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LUXEMBOURGISH DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS

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**Abstract** 

This paper presents the dialect classifications for Luxembourgish. The first dialectological studies regarded the Luxembourgish dialect(s) as embedded into a larger 'German' spectrum of varieties, but

from the 1960s onwards the state border in the east with Germany was conceptualized more and more

also as a linguistic border. The first classification of Luxembourgish by Hardt (1848), with four dialect

groups, was rather impressionistic. The classifications from the 20<sup>th</sup> century are based on survey data.

The first two are in the framework of spatial dialectology, the third one is a dialectometric study. Bach

(1933) did not present subdivisions, but on the basis of the isogloss maps at least three groups show up.

Bruch (1954) identified four dialect regions. Schiltz's (1997) quantitative analysis merges two of these

regions. There are no classifications in the field of perceptual dialectology.

Keywords: dialect classification, isoglottic dialectology, dialectometry, Luxembourgish

Name: Lëtzebuergesch [lətsəbuəjəʃ]

ISO 639-1: lb, ISO 639-2: ltz

**CLASSIFICACIONS DEL DIALECTE LUXEMBURGUÈS** 

Resum

Aquest article presenta les classificacions dialectals del luxemburguès. Els primers estudis dialectològics consideraven els dialectes luxemburguesos integrats en un espectre més ampli de varietats "germàniques", però a partir dels anys 60 la frontera estatal a l'est amb Alemanya es va

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231

conceptualitzar cada cop més també com una frontera lingüística. La primera classificació del luxemburguès que va fer Hardt (1848), amb quatre grups dialectals, era més aviat impressionista. Les classificacions del segle XX es basen en dades d'enquesta. Les dues primeres es troben en el marc de la dialectologia espacial, la tercera és un estudi dialectomètric. Bach (1933) no va fer subdivisions, però sobre la base dels mapes d'isoglosses apareixen almenys tres grups. Bruch (1954) va identificar quatre zones dialectals. L'anàlisi quantitativa de Schiltz (1997) fusiona dues d'aquestes zones. No hi ha classificacions en l'àmbit de la dialectologia perceptual.

Paraules clau: classificació dialectal, dialectologia isoglòtica, dialectometria, luxemburguès

### DIALEKTKLASSIFIKATIOUNE VUM LËTZEBUERGESCHEN

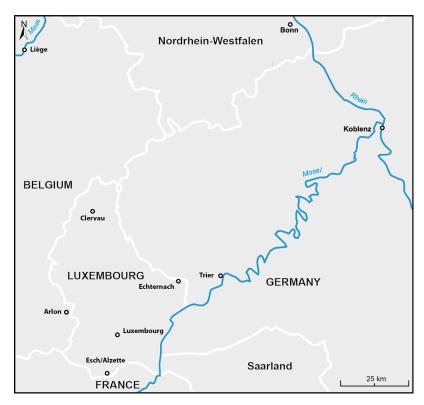
### **Abstract**

Dëst artikel beschreift d'Dialektklassifikatioune vum Lëtzebuergeschen. An den éischten dialektologesche Studie gouf Lëtzebuergesch am Allgemengen esou wéi seng Dialekter als Varietéiten ënnerhalb vum däitsche Varietéitespektrum consideréiert. Eréischt ab den 1960er Jore gëtt d'Staatsgrenz mat Däitschland net nëmmen als geografesch, mee och als linguistesch Grenz konzeptualiséiert. Dem Hardt (1948) seng éischt Klassifikatioune vum Lëtzebuergeschen, déi véier Dialektregiounen ënnerscheet, kann een éischter als impressionistesch Duerstellung gesinn. Ab dem 20<sup>th</sup> Joerhonnert baséieren d'Klassifikatiounen dann op Donnéeën, déi duerch Ëmfroen erhuewe goufen. Wärend déi éischt zwou Studien sech am Kader vun der spatialer Dialektologie beweegen, verfollegt déi drëtt (Schiltz, 1997) eng dialektometresch Approche. Esou huet de Bach (1933) zwar keng Ënnerdeelunge etabléiere kënnen, mee dofir huet hie mat Isoglossen dräi Dialektgruppen an der Kaart agezeechent. Am Kontrast dozou identifizéiert de Bruch (1954) véier Regiounen. Drësseg Joer méi spéit fusionéiert de Schiltz (1997) a senger quantitativer Analyse zwou vun dëse Regiounen. Des Weideren ass am Beräich vun der perzeptueller Dialektologie nach keng Klassifizéierung virgeluecht ginn.

