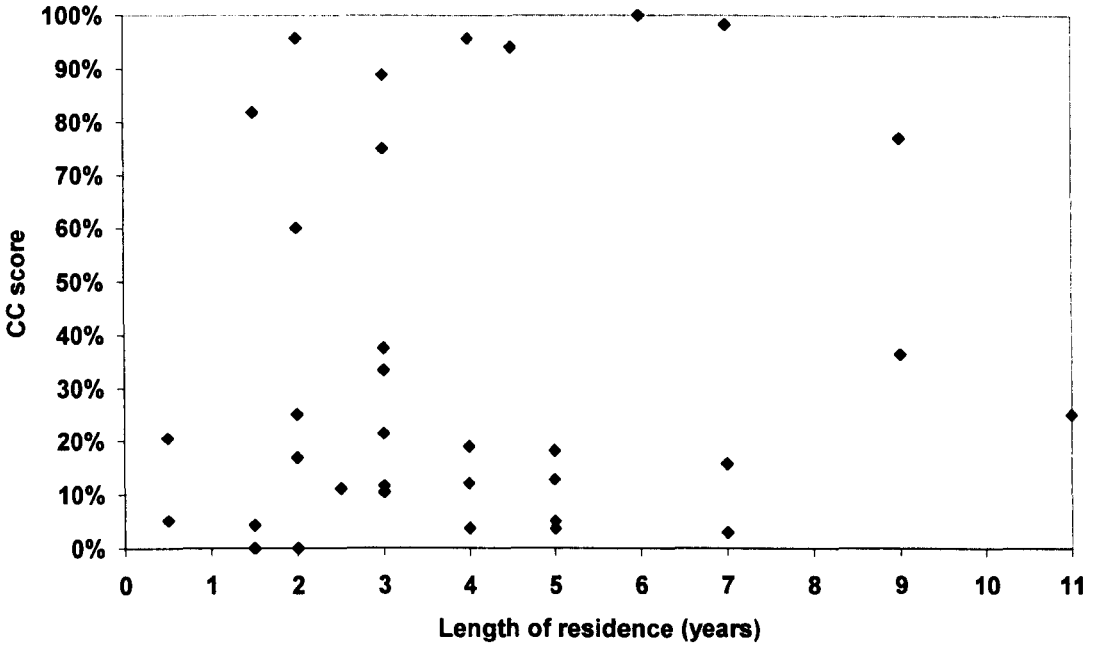

Figure 7.9 *Correlations between length of residence and é-raising*

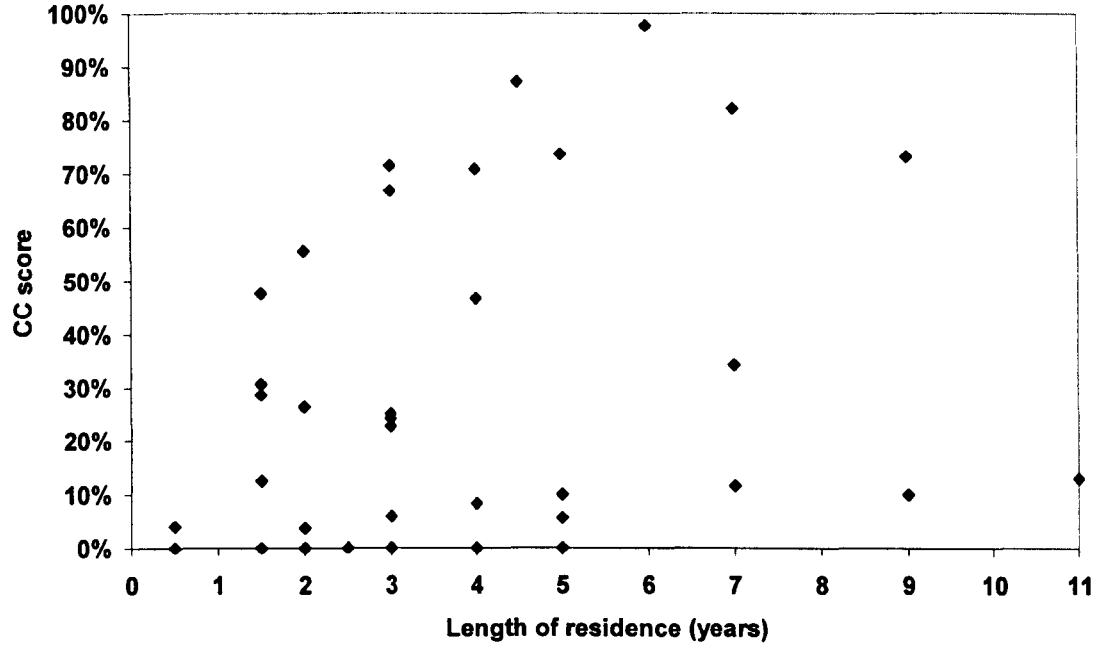

Figure 7.10 *Correlations between length of residence and ý-diphthongization*

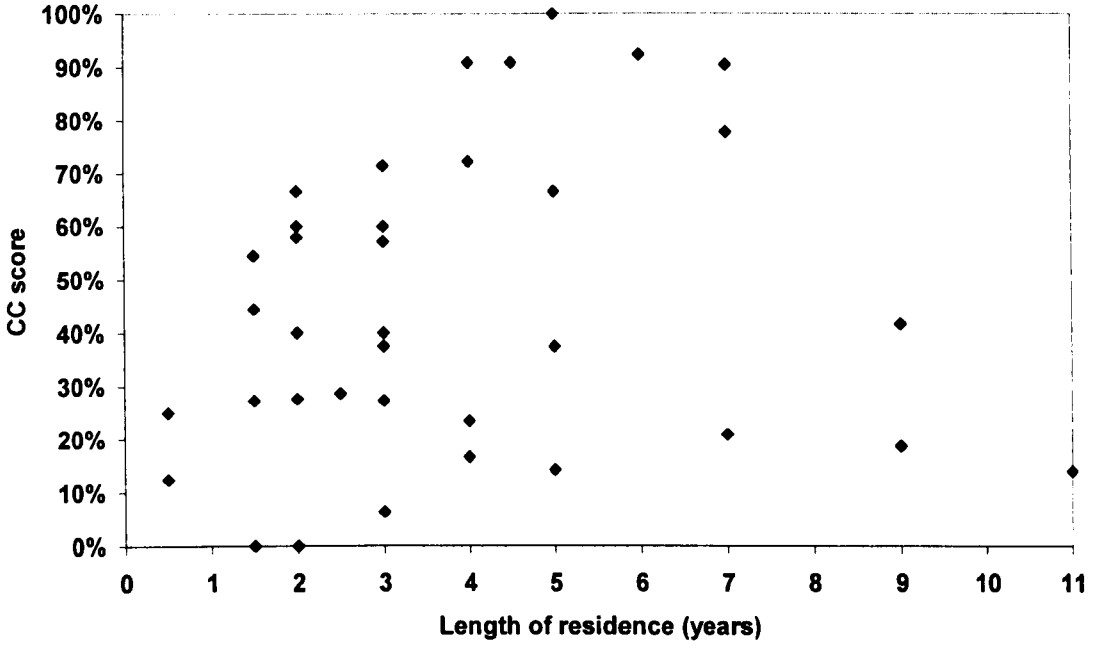

Figure 7.11 *Correlations between length of residence and paradigm unification*

If we take *v*-insertion, which according to the statistics is influenced the most by length of residence, we do in fact see the highest acquirers are predominantly those that have lived in Prague for five or more years. Figures 7.10 and 7.11 once again shows the gradual rise then stabilization pattern for *ý*-diphthongization and paradigm unification and, unlike *v*-insertion, speakers' rates of acquisition can exceed 60 percent in as little as two years. As we see in Figure 7.9, the pattern for *é*-raising is much more random and informants use the CC forms categorically after just two years. The scatter charts confirm, therefore, that with the exception of *v*-insertion informants are capable of acquiring CC forms in as little as one-and-a-half to two years, if other external factors are favourable.

7.9.4 Differences in accommodation in view of network integration in the host community

One of the most important parts of the study was to identify to what extent informants' life-styles influenced their linguistic behaviour. Informants were scored according to criteria that were expected to increase their 'accommodability': in view of their level of exposure to the host variety, the amount and type of contact with speakers of the host variety, their reasons for coming to Prague and their future plans upon completion of their degree programmes, and to what extent they maintained ties with their native speech community. Collectively, this set of criteria was named the 'integration index'. As an initial step in testing the correlation between scores on the integration index and linguistic variable scores, informants were grouped into three categories depending on the number of points they had scored on the integration index: '0-4 points', '5-9 points' and '10 points +'. These scores are presented below.

Table 7.9 *Differences in accommodation in view of network integration*

Variable	**Position**	**0-4 points (N = 10)**	**5-9 points (N = 16)**	**10 points + (N = 11)**	**Level of significance**
v-insertion	Pronouns	11.34%	8.47%	33.86%	**F 3.708, p < 0.05**
	Prepositions	8.83%	1.32%	26.74%	
	Grammatical words (total)	10.68%	5.24%	30.79%	**F 3.872, p < 0.05**
	Prefixed lexical words	7.98%	0.89%	18.04%	**F 2.518, p = 0.097**
	Non-prefixed lexical words	2.02%	0.79%	9.35%	**F 1.764, p > 0.05**
	Lexical words (total)	4.94%	0.84%	13.27%	**F 2.500, p = 0.099**
	Total	*7.17%*	*3.24%*	*24.63%*	***F 4.138, p < 0.05***
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)	24.38%	35.43%	72.37%	**F 5.392, p < 0.05**

	Neuter singular (attributive)	0%	21.60%	37.74%	**F 7.185, p < 0.01**
	Neuter singular(total)	13.76%	32.56%	71.55%	**F 6.977, p < 0.01**
	Masculine / Neuter oblique cases	16.68%	23.30%	71.40%	**F 7.169, p < 0.01**
	Plural	1.54%	23.54%	67.15%	**F 8.432, p < 0.01**
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	4.17%	12.94%	52.24%	**F 6.247, p < 0.01**
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	6.00%	15.45%	45.16%	**F 3.764, p < 0.05**
	Total	*6.82%*	*27.17%*	*65.04%*	***F 12.315, p < 0.001***
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final	8.98%	21.32%	53.25%	**F 3.973, p < 0.05**
	Desinence-initial	12.10%	18.52%	35.00%	F 0.964, p > 0.05
	Word roots	22.31%	7.18%	31.65%	F 2.367, p > 0.05
	Total	*20.66%*	*22.92%*	*43.22%*	*F 1.999, p > 0.05*
paradigm unification	Third- / fourth-conjugation	18.33%	15.89%	39.48%	F 2.057, p > 0.05
	Fifth-conjugation	55.55%	40.06%	78.94%	**F 4.093, p < 0.05**
	Total	*40.99%*	*29.78%*	*66.05%*	***F 6.719, p < 0.01***

The first thing that stands out in comparison with the other independent variables is the number of statistically significant results obtained for network integration. After the first stage of the analysis, network integration seems to have an important impact on accommodation for all the linguistic variables except *ý*-diphthongization. The relationship between speakers' accommodation and network integration is demonstrated in Figure 7.12.

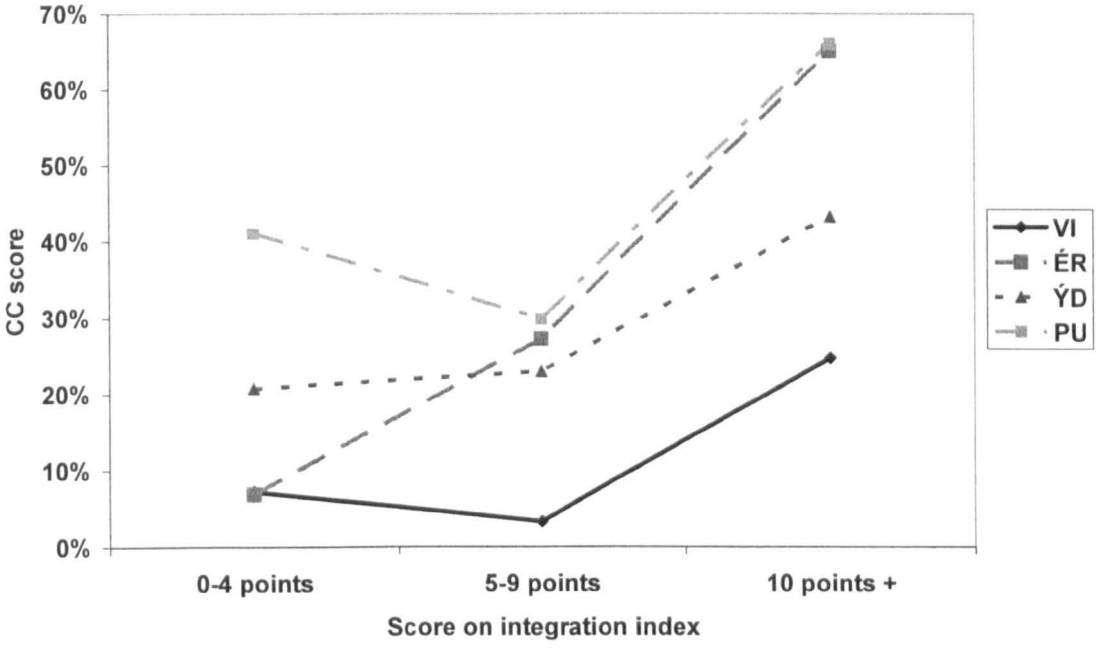

Figure 7.12 *Differences in accommodation in view of network integration*

Figure 7.12 shows that *v*-insertion, *ý*-diphthongization and paradigm unification behave very similarly: there is little variation between the '0-4 points' and '5-9 points' subgroups and then a sharp rise in accommodation in the '10 points +' subgroup. The best correlation is clearly between network integration and *é*-raising and here we see that accommodation increases the more points informants score on the integration index. This is consistent in all positions.

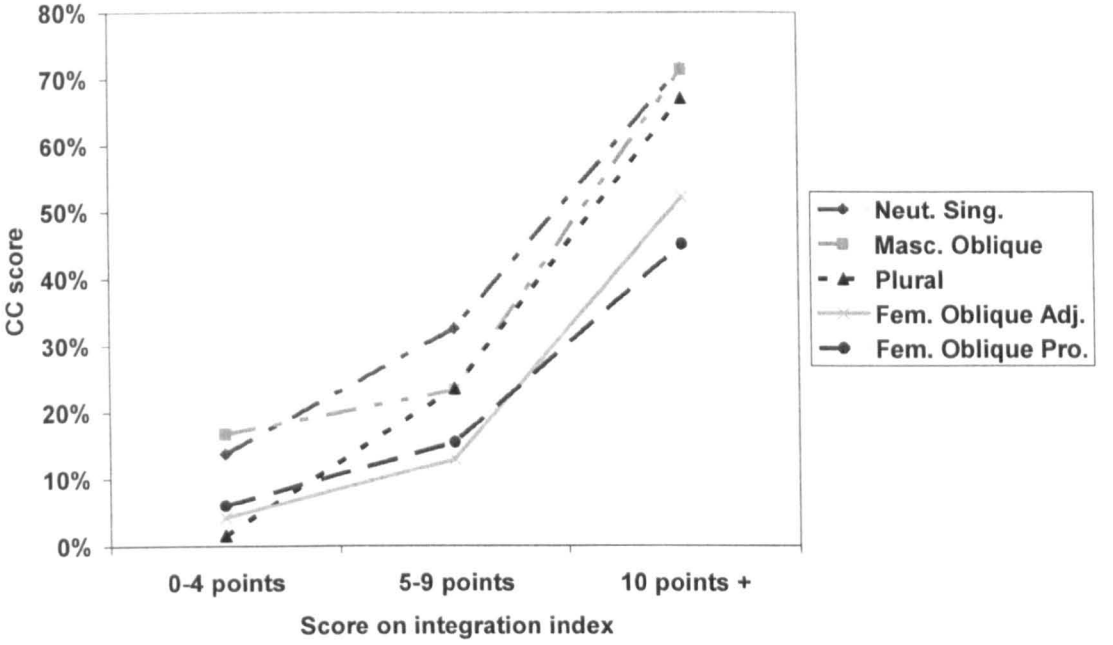

Figure 7.13 *Differences in é-raising in view of network integration*

If we turn our attention back to Figure 7.12, a somewhat surprising result is that for both *v*-insertion and paradigm unification, the '5-9 points' subgroup scores lower than the '0-4 points' subgroup; and for *ý*-diphthongization accommodation in the '5-9 points' subgroup is only marginally higher. Once again, further tests were performed to try to understand and explain this unexpected patterning. On this occasion, however, the tests do not provide a conclusive answer. Differences between the two subgroups are negligible in terms of speaker sex: in the '0-4 points' subgroup (N = 10) there are four female and six male informants, in the '5-9 points' subgroup (N = 16) there is an even distribution male and female informants. Differences are also negligible in terms of length of residence (3.3 years : 3.68 years). Both groups have an even mix of informants from Central Moravia (5 : 5) and East Moravia (4 : 6), but not of Silesian informants (1 : 5). The higher percentage of Silesian informants in the '4-9 points' subgroup is obviously not the reason, since Silesians were the highest acquirers with respect to both *v*-insertion and paradigm unification. There is,

however, a possible 'sociopsychological' explanation for the unexpected patterning. Figure 7.12 shows that the pattern of acquisition for *v*-insertion and paradigm unification is similar to that of *ý*-diphthongization. Thus, to look at the matter from a different angle, we could state that for all these three variables there is little variation between the '0-4 points' and '5-9 points' subgroups and then a sharp increase in the use of CC forms in the '10 points +' subgroup. As we established earlier, *é*-raising has the highest level of social acceptance and it was the most tolerated form among my informants. Due to its greater social acceptance or prestige, even less integrated speakers might be inclined to adopt it. On the other hand, assimilation of the other 'more stigmatized' variants might require a higher level of integration before accommodation can commence. Support for this hypothesis comes from speakers' assimilation of another CC variant with a high level of social acceptance and tolerance – *ý*-diphthongization in desinence-final position of hard masculine adjectives.

