which these borders are crossed and the question how the intensification and diversification of these crossings influence (spatial) identity constructions. In the first step of analysis, we evaluated the quantitative data and the interview material with regard to forms of space-related identification and observed that the cross-border space of all examined groups is appropriated as a space of concrete everyday practices. In addition, we were able to verify that there is a correlation between cross-border practices and spatial identification. In a second step, we attempted to further clarify these cross-border processes by taking a closer look at the group of residential migrants representing this identity construction in a special way. With the aid of logistical regressions, we were able to show in how far the opinions about this group correlate with other features and observe that the response behaviour of the different groups in part differ significantly with respect to these correlations. The statistical results suggest for instance that cross-border practices influence the attitudes of the Luxembourg residential population about residential migration in some aspects more strongly than is the case with border area residents.

In conclusion, we can say that our findings show in particular how difficult it is to make general statements regarding the developments of cross-border spatial identities. Or, returning to our set of theoretical-conceptual tools, that – despite the connection between spatial practices and identifications that can be observed in all groups – it would be mistaken to assume that space-related subjectivation processes and identity constructions would evolve in the same way for all residents of the survey area. Opinions about the group of residential migrants coincide in some aspects, but the statistical analysis of the correlation of voiced opinions, group affiliation and everyday practices allows the guarded conclusion that cross-border practices have up to now not had the general effect of producing a homogenous perception of cross-border residential migration. The group-specific attitudes to residential migrants do not seem to dissolve, but rather become more differentiated.

## 5.9 Linguistic Identifications in the Luxembourg-German Border Region

*Heinz Sieburg and Britta Weimann*

The present case study examines internal and external ascriptions of residents in Luxembourg and the surrounding border areas with regard to language, which is seen as an important element of identities (see Bucholtz/Hall 2005: 370). This close connection of language and identity results in particular from the social-symbolic function of language (see Hess-Lüttich 2004) which it has besides its communicative function (see Edwards 2009: 4f.), i.e. language is not only a medium of communication; it also says something about the speakers and their affiliation to a group. The same dichotomy in communicative and symbolic functions can be observed in the assessment of individual languages

and varieties[149] by their speakers. The communicative value a language has for its speakers does not necessarily need to coincide with its symbolic value (see Edwards 2009: 55f.). Thus the speakers of a language that does not yet or no longer meet communicative requirements – for instance because it has been displaced by another language or variety – may still ascribe high symbolic value to it. Such ambivalent value attributions play a major part in the process of appropriating linguistic identities.

The study focusses on the comparison between Luxembourg and the neighbouring German regions that share a historically evolved dialect continuum and the use of the German standard language.[150] Dialect continua are marked by increasing linguistic differences in their spatial extension with mutual comprehension of neighbouring dialects (see Chambers/Trudgill 2002: 5f.). In this sense, they can be regarded as threshold areas or extended border zones (see section 2.1). If they are intersected by political borders, often two differing areas of language use are created as in the case of Germany and Austria or German-speaking Switzerland, where in each case specific national varieties of German are used and where situations in which the dialect may be used differ (see Riehl 1999: 45 and 48f.). Luxembourg also has its national variety of German (see Sieburg 2013: 100f.). Luxembourgish, by contrast, an 'Ausbau' language with an increasing degree of standardization, has developed from the Moselle-Franconian dialects (see Gilles 1999 and 2009: 186f.), which in the 19th and early 20th century played an important part in shaping a Luxembourgish national identity (see Weimann 2013: 254). Together with French, as the third official language, Luxembourg now has a triglossia situation that has evolved from a purely medium-based one to one that is predominantly concept-driven. The use of the three official languages no longer depends on the medium (written/oral), but increasingly on factors such as proximity/distance and formality/informality (concept). Luxembourgish was for a long time limited to communicative situations that were oral in terms of medium and informal in terms of concept (e.g. everyday conversations), while the two major written languages, French and German, covered the formal (such as parliamentary speeches, sermons) and all written communicative situations. Today, Luxembourgish can be used in all oral and also in written communicative situations of a more informal nature such as chats, SMS, private letters (see section 4.6; see Gilles 2011: 63). The very distinct linguistic constellations in Luxembourg and in the German border regions also came about through the interplay of top-

**149** | Varieties are various forms of a language such as dialects, regiolects (regional vernaculars), sociolects (group-specific varieties) or standard varieties (standard languages).

**150** | The Mosel-Franconian from which Luxembourgish evolved is found on both sides of the Luxembourg-German border; German is also an official language in Luxembourg. Luxembourg shares the use of French with Lorraine and Wallonia. The continuum of West Middle German dialects reaches into both regions.

down implementations (e.g. through the languages act in Luxembourg) and bottom-up realizations (by individual speakers). Thus Luxembourg's languages act determines French as the language of legislation. At school, the alphabetization language is German, while Luxembourgish plays only a minor role in the curricula. These language-related standardizations and practices create a highly variable multilingual space. Since both the German language and the Moselle-Franconian variety cross the national border, but the repertoire of languages and varieties as well as the rules for their use differ in Luxembourg and the German border regions, one can expect ambivalent assessments, affiliations and demarcations.