Stéckwierder: Dialektklassifikatiounen, isoglottesch Dialektologie, Dialektometrie, Lëtzebuergesch

### 1. Introduction

Luxembourgish (*Lëtzebuergesch*) is the national language of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, a country with a territory of about 2,500 km<sup>2</sup>/998 mile<sup>2</sup> located between Belgium, France and Germany (Map 1).



Map 1. Map of Luxembourg and surrounding countries ((c) Peter Gilles)

The foundation of present-day Luxembourg is related to the post-Napoleon area, when European nation states were partially re-created. At the Congress of Vienna (1815), Luxembourg was intended as a buffer-state between the Prussian and French sphere of influence in Europe. Throughout the centuries the size and shape of the area varied considerably. Until 1839 Luxembourg consisted of two administrative regions: the Germanic speaking 'quartier allemand' and the French speaking 'quartier wallon'. Situated on both sides of the Germanic-Romance language border, Luxembourg has a long-standing history of multilingualism, dating back into mediaeval times, in which Germanic (Central German dialects, standard German) and Romance (Walloon and Lorraine dialects, standard French) language varieties form part of a diglossic system. After the creation of the nation state in 1839, the former French speaking 'quartier wallon' was ceded to Belgium and the territory of Luxembourg until today is comprised of the historically Germanic speaking area only. Importantly, the inherited multilingualism continues to be an integral part of Luxembourgish society, legally fixated in the language law of February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1984. In this official trilingualism,

Luxembourgish is designated as national language, while German, French, along with Luxembourgish are the three administrative languages. Luxembourgish itself is mainly used as a spoken language in virtually all formal and informal domains, as well as increasingly as a written language in social media. French and German are used as written languages and as lingua francas with non-Luxembourgish speaking people. Because of various waves of immigration, Luxembourg has a rate of 48 % non-Luxembourgish residents, of which only a smaller part is using Luxembourgish as a second language. However, an unbroken intergenerational language transmission, along with the evaluation as highly positive social symbol, Luxembourgish today is far from being a minority language, but rather a multifunctional, flexible vernacular in a complex multilingual and multicultural setting (see Gilles 2019).

It goes without saying that this situation is favoring various types of language variation. The official multilingualism and the high rate of residents not speaking Luxembourgish, is leading to strong language contact, mainly on the lexical level, with French, German and increasingly English. Furthermore, the predominant spoken usage of Luxembourgish has contributed to the preservation of regional, dialectal variation within Luxembourgish. At least since the 1950s this dialect situation has been, however, subject to ongoing dialect levelling (see Gilles 2006).

The language history of Luxembourgish is also a history of the emancipation of a former German dialect to a language of its own (Gilles 1999, Gilles & Moulin 2003). Structurally, Luxembourgish was considered as part of the Central Franconian area of the German dialects and the first dialectological studies from the middle of the 19s century clearly regarded the Luxembourgish dialect(s) as embedded into a larger 'German' spectrum of varieties. This view held true until the 1960s when the state border in the east with Germany was conceptualized more and more also as a linguistic border. When discussing the dialect classification of Luxembourgish, this historical embedding into a wider (Germanic) dialect context and its subsequent disentanglement must be taken into account. For a general overview on the development of linguistic research of the Luxembourgish language see Gilles (2020).

In the context of research on the German dialects, commencing with Georg Wenker's seminal questionnaire survey (1876-1887) for the 'Deutscher Sprachatlas'

('Linguistic Atlas of German'), the dialects of Luxembourg have been integrated through questionnaire surveys in 1888 (by John Meier) and again in 1924/1925 (by Richard Huss, Huss 1927, for an overview see Gilles & Moulin 2008). In the resulting classification of the German dialects based on the isoglosses of the so-called 'Rhenish fan' ('Rheinischer Fächer'), the territory of Luxembourg was attributed to the Moselle Franconian dialect ('Moselfränkisch') (see Keller 1961, Beckers 1980, Newton 1990 for a general overview), an area which covers not only Luxembourg but also larger parts on the left bank of the Rhine along the Moselle river and smaller parts in Belgium (around Arlon and St. Vith) and France (around Thionville). The dialects of the territory of Luxembourg itself are historically located in the very west of the German dialects, bordering with the Germanic-Romance language border (Map 2).