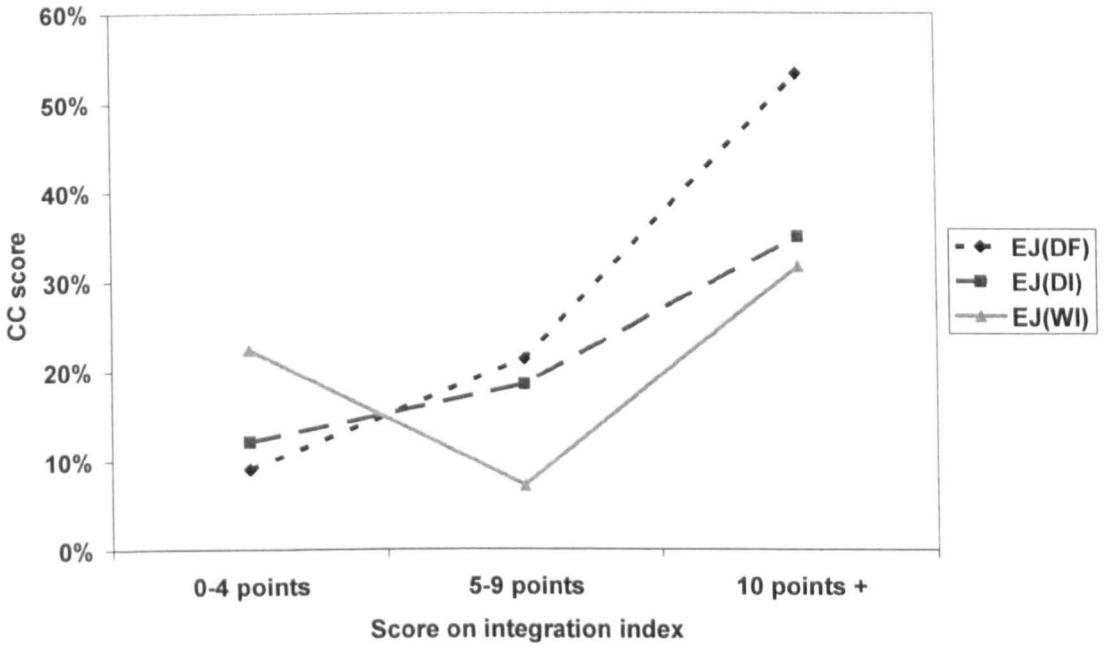

Figure 7.14 *Differences in ý-diphthongization in view of network integration*

From the data in Figure 7.14 it is apparent that *ý*-diphthongization in desinence-final position, though not in other positions, behaves in a similar fashion as *é*-raising. This corresponds to the suggested 'social acceptance / tolerance' model that was proposed, insomuch as /ɛj/ has a higher social status and is tolerated more in desinence-final position than it is in desinence-initial position or in word roots. Therefore, we have uncovered a very important pattern. While for some variables a high level of integration is needed before acquisition commences, other CC forms may be readily assimilated even by low-scorers. If we recode the '0-4 points' and '5-9 points' subgroups into a combined subgroup '0-9 points' (N = 26) and then run an independent *t*-test on the linguistic scores in this new subgroup and the '10 points +' subgroup (N = 11), the results for *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization are both highly significant ($F = 25.349$, $p < 0.001$ (*v*-insertion); $F = 11.779$, $p < 0.01$ (*ý*-diphthongization)).

If we apply the same bivariate tests that were used to examine the relationship between informants' linguistic behaviour and length of residence, we can obtain a more fine-grained account of the relationship between network integration and accommodation.

Table 7.10 *Correlations between scores on the integration index and linguistic variable scores*

Variable	**Position**	***R***	**Level of significance**
v-insertion	Pronouns	**0.377**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Prepositions	0.304	$p > 0.05$
	Grammatical words (total)	**0.356**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Prefixed lexical words	0.295	$p > 0.05$
	Non-prefixed lexical words	0.322	$p > 0.05$

	Lexical words (total)	**0.363**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Total	***0.336***	***$p < 0.05$***
é-raising	Neuter singular (predicative)	**0.573**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Neuter singular (attributive)	**0.641**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Neuter singular (total)	**0.612**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Masculine / Neuter oblique cases	**0.568**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Plural	**0.691**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Feminine oblique cases (adjectives)	**0.466**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Feminine oblique cases (pronouns)	**0.410**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Total	***0.670***	***$p < 0.01$***
ý-diphthongization	Desinence-final	**0.486**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Desinence-initial	0.245	$p > 0.05$
	Word roots	0.133	$p > 0.05$
	Total	*0.300*	*$p > 0.05$*
paradigm unification	Third- / fourth-conjugation	**0.352**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Fifth-conjugation	**0.255**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Total	***0.394***	***$p < 0.05$***

The bivariate analysis highlights that there is a positive correlation between all the linguistic variables and network integration; however, the only strong positive correlation ($r = 0.5$ or over) is between *é*-raising and network integration ($r = 0.670$, $p < 0.01$). If we break down the results into individual positions, we see a similar pattern to what was identified when network integration was divided into differently weighted groups. There is a strong positive correlation between network integration and *é*-raising in the neuter singular of hard adjectives, the oblique cases of masculine hard adjectives and pronouns and in inanimate plurals, and there is also a relatively strong correlation between network integration and *é*-raising in the oblique cases of hard feminine adjectives and pronouns. A further significant correlation is observed

between network integration and *ý*-diphthongization in desinence-final position of hard adjectives ($r = 0.486$, $p < 0.05$). Thus, this more detailed analysis that addresses language use on an individual level confirms the patterns of variation and correlation observed in the group data. A further way of presenting these correlation data is to present the results in scatter charts. This allows us to view how accommodation works at the level of the individual speaker.

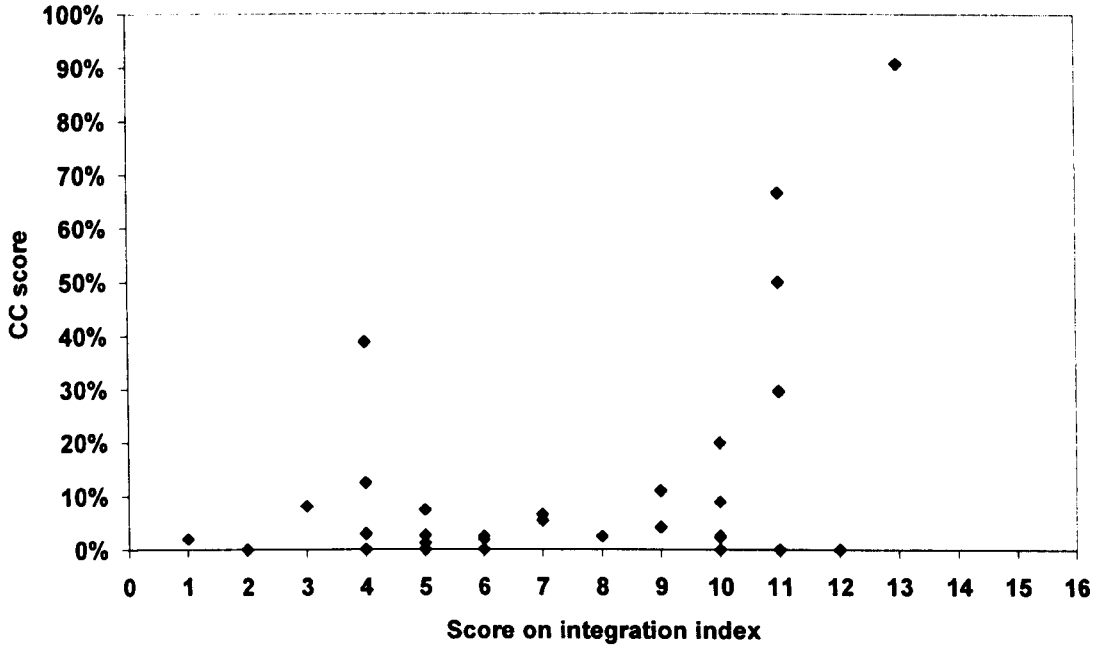

Figure 7.15 *Correlations between network integration and v-insertion*

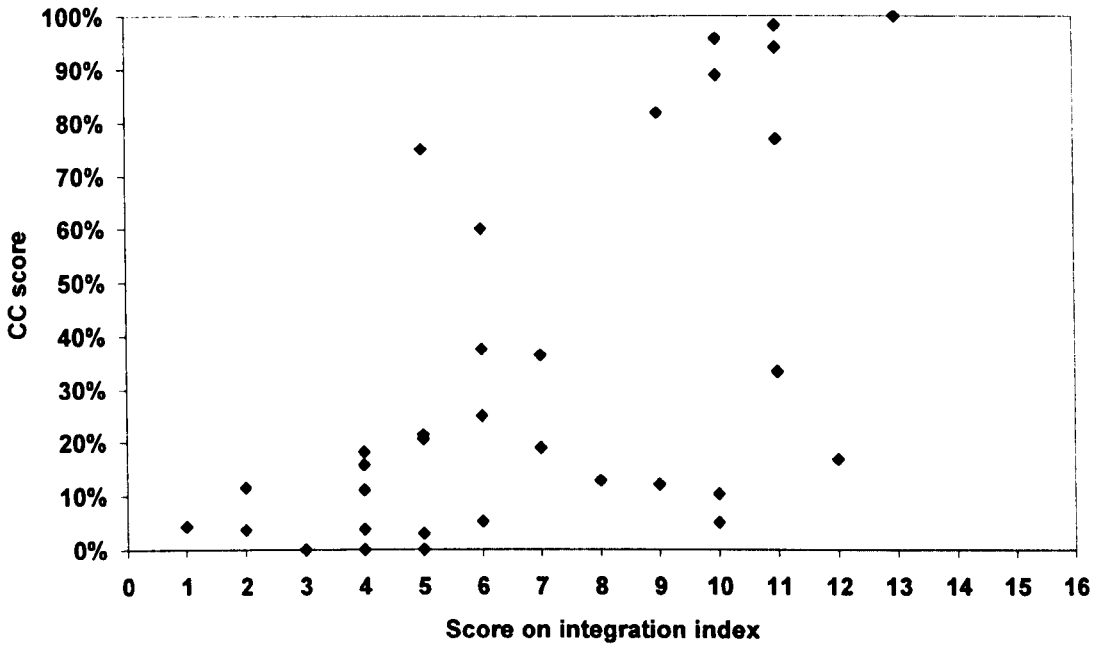

Figure 7.16 *Correlations between network integration and é-raising*

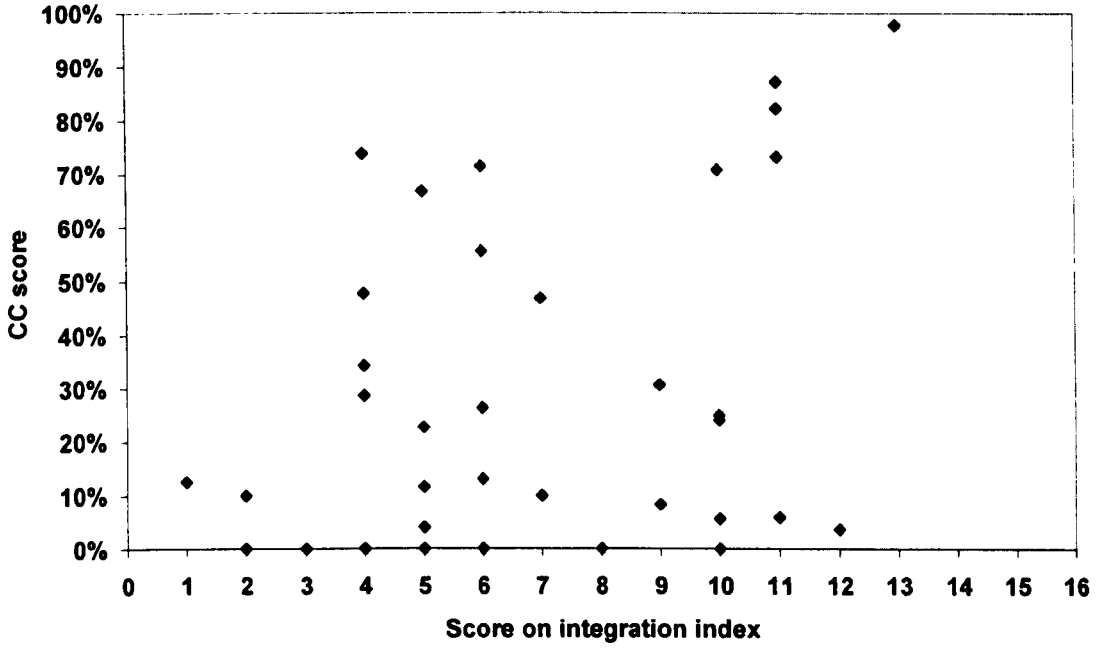

Figure 7.17 *Correlations between network integration and ý-diphthongization*

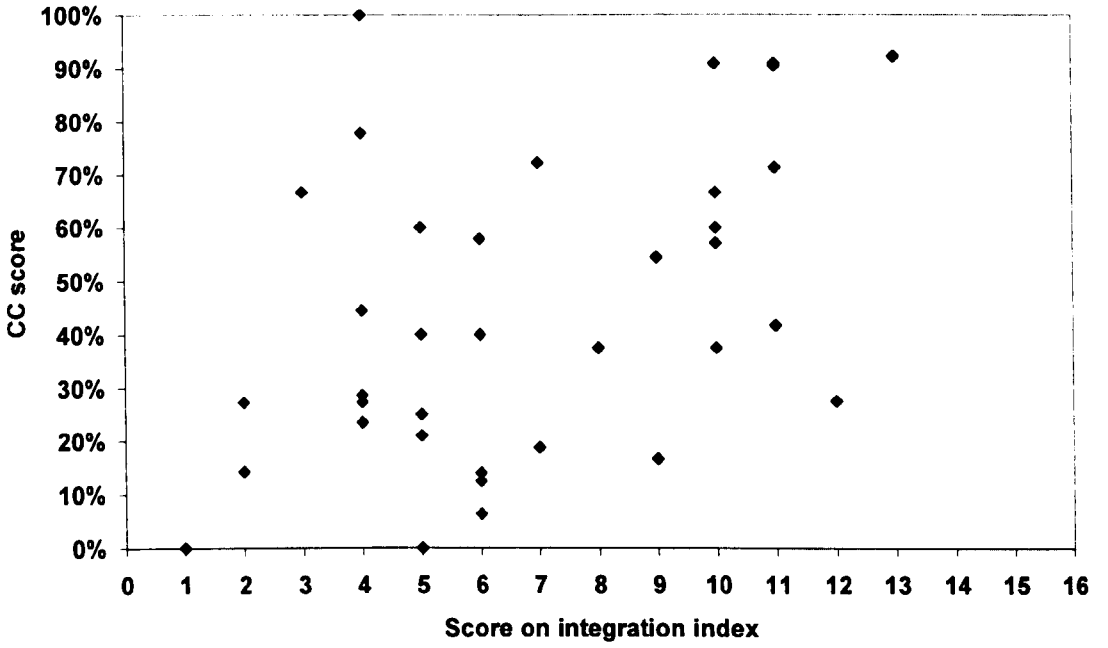

Figure 7.18 *Correlations between network integration and paradigm unification*

With regard to *v*-insertion, Figure 7.15 is fairly conclusive. It is visible that, with one exception, only informants who are high scorers on the integration index – in this case with a score of 11 or more points – use this feature on a regular basis. Low scorers do not use /v/ or use it very sporadically. The scatter graph visualizes what we have already established by analyzing the statistics: a prerequisite for the acquisition of /v/ is a high score on the integration index. The weakest correlation was between network integration and *ý*-diphthongization ($r = 0.300$, $p > 0.05$); however, viewing the data in Figure 7.17, we do see that the very low scorers (those with 3 or less points) are the lowest acquirers and the highest scorers (those with 11 or more points) are generally the highest acquirers, while there is considerable variation in between these values. The strong positive correlation between *é*-raising and network integration is clearly visible in Figure 7.16, while Figure 7.18 shows that for paradigm unification, although this is the second strongest correlation according to the statistics,

high scorers in some cases have relatively low rates of acquisition and some of the informants with a low score of, say, 3 or 4 points have acquired the CC forms to a relatively high degree. In sum, the data, which we have presented in various ways, confirm that there is an important link between informants' linguistic behaviour and their integration in the host community.

7.10 Looking beyond the initial data

The first stage of analysis, in which we looked at the impact of the four social parameters taken in isolation as standalone independent variables, has revealed the following:

1. Region of origin (as a standalone independent) has little effect on migrants' linguistic behaviour and is overridden by other, more influential social factors. There is no evidence to suggest that informants whose native dialects share certain forms with CC or those who are from regions in closer proximity to the host community accommodate the most.

2. Length of residence follows similar patterns to those identified in other studies, insomuch as accommodation stabilizes after a relatively short time; the only strong positive correlation between length of residence and accommodation is with *v*-insertion in grammatical words.

3. Sex as a standalone independent variable appears to have an important impact on linguistic behaviour; if we include *l*-truncation and gender neutralization women outscore men in 16 out of a total 17 positions.

However, few of the differences between the mean scores are statistically significant.

4. Network integration seems at this stage to be the most important standalone factor; high-scorers use more CC forms than low-scorers for all the variables and the tests showed several statistically significant correlations. The bivariate results highlighted a particularly strong correlation between network integration and the assimilation of raised /i:/.

Obviously, these initial results are very limited and further tests need to be performed in order to make any reliable judgements about how informants' linguistic behaviour is influenced by the independent social variables under study. It is necessary to: (1) place the independent variables into a hierarchy in terms of their influence on informants' assimilation of the dependent linguistic variables; and (2) examine to what extent the independent variables interact, that is, if accommodation is governed by two or more of the variables. As Kerswill (1994: 54) comments, 'the danger is that, in many cases the social variable the investigator has hit upon will itself be correlated with a range of other social variables, so that the effect of the original variable cannot be seen in isolation'. Kerswill (1994: 109-110) talks of the need to study the co-variation between the independent variables, stating that if variables are highly correlated 'their effects on a linguistic variable are not independent of each other' and that the effect of one independent variable may be due entirely to that of another. Kerswill also agues that variables in some cases are measures of the same social dimension; thus, social parameters such as 'education', 'occupational status' and 'type of housing' can be grouped under the same social category: 'social status'. Any such

intercorrelations should be isolated and the number of social parameters accordingly reduced. In the present study, there are no logically connected variables and the only area where intercorrelation is likely is between length of residence and network integration where scores on the integration index possibly depend on the amount of time the informant has lived in Prague. However, a bivariate correlation test reveals that there is only a relatively weak and non-significant correlation between these two independent variables ($r = 0.276$, $p > 0.05$).