Our study draws on empirical data from a survey using questionnaires, but also includes statements about language from an interview series (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative and qualitative surveys). Our questions seek to reveal, firstly, what language choices inhabitants of the German border region make in conversational situations for which – thus our assumption – there is no shared cultural code (see Reckwitz 2008: 135f.) in the sense of a transmitted standardization of linguistic behaviour[151] ("How do you answer if addressed in Luxembourgish, or has this never happened to you?"), and secondly, how the choice of one particular variety is assessed and deemed appropriate by Luxembourg's residential population ("What is your opinion when Germans address you in German/their own German local dialect/a mixture of their local dialect and Luxembourgish?"). Finally, a survey of semantic differentials and the question whether Luxembourgish is a dialect of German or a language in its own right, aim at gaining insights about the speakers' emotional connection to their own language and their evaluation of the 'language of the others' and hence about processes of appropriation and attribution.

### 5.9.1 Language Practices

Different, both active and passive, language competences play a role in everyday life when speakers encounter each other who possess different linguistic repertoires. Even when they share a variety or understand and speak similar varieties, the cultural codes and the choice of the appropriate variety are not necessarily compatible, which often generates misunderstandings.

In the quantitative survey (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013), three quarters of the interviewed residents in Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland state that they have no competences in speaking Luxembourgish; around 15 % give themselves a low competence; medium and good competences are under 10 %. The question "How do you answer if addressed in Luxembourgish?" aims at revealing the answer strategies employed by the residents of the German border

**151** | In this case, the code that specifies the choice of a particular variety cannot be identical as the inhabitants of the German border region don't as a rule speak Luxembourgish.

area, the majority of whom do not have the matching variety at their disposal. The languages given by the questionnaire as preset answer options were, in addition to "Luxembourgish" and "German", also "own dialect", "a mixture of my own dialect and Luxembourgish" as well as "other".

Fig. 1 shows the relationships for the entire German residential population. Between Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saarland there are only minor differences. A little over 60 % answer always or often in German, a further 11 % sometimes or rarely. Often the own dialect is also used (always or often: 21,5 %; sometimes or rarely: 21,1 %), which is probably considered adequate due to its similarity to Luxembourgish. Among those who answer with a mixture of their own dialect and Luxembourgish, for which at least rudimentary knowledge of Luxembourgish is required, almost 10 % answer always or often, almost 20 % answer sometimes or rarely. Only a minority of 9 % answer always or often in Luxembourgish. Among the few respondents with an intermediate or full competence in Luxembourgish, just under 50 % answer in this language. A further 7 % always or often use another language.

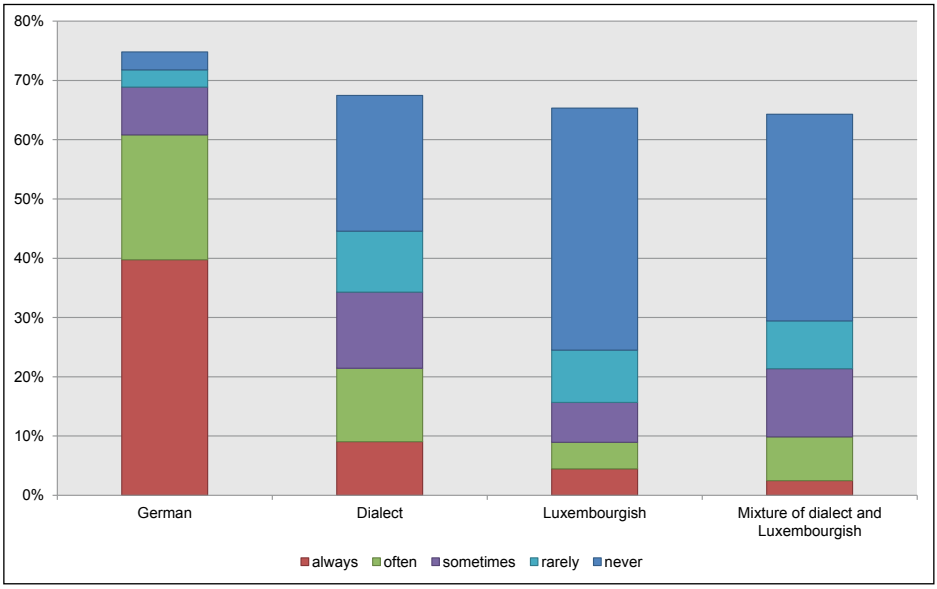


*Figure 1: How do you answer if addressed in Luxembourgish? (The answer options "This situation has never happened to me" and "not specified" account for the gaps between percentages and 100) (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

The similarity between Luxembourgish and the Moselle-Franconian dialects of the German border areas is emphasized in some interviews:

"If we speak our vernacular here, that's maybe a bit faster what the Luxembourgers speak there, but we understand each other. Even though we don't have certain expressions, we don't have the *Chalumeau* (drinking straw) or *Kaweechelchen* (squirrel), but it's almost the same"[152] (male, 45, German, Rhineland-Palatinate).

Also when asked about the Greater Region (1) or cross-border practices (2), linguistic similarity plays a role. Two interviewees mention here the old borders of the Duchy of Luxembourg before the cession of eastern and western territories to Prussia and Belgium in the framework of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the Treaty of London of 1839:

(1) "Because already the language. You go to Sankt Vith over there, you go to the Eifel, you also go to... , but that's more or less still the same, I would say. Arlon, the whole area, you can't say that's typical Belgian. You know, maybe reviving the old borders [...]"[153] (female, 39, Luxembourger, Luxembourg).