Map 2. Classification of the West Central German area (Beckers, 1980: 469)

Peter GILLES

2. Classifications

2.1 Mathias Hardt (1843)

2.1.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

Hardt's Vocalismus der Sauer-mundart (1843) impressionistically defined

Luxembourgish dialect regions for the first time, however, without giving any specific

linguistic or distributional criteria to distinguish these regions.

2.1.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Hardt (1843) distinguished four dialect regions in Luxembourg, which he termed

'Alzette dialect', 'Moselle dialect', 'Sauer dialect' and 'Ösling dialect', referring to rivers

for the first three regions and to the geographical name of the northern region in the

latter case. A map is not provided. The analysis is mainly focusing on the dialect along

the Sauer river using the historical-reconstructive method.

2.2 Bach (1933)

The above-mentioned questionnaire data from the Deutscher Sprachatlas have

been used by German dialectologist and language historian Adolf Bach (1933) to

undertake the first dialect classification for Luxembourgish backed up by linguistic and

distributional criteria.

2.2.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

Bach's (1933) main focus was to capture the specifics of the westernmost dialects

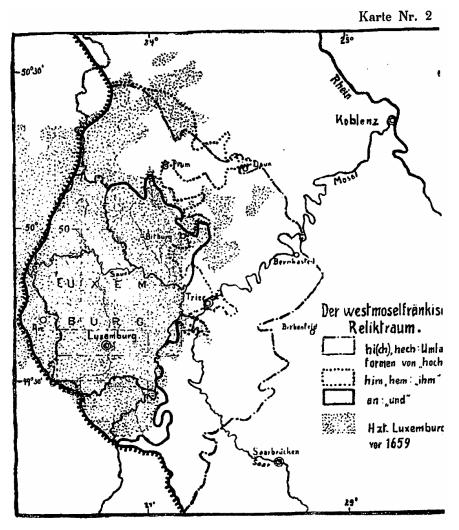
of Moselle Franconian in Luxembourg and in the border region in Germany. Due to the

location at the periphery of the Germanic language area, the Luxembourgish dialects

are described as conservative and archaic - as opposed to the developments in the

236

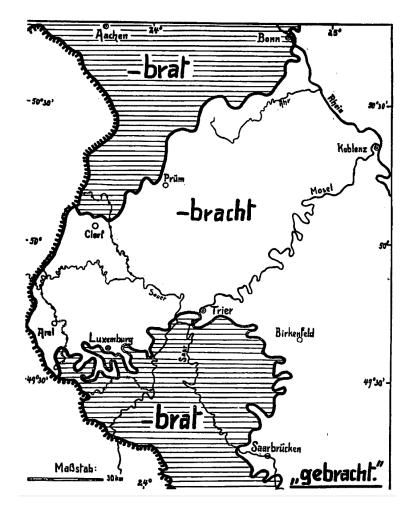
center of the German speaking area. One of his maps (Map 3) shows how three phonological features are largely confined to Luxembourg and bordering regions. The dotted area indicates the territory of the historical Duchy of Luxembourg (until 1659), which comprised also some parts in France, Belgium and Germany. In this territory one can find archaic linguistic features like the Umlaut forms hi(ch)/hech 'high' (instead of hoch), h-initial pronouns like him/hem 'him' (instead of ihm) and the lowering of short i to a in words like an (< inde) 'and'. The isoglosses of these and other features allow, according to Bach, for the identification of the historical Luxembourgish dialect(s) within the wider Moselle Franconian area. Methodologically, Bach is applying the isogloss approach of traditional dialectology and combining this with the geographical extent of historical dynastic entities.



Map 3. Distribution of characteristic phonological features in the historical Luxembourgish territory (Bach 1933: 7)

### 2.2.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Bach's study is not considering dialect differences within Luxembourg. Subclassification is becoming obvious only indirectly, when important isoglosses, running from east to west entirely through Moselle Franconian, are also transecting the Luxembourgish territory. This is the case for Map 4, where the isoglosses for the past participle *gebracht* ('brought') are drawn for the Moselle Franconian area. Whereas the forms *gebracht* and *bracht* can be found in the largest area, it is the northern and especially the southern area, where the variants without the fricative are located, i.e. *gebrat* and *brat*. The relevant isoglosses are running through the north and the south of Luxembourg. Similar isoglosses can be observed for other variables, indicating at least three subdivisions of Luxembourgish dialects, i.e., the North, a large central area and the South.