A further way of highlighting the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables is to carry out a multiple regression test. Multiple regression is a statistical method for describing the relationship between dependent variables and one or more independent variables and it is one of the most widely used methods for carrying out multivariate analysis. The results are similar to those generated by the bivariate tests that we have already performed, insofar as we are given a regression coefficient (beta), which highlights the strength of the correlation between dependent and independent variable. A positive beta value indicates that there is positive association between dependent and independent variable, while a negative value is interpreted as the non-association between the dependent and independent variable. By using multiple regression, it is also possible to establish the impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable in terms of a hierarchy of their importance. Independent variables must have discrete values or occur along a continuum or scale. Thus, network integration and length of residence can be tested using this method. It is also possible to test for the influence of sex, if we give male informants the value of 1 and female informants the value of 2, since our hypothesis is that women accommodate more than men. Region of origin, however, cannot be included in the model. If one of the regional subgroups had a considerably higher

mean score for the CC forms than the others, then we would have recoded region of origin in a similar way to sex and included it in the test; however, an earlier analysis of variance test showed that there were no significant differences between the speakers from the different dialect regions. Finally, it is important that the independent variables that are admitted into the analysis are not too highly related ('multicollinearity'), since this means that the regression coefficients may be unstable, which can skew the results. There were no such problems with the independent variables studied here.

Table 7.11 *The impact of three independent variables on informants' acquisition of prothetic /v/*

Independent variable	Beta	Level of significance
Network integration	**0.390**	**$p < 0.05$**
Length of residence	**0.331**	**$p < 0.05$**
Sex	0.058	$p > 0.05$

Table 7.12 *The impact of three independent variables on informants' acquisition of raised /i:/*

Independent variable	Beta	Level of significance
Network integration	**0.575**	**$p < 0.001$**
Sex	0.225	$p > 0.05$
Length of residence	0.123	$p > 0.05$

Table 7.13 *The impact of three independent variables on informants' acquisition of diphthongized /ɛj/*

Independent variable	Beta	Level of significance
Network integration	0.299	$p > 0.05$
Length of residence	0.211	$p > 0.05$
Sex	0.036	$p > 0.05$

Table 7.14 *The impact of three independent variables on informants' acquisition of '-ej' ('-ěj') and '-aj' forms*

Independent variable	Beta	Level of significance
Network integration	**0.396**	**$p < 0.05$**
Sex	0.174	$p > 0.05$
Length of residence	0.124	$p > 0.05$

The multiple regression analysis substantiates the earlier findings. The tables visualize that network integration is the most important independent variable for all the linguistic variables and that the relationship between network integration and the adoption of CC forms is statistically significant for all variables except *ý*-diphthongization, being the most significant for *é*-raising. Furthermore, if the variables are placed into a hierarchy in terms of the extent to which they are influenced by network integration, then the beta values correspond to the *r* correlations: *é*-raising, paradigm unification, *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization. Length of residence is correlated with *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization to a greater degree than with *é*-raising and paradigm unification. Contrary to earlier findings, there is a relatively weak positive correlation between sex and accommodation and sex is not regarded as a significant factor for any of the variables. Typically, when performing a multiple regression test a stepwise procedure is included. This means that only independent variables that are significant at the 0.05 level or above are admitted. Therefore, all of the independent variables would have been knocked out for *ý*-diphthongization, only network integration would have been admitted for paradigm unification and *é*-raising and both network integration and length of residence would have been admitted for *v*-insertion.

7.11 Testing for interactions

7.11.1 Sex

Now that we have identified the impact of four independent variables on the dependent variables in isolation, we need to look at the combined effects of the independent variables on informants' linguistic behaviour. To being with, I shall focus my attention on the variables that the first round of tests has shown to be the most influential on informants' linguistic behaviour: sex and network integration. As an initial step, let us examine the sex-related differences. As a standalone variable sex illuminated some very interesting results. Women, with exception of paradigm unification in third- and fourth-conjugation verbs, use more CC forms than men for all other variables and at first blush this might be interpreted in black-and-white terms that women are more innovative than men and that they are the leaders in acquiring forms of the host variety. That said, the regression tests did not substantiate the earlier findings; they show only a very weak positive correlation between sex and accommodation and it is conceivable that other factors are responsible for this. It might be the case, for instance, that all or most women are high-scorers (on the integration index), while all or most men are low-scorers, and since network integration seems at this stage to be the most important factor, this would explain the differences. This can be presented relatively simply by cross-tabulating the data in contingency tables:

Table 7.15 *Cross-tabulation of sex and network integration*

			IntegrationGroup			
			0-4 points	4-9 points	10 points +	Total
Sex	Female	Count	4	8	7	19
		% within Sex	21.1%	42.1%	36.8%	100.0%
		% within IntegrationGroup	40.0%	50.0%	63.6%	51.4%
	Male	Count	6	8	4	18
		% within Sex	33.3%	44.4%	22.2%	100.0%
		% within IntegrationGroup	60.0%	50.0%	36.4%	48.6%
Total		Count	10	16	11	37
		% within Sex	27.0%	43.2%	29.7%	100.0%
		% within IntegrationGroup	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Generally speaking, although there are more female high-scorers than male high-scorers, there is not a bias in the data that can be held responsible for the fact that women use more CC forms. In fact, if we take the mean network scores for male informants (6.1 points) and female informants (7.4 points), then the difference is just over one point and thus not significant – though at this stage we are unsure about what impact an apparently small difference in scores on the integration index can have on accommodation. Although length of residence is not a major factor as a standalone factor, informants who had lived in the host community for under two-and-a-half years generally used less CC forms than those who had lived there for over five years. Alternatively, therefore, all or most of the female informants might be long-term residents of Prague, while all or most of the male informants might have lived in the host community for less than, say, two years, the period before which accommodation has stabilized. Again, this was ruled out by cross-tabulation. The cross-tabulated data indicate that there is a fairly even distribution of male and female informants for length of residence, and male informants in fact had a higher average than the female informants (4.4 years : 3.3 years).

Table 7.16 *Cross-tabulation of sex and length of residence*

			SpanGroup			
			0-2.5 years	2.5-5 years	5 years+	Total
Sex	Female	Count	7	8	4	19
		% within Sex	36.8%	42.1%	21.1%	100.0%
		% within SpanGroup	50.0%	66.7%	36.4%	51.4%
	Male	Count	7	4	7	18
		% within Sex	38.9%	22.2%	38.9%	100.0%
		% within SpanGroup	50.0%	33.3%	63.6%	48.6%
Total		Count	14	12	11	37
		% within Sex	37.8%	32.4%	29.7%	100.0%
		% within SpanGroup	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Therefore, the sex differentiation cannot be accounted for – for time being at least – by the either of the above factors and sex still appears to be an important factor in terms of informants' accommodation towards the host variety. However, when sex is examined in combination with other social variables the differences in linguistic behaviour between men and women are found to be less striking.

Table 7.17 *Sex-related differences in accommodation in view of region of origin*

Variable	**Region of origin**	**Male**[155]	**Female**[156]	**Level of significance**
v-insertion	Central Moravian	11.98%	3.25%	F 1.149, p > 0.05
	East Moravian	14.48%	4.51%	F 4.281, p = 0.061
	Silesian	0.24%	22.51%	**F 10.537, p < 0.01**
é-raising	Central Moravian	12.45%	24.03%	F 0.764, p > 0.05
	East Moravian	36.80%	45.27%	F 0.868, p > 0.05
	Silesian	11.34%	52.04%	**F 79.382, p < 0.001**

[155] N = 6 (Central Moravian); 7 (East Moravian); 5 (Silesian).

[156] N = 4 (Central Moravian); 7 (East Moravian); 8 (Silesian).

ý-diphthongization	Central Moravian	36.73%	32.35%	F 0.897, $p > 0.05$
	East Moravian	32.87%	26.90%	F 0.160, $p > 0.05$
	Silesian	6.24%	31.18%	**F 6.792, $p < 0.05$**
paradigm unification	Central Moravian	45.42%	42.73%	F 1.764, $p > 0.05$
	East Moravian	36.54%	43.46%	F 1.631, $p > 0.05$
	Silesian	26.86%	59.41%	F 0.034, $p > 0.05$

The results in Table 7.17, which presents sex-related differences in the individual regions, are not as convincing as those obtained earlier. Here women outscore men in only seven out of 12 cases. Two important factors are now apparent. First, women are dramatically more innovative than men in the Silesian subgroup. Second, there is relatively little sex-related variation in the East Moravian and Central Moravian subgroups. It is interesting within these two subgroups that women use more CC forms for *é*-raising, while men use more for *ý*-diphthongization. The bias in the Silesian subgroup is explained by network integration: all of the eight female informants score 8 points or more and five of them score more than 10 points; conversely, three of the five male informants score 5 points or less and the difference in mean integration score of male (7) and female (10) informants is highly significant ($F = 13.302$, $p < 0.01$). The network scores of male and female informants in the other two subgroups are relatively even (male 4.9 : female 5 (Central Moravians) and male 6.6 : female 5.9 (East Moravians)). If, therefore, Silesians are removed from the analysis, male informants outscore female informants in terms of their acquisition of /v/ and /ɛj/, but female informants use CC variants more for *é*-raising and paradigm unification – and sex-related differences are minor for all the four variables.

Looking at sex-related differences in combination with length of residence, we also see some interesting patterns of accommodation.

Table 7.18 *Sex-related differences in accommodation in view of length of residence*

Variable	Length of residence	Male[157]	Female[158]	Level of significance
v-insertion	0-2.5 years	2.50%	4.10%	F 0.147, $p > 0.05$
	2.5-5 years	9.65%	4.80%	F 2.384, $p > 0.05$
	5 years +	15.70%	39.98%	**F 12.941, $p < 0.01$**
é-raising	0-2.5 years	3.74%	42.06%	**F 25.139, $p < 0.001$**
	2.5-5 years	45.98%	39.85%	F 1.602, $p > 0.05$
	5 years +	25.56%	54.03%	**F 9.925, $p < 0.05$**
ý-diphthongization	0-2.5 years	6.40%	23.43%	**F 5.618, $p < 0.05$**
	2.5-5 years	52.80%	27.20%	F 0.308, $p > 0.05$
	5 years +	32.24%	46.38%	**F 6.925, $p < 0.05$**
paradigm unification	0-2.5 years	19.16%	44.37%	F 1.415, $p > 0.05$
	2.5-5 years	60.20%	44.13%	F 0.695, $p > 0.05$
	5 years +	41.10%	71.75%	F 0.610, $p > 0.05$

In the '0-2.5 years' and '5 years +' subgroups, women outscore men with respect to their acquisition of CC forms for all the variables under study, whereas in the '2.5-5 years subgroup', the converse is observed and men assimilate more CC forms for all the variables. Initially, this pattern appears odd and the first reaction is to investigate

[157] N = 7 (0-2.5 years); 4 (2.5-5 years); 7 (5 years +).

[158] N = 7 (0-2.5 years); 8 (2.5-5 years); 4 (5 years +).

whether or not the linguistic behaviour in the three subgroups can be accounted for by network integration. In view of those who had lived in the host community for five years or more, the mean network score for women (10.5 points) was almost two times that of the male informants in this subgroup (5.6 points). Likewise, in the '2.5-5 years' subgroup male informants were higher-scorers on the integration index with a mean score of 8.8 points, almost two points higher than the females' mean score of 6.9 points. Finally, female informants who lived in Prague for up to two-and-a-half years unsurprisingly had a higher mean score for network integration (6.3 points) than the males (5.2 points). That said, on this occasion the difference was little more than a point and it is difficult to predict the impact of such a small difference in network integration on linguistic behaviour. Nevertheless, sex, an independent variable that was earlier highlighted as being a significant factor on speakers' accommodation, has been shown to be superseded by network integration and a more in-depth analysis has revealed that sex-related differences are for the most part not significant. Therefore, the small difference in integration index scores (1.3 points) does seem to be important. This is also clear when we investigate the interaction of sex and network integration on linguistic behaviour.

Table 7.19 *Sex-related differences in accommodation in view of network integration*

Variable	Network integration	Male[159]	Female[160]	Level of significance
v-insertion	0-4 points	10.25%	1.0%	F 2.381, p > 0.05
	5-9 points	3.11%	3.40%	F 0.104, p > 0.05
	10 points +	19.90%	27.33%	F 0.968, p > 0.05

[159] N = 6 (0-4 points); 8 (5-9 points); 4 (10 points +).

[160] N = 4 (0-4 points); 8 (5-9 points); 7 (10 points +).

é-raising	0-4 points	6.97%	6.60%	F 1.228, p > 0.05
	5-9 points	17.26%	34.88%	F 4.427, p = 0.054
	10 points +	55.33%	70.59%	F 0.311, p > 0.05
ý-diphthongization	0-4 points	26.50%	11.90%	F 0.015, p > 0.05
	5-9 points	21.81%	23.79%	F 0.140, p > 0.05
	10 points +	42.50%	43.63%	F 0.245, p > 0.05
paradigm unification	0-4 points	47.68%	30.95%	**F 13.785, p < 0.01**
	5-9 points	18.91%	38.23%	F 0.098, p > 0.05
	10 points +	57.90%	70.71%	F 0.908, p > 0.05

When sex is investigated in combination with network integration another interesting finding is revealed. In the '0-4 points' subgroup male informants use more CC forms than female informants for all the variables and in the '5-9 points' and '10 points +' women use more CC forms for all of the variables. There is just one statistically significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups. The fact that low-scoring men are more innovative than low-scoring women is perhaps due to the fact that they have a higher average length of residence in Prague (3.7 years versus a female mean score of 2.8 years). This hypothesis is made more convincing, insomuch as differences are most noticeable with respect to *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization, the two variables that correlate the most with length of residence. However, female informants in the '5-9 points' subgroup use more CC variants for all the variables, despite having lived in the host community for a significantly shorter period (2.4 years) than the male informants in this category (5.4 years); here, the differences are highly significant ($F = 11.004$, $p < 0.01$). Again, we could interpret this differentiation in two ways. Either the correlation between network integration

and accommodation is stronger for women, or that length of residence ceases to be important after a couple of years. In the '10 points +' subgroup length of residence is even between the sexes (men 4.6 years; women 4.3 years) and sex-related differences are also minor, although women do use more CC forms for all variables. Nevertheless, although the results are not significant we have identified a 'trend': high-scoring women outscore high-scoring men for all the variables and the two independent variables are intercorrelated, insomuch as network integration seems to correlate with linguistic behaviour more with women than it does with men (see also Figures 7.19, 7.20, 7.21 and 7.22).

7.11.2 Network integration

The results that we have obtained thus far do suggest that network integration is the most important independent variable. The next step is to see how network integration interacts with the other independent variables. First, let us examine the effect of network integration and region of origin on speakers' acquisition of the four CC variants. No significant results were obtained when the impact of region of origin as a standalone variable was investigated with respect to accommodation and it is therefore interesting to see how it interacts with other independent variables. Because, unlike their sex, age or socioeconomic status, informants' level of integration is not readily available to researchers at the start of the study, there was no guarantee that an even mix of high and low scorers would be obtained. The only way to achieve such a balance would be to select a subsection of informants in view of their network scores dwindled down from a much larger sample; in most studies, however, this is highly impractical due to time restrictions. A cross-tabulation of region of origin and scores on the integration index highlights this problem.

Table 7.20 *Cross-tabulation of network integration and region of origin*

			Region			
			Central Moravian	East Moravian	Silesian	Total
	0-4 points	Count	5	4	1	10
		% within IntegrationGroup	50.0%	40.0%	10.0%	100.0%
		% within Region	50.0%	28.6%	7.7%	27.0%
	4-9 points	Count	5	6	5	16
		% within IntegrationGroup	31.3%	37.5%	31.3%	100.0%
		% within Region	50.0%	42.9%	38.5%	43.2%
	10 points +	Count	0	4	7	11
		% within IntegrationGroup	.0%	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
		% within Region	.0%	28.6%	53.8%	29.7%
Total		Count	10	14	13	37
		% within IntegrationGroup	27.0%	37.8%	35.1%	100.0%
		% within Region	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

While not one informant from Central Moravia scored over 10 points, only one informant from Silesia scored below 4 points; only in the East Moravian subgroup is there a relatively unbiased sample of individuals. Furthermore, an analysis of variance test confirms that the mean differences between each group's scores on the integration index are statistically significant at the 0.001 level ($F = 47.660$).[161]

Table 7.21 *Correlations between accommodation and network integration in view of region of origin*

Variable	**Region of origin**	***R***	**Probability**
v-insertion	Central Moravian	-0.296	$p > 0.05$
	East Moravian	**0.646**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Silesian	0.288	$p > 0.05$
é-raising	Central Moravian	**0.745**	**$p < 0.05$**
	East Moravian	**0.834**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Silesian	**0.749**	**$p < 0.01$**
ý-diphthongization	Central Moravian	0.301	$p > 0.05$
	East Moravian	**0.601**	**$p < 0.05$**

[161] Central Moravians = 4.90; East Moravians = 6.21; Silesians = 8.85.

	Silesian	0.265	$p > 0.05$
paradigm unification	Central Moravian	-0.076	$p > 0.05$
	East Moravian	**0.400**	**$p > 0.05$**
	Silesian	0.793	$p < 0.01$

As we see in table 7.21, there is a strong positive correlation between network integration and *é*-raising in all three subgroups. We might have expected this from the bivariate scores between these two variables. Other interesting findings were that strong positive correlations were found between certain linguistic features and network integration in some regions but not others. This holds for *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization among East Moravians and paradigm unification among the informants from Silesia. Weak negative correlations were observed for *v*-insertion and paradigm unification among the informants from central Moravia. The best correlations between network integration and accommodation are among the East Moravians.

More interesting are the results that were obtained when network integration was combined with sex, which we looked at in the section above. The above findings are expanded upon and here the individual correlation coefficients for the male and female informants are presented.

Table 7.22 *Correlations between informants' accommodation and network integration in view of sex*

Variable	**Sex**	***R***	**Probability**
v-insertion	Male	0.019	$p > 0.05$
	Female	**0.634**	**$p < 0.01$**
é-raising	Male	**0.691**	**$p < 0.01$**
	Female	**0.620**	**$p < 0.01$**
ý-diphthongization	Male	0.134	$p > 0.05$
	Female	**0.457**	**$p < 0.05$**
paradigm unification	Male	0.242	$p > 0.05$

Female	**0.656**	**$p < 0.01$**

The highly significant link between network integration and *é*-raising is once again demonstrated, insomuch as there is a strong positive correlation between these two variables for both male and female informants. All the other linguistic variables, however, are linked to network integration only for females, while correlation between network integration and linguistic behaviour is much weaker for the male informants. Differences are most apparent with respect to *v*-insertion and paradigm unification, where a multivariate analysis of the combined effects of network integration and sex on these two linguistic variables shows that the results are significant ($F = 3.545$, $p < 0.05$ (*v*-insertion) and $F = 2.695$, $p < 0.05$ (paradigm unification)). The sex-related differences in accommodation in view of network integration are visualized in Figures 7.19, 7.20, 7.21 and 7.22.