(2) "I play golf in Klerf and I also play a lot here in Bitburg. There's no difference. There they all talk like us. [...] That side used to be Luxembourg, that's why they all speak vernacular there like we do. As far as Bitburg, you can speak normal. Luxembourgish. That's why there's no problem. Yeah"[154] (male, 62, Luxembourger, Luxembourg).

Despite all linguistic similarity, the interviewee from (2) is sure that he would recognize residents of the German border region (e.g. on holiday) by their language and not take them for Luxembourgers:

"They speak vernacular, a bit like us, but with a German accent, you notice that immediately. And they would also notice immediately that I'm a Luxembourger. If you meet someone like that on your holiday, then you know it immediately"[155] (male, 62, Luxembourger, Luxembourg).

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**152** | Personal translation of: "Wenn wir unser Platt hier sprechen, das ist ja jetzt vielleicht ein bisschen schneller wie das, was Luxemburger da sprechen, aber wir verstehen uns ja. Wir haben zwar bestimmte Ausdrücke nicht, den *Chalumeau* [Strohhalm], oder *Kaweechelchen* [Eichhörnchen] haben wir nicht, aber es ist fast dasselbe."

**153** | Personal translation of: "Well schonn alleng mat der Sprooch; Dir gitt op St. Vith dohinner, Dir gitt an d'Äifel, Dir gitt och dann, dat ass dann awer nach relativ d'selwecht, soen ech elo mol sou. Arel de ganze Streech, ne, et kann ee jo elo net soen, dass dat typesch belsch oder sou ass. Sou vun, bëssen déi vläit déi al Grenzen [...] opliewe loossen."

**154** | Personal translation of: "Ech spillen zu Klierf Golf, ech spillen awer och vill hei zu Bitburg. Et ass keen Ënnerscheed. Déi schwätze jo och all wéi mir do [...]. Déi Säit war jo fréier Lëtzebuerg, dofir, déi schwätzen all Platt wéi mir. Bis op Bitburg kennt dir normal schwätzen. Lëtzebuergesch. Dofir ass kee Problem do. Jo."

**155** | Personal translation of: "Déi schwätze Platt, bësse wéi mir, awer en däitschen Akzent, dat mierkt een direkt. An déi géingen och direkt mierken, dass ech e Lëtzebuerger sinn. Dat ass sou. Wann ee sou ee begéint an der Vakanz, dat dat dat weess een direkt."

### 5.9.2 Assessment of Language Practices

The Luxembourg residential population was asked a question about the assessment of language choice in the border region: "What is your opinion of Germans talking to you in Luxembourg... in German/their own local German dialect/a mixture of their own local German dialect and Luxembourgish/Luxembourgish?" It aims at evaluating the perceived appropriateness of the particular choice of language. Are the Moselle-Franconian dialects of the border region considered appropriate due to their linguistic proximity to Luxembourgish or not, possibly due to their lower status in comparison to the national language Luxembourgish?

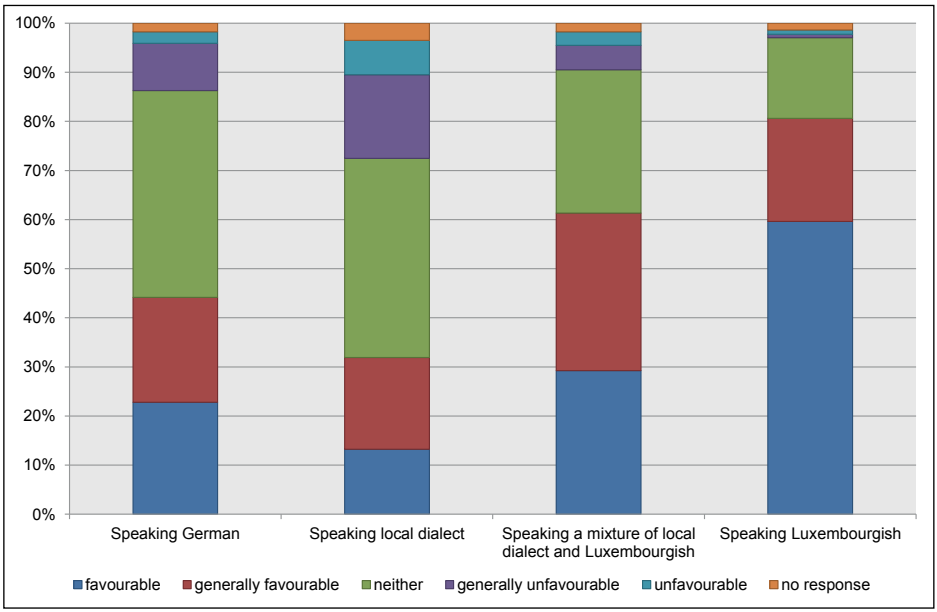


*Figure 2: What is your opinion of Germans talking to you in Luxembourg ...? (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