Map 4. Areal distribution of the variants for German gebracht 'brought' in Luxembourg and the bordering dialects in Germany (Bach 1933: 12)

### 2.3 Robert Bruch (1953)

## 2.3.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

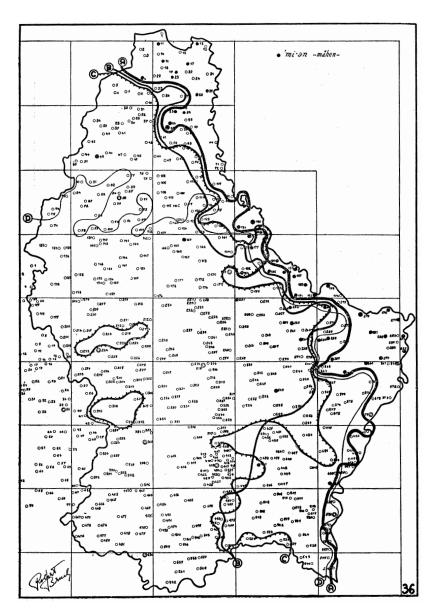
The Luxembourgish dialectologist and language historian Robert Bruch (1920-1959) was able to use a larger corpus of dialectological surveys and studies for this seminal investigation 'Grundlegung einer Geschichte des Luxemburgischen' ('Foundation of a history Luxembourgish') (Bruch 1953). Besides the data from the 'Deutscher Sprachatlas' he could draw on the detailed questionnaire study by Richard Huss (Huss 1927), analyses of selected localities in Luxembourg as well as own recordings from the 1940s. Still following the principles of traditional dialectology,

Bruch (1953) is presenting a comprehensive historical analysis of Luxembourgish, alongside with several detailed linguistic maps with bundles of isoglosses defining at least four Luxembourgish subregions.

## 2.3.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The formation of subdialects within Luxembourg has started long before the nation state was founded in 1839 and is embedded, according to Bruch (1953), into the wider context of the expansion of the Frankish settlements and their century-long migration in the regions on the left bank of the Rhine as well into regions of today's France. These migration patterns and their accompanying language contact scenarios then led to the emergence of various subdialects, with bundles of isoglosses transecting the territory. In Bruch's (1953: 152-201) classification of the Luxembourgish language area, he distinguishes four subdialects, i.e. East, West, South and North. Based largely on phonological and only to a much lesser extent on morphological criteria, these four regions have a rather fuzzy geographical spread, not seldom overlapping each other for certain criteria.

The eastern region is constituted by a narrow band alongside the state border to Germany (in large parts along the Moselle and Sauer rivers). This region is said to be influenced by the center of the Moselle Franconian dialect of the Trier region in Germany. Map 5 (map 33 from Bruch 1953: 237) illustrates this region based on a selection of four isoglosses (see Table 1 for the explanation of the linguistic features).

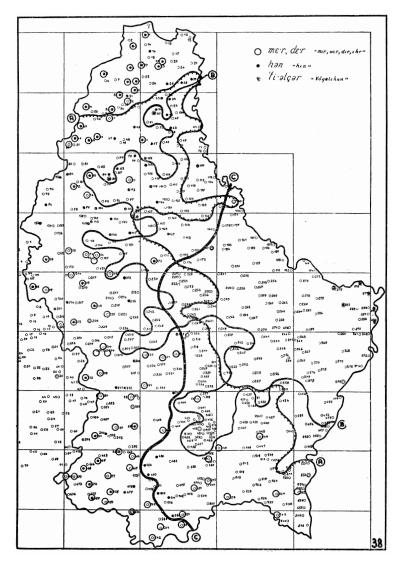


Map 5. A selection of isoglosses for the eastern dialect of Luxembourgish (Bruch 1953: 240, map 36)

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Table 1. Phonological features for the Eastern Luxembourgish dialect

Note that in this conception, the eastern region is part of the dialect continuum with Moselle Franconian on the German side and the state border is not yet regarded as an emerging language border.