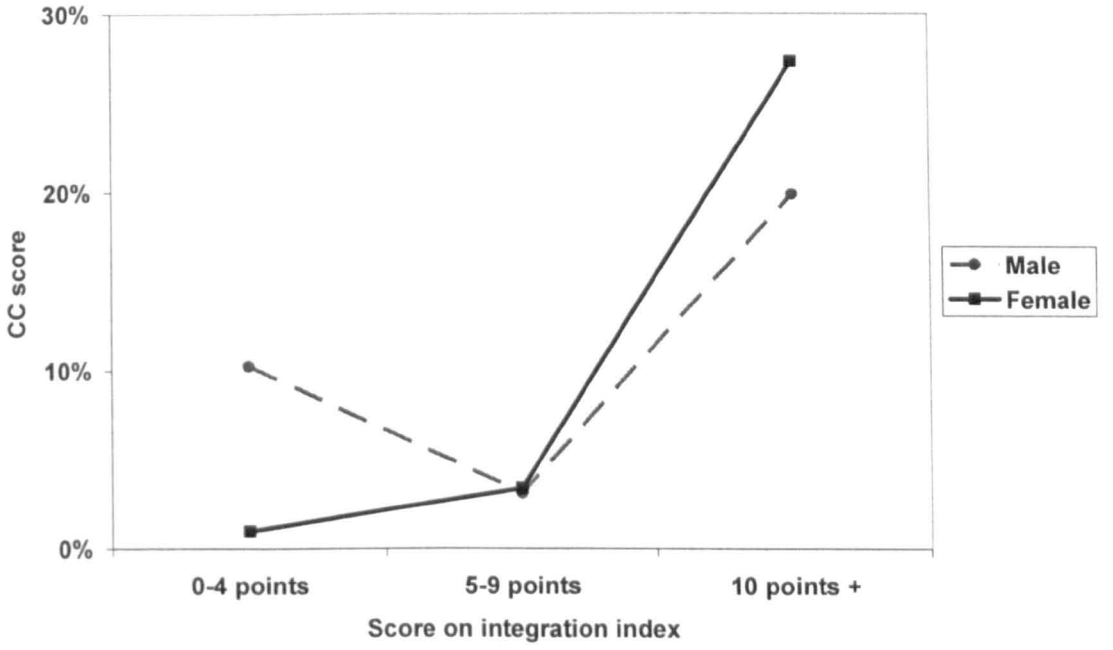

Figure 7.19 *Sex-related differences in v-insertion in view of network integration*

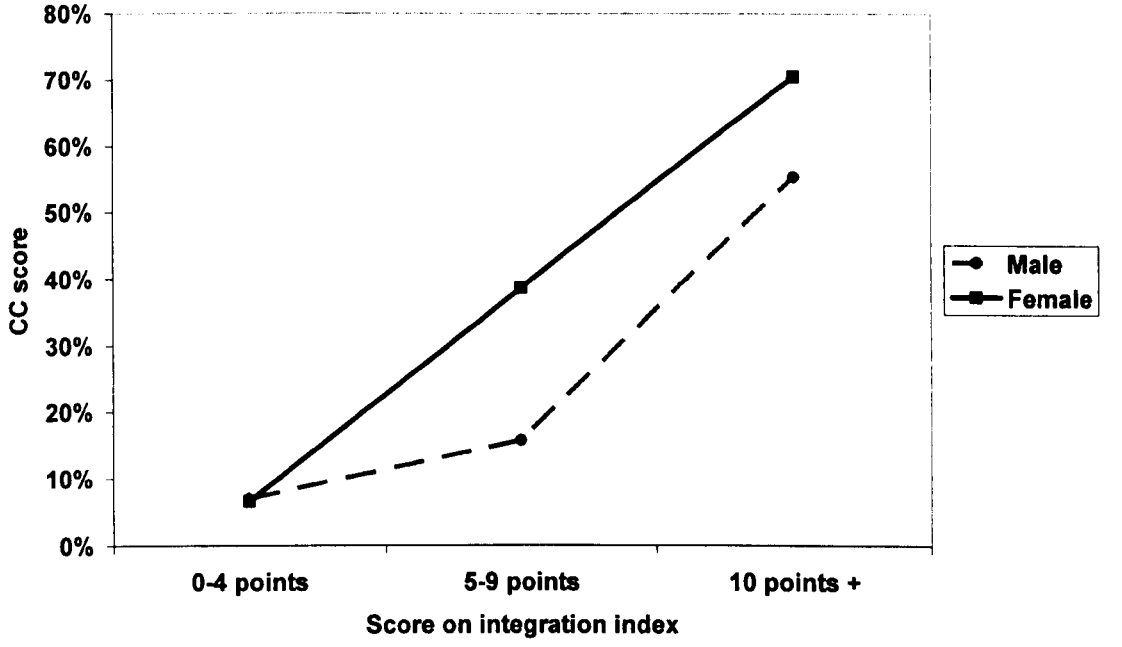

Figure 7.20 *Sex-related differences in é-raising in view of network integration*

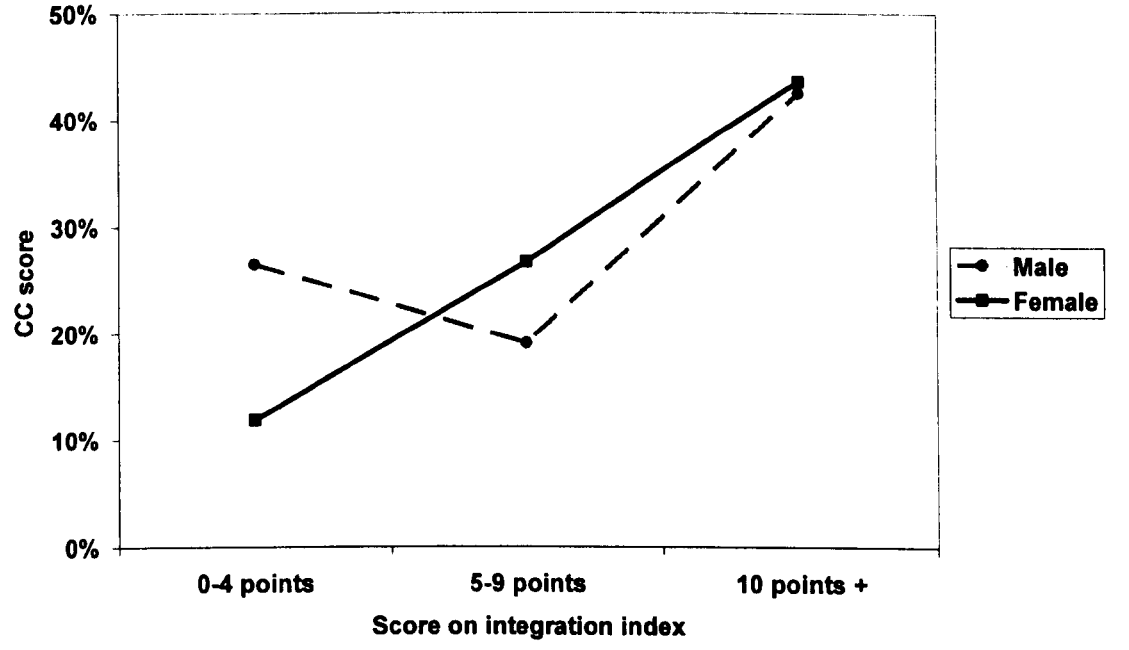

Figure 7.21 *Sex-related differences in ý-diphthongization in view of network integration*

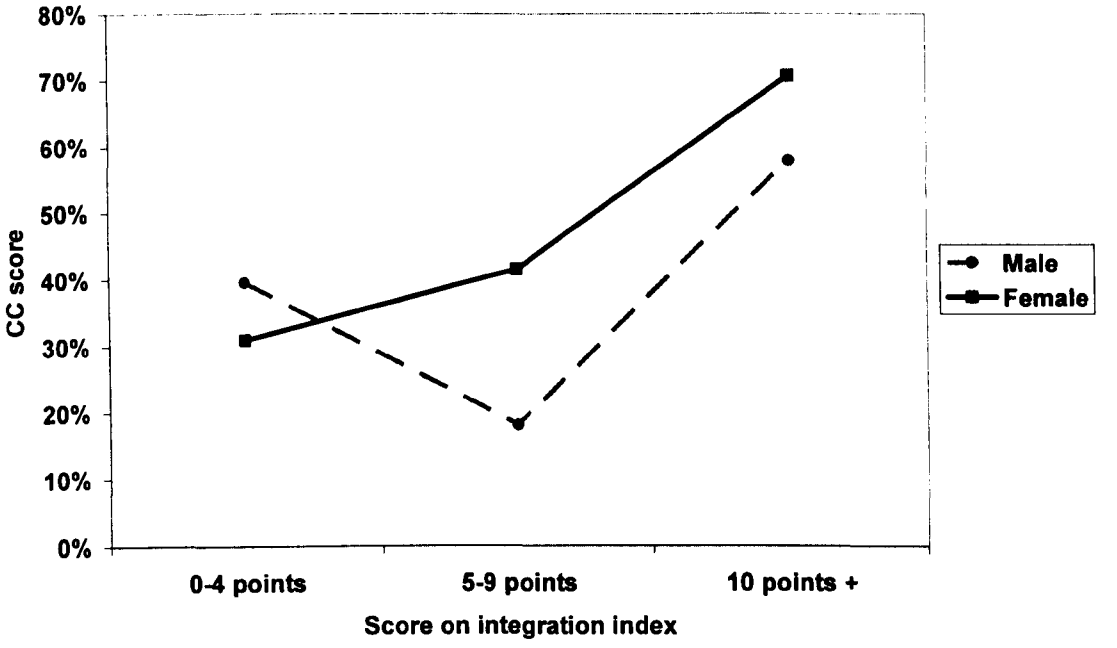

Figure 7.22 *Sex-related differences in paradigm unification in view of network integration*

Clearly then, there is a definite correlation between sex and integration for women but not for men. The only exception is the relationship between *é*-raising and network: between these two variables, as we have already seen on several occasions, there is a strong correlation in both men and women, in all the dialect groups and in the groups stratified according to length of residence. Interestingly, for the three variables where the impact of network integration is different for men than it is for women the low-scoring male informants use more CC forms than the female informants in the '0-4 points' subgroup.

7.11.2.1 Investigating the network integration sub-variables

To identify which of the individual criteria in the integration index were the most important, a multiple regression test was performed in SPSS 14.0.1 and I used a stepwise method to knock out variables that were not significant ($p > 0.05$). Not all sub-variables were included in the analysis: 'exposure to CC from parents', 'exposure

to CC on previous stays the host community', 'future plans' and 'reasons for coming to the host community' were omitted, insomuch as earlier tests had shown that the differences in accommodation between these binary sub-variables were negligible or in the case of 'exposure to CC on previous stays in the host community' the results were non-representative. For paradigm unification, informants' out-of-class activities were the most important (beta 0.365, $p < 0.05$), followed by the region of origin of their roommate(s) (beta 0.306, $p < 0.05$). An identical pattern was observed for *v*-insertion, with out-of-class activities being the most important factor (beta 0.528, $p < 0.01$) and roommates' region of origin the only other significant variable (beta 0.317, $p < 0.05$). For *ý*-diphthongization, the most important factor was roommates' region of origin (beta 0.458, $p < 0.01$) and also significant were their summer activities (beta 0.417, $p < 0.01$). Three of the components were significant for *é*-raising: the most important factor was informants' activities during the summer holidays (beta 0.524, $p < 0.001$), followed by their out-of-class activities (beta 0.289, $p < 0.05$) and the region of origin of their roommate(s) (beta 0.251, $p < 0.05$).

For all four variables, therefore, roommates' region of origin is either the most or one of the most important sub-variables. This mirrors the results yielded in Kerswill's study of Stril migrants in Bergen; however, it contradicts my prediction that roommates would have less influence on informants' speech habits than their immediate circle of close friends and associates. Very surprisingly, the region of origin of informants' immediate network of friends was not significant for any of the variables. In fact, when the stepwise option was disabled a negative beta correlation between friends' region of origin and accommodation was obtained for all variables besides *é*-raising. Another very important sub-variable is informants' out-of-class activities. This factor was significant for three of the variables and we have

established a link between team-based pursuits that involve frequent contact with members of the host community and a high level of accommodation. A final important factor is linked to informants' summer holidays. Those who stay in Prague in the summer months accommodate to a significantly greater extent than those who either go back home or go travelling. We might attribute this to one of two factors. First, students who remain in Prague presumably do so in order to work and this brings them into contact with speakers of the host variety. Second, a prolonged stay in their native community might influence their speech habits. Although, based on the results we can say that short visits back home have little impact on individuals' linguistic behaviour and contact with the native speech community proved to be an insignificant factor, in some cases having a negative beta value. Exposure to CC in the workplace was also found not be significant and this corresponds to data elicited in the HPD (1978).

7.11.3 Length of residence

In contrast to the results presented for the interaction of sex and network integration, we see a very different pattern for the correlation of sex and length of residence. While there is much a more positive correlation between network integration and accommodation for women, male informants' linguistic behaviour is conditioned to a greater extent by the time they have spent in the host community. Table 7.23 shows that there is a significant positive correlation between length of residence and accommodation for all variables except paradigm unification.

Table 7.23 *Correlations between informants' accommodation and of length of residence in view of sex*

Variable	Sex	*R*	Probability
v-insertion	Male	**0.462**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Female	0.294	$p > 0.05$
é-raising	Male	**0.543**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Female	0.137	$p > 0.05$
ý-diphthongization	Male	**0.499**	**$p < 0.05$**
	Female	**0.135**	**$p > 0.05$**
paradigm unification	Male	**0.378**	**$p > 0.05$**
	Female	**0.277**	**$p > 0.05$**

However, if we present the results in line charts, we see clearly how length of residence is overridden by network integration for the acquisition of all variants except /v/.

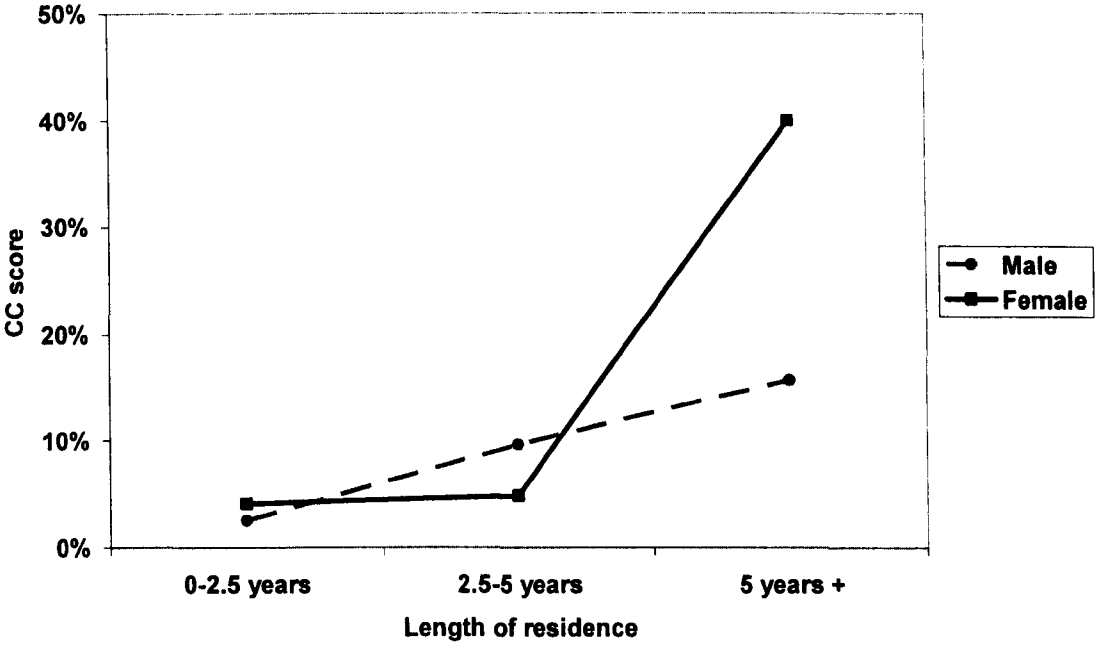

Figure 7.23 *Sex-related differences in v-insertion in view of length of residence*

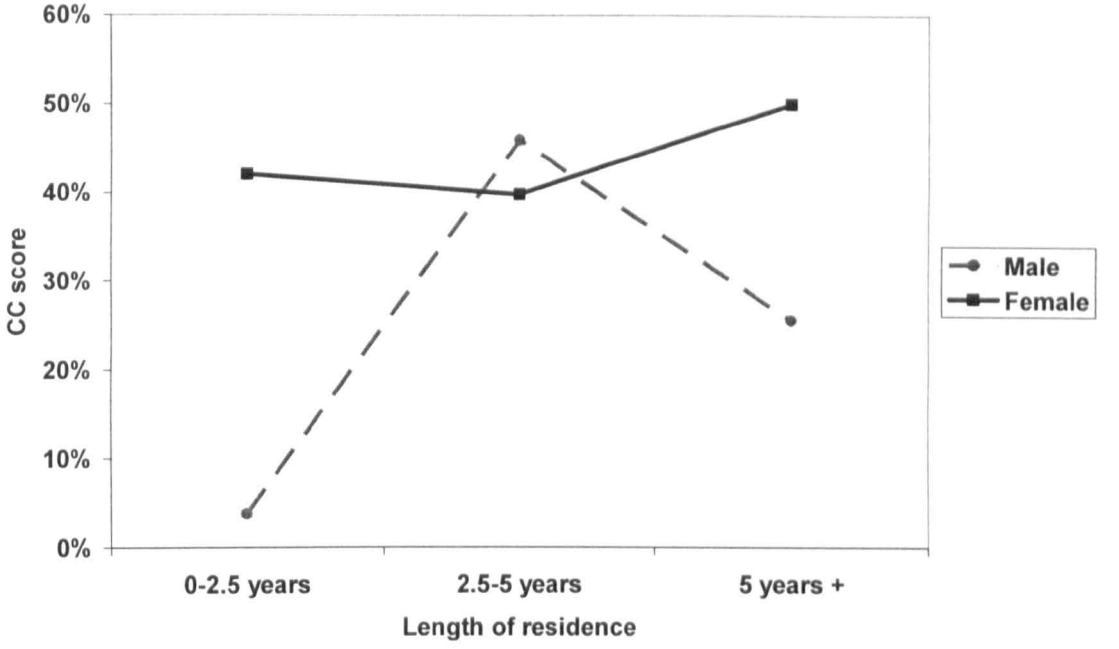

Figure 7.24 *Sex-related differences in é-raising in view of length of residence*