The choice for Luxembourgish gets the most favourable evaluation (80 % agreement), the choice of local dialect the most unfavourable, with 24 % rejection. Almost a third, however, has a favourable view of the use of the local dialect. A mixture of dialect and Luxembourgish gets a distinctly better rating with around 60 %. Here the rejection is also, with almost 8 %, clearly lower than in the case of the use of pure dialect. Thus the mixture of dialect and Luxembourgish is seen in a more positive light than the use of German (44 % positive, 12 % negative). If one compares the variants dialect *versus* mixture, dialect *versus* standard German and standard German *versus* mixture, almost half of all respondents give identical ratings in each case. There is therefore nothing to support the view that speaking German or a mixture of dialect and Luxembourgish is generally accorded a better rating. With the other half of the

respondents who rate one variety at least one level higher than another, we can see a relatively clear hierarchy: the mixture of dialect and Luxembourgish is rated more frequently (45 %) favourably than the pure dialect (7 %); its preference to standard German is less marked (34 % against 18 %); standard German in turn gets more favourable ratings than the local German dialect (36 % against 12 %).

The findings seem to indicate that Luxembourgers appreciate the effort to learn the national language when Germans use a mixture of their own dialect and Luxembourgish. On the other hand, the switch to standard German, without any accomodation to Luxembourgish, seems to be considered by some speakers more appropriate than the use of a German dialect. Another possible explanation why the use of a German dialect encounters stronger rejection than other answer options could be that respondents assume they would understand the pure dialect less easily than a mixture of dialect and Luxembourgish or than standard German.

### 5.9.3 Language Assessment

Four different semantic differentials constitute another observation unit within the case study. The aim here was to establish, via a number of important parameters, the proximity or distance of different language communities to Luxembourgish, German and the German dialects of the border area. The necessary limitation to only a few question items led to the selection of semantic differentials which in two cases aim at measuring the degree of emotional connection ("ugly – beautiful", "uncultured – cultured"), and in two other cases, the proximity in terms of practicality ("useless – useful", "foreign – familiar") with regard to each language. In all cases, respondents were asked to fill in corresponding information on a seven-level scale, which comprised besides the neutral value 0 three negative values (-1, -2, -3) and three positive values (+1, +2, +3).

The analysis generally showed that all mentioned languages were rated favourably by all speakers, with the rating of the dialects being lower than for the two standard languages. The following detailed evaluation accordingly focusses on the positive attributions by presenting and describing the data with the help of various bar graphs. This includes a generalization in the sense that favourable ratings of various degrees have been subsumed under one general value. More detailed gradings are only indicated in a few distinctive individual cases. This also applies to other internal differentiations.

#### 'Familiar – Foreign'

Statements under this heading indicate, in general terms, how close respondents feel to a particular language. We can assume here that the response data reflect parameters such as language competence, language contact, but possibly also more affective attitudes.

With respect to Luxembourgish, Fig. 3 shows, as expected, the highest percentage for Luxembourg nationals. A total of 73 % state that they are familiar

with Luxembourgish. Only 11 % show ratings in the box 'foreign', 17 % give the indifference value 0.[156] An internal differentiation here shows that the familiarity ratings for respondents of Luxembourgish nationality are even significantly higher with 85 %, with the overwhelming majority (75 %) even giving the highest possible rating (+3). Familiarity with Luxembourgish is, by contrast, considerably lower in other language communities, with a marked gradation between German speaking and French speaking border regions. The ratings for inhabitants of Saarland (40 %) and Rhineland-Palatinate (37 %) here contrast with the percentages of 26 % for inhabitants of Lorraine and 24 % for Wallonians. This corresponds with the figures for the box 'foreign', since here the respondents from Wallonia register the highest rating of 32 %, followed by inhabitants of Lorraine (26 %), of Rhineland-Palatinate (19 %) and Saarland (17 %).

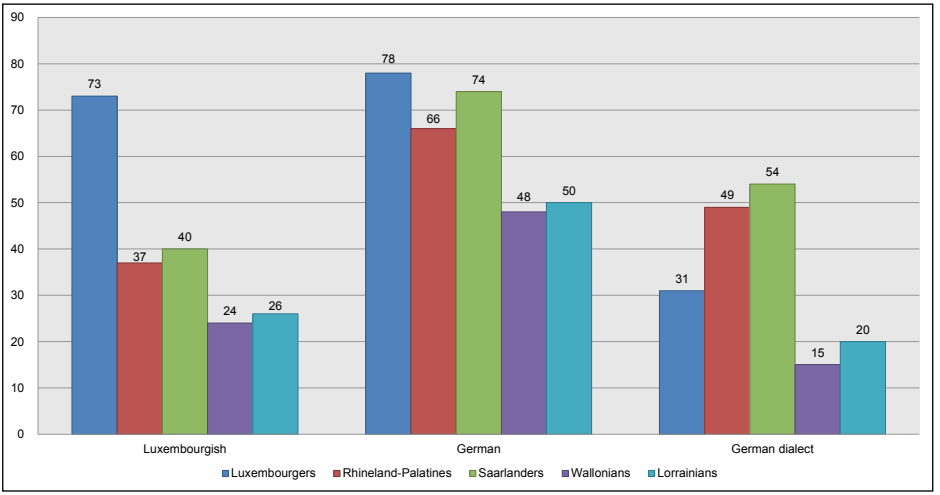


*Figure 3: 'Familiar' (in percent) (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

German scores maximum familiarity values in all language communities. What is remarkable here is that the corresponding statements of the residents of the Saarland (74 %) and of the Rhineland-Palatinate (66 %) are actually lower than those in Luxembourg (78 %). But extreme values (+3) are more frequent in the German speaking regions. On the other hand, (around) half of the respondents from the French border regions state that they are familiar with German. By contrast, merely small minorities rate German as unfamiliar; it is only in Wallonia that we find a double-digit figure (14 %).