Map 6. A selection of isoglosses for the western region of Luxembourgish (Bruch 1953: 242, map 38)

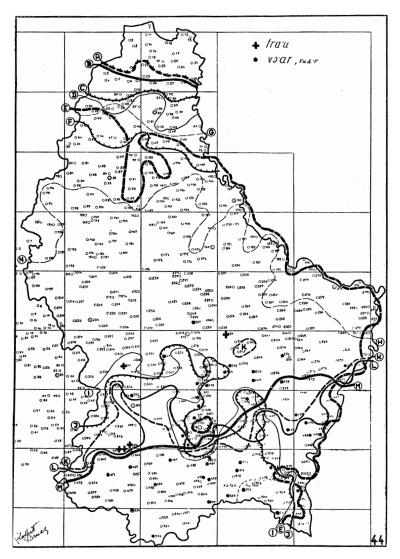
Isogloss	Feature (dialect vs. central variety)
A	Villercher [filege] vs. Vigelcher [fizəlge] 'bird' (dim.)
В	Sëschter [zəʃte] vs. Schwëster [ʃwəʃte] 'sister'
С	Daaschdeg [da:ʃdəç] vs. Dënschdeg [dənʃdəç] 'Tuesday'
circles	Lowering of [i:] in the pronouns: mär/där [mɛːɐ / dɛːɐ] vs.
	mir/dir [miːɐ / diːɐ] 'me, you'

Table 2. Phonological and lexical features for the Western Luxembourgish dialect

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The western region is presenting itself far less clearly, as is evident from Map 6. The isoglosses for the shown linguistic features, as well as further isoglosses not shown here, are hardly constitutive for a dialect region and in fact make it much more difficult to determine regions at all. However, most of these isoglosses are running along a north-south axis, and they are interpreted by Bruch (1953) as the relics of a very old dialect on the very edge of the Germanic-Roman language border.

The southern region is covering according to Bruch (1953) the region south of the capital Luxembourg. Socially and economically, this region is characterized by the mining and steel industry. As with the west, only a few phonological features are constitutive for this region (see Map 7 and Table 3). Despite the sparseness of characteristic linguistic features, the region is identified as a dialect region by the population and has also its own name ('Minette', coined after the local iron ore).



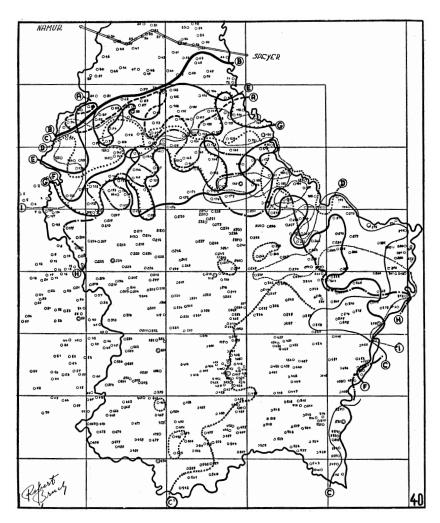
Map 7. A selection of isoglosses for the southern region of Luxembourgish (Bruch 1953: 248, map 44)

Isogloss	Feature (dialect vs. central variety)
L, M	Loss of the velar fricative: Nuet [nuət] vs. Nuecht [nuəct]
	'night', Lut [luːt] vs. Luucht [luːχt] 'light'
l, J	Velarization of old /a:/: Fro [fro:] vs. Fra [fra:] 'woman',
	kofen [kɔːfən] vs. kafen [kaːfən] 'to buy', kot [kɔːt] vs. kaaft
	[ka:ft] 'bought'

Table 3. Phonological features for the Southern Luxembourgish dialect

The northern region is clearly the region which diverges most from all other dialects in Luxembourg. Being part of the low mountain range of the Ardennes, this so-

called 'Ösling' region constitutes also a geological and geographical contrast to the southern part. Map 8 is presenting one of several similar maps with a rather dense bundle of isoglosses running in east-west direction and thereby isolating a well-defined northern area. Contrary to the other regions, the 'Ösling' is furthermore influenced by the Ripuarian dialect of the Cologne area. Especially the velarization of alveolar plosives after long vowels/diphthongs delineates this region conspicuously from the rest (cf. central Lux. Zäit [tsæːɪt], haut [haʊt] vs. northern Lux. Zékt [tsekt], hakt [hakt] 'time, today').