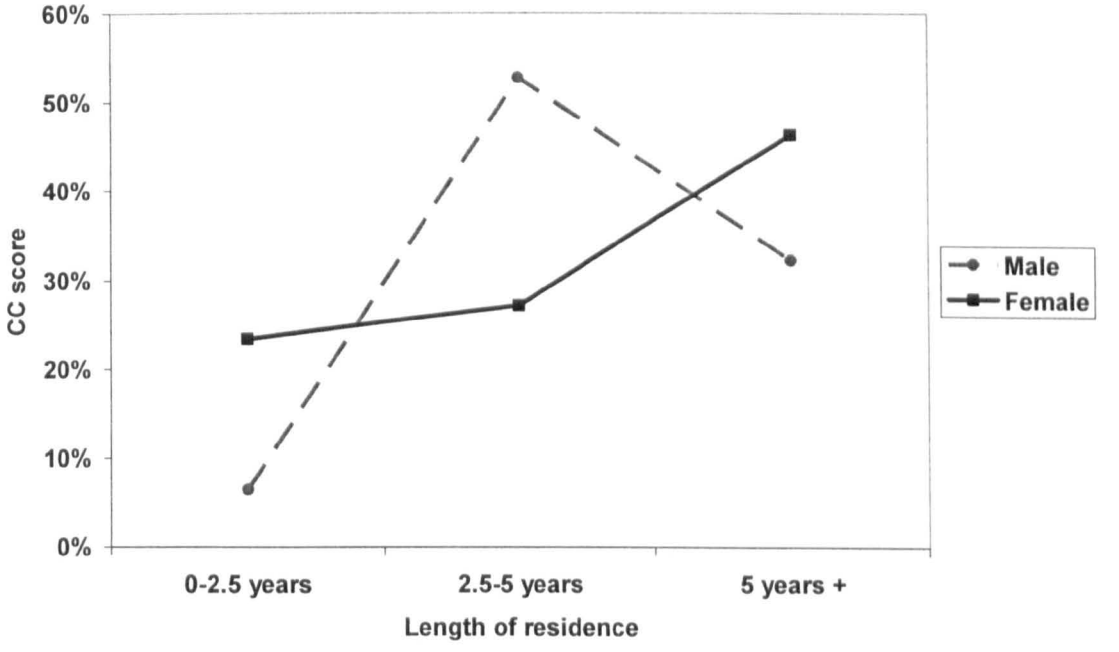

Figure 7.25 *Sex-related differences in ý-diphthongization in view of length of residence*

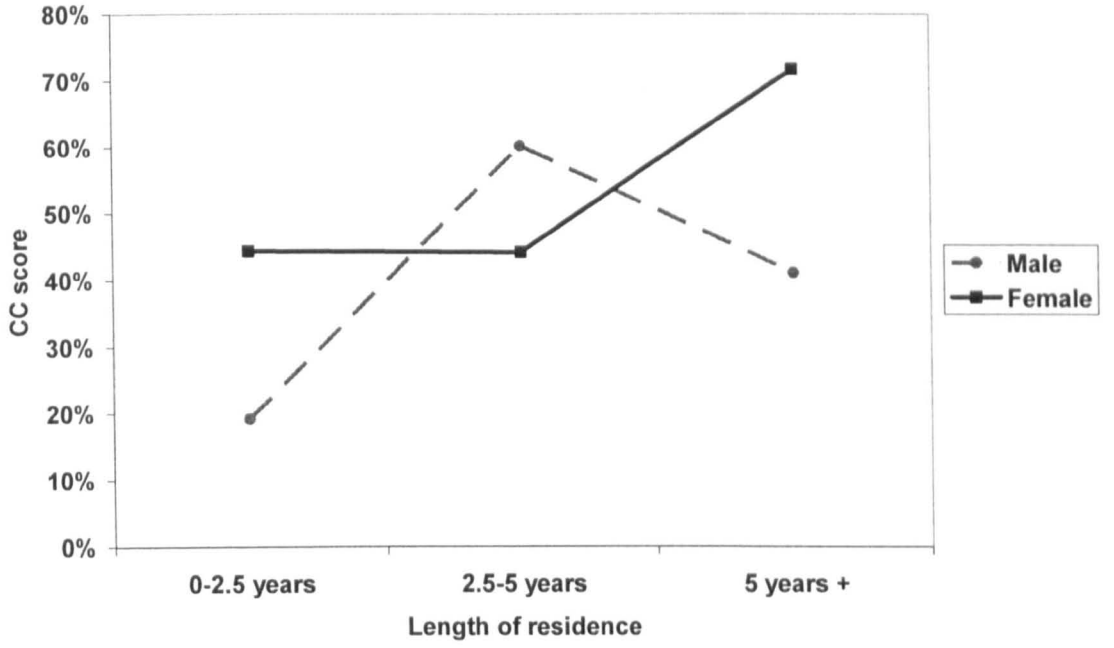

Figure 7.26 *Sex-related differences in paradigm unification in view of length of residence*

With respect to the male informants, for all variables except *v*-insertion we see an interesting rise-drop pattern. This is accounted for by network integration: the mean score for informants in the '2.5-5 years' subgroup (N = 4) is 8.75, while informants in the '5 years +' subgroup (N = 7) have an average of 5.57. For the female informants, on the other hand, the highest scorers on the integration index (mean score = 10.5) are in the '5 points +' subgroup (N = 4) and this is reflected in the accommodation. Female informants in the '0-2.5 years' and '2.5-5 years' subgroups have similar network scores (6.29 : 6.88) and this also evident in the fact that linguistic scores between the two subgroups differ minimally. No significant results were obtained for length of residence when it was tested in the three dialect regions, although there is fairly strong positive correlation with accommodation and *ý*-diphthongization in all groups (Central Moravians $r = 0.349$; East Moravians $r = 0.432$; Silesians $r = 0.453$). And, as we might have anticipated, the correlation between length of residence and *é*-

raising was very weak, except in the Central Moravian subgroup (r = 0.498) where the high r value is expected, since Central Moravians are scored only for *é*-raising in the oblique cases of hard feminine adjectives and pronouns. With regard to the combined influence of length of residence and network integration on accommodation, only two significant interactions were observed after a multivariate test had been performed: *v*-insertion ($F = 50.398$, $p < 0.01$) and *ý*-diphthongization in word roots ($F = 8.009$, $p < 0.05$). This is interesting, insomuch as the attitudinal data show namely prothetic /v/ and /ɛj/ in word roots to be the forms with the least amount of tolerance. Thus, in order to assimilate these 'ultra' CC forms, a high score on the integration index needs to be accompanied by a long stay of residence in Prague – whereas for the other linguistic phenomena length of residence is overridden by network integration.

7.12 Findings

1. The further stages of statistical analyses have confirmed that region of origin is not important with respect to speakers' assimilation of CC forms, either as a standalone variable or in combination with other independent variables. The only interesting finding is that there is a greater correlation between network integration and accommodation for the East Moravians than for the informants from central Moravia or Silesia. No instances were observed where a particular CC form is used solely by individuals from one of the regions, or where a feature was used significantly more (or less) in one group than the others.

2. Sex-related differences are not as clear-cut as the initial results suggest and sex interacts both with length of residence and network integration. In many cases, the sex-related differences are accounted for by network integration; although a trend was observed according to which female high-scorers are more innovative than male high-scorers, though not by a statistically significant margin. Very interesting is the finding that when the Silesian subgroup, in which there is a bias in network integration, is removed from the analysis, men outscore women for *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization, while women outscore men for *é*-raising and paradigm unification. This pattern corresponds to the general findings, since sex interacts differently with network integration than it does with length of residence: there is a stronger correlation between length of residence and accommodation for men and *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization correlate the most with length of residence; conversely, the correlation between network integration and accommodation is considerably stronger for women and *é*-raising and paradigm unification correlate the most with network interaction.

3. Length of residence is more important than the earlier results suggest, especially with respect to *v*-insertion and *ý*-diphthongization. It interacts with network integration for *v*-insertion and for *ý*-diphthongization in word roots and it is has greater impact on the linguistic behaviour of the male informants than on that of the female informants in all variables except *é*-raising.

4. Network integration is clearly the most important independent variable and for most of the linguistic variables it is the only significant independent

variable. A major finding is that rather than interacting with other independent variables to control speakers' linguistic behaviour, network integration appears to override them. This is particularly evident for *é*-raising. However, the acquisition of some CC forms is not guaranteed purely by a high score on the integration index. To assimilate forms that are perceived highly negatively, speakers must also have lived in the host community for five or more years; therefore, in some instances network integration interacts with length of residence. Interestingly, the link between network integration and accommodation is far weaker for men than it is for women for three out of the four dependent variables.

5. In spite of the fact network integration has been observed as the overriding factor, four significant interactions were observed; network integration is a part of them all.

Table 7.24 *Interactions between the independent variables in controlling the linguistic scores*

Dependent variable	**Interacting independent variables**	***F*-ratio**	**Probability**
v-insertion (total)	network integration >< length of residence	50.398	$p < 0.01$
ý-diphthongization (word roots)	network integration >< length of residence	8.009	$p < 0.05$
v-insertion (total)	network integration >< sex	3.545	$p < 0.05$
paradigm unification (total)	network integration >< sex	2.695	$p < 0.05$

7.13 The omitted variables

Although *l*-truncation and gender neutralization were omitted from the analysis due to an insufficient number of tokens, the relationship between these two dependent variables and the independent variables was investigated using the same statistical methods that are described above. The results support the general findings. For both variables the only significant independent variable is network integration ($r = 0.428$, $p < 0.05$ (*l*-truncation); $r = 0.703$, $p < 0.001$ (gender neutralization)), the correlation between network integration and gender neutralization being highly significant.[162] Similar results were obtained when a stepwise multiple regression test was performed on the independent variables: the only variable not to be knocked out was network integration (beta = 0.473, $p < 0.05$ (*l*-truncation); beta = 0.666, $p < 0.001$ (gender neutralization)). The independent variables network integration and sex interact in controlling linguistic scores for *l*-truncation ($F = 4.148$, $p < 0.05$), while a highly significant interaction between network integration and length of residence was observed for gender neutralization ($F = 24.793$, $p < 0.001$). This latter interaction supports the hypothesis that a prerequisite for acquiring the 'more stigmatized' CC forms is that informants are not only high-scorers on the integration index but that they have also lived for at least five years in the host community.

7.14 Exploring the relationship between accommodation and the additional independent variables

In this section the results are presented for the three additional independent variables: speakers' 'attitudes' towards the host variety, 'method of recruitment' and 'subject of study'.

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[162] When network integration was studied in groups (0-2.5 years, 2-5-5 years, 5 years +), only informants in the '5 years +' group used the CC variant for gender neutralization; the remaining 17 informants in the other two groups used only the SC form.

7.14.1 Attitudes

Speakers were scored along a five-point continuum (§ 5.8) according to their attitudes towards the host variety. The relationship between their attitudes towards CC and their accommodation is presented in Table 7.25 and Figure 7.27 below.

Table 7.25 *Differences in accommodation in view of informants' attitudes towards CC*

Variable	Very Negative (N = 6)	Negative (N = 13)	Indifferent (N = 14)	Positive (N = 4)	Level of significance
v-insertion	1.03%	5.40%	15.90%	27.13%	F 1.906, p > 0.05
é-raising	3.93%	26.11%	39.40%	75.93%	**F 4.860, p < 0.01**
ý-diphthongization	9.90%	28.91%	31.79%	42.13%	F 1.081, p > 0.05
paradigm unification	13.63%	42.78%	50.93%	65.5%	**F 3.937, p < 0.05**

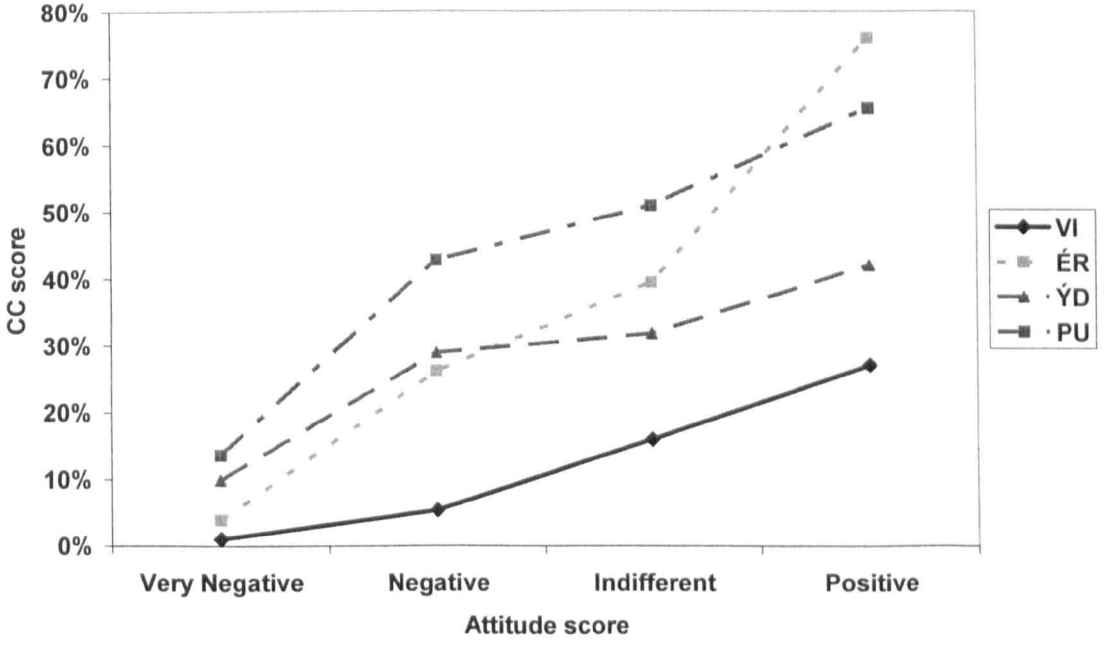

Figure 7.27 *Differences in accommodation in view of informants' attitudes towards CC*

As the data show, informants use more CC forms as their attitudes towards CC become more tolerant. This indicates a positive correlation between informants' attitudes and their accommodation: the more positively informants perceive the host variety, the more CC forms they use; this holds for all four variables. An analysis of variance test highlighted that differences in mean scores between the groups were significant for *é*-raising and paradigm unification. Therefore, further tests were run by recoding speakers' attitudes into new categories: the first group is made up of informants whose attitudes towards CC are either negative or very negative and the second group consists of the informants who are indifferent towards CC or whose attitudes are positive. The new categories are labelled 'negative' (N =19) and 'non-negative' (N = 18).

Table 7.26 *Differences in accommodation in 'negative' and 'non-negative' informants*

Variable	Negative (19)	Non-negative (18)	Level of significance
v-insertion	3.85%	18.54%	**F 13.952, p < 0.01**
é-raising	19.11%	47.52%	**F 18.489, p < 0.001**
ý-diphthongization	22.91%	34.09%	**F 4.255, p < 0.05**
paradigm unification	33.58%	54.17%	F 0.857, p > 0.05

At first sight, the results presented in Table 7.26 seem very interesting. With the exception of paradigm unification, differences between the mean scores of the 'negative' and 'non-negative' informants are significant or highly significant. On the other hand, as we mentioned in Chapter 5 (§ 5.8), the link between language attitudes and language use is difficult to meaningfully define and the given results should be

treated with caution. We should remember that seemingly significant associations need to be tested and that in some cases the effect of one independent variable is entirely due to that of another (intercorrelation). According to informants' comments in I2, attitudes towards CC become more tolerant the longer speakers spend in the host community; however, a correlation test does not support this hypothesis (r = 0.057, $p > 0.5$) – the correlation here is extremely weak and the difference in length of residence between the 'non-negative' and 'negative' subgroups is negligible (3.83 years : 3.76 years). Conversely, there is a highly significant positive correlation between speaker attitudes and network integration (r = 0.423, $p < 0.01$) and, if we include 'attitudes' in a multiple regression test, the correlations are not significant and the impact of 'attitudes' on accommodation is for all variables less important than that of network integration, and in some cases to that of other independent variables. If we take into consideration that the strongest correlation between 'attitudes' and accommodation is for *é*-raising, then this makes our argument more convincing, since it was namely for this variable that we identified the strongest correlation between network integration and accommodation. Thus, rather than informants' accommodation being directly shaped by their attitudes towards CC, it is much more likely that speakers' attitudes are shaped by their integration in the host community. Entering a new community not only involves converging linguistically in the direction of the host variety, but it also encompasses a wide range of modifications and concessions in other aspects of social behaviour. Here we are dealing not only with linguistic accommodation, but also more globally with the process of acculturation, which among other things may involve the assimilation of beliefs, customs or attitudes of the host community.

7.14.2 Students' subject of study

Just over half of the 37 informants were students of medicine and physiotherapy (N = 19), referred to here as 'medics', and their scores for the four linguistic variables were compared to the scores of 'other' informants (N = 18) who were from various other faculties and schools.

Table7.27 *Differences in accommodation in view of informants' subject of study*

Variable	Medics (N = 19)	Other (N = 18)	Level of significance
v-insertion	11.32%	11.07%	F 0.794, p > 0.05
é-raising	43.11%	22.18%	F 2.558, p > 0.05
ý-diphthongization	31.13%	25.41%	F 0.652, p > 0.05
paradigm unification	46.99%	40.01%	F 0.200, p > 0.05

As we predicted, there were no significant differences in the students' level of acquisition in view of subject of study. However, a more fine-grained analysis of the data did reveal a very interesting finding with respect to the four students of sports science who participated in the research.