**156** | The fact that the sum of percentages here total 101 is due to the rounding of figures to whole numbers.

Regarding the German dialects, the survey shows familiarity ratings of around 50 % only for the inhabitants of the German border regions. The German dialects are familiar to one third (31 %) of the Luxembourgers according to their own statements, while the corresponding percentages with respect to the francophone border region are significantly lower (20 % and 15 %), whereas the scale values in the box "foreign" with 30 % (inhabitants from Lorraine) and 35 % (Wallonians) are clearly higher. Correspondingly, the neutral value 0 is chosen by (around) half of these respondents.

### 'Useful – Useless'

The contrasting pair 'useful – useless' measures the practical value of a language, depending on individual communication needs. It cannot be excluded that here also a component reflecting subjective attitudes comes to bear.

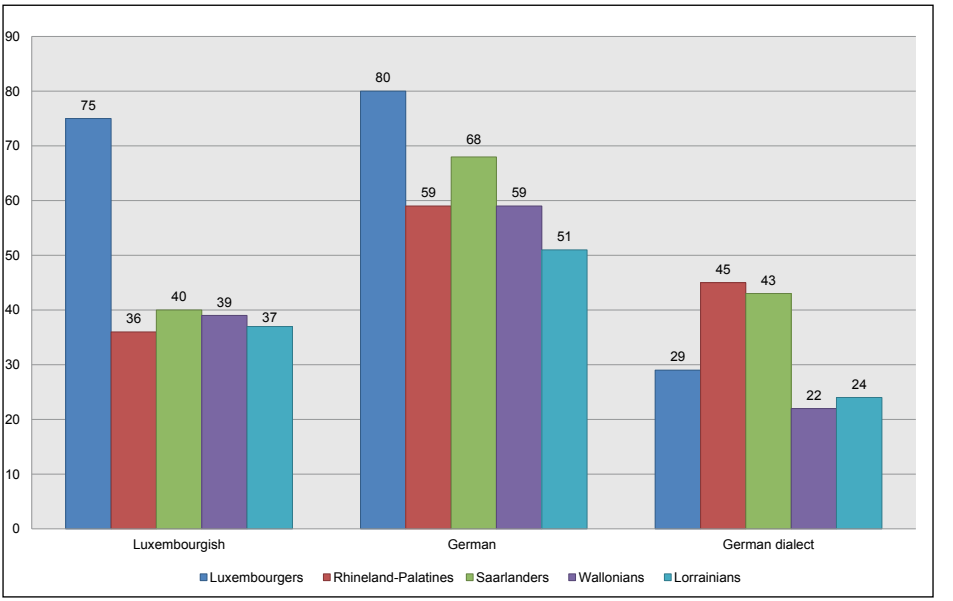


*Figure 4: 'Useful' (in percent) (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

With respect to the usefulness values of Luxembourgish, Fig. 4 shows a clear gradation between Luxembourgers – 75 % (three quarters) of whom made corresponding statements (79 % for respondents of Luxembourgish nationality) – and the inhabitants of the surrounding border area where the corresponding percentages are significantly lower, ranging between 36 % and 40 %. The respective (relative and absolute) majorities make no judgement, choosing the indifference value 0. Only small minorities describe Luxembourgish as fairly useless.

Similar to the familiarity values, the statements on usefulness also show highest values with respect to German, with the percentage of Luxembourgers (80 %) again

(significantly) higher than that of the inhabitants of Saarland (68 %) and Rhineland-Palatinate (59 %). Why as much as 6 % of the respondents of these border regions even rate German as fairly useless cannot be wholly explained on the basis of the available language data. But since in both Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate, rootedness in regional dialects and the dialectically coloured vernaculars is still relatively strong, there is a certain plausibility for the assumption that for some respondents the practical use of standard German tends to be regarded as low.

This assumption is at least in part confirmed by the statements about the usefulness of the German dialects, as these are relatively high for the inhabitants of Rhineland-Palatinate with 45 % and of the Saarland with 43 %. The values of the other language communities, by contrast, are significantly lower, even though as much as 29 % of the Luxembourgers also consider the German dialects useful.

### 'Beautiful – Ugly'

The differential 'beautiful – ugly' primarily measures attitude values that comprise components of emotional closeness or rejection. One can assume that values such as euphonics, which are however difficult to objectivate, also play a role.