Map 8. A selection of isoglosses for the northern region of Luxembourgish (Bruch 1953: 244, map 40)

Isogloss	Feature (dialect vs. central variety)
A, E	Lowering of <i>i &gt; a</i> : <i>dranken</i> [dRaŋkən] vs. <i>drénken</i> [dReŋkən]
	'to drink', (ver)zalt [(fe)tsalt] vs. (ver)zielt [(fe)tsiəlt] 'told'
В	Raising diphthong [jɛ] vs. falling diphthong [iə]: gewjest
	[gəvjɛst] vs. gewiescht [gəviəʃt] 'been'
С	doen [doːən], douen [dəʊən], dunn [dun] vs. dinn [din] 'to
	do'
F	Lowered vowels of the auxiliary 'to have': hos [hɔs], hot [hɔt]
	vs. hues [huəs], hutt [hut] 'you have' (2nd Sg., 3rd Sg./2nd
	Pl.)
G	Lexical contrast: Wuuscht [vu:[t] vs. Zoossiss [tso:sis]
	'sausage'
Н	Loss of final velar fricative: héi [hɜɪ] vs. héich [hɜɪç]
Ī	Morphology of the past participle: gefor(en) [gəfo:R(ən)] vs.
	gefuer [gəfuːɐ] 'driven'

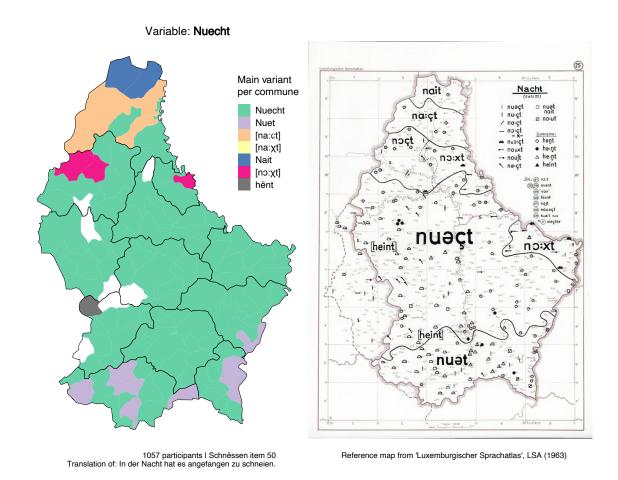
Table 4. Phonological and lexical features for the Northern Luxembourgish dialect

In summing up, using the methods of traditional dialectology, Bruch (1953) was able to isolate four Luxembourg-internal dialect regions. As with similar research using the isogloss method, the bundles of isoglosses often enclose regions with rather 'fuzzy' borders, often showing overlap with other regions. Only two of them, 'Minette' and 'Ösling' are also perceived as such by the population. These dedicated names are missing for the West and the East. Dialects here are sometimes referred to using the names of smaller cities or villages, e.g., *Réidener Dialekt* 'dialect of Rédange', *lechternacher Dialekt* 'dialect of Echternach'. At least two of the four regions, i.e., the South and the West are constituted by only a few linguistic features, and it seems appropriate to call them accents rather than dialects. Bruch's detailed analysis of historical development and the dialectological distribution of phonological and - to a lesser extent - lexical and morphological features, subsequently served as the data basis for the 173 maps of the 'Luxemburgischer Sprachatlas' ('Linguistic Atlas of Luxembourg'), which was published posthumously (Bruch, 1963).

By presenting the four subdialects, Bruch (1953) is implicitly omitting another

dialect region, i.e., the region in the center of the territory, containing also the capital city as the political and economic center and which is not integrated into the regions discussed so far. Bruch himself sometimes uses the term 'Central Luxembourgish' ('Zentralluxemburgisch') or 'Koiné' for this region and it is seen as a kind of 'dialect-free' zone. This 'Central Luxembourgish' is thus implicitly constructed by Bruch, as well as other researchers following him (e.g., Hoffmann 1987, Newton 1996), as the emergent standard variety of Luxembourgish (for a critical review see Gilles, 1999).

This historical dialect situation and the resulting classification of sub-dialects has recently been revisited in a large-scale survey of language variation in Luxembourg (Entringer et al., 2021). It turns out that the traditional dialects are subject to further dialect levelling towards Central Luxembourgish. As an example, map 9 shows the juxtaposition of a linguistic map for the phonological variation of *Nuecht* 'night', with the historical situation on the right (Bruch 1963: map 75) and the recent situation on the left, coming from the new 'Variatiounsatlas vum Lëtzebuergeschen' ('Atlas of variation in Luxembourgish', Gilles 2021). As can be seen, the dominant variant was and continues to be [nuəct]. However, in today's situation the variants of the south and the east are strongly in decline, while the variants of the north are still all in place. Thus, dialect levelling is affecting all regions, except the north.



