

Phonological variation and linguistic ideologies in the Upper Rhine area

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Although the political border between Germany and France increasingly loses its importance, the linguistic border between Baden (Germany) and Alsace (France) seems to grow stronger: It becomes increasingly impossible for speakers on both sides of the Rhine to communicate with each other in the Alemannic dialect. Combining dialectometrical phonological analyses with qualitative analyses of linguistic ideologies elicited in interviews on both sides of the German-French border, our paper tries to reveal some of the causes for the apparent emergence of this linguistic border.

We focus on two traditional phonological isoglosses, the "k-movement" and the "palatalization of intervocalic g", comparing the realization of the two consonants in our own data, recently collected from 252 informants in 42 different villages, with older data from the *Südwestdeutscher Sprachatlas* (SSA), collected in the 1970s. With regard to the "k-movement" isogloss, we can observe the same development in Baden and Alsace, i.e. the traditional fricativized form is replaced with the non-fricativized form. The "palatalization of intervocalic g" isogloss, however, does not evolve equally on both sides of the Rhine. While in Baden, the traditional palatalized form is replaced by the standard German form, speakers have conserved the traditional form in Alsace.

Which factors are responsible for the phonological change with respect to the "k-movement" in Southern Alsace? How can we explain that speakers are more conservative regarding the "palatalization of intervocalic g" in Northern Alsace? We will raise the hypothesis that the linguistic ideologies, i.e. the attitudes towards and the conceptions of the language varieties and the speakers involved, which seem to differ between Northern and Southern Alsace, may be one of the factors that can account for our findings.