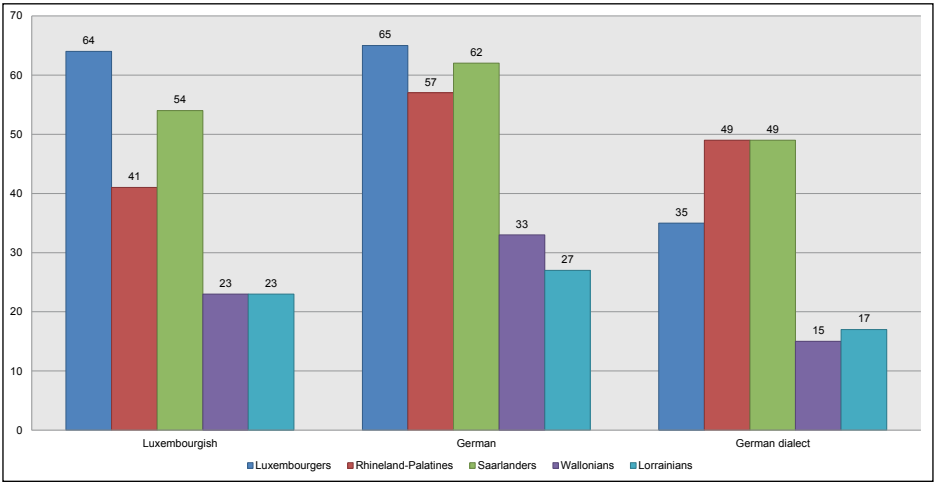


*Figure 5: 'Beautiful' (in percent) (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

A glance at the diagram in Fig. 5 shows that both Luxembourgish and (even more so) German is rated favourably, even though the corresponding attributions of the respondents from Lorraine and Wallonia are significantly lower. For Luxembourgish, we have highest values of positive attribution coming from the Luxembourgers themselves (64 %). For the respondents with Luxembourg nationality, the percentage even increases to 75 % (with a clear preponderance in the extreme values). But also 54 % of the respondents in Saarland state that

for them Luxembourgish is fairly beautiful. With the inhabitants of Rhineland-Palatinate there is still a relative majority of 41 %, while 51 % of this group give the mean value 0. The favourable attribution is significantly lower with the inhabitants of the francophone border areas, even though here too the majorities do not regard Luxembourgish as ugly, but make neutral (0) statements.

German here again scores the highest values of favourable attributions. 65 % of Luxembourgers state they find German beautiful, but also 57 % of the respondents in Rhineland-Palatinate and 62 % of those in Saarland make corresponding statements. Here too, the respective values for the inhabitants of Wallonia and Lorraine are considerably lower. As with Luxembourgish, the (relative) majorities refrain from giving ratings.

With respect to the German dialects, favourable attributions are relatively low. Still, a little less than half (49 %) of the German border region inhabitants give favourable ratings. Also around a third (35 %) of the Luxembourgers state they find German dialects fairly beautiful, while only 17 % of the inhabitants of Lorraine and 15 % of Wallonians make the same statements. Even though somewhat more than half of the respondents choose the neutral value, almost a third (each 31 %) describes the German dialects as quite ugly.

### 'Cultured – Uncultured'

Statements referring to this contrasting pair measure affective, prestige-related attitudes, where we have to assume that also parameters such as the extent to which a variety can produce literature, the degree of its elaboration (including its lexis) and its age as well as its (written) tradition influence the evaluation.

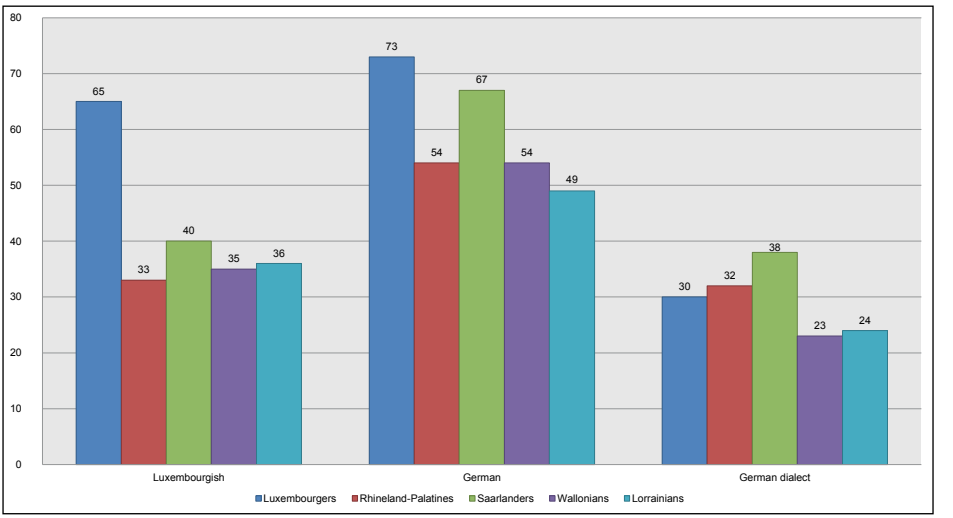


*Figure 6: 'Cultured' (in percent) (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

At first sight, Fig. 6 also shows the already familiar picture. The German language has the highest values of favourable attributions, followed by Luxembourgish. The latter is described by a clear majority of Luxembourgers (65) % as fairly cultured. For respondents of Luxembourgish nationality the corresponding value even increases to 75 %. By contrast, the favourable attributions made by the four other language communities are significantly lower, in a range between 33 % and 40 %. But what these four groups also have in common is that segments of 50 % and more make neutral statements, while the attribution 'fairly uncultured' is made only by 9 to 11 % of the respondents of the border area. The rating 'fairly cultured' is accorded to German by majorities of over 50 % in all language communities, apart from respondents from Lorraine. However, also in this group, the 49 % of favourable attributions reflect the opinion of the relative majority. Luxembourgers regard German as particularly cultured (73 %), followed by Saarland residents (67 %). The favourable ratings by the inhabitants of Rhineland-Palatinate and the Wallonians are equal with 54 %. An unfavourable rating as fairly uncultured is only registered in exceptional cases, in a range between 4 % and 7 %.