Table 7.28 *Accommodation of sports scientists in comparison to the accommodation of 'other' students*

Variable	Sport scientists (N = 4)	Others (N = 33)	Level of significance
v-insertion	44.35%	6.78%	**F 27.759, p < 0.001**
é-raising	81.83%	27%	F 0.000, p > 0.05
ý-diphthongization	64.19%	24%	F 0.823, p > 0.05
paradigm unification	86.28%	38.42%	F 3.463, p = 0.071

All of the sports scientists have very high rates of accommodation in comparison to the other informants, acquiring all four CC variants to a considerably greater extent than the average – though the only significant result is for *v*-raising, presumably due to the sizes of the groups. The data correspond to the mainstream findings, insomuch as informants use the CC forms for paradigm unification and *é*-raising more than they do for *ý*-diphthongization and *v*-insertion; however, the sports scientists' scores differ markedly from the norm in terms of how frequently the use the CC forms. Table 7.29 highlights the students' individual scores:

Table 7.29 *Individual linguistic scores for the four sports scientists*

Variable	Milena	Martina	Denisa	Jarda
v-insertion	90.71%	66.71%	20%	0%
é-raising	100%	98.36%	95.71%	33.33%
ý-diphthongization	97.74%	82.20%	70.87%	5.93%
paradigm unification	92.32%	90.50%	90.91%	71.45%

It is striking that the linguistic scores for both Milena and Martina for all four CC variants are almost identical to those of native speakers and both informants could be identified as Moravian only by specialists on the grounds of certain subtle pronunciation differences (§ 7.5);[163] though both did manifest some very interesting

[163] Markéta, a non-linguist, was unable to tell that Martina and Milena (and a few other informants) were Moravians, despite their frequent pronunciation [zmɛ] for *jsme* 'we are', pronounced [smɛ] in Bohemia, and other less obvious (to the non-specialist) indicators. Milena's region of origin, for instance, was revealed with pronunciations of the type ['vu:bɛd͡z nɪt͡s] rather than ['vu:bɛt͡s nɪt͡s] for *vůbec nic* 'not at all' and ['mʲɛlɪ] with a palatalized labial /mʲ/ for *měli* 'they had', which is realized as ['mɲɛlɪ] in Bohemia. Very occasionally in our informal meetings, lack of vocalic length and penultimate stress that are typical markers of Silesian speech were also identified in her speech: ['fprvaku] with short /a/ for *v prváku* 'in the first year'; [s‿flo'rɛnt͡sɛ] with stress on the penultimate syllable in the example *z Florence* 'from Florenc (the central bus station in Prague)'. Interestingly, the sole criterion Markéta uses to distinguish between Bohemian and Moravian speech is whether or not speakers use CC forms in adjectival and pronominal endings. On another occasion, she mistook a friend of mine from Plzeň (western Bohemia) as being from Moravia, because of his frequent use of SC inflectional endings – although his intonation was typically Bohemian.

examples of incomplete accommodation.[164] It is also worth observing that Jarda, the only male informant in the sports science group, accommodates less than all three female informants.

The sports scientists' high levels of acquisition can be possibly explained by a combination of factors. First, all the informants take part in some regular team-based sport outside the university. Jarda, for instance, plays for a local non-league Prague-based football team in which he was the only player not from Prague, Martina and Milena compete at tennis tournaments and are members of clubs in Prague, and Denisa is a competitive swimmer and semi-professional women's football player. Such intensive training ensures very frequent contact with speakers of the host variety, both in professional and social capacities and, since team-based activities are based around unity, around 'the team', there is an added incentive to assimilate towards the common traits of the group. In addition, competitive matches take place at weekends and this restricts travel back to Moravia. Another contributory factor is the informality associated with the whole sports culture: the training ground is likely to be an example of one of the increasing domains where SC is perceived as unnatural and too official. This is also evident in the sporting press, the language used by many sports stars and pre- and post-match interviews and, mainly on a lexical level, in sports commentary. Thus, for sports scientists an active command of SC may be less

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[164] Although Milena's use of prothetic /v/ cannot be described as hyperdialectal *per se*, since theoretically any word beginning with /o/ can be preceded by /v/, her use of prothetic /v/ is abnormally high in comparison with Markéta's usage and that of the informants for whom /v/ is a feature observed in their native dialects. Martina's acquisition of /i:/ is very interesting. Out of 118 tokens, she used the CC variant on 116 occasions, retaining SC /ɛ:/ just twice: *v Orlové* 'in Orlová (a town near Ostrava and Martina's home town)' and *z Orlové* 'from Orlová'. Therefore, despite her high level of acquisition and almost categorical use of this feature, she obviously considered it inappropriate to say *v Orlový* and *z Orlový* when talking about her home town. It would be interesting to identify whether she does this, because the latter forms are overly stigmatized or whether the former are lexicalized to the point where it would not occur to her to use the CC variant. Conversely, when Ilona, another female informant from Silesia, was talking about her roommate she said that she [her roommate] lived *v Moravský Třebový* 'in Moravská Třebová (a town in western Moravia)', using the CC form in both words.

necessary, or at least less desirable, than for, say, medics or law students.[165] We can exclude the possibility that the sports scientists' accommodation is simply due to their high scores on the integration index – all four informants were high-scorers (Milena = 13 points; Martina and Jarda = 11 points; Denisa = 10 points) – since when their linguistic scores were compared to the linguistic scores of other high-scorers (10 points +) the sports scientists' accommodation is considerably higher for all the variables, although differences are statistically significant only for *v*-insertion.

Table 7.30 *Comparison of the sports scientists' linguistic scores and the linguistic scores of other high-scorers on the integration index*

Variable	Sport scientists (N = 4)	Others high-scorers (N = 7)	Level of significance
v-insertion	44.35%	13.36%	**F 7.639, p < 0.05**
é-raising	81.83%	55.44%	F 3.482, p > 0.05
ý-diphthongization	64.19%	31.26%	F 0.009, p > 0.05
paradigm unification	86.28%	54.50%	F 1.900. p > 0.05

7.14.3 Method of recruitment

It was suggested earlier that differences in linguistic behaviour might be identified across informants who were enlisted through different techniques.

[165] That said, Alena, a medical student, commented that she intentionally avoided using certain SC forms in front of her patients, because she was worried that they would not accept her or that she would be perceived as arrogant.

Table 7.31 *Differences in accommodation in view of method of recruitment*

Variable	Helper (N = 6)	Friend-of-a-friend (N =10)	Poster (N = 7)	Contact (N = 10)	Random (N = 4)	Level of significance
v-insertion	5.36%	3.13%	0.50%	26.23%	15.1%	F 2.584, p = 0.058
é-raising	27.43%	42.27%	13.13%	47.33%	16.45%	F 1.483, p > 0.05
ý-diphthongization	17.63%	26.46%	11.92%	44.03%	28.35%	F 1.586, p > 0.05
paradigm unification	37.45%	38.96%	31.89%	48.80%	71.87%	F 1.514, p > 0.05

The results are interesting for two reasons. First, informants who had applied to the posters were the lowest scorers for all the linguistic variables, their rate of acquisition being considerably lower for all variables except paradigm unification. Second, personal contacts and informants recruited by chance were the highest scorers for all the variables. These findings could be important with respect to the influence of speakers' identity on accommodation. To reply to a poster advertising a study concerning Moravia, the 'poster' informants must have a relatively strong sense of local loyalty, a strong sense of 'Moravianness'. Alternatively, however, it could be the case that the students who replied to the posters had few contacts in the host (and the student) community and therefore welcomed the opportunity to participate in an extra-curricular activity. The informants did talk about two polarized categories among Czech students, the 'hospodský (typy)' and the 'šprti'. The former can be described loosely as students who spend most of their free time in the pub (*hospoda*), while *šprt* corresponds to 'swot' and it is a pejorative label ascribed to those students who spend most of their free time studying and preparing for exams and who rarely take part in social activities. Although the majority of students fall somewhere between these polar groups, the 'poster' informants are located towards the 'šprt' end

of the continuum, while the majority of personal contacts and those recruited by chance can be placed at the opposite end.

In view of these findings, an analysis of variance test that identifies the differences in the way the variables are distributed in the given subgroups was carried out. The results for all the variables were insignificant. However, I decided to run further statistical tests whereby personal contacts and informants recruited randomly were merged into a single subgroup called 'contacts / random' and their mean percentage scores were compared to those of the informants who had replied to the posters; the other two subgroups were omitted from the analysis.

Table 7.32 *Differences in accommodation between 'poster' and 'contact / random' informants*

Variable	**Poster (N = 7)**	**Contact / Random (N = 14)**	**Level of significance**
v-insertion	0.50%	23.05%	**F 11.852, p < 0.01**
é-raising	13.13%	38.51%	**F 7.243, p < 0.05**
ý-diphthongization	11.92%	42.49%	**F 10.875, p < 0.01**
paradigm unification	31.89%	55.39%	F 3.984 p > 0.05

Table 7.32 clearly shows that the results for all the variables except paradigm unification are significant and differences in the distribution of *v*-insertion and of *ý*-diphthongization are highly significant. Nevertheless, these results are still inconclusive and the next step is to check the relationship between method of recruitment and sex and integration, which have been shown to be the most influential independent variables. If, for example, the 'contact / random' subgroup consists predominantly of women or high scorers, while the 'poster' subgroup is made up

chiefly of men or low scorers, then the differences between the two groups might be explained not by method of recruitment but by other social parameters.

Table 7.33 *Cross-tabulation of method or recruitment 2 (MOR2) and sex*

			Sex		
			Female	Male	Total
MOR2	Poster	Count	3	4	7
		% within MOR2	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within Sex	42.9%	28.6%	33.3%
	Contacts/Random	Count	4	10	14
		% within MOR2	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
		% within Sex	57.1%	71.4%	66.7%
Total		Count	7	14	21
		% within MOR2	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.34 *Cross-tabulation of method of recruitment 2 (MOR2) and network integration*

			IntegrationGroup			
			0-4 points	4-9 points	10 points +	Total
MOR2	Poster	Count	2	3	2	7
		% within MOR2	28.6%	42.9%	28.6%	100.0%
		% within IntegrationGroup	40.0%	33.3%	28.6%	33.3%
	Contacts/Random	Count	3	6	5	14
		% within MOR2	21.4%	42.9%	35.7%	100.0%
		% within IntegrationGroup	60.0%	66.7%	71.4%	66.7%
Total		Count	5	9	7	21
		% within MOR2	23.8%	42.9%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within IntegrationGroup	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Viewing the situation in the contingency tables, we can see that neither sex nor level of integration can be held responsible for the results. In view of sex, there are more males than females in both subgroups, the highest being in the 'contacts / random' subgroup. Although there are more high scorers in the 'contacts / random' subgroup, this subgroup is twice the size of 'poster'; the percentages show that there

is an even mix of scorers in both subgroups and an independent *t*-test confirms that there is no significant difference between the two subgroups ($F = 0.43$, $P > 0.05$). A significant difference is, however, observed between the two subgroups with respect length of residence. The 'poster' subgroup has a mean score of just 1.92 years, while the 'contacts / random' subgroup's mean is considerably higher (5.68 years) and this difference is obviously significant ($F = 6.093$, $P < 0.05$). Although length of residence is not the most influential factor, such a significant difference is possibly the cause of the linguistic differentiation. This hypothesis is made more likely in view that the best correlations between length of residence and linguistic behaviour were identified for *v*-insertion ($r = 0.396$, $P < 0.05$) and *ý*-diphthongization ($r = 0.339$, $P < 0.05$), and it is in the distribution of these two variables that differences between the 'poster' and 'contacts / random' subgroups are the most significant ($F = 11.852$, $P < 0.01$ (*v*-insertion); $F = 10.875$, $P < 0.01$ (*ý*-diphthongization)). Moving on from this observation, we can compare the mean scores for the 'poster' subgroup with the mean scores of all informants with a length of residence of 2.5 years or less, which will give an indication of whether or not the 'poster' informants are especially conservative.

Table 7.35 *Linguistic scores of the 'poster' group in comparison to the mean score of informants who had lived in the host community for under two-and-a-half years*

Variable	Poster (N = 7)	0-2.5 years mean score (N = 14)	Level of significance
v-insertion	0.50%	3.08%	**F 6.132, p < 0.05**
é-raising	13.13%	22.90%	F 3.243, p = 0.088
ý-diphthongization	11.92%	14.91%	F 0.204, p > 0.05
paradigm unification	31.89%	31.75%	F 0.097, p > 0.05

As we can see in Table 7.35, informants in the 'poster' subgroup have a lower rate of acquisition, albeit minor, for the three of the linguistic variables, while they score marginally higher for paradigm unification. Although the difference between the mean scores is significant for *v*-insertion (F 6.132, $p < 0.05$) and 'near-significant' for *é*-raising (F 3.243, $p = 0.088$), we cannot, on the basis of the above data, reliably substantiate the hypothesis that the 'poster' informants' identity (as proud Moravians) is responsible for their low rates of accommodation. It is just as conceivable that the 'poster' informants use less CC forms because most of them have lived in Prague for less than two years. Furthermore, rather than there being a direct link between identity and accommodation, it is just as plausible, if not more plausible, that the high rate of accommodation of the 'contacts / random' informants and the low rate of the 'poster' informants is accounted for by the amount and intensity of contact with speakers of the host dialect.

8 *Conclusions*

Besides concluding the findings, both with respect to the patterns of accommodation and to the impact of the independent social variables on the assimilation of the dependent linguistic variables, this chapter also takes into consideration the limitations of the present study. The last section of the thesis advances suggestions for future research into related issues that are either directly connected to the present study, or that are involved with dialect contact and accommodation in the Czech Republic more generally.

8.1 Testing the contact hypothesis

To return to the assumption that Moravians living in Bohemia assimilate CC features, we can say confidently that this part of the contact hypothesis advanced by linguists such as Sgall and Hronek is accurate. However, as I predicted, the extent to which speakers adapt linguistically to the host variety depends on a number of language-internal and extralinguistic factors and, not surprisingly, high levels of inter- and intra-speaker variation were observed. Several types of incomplete or partial accommodation were identified and the accommodation continuum ranged from speakers assimilating all the CC forms under study and using them in an identical manner to native speakers of CC to complete non-accommodation, that is, the failure to acquire any of the CC forms that were analyzed. Two informants, contrary to my initial expectations and to the literature on adult speakers' second dialect acquisition, did actually acquire native-like patterns for use of all six CC variants – to the point that they could only be identified as Moravians on the basis of isolated phonetic

features by individuals with special linguistic training.[166] There was just one case of zero accommodation, where an informant did not use any of the six forms on any single occasion. It should be pointed out, however, that this was the only humanities student that participated in the study – since students of the arts and humanities were intentionally avoided for reasons stated (§ 5.3) – and it is therefore conceivable that this somewhat anomalous linguistic behaviour is the result of a conscious effort to use SC in the recorded interview. In any case, this finding reinforces the claim I made earlier that humanities students, in particular those of language and linguistics are not ideal informants in sociolinguistically-orientated research.[167]

Obviously, the two types of accommodation described above can be classed as exceptional cases and the linguistic behaviour of the other informants is located somewhere between these polar ends of the continuum. Generally speaking, informants' assimilation to the host variety was incomplete and several types of partial accommodation that we would expect in first-generation contact situations were present. For example, many informants acquired all the variants but used them

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[166] Speakers do not necessarily have to reach categoricity in order to be taken as native speakers of the host dialect. It is a common observation in second dialect acquisition studies of young children that in many cases the transported individuals sound (to most listeners) like native speakers of the host (second) dialect. However, an accumulating body of studies has revealed that acquisition even for the youngest speakers is rarely complete, and that even simple rules are sometimes only partially acquired. Such trends have been reported in Payne (1980), Trudgill (1986: 28-31), Roberts (1997), and Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007).

[167] Marek, a student of history, had a zero ratio of accommodation for all the six features under study, despite using CC forms in our informal chats that were not recorded. He also asked several questions that directly addressed the aims of the research and my insider, who at the time had not been advised otherwise, attempted to provide a basic description. Marek seemed reasonably well informed of the methodological frameworks used in linguistic studies and went on to suggest that better results could have been achieved by observing the linguistic behaviour of less-educated speakers, who, in 'his' opinion, quickly acquire CC forms. His suggestions to my insider were: *He probably shouldn't analyze university students, you really find it* [acquisition of CC] *more in the people who go to work (–) or who work behind the till at Delvita* [A Belgian supermarket chain] *and they pick it* [CC] *up straight away well not straight away but fairly quickly.* Marek's view that less-educated speakers are quick to acquire CC forms, while students are more inclined to use SC was shared by many students of languages and linguistics at Charles University. In view of the results obtained in the present study, this 'opinion' is not supported by the empirical data, at least with respect to students accommodating to CC. The study cannot, however, offer any reliable evidence with respect to the accommodation of less-educated speakers.

variably and inconsistently in some words but not others, some informants acquired some of the variants but not others, some had exceptionally high rates of acquisition for some of the CC variants, whereas they acquired other variants only marginally, or not at all, and so forth. Several hybrid constructions of the type *To bude docela takové dobrý no* and *nový sprchovej kút* (§ 7.6) were observed and the rules concerning the distribution of SC and CC forms identified by Kučera were infringed on several occasions – although, as we established, these rules are not entirely rigid.

To look at the contact hypothesis from another perspective, we stumble upon a problem in interpreting the extremely vague claim that Moravians living in Bohemia 'use' CC. The combined results for all the informants show that, although informants do use CC forms, there are only two positions – paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs and *é*-raising in the neuter singular of hard adjectives in predicative positions – where the number of CC forms outnumbers the total instances of other forms, and even here there is an almost even distribution of CC forms in relation to other features. Obviously, this varies from individual to individual (informants' individual scores for the four variables are given in section 3 of the Appendices) and, as we have witnessed from the results of Markéta and the informants from western Moravia, even native speakers do not use the forms entirely categorically. Thus, our conclusion must be that the first part of the contact hypothesis is correct, insomuch Moravians use CC in the sense that they to varying degrees adopt features of the host variety, though for the most part their accommodation is incomplete.

8.2 Types and patterns of accommodation

An important part of the present study was to demonstrate in what way linguistic phenomena differ in terms of adoption or rejection and I have uncovered clear

patterns in the acquisition or non-acquisition of the six CC variants that were studied. In accordance with findings in a number of contact situations (see, for instance, those listed in Trudgill (1986)), it was identified that certain variants of the host variety are more (or less) likely to be acquired than others. Furthermore, I was able to make reliable predictions about the way in which specific variants would be assimilated using a set of language-internal and extralinguistic variable-specific criteria that were discussed in Chapter 6 (§ 6.9). The prediction that phonological forms that are geographically widespread and that have expanded socially and are tolerated more frequently in non-informal sociolinguistic domains would be the primary candidates for acquisition is substantiated by the empirical data. With respect to the phonological forms, the introspective material used to develop hierarchies of areal distribution and social acceptance proved to be a reliable predictor of which forms informants acquired the most. Phonological forms that were listed as socially acceptable in all types of non-formal communication and that are used beyond CC-speaking territories were used more than those that are to a greater extent socially marked and restricted regionally to Bohemia and western parts of Moravia. Thus, for *é*-raising CC forms were generally observed the least in the oblique cases of hard feminine adjectives and pronouns than in other positions; and for *ý*-diphthongization, CC forms were used considerably more in desinence-final position of hard masculine adjectives than in desinence-initial position and in word roots – though, we might have expected a higher level of acquisition for forms such as *dobrej* and *velkej*.