Map 9. Example maps illustrating the ongoing dialect levelling in the southern and eastern region for the variable Nuecht 'night'. Right: Reference map from the 'Linguistic atlas of Luxembourgish' (Bruch 1963: map 75). Left: Map from the new 'Atlas of variation in Luxembourgish' (Gilles 2021)

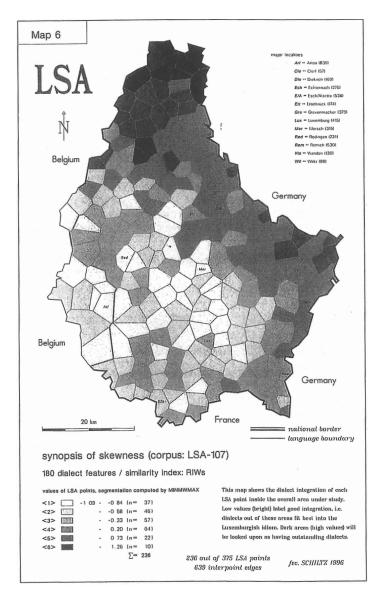
### 2.4 Schiltz (1997)

## 2.4.1 Framework: Dialectometry

In his article, Schiltz (1997) is using data from the 'Linguistic Atlas of Luxembourg' (Bruch 1963) for a statistical analysis according to the principles of dialectometry (cf. Goebl 2017). The database consists of tables containing various sets of linguistic features for 236 localities of the atlas. For these approximately 40.000 data items, similarity profiles are calculated, showing the similarity of a locality's combination of

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linguistic features with another predefined, albeit arbitrary, reference locality, which can be mapped subsequently. However, these maps of similarity profiles do not really reveal dialect regions, but they provide the frequency distributions which are useful to calculate the skewness for a locality, i.e., the degree of deviance from all other localities. These skewness values, then, can serve as the input for a synoptical map of all individual skewness values, which allows in turn for the identification of subdialects. Thus, it can be seen from Schiltz's (1997: 107) synoptical map, which is based on 180 dialect features for 236 localities, that one larger dialect region is constituted in the center region and in parts of the west and south (Map 10). These bright polygons indicate that these localities share a great amount of linguistic features, compared to the entire region. Black polygons, on the other hand, indicate that these localities share less, or only a few, features with the rest of the territory. This is the case for the north and smaller parts of the east, and they thus constitute dialects of their own. In between these areas the lighter grey polygons indicate transitions zones.



Map 10. Map of the synopsis of skewness for 236 localities in Luxembourg, bright polygons indicate large overlap of linguistic features with most other localities, whereas darker polygons indicate lesser overlap with other localities, i.e., they constitute less 'integrated' or unique localities compared to the entire region (Schiltz 1997: 107)

Schiltz's (1997) classification thus comes to slightly different results than Bruch (1953), although relying on the same data source. In accordance with the isoglottic classification, the dialectometric account also singles out the northern and eastern sub-dialect, next to a large area in the center. However, the southern and western area of the traditional classification does not emerge. The reason is obvious, in that the south and western area are characterized only by few linguistic features, which were not sufficient to constitute own clusters in the dialectometric analysis. A further problem

here arises as dialectometry does not take into account the different degrees of saliency of the individual linguistic features.

### 3. Discussion

The classification of Luxembourgish as a language and the classification of dialects within the territory of Luxembourg has begun in the middle of the 19th c. with the rather impressionistic work by Hardt (1843). These oldest sources attribute the territory of Luxembourg to the Moselle Franconian dialect of West Central German and the dialects of Luxembourg are investigated primarily in the context of the dialectological surveys of the German dialects. The vast body of data from the survey of the 'Deutscher Sprachatlas' and subsequent surveys specifically focusing on Luxembourg allowed researchers in the paradigm of isoglottic dialectology firstly to obtain the linguistic features that were characteristic for the historical dialect of the Luxembourgish territory (Bach 1933) and secondly to identify dialect regions within Luxembourg (Bruch 1953). These dialects, i.e. in the east, west, north and south, were defined predominantly by phonological features. Recent surveys suggest that these former dialect areas within Luxembourg are subject to ongoing dialect levelling, where only the northern dialect area remains largely intact, whereas the south, the west and partially also the east are converging towards the central Luxembourgish variety, which is acquiring more and more the status of a standard variety. Note that nearly all studies are based on the linguistic features alone, investigations in the perceptual dialectology of the Luxembourgish dialects are still missing entirely.

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