Culturedness is not a value that the majority of respondents accords to the German dialects. Less than a third of all language communities accords this predicate, again with one exception: respondents from Saarland state with a substantial 38 % that they regard the dialects as fairly cultured. The respective majorities of respondents choose in this context the indifference value 0. Negative ratings are given by a fifth to a fourth of the respondents.

In conclusion, we can say that the respective groups of speakers show a spatial connectedness which also correlates with the assessment of the languages. This becomes clear in the partly significantly different attributions of value made by respondents from the German-speaking and the francophone border regions. This link is also evident with respect to the assessment of Luxembourgish by Luxembourgers, while we can observe here that comparably high favourable attributions are made with respect to the German language. In general, German scores top ratings for all examined items and in all groups of speakers. Luxembourgish is valued (very) highly in particular by the Luxembourgers themselves. By contrast, the assessments of the German dialects of the border regions are overall significantly lower.

### 5.9.4 The Status of Luxembourgish

An issue which was for a long time in the forefront in the study of Luxembourgish and still plays a role in 'lay' discussions is the one about the status of Luxembourgish, i.e. whether it is to be considered a dialect of German or a separate language.[157]

**157** | For instance Peter Gilles (2000: 202): "In the 19th century and well into the 20th century, the discussion around the development trends in Luxembourgish have primarily centered around the question whether Luxembourgish is a dialect of German or a language

Besides members of the Luxembourg residential population expressing their views on both statements, "Luxembourgish is a German dialect" and "Luxembourgish is a separate language", respondents from the Belgian, French and German border regions also comment on "the language of the others."

The rejection of the statement that Luxembourgish is a German dialect is, as can be expected, highest with the Luxembourg residential population with a total of 59 % for "disagree" and "mostly disagree." The inhabitants of the border area show themselves in general more frequently undecided in this question or do not comment ("not specified"). Wallonians and people from Lorraine mostly agree somewhat more frequently than the Luxembourgers or agree entirely. The degrees of agreement in Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland, by contrast, are hardly any different to those of the Luxembourgers; they are even slightly lower.

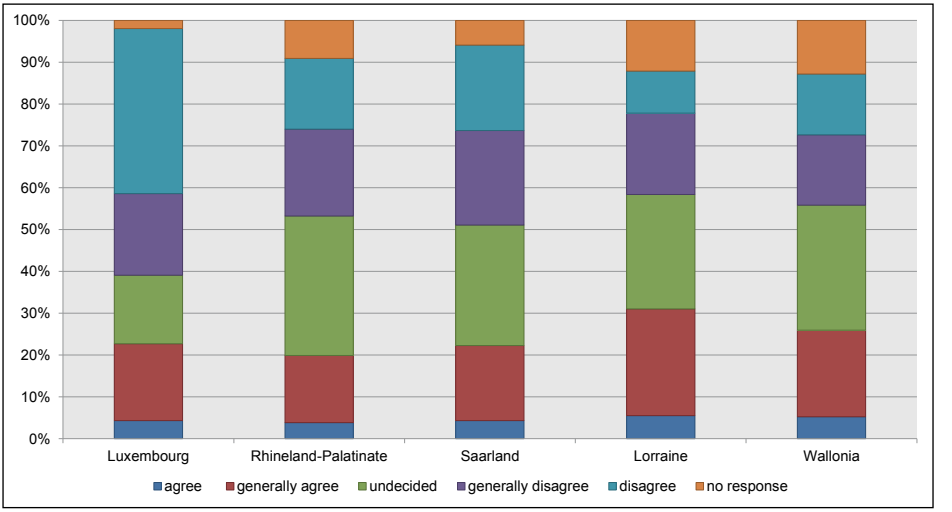


*Figure 7: Luxembourgish is a German dialect (Agreement in percent) (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

The statement that Luxembourgish is a separate language, again, receives the highest approval rate from the Luxembourg residential population, with a total of 83 %. It increases to almost 90 % when only respondents with Luxembourg nationality are considered, an effect that was not observable with the rejection of the dialect status of Luxembourgish. The border area inhabitants exhibit greater undecidedness, as already with the statement about the dialect status.

in its own right." (translation of: "Die Diskussion um die Entwicklungstendenzen im Lëtzebuergeschen dreht sich im 19. Jahrhundert und weit ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein primär um die Frage, ob es sich beim Lëtzebuergeschen um einen Dialekt des Deutschen oder um eine selbständige Sprache handelt.") Meanwhile, the language's status has been by and large recognized and the focus is now on other issues.

All in all, they agree less frequently than the Luxembourg residential population with the statement about the language status. The rejection rates of respondents from Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland are, again, hardly different from those of the Luxembourgers, while Wallonians and respondents from Lorraine, being in their majority francophone, disagree somewhat more frequently than the Luxembourgers with the statement that Luxembourgish is a separate language.