Similarly, by applying the theoretical variable-specific criteria it was possible to predict the forms that informants avoid or acquire the least. With the obvious exception of paradigm unification, the prediction that the CC forms of the other two grammatical variables, *l*-truncation and gender neutralization, would be avoided was

accurate. The most difficult form to pinpoint was prothetic /v/. The introspective data did not give any indication to what extent informants would assimilate this feature. The results showed that the rate of acquisition for prothetic /v/ was very low, even in grammatical words such as personal pronouns and prepositions where native speakers of CC are believed to use this form categorically. That said, rather than attributing the non-accommodation to the claim that prothetic /v/ is on the decline within CC, it was suggested instead that /v/ was avoided both in terms of its social stigma – it was listed as the least tolerated form in I2 – and because the rules concerning its use are more complicated than for the other variables. In fact, /v/ was acquired only by high scorers who had spent a relatively long time in the host community, and the fact that /v/ is adopted late suggests that complexity does play a role. Prothetic /v/ in grammatical words was only one of two CC forms for which we observed a significant interaction between length of residence and network integration.

The most unexpected finding, which contradicts the initial predictions that were based on the hierarchies of areal distribution and social acceptance, is that the highest ratio of CC forms was observed for paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs. Forms such as *dělaj* (SC *dělají* 'they do') and *dávaj* (SC *dávají* 'they give') were acquired to a greater extent than the high-frequency and geographically and socially unrestricted phonological forms. This finding is even more surprising, since I was unable to find a strong positive correlation between paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs and any of the independent variables. Neither previous introspective analyses of CC forms nor the contact-specific factors that were enumerated in this study gave any indication that the CC 'aj'-forms would be assimilated to such an extent; nor do informants' comments in I2 suggest that this

might be the case. In fact, paradigm unification was mentioned only once in 39 interviews, which suggests that the CC forms are low in speakers' consciousness. It is impossible for now to offer a definite explanation why low-scorers or individuals who had been in the host community for only a short time, both men and women, have a high distribution of the CC forms. The fact that speakers who are comparatively sheltered from CC still use these forms cannot be explained on the basis of the external variables. However, while I do not have a conclusive explanation, a possible social psychological explanation is as follows. The fact that paradigm unification was mentioned only once in I2 does not necessarily mean that speakers are unaware of the CC variants, but it might mean that they do not perceive the CC forms negatively. Furthermore, because paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs is the only variable where the form found in informants' native dialects is not identical to the SC form there is a greater motivation to acquire the CC variant. For example, for *l*-truncation or gender neutralization informants' native forms are identical to the SC forms and this perhaps discourages accommodation, even though the SC forms are avoided by native speakers of CC in informal communication. Conversely, in the case of paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation verbs, informants face a dilemma, insomuch as if they drop their regional form, which we would expect them to do, they are faced with a choice between the SC and the CC variant. It seems that the CC variant comes out on top. Material on the grammatical variables and their areal distribution is sparse and outdated; thus a second possible explanation is that the CC forms of paradigm unification in fifth-conjugation have already been diffused to parts of Moravia and this is simply not yet attested in the literature. In any case, the fact that low-scorers use this feature regularly and that we cannot find any link between language use and the external variables is odd and requires further research.

With respect to the notion of 'salience', the results yielded in the present study are similar to those identified elsewhere (Auer, Barden and Grosskopf 1998, Kerswill and Williams 2002). First, it should be pointed out that 'salience' is a complex phenomenon and a concept which 'without careful argumentation on the linguist's part ... all too easily lapses into categoricity and mere labelling' (Kerswill and Williams 2002: 82). Salience is interpreted in several ways – definitions ranging from salient features being those that are simply high-frequency variants to definitions of salience that are based on several language-internal and extralinguistic factors (see Kerswill and Williams (2002: 83-87) for a discussion of the different interpretations of 'salience' in linguistic studies). Moreover, measures of salience developed by linguists (Schirmunski 1932, Trudgill 1986, Auer, Barden and Grosskopf 1998) are subjective attempts to delimit the criteria that make a linguistic feature perceptually and cognitively prominent and potentially overlook important factors. Nonetheless, it has been observed in several studies (Trudgill 1986, Auer, Barden and Grosskopf 1998, Kerswill and Williams 2002) that salience (based on different sets of criteria) is a reasonably good predictor of the loss or acquisition of linguistic forms and that salient features (features that are particularly well-known or have a high level of social significance in a particular community) are, under normal conditions, given up quicker and more easily in dialect levelling and adopted quicker or more easily in second dialect acquisition than less salient forms. This is certainly true in the present study. There is reasonably positive association between the salience of the linguistic forms under study and their differential rate of adoption. The phonological forms that were identified as 'more salient' were generally adopted considerably more than the grammatical features, which were 'less salient'. However, as other linguists have identified, salience is a 'necessary but insufficient condition' for the adoption of

linguistic forms (Auer, Barden and Grosskopf 1998: 184) and assimilation of salient features may be delayed or even prevented due to the complexity (see Trudgill 1986) and / or the markedness / stigmatization of a particular linguistic form (Auer, Barden and Grosskopf 1998). This holds for the adoption of prothetic /v/, which although highly salient was avoided by most speakers. As I discuss above, this may interpreted in two ways: either as a result of its relative complexity or its stigmatization in the migrant community (or a combination of the two). I would suggest, however, that the non-acquisition of prothetic /v/ is most probably associated more with speakers' negative attitudes towards this feature. Although use of prothetic /v/ is variable as opposed to categorical, *v*-insertion is by no means a complex variable and, as we know from other studies that consider the notion of 'salience', extra-linguistic factors generally override language-internal ones (Auer, Barden and Grosskopf 1998, Kerswill and Williams 2002). However, salience cannot explain why informants adopted CC fifth-conjugation 'aj'-forms even more than the highly-salient phonological variants. The CC 'aj'-forms are not salient according to the criteria applied by Schirmunski 1932, Trudgill 1986 or Auer, Barden and Grosskopf 1998, or to the criteria that were used in the present study (§ 6.9) – although, as I suggest earlier, subjective indices of salience potentially overlook important factors – and further study is required in order to interpret this unexpected finding.

Contrary to Trudgill's fixed-route hypothesis, it is impossible in the present study to offer a definite chronological order in which the individual variants are acquired, at least on a variant-by-variant basis, as Trudgill identified in the accommodation of speakers of English English living in America and in various other contact settings. In the case of the Moravian students, variants of the host variety are generally acquired at around the same time. Nevertheless, an important trend was

noted, insomuch as for the four variables that were analyzed in detail, three of them follow an almost identical pattern in terms of their acquisition, being acquired and stabilizing at roughly the same period. The acquisition of /v/, on the other hand, starts much later and then only if the individual has a high level of integration in the host community.

8.3 Speaker-specific considerations

It has now been established that certain CC forms are acquired more than others and we have revealed several important patterns in terms of how and when individual features are assimilated and why. This means that we are informed of the general trends in accommodation from a variable-specific perspective; we still need to investigate, however, the impact of the various external constraints on accommodation. The principal aim and contribution of the present study was to describe the impact of a range of independent variables relating to the individual speaker on the adoption of the dependent linguistic variables. Thus, rather than presenting accommodation according to the idea that some forms of the host variety are acquired while others are rejected or that some forms are acquired to a greater extent and more easily than others, it is argued instead that any variant of the host variety may be assimilated and that speaker-specific factors override variable-specific constraints. For instance, although it was established that CC variants of the grammatical variables *l*-truncation and gender neutralization are generally avoided, as is prothetic /v/, some informants have acquired these forms and use them on a regular basis. Furthermore, as we shall now see, inter-speaker differences can for the most part be reliably accounted for by a range of extralinguistic factors.

The first significant finding is that informants' region of origin, that is, the dialect region they were born and raised in, has no direct influence on their speech habits in the host community. It was predicted that speakers of Central Moravian dialects, where certain features of the host dialect are identical to the forms found in their native dialects, and who we might expect to engage more regularly in face-to-face interaction with speakers of CC because of the proximity between the two regions, would accommodate more than speakers from Silesia or eastern Moravia. This prediction, however, is not backed up by the empirical data and no significant differences between the three interdialect groups were observed. Owing to this discovery, we do not expect to observe different patterns in accommodation between speakers from Brno, Olomouc, Ostrava, Zlín, Uherské Hradiště, or from other Moravian towns.

Although perhaps a logical assumption, informants who lived the longest in the host community did not necessarily use the most CC forms and length of residence for all the variables except *v*-insertion, which is acquired later than the other variants, stops being influential after as little as two years. In this respect, the pattern of accommodation in this study corresponds to the general pattern observed in other accounts of dialect contact (HPD 1978, Kerswill 1994). Nevertheless, multivariate tests did highlight a very important difference in the significance of length of residence on the linguistic behaviour of the male and female informants. While there is only a very weak positive correlation between length of residence and accommodation for women, the accommodation of the male informants is significantly influenced by the time they have spent in the host community for all the variables under study – although the line charts demonstrated that even for the male informants length of residence was overridden in some cases by network integration

(§ Figures 7.23, 7.24, 7.25, 7.26). Perhaps the most important finding with respect to length of residence is its interaction with network integration in the acquisition of the more stigmatized CC variants. Network integration alone did not guarantee the acquisition of /v/ or /ɛj/ – or the dropping of /l/ in the masculine past tense of first- and second-conjugation verbs – and only informants who had lived in Prague for five or more years were successful in assimilating these forms.

When the data were analyzed in relation to sex some very interesting results were obtained. Although the literature on language and gender has shown women to be more innovative in acquiring and using standardized variants (§ 6.10.2) and it has been suggested that women use more newly introduced forms, regardless of whether they are standard or non-standard (Gal 1978), no noticeable trends in sex differentiation have been observed in other accommodation-based studies (Bortoni-Ricardo 1985, Kerswill 1994). An initial finding in the present study was that women were more innovative than men in assimilating almost all forms of the host variety. In fact, when accommodation was analyzed in the individual positions women used more CC forms than men in 16 out of 17 cases. This is especially interesting. On the one hand, it supports Gal's suggestion that women are more innovative regardless of whether features are standard or non-standard, but, on the other, it goes against the general trend that women prefer prestige or standardized forms. The results that the study yielded would seem perfectly normal if informants had rated CC positively or less negatively than their native dialects; however, as the results from I2 show (§ 5.8), this is clearly not the case: the majority of informants evaluated CC negatively and SC is clearly the sole prestige variety. I propose here a speculative suggestion that women do not necessarily prefer 'prestige' or 'standard' variants (at least in situations of dialect contact), but rather variants which *they* consider the 'most appropriate' for a

particular linguistic situation (and these are not necessarily the same variants that men consider appropriate for the same linguistic situation). This would work both for many of the studies discussed earlier (6.10.2), in which appropriate linguistic behaviour tends to be associated with prestige or standard variants, and also in the situation described here, in which the standard and speakers' native dialects appear to be 'inappropriate' (§ 3.12); although SC was considered the sole prestige variety, it was deemed inappropriate for informal communication by some of the informants (see Alena's comment (footnote 165)). There is also a link between this theory and some of the suggestions that have been advanced with respect to the mechanisms that underlie sex differentiation, which assert that women are judged more than men according to the way they speak (Trudgill 1972).

The seemingly clear-cut sex differentiation, however, became much more complicated when further rounds of statistical tests were performed. Although the female informants generally used more CC variants than the male informants, the difference between the mean scores of the two groups was statistically significant only for paradigm unification and certain positions of *é*-raising. In addition, multivariate analysis highlighted that sex is less important than other independent variables and it is always overridden by network integration, which causes bias in the data. Nonetheless, I believe it is still possible to talk of a 'trend' by which women are generally more innovative than men, though not perhaps by the margin that the initial results suggest. Perhaps the most unexpected and interesting sex-related finding is in the relationship between accommodation and network integration for the male and female informants (§ 7.11.2). For the female informants there is a strong effect for integration (for all variables), but not for the male informants. The converse is observed for length of residence (§ 7.11.3); however, it is evident from figures 7.23,

7.24, 7.25 and 7.26 that length of residence is overridden by network integration. Again, it is possible to offer a speculative explanation for this unexpected behaviour. If we accept that women for whatever reason are more linguistically insecure than men and that there is a greater motivation for them to use 'appropriate' variants – this cannot unfortunately be supported by empirical evidence – it seems logical that they would consider linguistic accommodation as part of the overall acculturation process more important or more desirable than men. For men, on the other hand, linguistic accommodation may not be an integral part of the overall integration process.

Network integration is clearly the most significant factor for all of the variables, including the two that were omitted. And the most integrated individuals, that is, those who scored the most points on the integration index did in fact use the most CC forms. To illustrate this point, Milena, who scored the most points on the integration index (13 points) used more CC forms than any other informant. Thus, there is a strong positive correlation between network integration and accommodation. Network integration is found to be more important than all the other variables in shaping speakers' linguistic behaviour, and it has been proved that network integration as a quantifiable sociolinguistic variable is not only a reliable predictor of conservative linguistic behaviour, but it can also be used to effectively predict innovative language use. Rather than interacting with the other independent variables to control informants' linguistic behaviour, network integration generally supersedes them and in all but a few instances is the only significant external factor.

The three additional independent variables were also tested in view of their impact on informants' accommodation. Although speakers' accommodation increased the more positive their attitudes became towards the host variety, this was, again, ascribed to the interference of network integration, owing to the statistically

significant positive correlation between attitudes and network integration. Therefore, rather than talking of a direct and meaningful link between informants' speech habits and their attitudes towards CC, it is suggested instead that speakers' attitudes towards the host variety are conditioned by the extent to which they integrated in the host community. Some potentially very interesting results were obtained for the other two external parameters 'subject of study' and 'method of recruitment' and these findings are discussed in more detail below.

8.4 Limitations of the quantitative approach

Although I have been able to successfully account for most cases of inter-speaker variation, there are some instances where informants who have the same or similar scores on the integration index have very different levels of accommodation. This is perhaps most evident in the case of my two highest scorers: Milena (13 points) and Luboš (12 points).

Table 8.1 *Comparison of the linguistic scores of the two highest scorers on the integration index*

	Milena	Luboš
v-insertion	90.7%	0%
é-raising	100%	16.9%
ý-diphthongization	97.7%	3.7%
paradigm unification	92.3%	27.6%

Not only does Milena outscore Luboš for all the variables, Luboš accommodates far less that many other informants who scored considerably less points than him on the integration index. The variation in the accommodation of my highest scorers on the integration index is difficult to explain, since the two informants are very similar in other respects. Both socialize mostly with Bohemians, both have a partner who is a

native speaker of CC, both participate regularly in team-based activities, both go home just once a semester and stay in Prague over the summer holidays and both intend to set up home in Prague after completing their studies. In addition, Luboš's mother is from České Budějovice in southern Bohemia. Therefore, we must assume that the differences in accommodation are most probably due to factors that have not been taken into consideration in the present study.

Besides the external factors that were analyzed, there are several other important phenomena that could possibly influence accommodation, but which for whatever reason cannot or have not been studied. I have not, for instance, considered informants' native network in any way. To achieve this it would have been necessary to observe individuals in their native communities – since the option of self-reports was dismissed – and such observation would have exceeded the time and financial resources available for this study. It is conceivable, nonetheless, that speakers who are peripheral members of their native communities may find it easier or more desirable to accommodate in the direction of another variety, while core or central members may find it harder to drop features of their native dialects in favour of the new host dialect. In this respect, the qualitative data highlight an important difference between Milena and Luboš. While Luboš is proud of his Moravian background, Milena is very negative both towards Ostrava, the town where she grew up, and towards Moravia in general.

Equally important are speakers' personality, behavioural traits and past experiences. The problem here is that these factors are extremely difficult to pinpoint and are impossible to measure quantitatively. Some speakers are more concerned than others about the way they speak and how this is perceived by the addressee. For some individuals it is more important to be liked or to be part of an in-crowd than it is for

others and such individuals may well modify their social and linguistic behaviour accordingly. Some might go to extreme lengths to become part of a group, others will do the minimum that is required to be accepted by their new community, while others may choose to intentionally distance themselves from the in-group through linguistic divergence in order to index their identity. Individuals react differently to past experiences. Speakers whose native dialects are mocked in the host community may behave in different ways: linguistic discrimination might motivate them to accommodate to the host variety (or to a more prestige variety), while it might encourage others to accentuate the differences between themselves and their interlocutors. There are marked differences between Milena and Luboš in this respect as well. Milena is very ambitious and likes to be the centre of attention. Both in I2 and in our informal meetings, she made it clear that she disliked her Moravian origin and wanted to distance herself as much as possible from the stigma, which she thought being Moravian carried. Her negative views towards Moravia are perhaps influenced by the attitudes of her long-term boyfriend (a native of Prague), who frequently joked about the way of life in Moravia and about Moravian speech. Milena's attitudes towards Moravia seem to be heavily influenced by Bohemian culture. Luboš, on the other hand, claimed to use his 'Moravianness' to his advantage. He reported in I2 that members of his football team used to tease him because he spoke with a distinctive Moravian accent. He reported that in response he would use localized features that he would otherwise not use to provoke his team-mates. Unlike Milena, Luboš did not seem overtly conscious about his native dialect and he said that he did not feel under pressure to adopt CC forms to be part of an in-crowd. Although the two informants are almost identical in terms of the external factors that were analyzed, they have diametrically opposed personalities and behavioural traits.

Very importantly, other male informants also viewed their linguistic distinctiveness as a positive factor, while female informants felt severely hampered by their regional accents. [168] The qualitative data suggest that, on the one hand, it is acceptable and even 'cool' for men to speak with a regional accent, while on the other, it is viewed as inappropriate for women to do the same (see also the comments on sex-related differences in 8.3). In comparing the linguistic behaviour of Milena and Luboš, we see a good example of why quantitative research should be complemented by qualitative and ethnographic data. The quantitative approach was not capable of uncovering these important differences between the two highest scorers, whereas qualitative methods that take into consideration the complex sociopsychological make-up of an individual have revealed important differences, allowing us to formulate an explanation as to why my two highest scorers diverge considerably in their accommodation to CC.

8.5 Representativeness

At various points in the present study, I have outlined the many advantages an ethnographic approach has in eliciting good sociolinguistic data and we have witnessed that there are many benefits in observing informants interacting in their natural networks of friends and acquaintances. However, by carrying out a detailed analysis of a small network of individuals as opposed to recruiting informants from various sections of the wider community, linguists are inevitably queried as to the representativeness of their findings. As Milroy and Gordon point out, 'a more

[168] Maruška, an informant from eastern Moravia, also reported that she had experienced linguistic discrimination. Frequent jibes were made about her Moravian accent by members of a dance club, at which she was the only member not to be a native of Prague. At first, she passed off the comments as 'playful banter', but eventually statements of the type *Ty seš z toho vidlákova, viď* 'You're from the sticks, aren't you' began to upset her and she considered the mockery offensive and racist. To her indignation, however, she felt the only thing to do was to accommodate to CC.

substantive analytical problem relates to the challenge of locating the results of a focused, ethnographic study of a particular community in a wider sociolinguistic context' (2003: 72) and Meyeroff (2002: 535) argues that a micro-level study of one highly-localized group cannot be taken as representative of the whole speech community, and that in some cases such an approach may result in 'extreme relativism'. The problem is that, although observing the behaviour of a highly-localized group or network as opposed to the random sampling of individuals taken from various networks affords the researcher a more detailed account of the correlation between linguistic and social variables, the question arises of whether 'we will never know whether this is the main sociolinguistic story, or just a few chapters from the book' (Labov 2001: 39-40).

On the other hand, a random sample brings with it the considerable benefit of generalizability and taking informants from all kinds of different networks within a speech community may be more representative, but this approach is far from ideal in terms of explaining linguistic behaviour. Here we hit upon what Labov calls the 'sampling paradox', which he explains thus: 'the more confident we are that a sample represents a population, the less confident we are that the sample can explain the behaviour of that population' (2001: 40). Therefore, both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages and both have their limitations. It has been demonstrated, however, that micro-level studies can be used to explain the bigger picture of language variation in the wider community. Labov (1972c), for instance, showed that unconnected groups of speakers can exhibit similar linguistic behaviour if they share similar values and pursuits and if they aspire to the same goals. By studying and comparing the speech of two unconnected street gangs in New York with that of a group of 'lames', individuals not affiliated to any street gang but of the

same age as the gang members under study, Labov found that members of the two street gangs exhibited similar linguistic behaviour. P. Eckert's results for the linguistic behaviour of Jocks and Burnouts at Belten High can also be taken as representative for these groups of individuals as a whole. Therefore, although further research is needed, a micro-level study of a highly-localized group 'can' yield important results with regard to the macro-level picture of language variation and change.

Because students from the same faculties are usually housed in the same hall of residence in Prague, the potential problem of relativism and circularity is relevant to the present study. Housing students of the same discipline in the same hall of residence is likely to create dense and multiplex networks in which students study, live and socialize within the same circle of contacts and have limited contact outside the group. From a linguistic point of view, taking aside discipline-specific slang, this could promote notable differences in the linguistic behaviour of the individual groups. In practice, however, the mix of students at the university halls is usually more heterogeneous, and at Kajetánka, although students of medicine do form the majority, there is diverse mix of students from other schools and faculties. As a way of overcoming this problem, Milroy and Gordon (2003: 72) suggest that researchers should make forays into similar communities. Since problems were experienced in gathering a representative sample of informants (§ 5.2), I was forced to recruit students from other halls of residence in Prague as well and differences in accommodation were negligible. Thus, the results elicited in the present study are representative outside the immediate network of students at Kajetánka. We can confidently say that the findings taken from this study can be used to describe the linguistic behaviour of students in general from all parts of Moravia. We might add that the results are representative for all migrants who have studied or are studying at

an institute of higher education. We can also say that the same patterns of accommodation would be observed for students or former students not just in Prague but across Bohemia. We cannot, however, be sure, without further investigation, if and in what way the accommodation of less-educated speakers will differ from that of the students whose speech habits are studied here, since only one of the informants had not or was not studying at an institute of higher education. And, while, in terms of individuals' education, we do not expect to observe differences in the distribution of the linguistic variables in native speakers of CC, important education-related differences may be traceable in migrant speakers.

8.6 Future research

In concluding the results of the present study, we should also identify its limitations and discuss the scope for further empirical research. To reiterate what was stated in the introduction, the present study is the first systematic attempt to describe the linguistic accommodation of speakers of Moravian dialects living in Bohemia and it is the first variationist account of dialect contact in the Czech Republic. Although several hypotheses have been advanced with respect to which features are the primary candidates for acquisition and what external parameters can have a meaningful and significant impact on speakers' accommodation towards CC, there are undoubtedly many issues that have not been explored. Generally speaking, the first forays into a particular speech community or into a particular linguistic situation are revisited, re-evaluated and approached from new perspectives, many times and with new methodologies – with the follow-up studies often yield conflicting results. Talking more generally about approaching languages for the first time, Labov suggests that 'with the pleasure of being the first goes the certainty of being wrong' (1972b: 98)

and he argues that 'the more we know about a language, the more we can find out about it' – this is termed the 'cumulative principle'; this is also true from a methodological perspective. Thus, rather than being a conclusive account of the outcomes of dialect contact between speakers of CC and those of Moravian dialects, the present study is intended as a platform for further investigation and is seminal both to further large-scale research and to more localized studies relating to the findings identified here.

First, the present study leads to further more fine-grained analyses of Moravian migrants in Bohemia. It was mentioned above that the results cannot be taken as representative for migrants who are not receiving or have not received a university education, and it would be therefore very useful to carry out a smaller study using the same methods on less-educated speakers. This would allow us to test whether or not such individuals accommodate more or whether they retain more regional forms than the students. In addition, the independent variables 'subject of study' and 'method of recruitment' produced some interesting results that also merit further research. While the accommodation of informants from different schools and faculties differed minimally, the sports scientists were considerably more innovative than the other informants, acquiring some variants almost categorically. The results are based, however, on the linguistic behaviour of just four informants. A cell of four individuals is considered by most researchers as a workable number, but, nonetheless, it would be useful to record a larger sample of sports scientists in aim of unravelling their comparatively high levels of accommodation. Similarly, although it was considered unlikely that 'method of recruitment' would influence speakers' accommodation, some interesting trends were observed for the 'poster' informants. Although the idea that the informants who applied to the posters were linguistically

more conservative than informants recruited by other means is perhaps accounted for by the fact that all of them had lived in Prague for the less than two years, the initial proposal that informants with a stronger sense of 'Moravianness' are more resistant to change is certainly worth investigating. Identity is not considered a major factor in dialect contact and the formation of new dialects (Trudgill 2006), but it seems possible that it could play an important role in the accommodation process for the sports scientists and the 'poster' informants – polar groups in terms of their assimilation of CC forms. However, it is just as likely that accommodation in both cases is purely the result of contact: the sports scientists had more contact with speakers of the host dialect than the other informants, and it was suggested that a possible motivation for applying to the posters was that individuals had few contacts in the host community. Nevertheless, the possible link between speakers' identity and accommodation has not been investigated and it would be especially interesting to analyze the relationship between identity and non-accommodation. In this study, informants' integration in the host community and their attitudes towards the host variety were quantified, but their level of local loyalty was not quantitatively measured.

On a larger scale, the study is seminal in the first place to research into the second part of the contact hypothesis, according to which speakers of CC who have migrated to Moravia do not assimilate, with minor exceptions, the localized forms of their host dialects, but support the spread of CC forms into Moravia. Here it would be necessary to devise a methodology that could not only be used to measure the migrants' accommodation but that could also effectively identify accommodation in the opposite direction and test whether the linguistic behaviour of Bohemian migrants does have an impact on the speech habits of the receiving community. The results the

present study has yielded are also important with respect to the geolinguistic diffusion of CC beyond its heartland into Moravia – another issue that has attracted much introspection and ideologically conditioned theorizing (§ 3.10). In this case, we might look to identify whether similar patterns are observed in diffusion as they are in accommodation and whether variants that speakers acquire the most in accommodation are those that are being diffused the most into Moravia.

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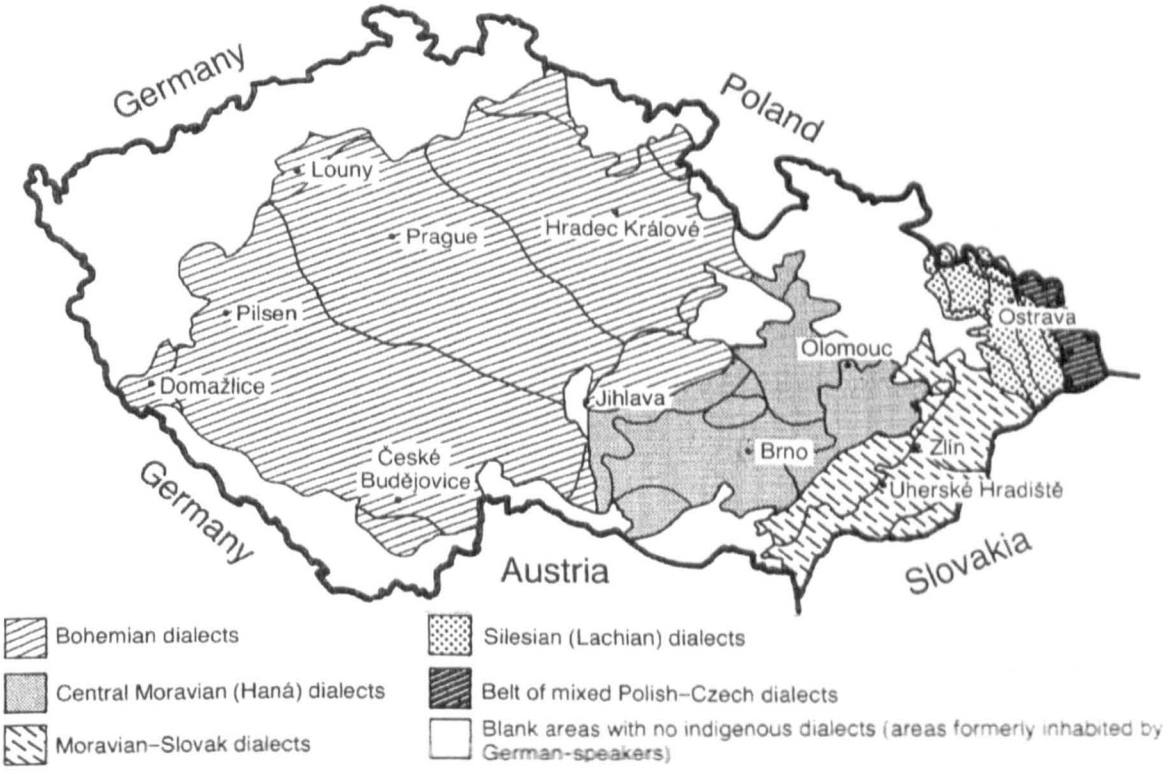
Appendices

1. Maps

1.1 Map of the Czech Republic

[from Naughton 1999]

1.2. Dialect map of the Czech Republic



[from Short 1993]

2. Photographs of Kajetánka

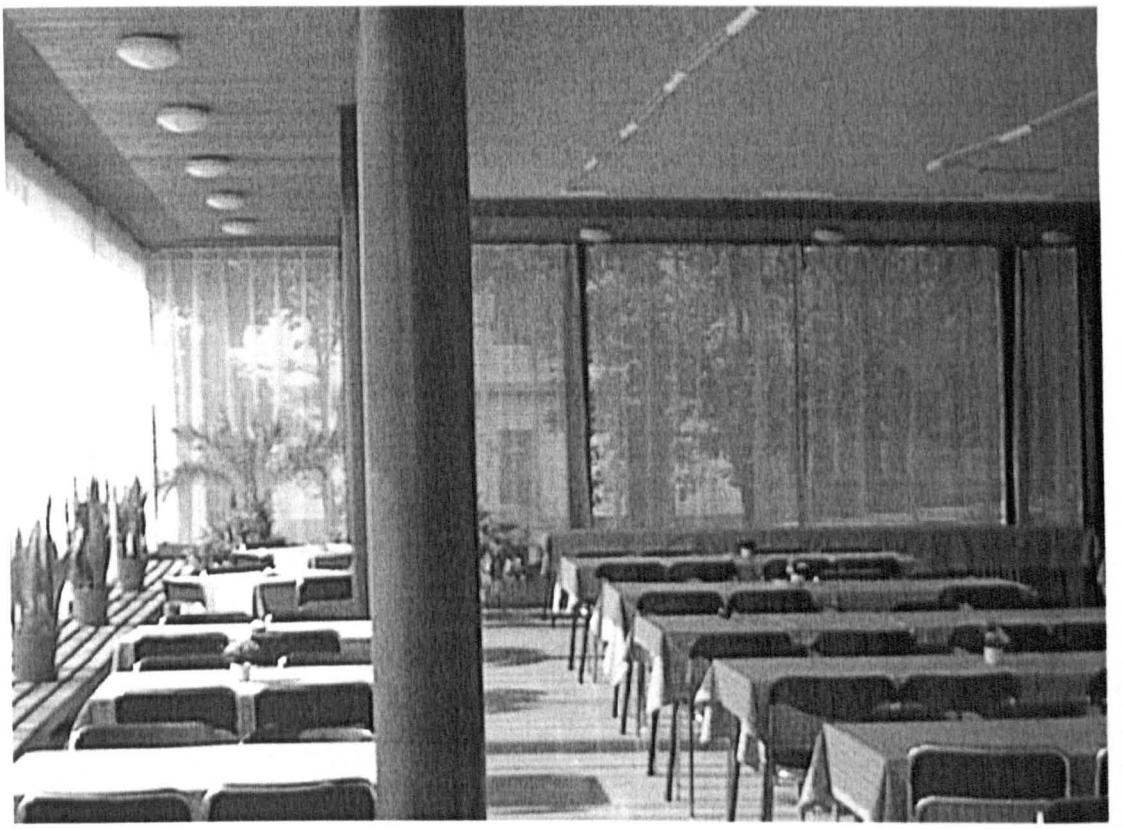
2.1 Kajetánka 1

2.2 Kajetánka 2

2.3 View of Kajetánka from outside my flat

2.4 Kajetánka 1: entrance and steps

2.5 Refectory



3. Informants' individual scores

	Informant	Sex	Region	Span	NIS	AS	O/VO	É/Ý	Ý/EJ	PU
1	Adélka	F	EM	4	4	1	0%	3.7%	0%	23.5%
2	Alena	F	SIL	4	9	1	4.2%	12.1%	8.3%	16.7%
3	Aleš	M	SIL	5	2	1	0%	3.6%	10%	14.3%
4	Alex	M	SIL	7	5	2	1.2%	2.9%	11.6%	21%
5	Bára	F	CM	2	6	2	*31.3%*	25%	26.3%	40%
[3]	Dan	M	CM	1.5	4	1	0%	0%	28.6%	27.3%
7	Denisa	F	EM	4	10	3	*20%*	*95.7%*	*70.8%*	*90.9%*
8	Drahomíra	F	EM	3	5	3	0%	75%	66.7%	60%
9	Dušan	M	CM	5	4	3	38.9%	18.2%	73.7%	100%
10	Emil	M	EM	7	4	2	12.5%	15.8%	34.2%	77.8%
11	Franta	M	EM	9	11	3	50%	77%	73.2%	41.7%
12	Gábina	F	EM	0.5	5	3	0%	20.6%	4%	25%
13	Ilona	F	SIL	2	10	4	2.3%	95.8%	0%	60%
14	Iva	F	SIL	3	10	3	2.6%	10.4%	25%	57.1%
15	Jarda	M	SIL	3	11	3	0%	33.3%	5.9%	71.4%
16	Jirka	M	CM	2	5	3	7.4%	0%	0%	0%
17	Josef	M	CM	3	6	2	2.5%	37.5%	73.7%	6.3%
18	Linda	F	CM	1.5	4	2	3%	0%	47.6%	44.4%
19	Luboš	M	SIL	4	12	2	0%	16.9%	3.7%	27.6%
20	Magda	F	CM	2	6	2	*60.5%*	60%	55.5%	57.9%
21	Marek	M	SIL	1.5	5	1	0%	0%	0%	0%
22	Martina	F	SIL	7	11	3	66.7%	98.3%	82.2%	90.5%
23	Maruška	F	EM	3	10	4	9%	88.9%	24.1%	37.5%
24	Milan	M	EM	9	7	2	5.4%	36.4%	10%	18.8%
25	Milena	F	SIL	6	13	4	90.7%	100%	97.7%	92.3%
26	*Nikola*	*F*	*WM*	*0.5*	*5*	*3*	*56.4%*	*98.8%*	*68.6%*	*60%*
27	Radek	M	CM	4	7	4	6.5%	19%	46.7%	72.7%
28	Renáta	F	SIL	5	10	2	0%	5%	5.6%	66.7%
29	Regina	F	CM	2.5	4	3	*33.3%*	11.1%	0%	28.6%
30	Rosťa	M	EM	11	6	3	1.9%	25%	13%	14.3%
31	Simona	F	SIL	1.5	9	3	11.1%	81.9%	30.6%	54.5%
32	Standa	M	CM	2	3	3	8.1%	0%	0%	66.7%
33	Šárka	F	EM	3	5	2	2.6%	21.4%	22.7%	40%
34	Terezka	F	EM	3	2	2	0%	11.6%	0%	27.3%
35	Tomáš	M	EM	1.5	1	1	2%	4.2%	12.5%	0%
36	Václav	M	EM	0.5	6	3	0%	5.1%	0%	12.5%
37	*Vendulka*	*F*	*WM*	*4*	*7*	*3*	*63.6%*	*100%*	*70%*	*25%*
38	Zdeněk	M	EM	4.5	11	2	29.6%	94.1%	87.2%	90.9%
39	Zdenka	F	SIL	5	8	2	2.5%	12.8%	0%	37.5%

CM = Central Moravian; EM = East Moravian; SIL = Silesian; WM = West Moravian
NIS = Network integration score; AS = Attitude score; SPAN = years in Prague

*Scores in percentages denote informants' overall use of the CC variant.
*Scores in italics are for the two West Moravians, who are not included in the main part of the analysis.