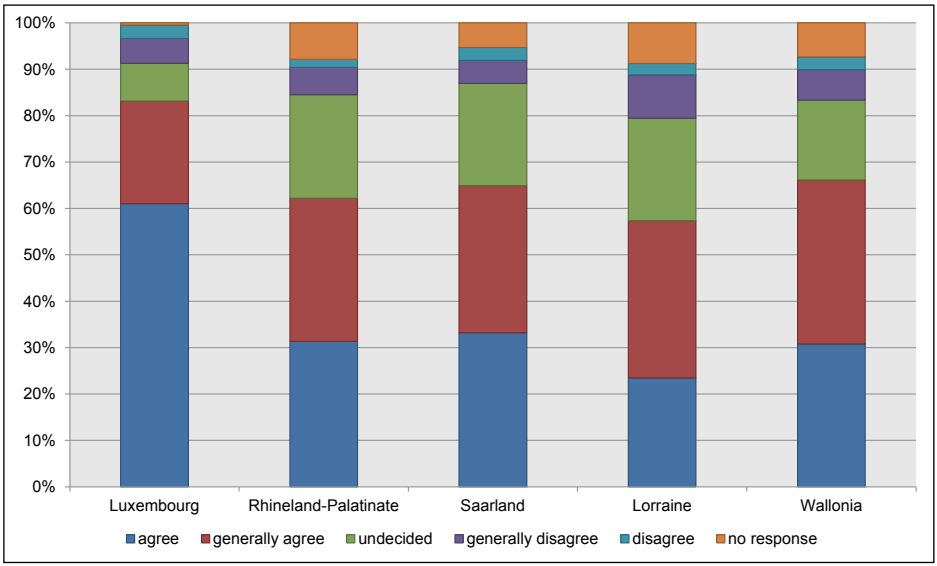


*Figure 8: Luxembourgish is a separate language (Agreement in percent) (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

The criteria for defining the status of Luxembourgish as a separate language are, from a sociolinguistic perspective, primarily the degree of elaboration and standardization, which distances Luxembougish increasingly from the Moselle-Franconian dialects in Germany (see Gilles 2009: 186), as well as the use as offical language. The status as official language and the existence of a grammar is also mentioned by an interviewee who has problems with the ascription of a friend who says Luxembourgish is a German dialect:

"Well, I've only recently found out that Luxembourgish is actually a dialect, actually via a friend of mine who told me she had done it in a [university] course. And there they apparently said it was just another German dialect [...] But for me this is very difficult, I mean to see it that way, because I've already had the idea for so long that Luxembourgish is a separate language. And it's also our official language next to German. It's not an official dialect, after all. That's why it's still a bit difficult for me. After all, we also had Luxembourgish at

school, with its own grammar. I don't know, do most dialects have their own grammar?"[158] (female, 24, Luxembourger, Luxembourg).

The attribution of the dialect status instead of the since long internalized language status seems to have shaken the interviewee's linguistic identity. It becomes clear here how the constitution of the subject is destabilized by addressing the mother tongue as a dialect, which collides with the high symbolic value of Luxembourgish, and has to be renegotiated. The big role that Luxembourgish plays as a language in the speaker's subjectivation is also evident in the following passage from the same interview:

"As I said, for me this was quite a shock when she told me that. 'How is that possible, this is my language!'"[159] (female, 24, Luxembourger, Luxembourg).

In appropriation and attribution processes, spatial and linguistic criteria often merge. It is interesting that interviewees frequently also talk about language when discussing affiliation and the Greater Region:

"And then the third [daughter], I'd say she's already a Saarlander. Also language-wise. You mostly define it via the language, the dialect, don't you. And the youngest was born, as I said, in Saarland"[160] (female, 48, German, Saarland).

"Of course, you identify a lot with your country and it's just your language and of course the whole cultural thing"[161] (female, 24, Luxembourger, Luxembourg).

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**158** | Personal translation of: "Also ech hu réischt viru kuerzem erausfonnt, dass Lëtzebuergesch u sech en Dialekt ass, duerch eng Frëndin u sech, wat mer gesot huet, et hätt dat an engem Cours gehat. Et wieren eben däitsch Dialekte gewiescht. […] Mee fir mech ass dat jo immens schwéier, fir sou, jo einfach sou anzeuerdnen, well ech jo awer lo scho sou laang mat deem Gedanken am Kapp liewen 'Lëtzebuergesch ass eng eege Sprooch'. An 't ass jo awer och eis Amtssprooch niewent dem Däitschen. Et ass jo net en Amtsdialekt. Vun dohier fält mer dat na heiansdo awer bësse schwéier. Mir hate jo och Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul mat eegener Grammatik. Ech weess net, hunn déi meescht Dialekter eng eege Grammatik?"

**159** | Personal translation of: "Wéi gesot fir mech war dat éischter sou e Schock, wéi et mer dat u sech sot. 'Wéi, dat ass dach meng Sprooch!'"

**160** | Personal translation of: "Und dann die dritte [Tochter], die würde ich schon zu den Saarländern zählen. Auch so von der Sprache her. Man definiert es ja meistens über die Sprache, den Dialekt. Und die Jüngste, die ist wie gesagt im Saarland geboren."

**161** | Personal translation of: "Mä kloer, 't identifizéiert een sech jo vill mat sengem Land an 't ass eben deng Sprooch an natierlech och dat ganzt Kulturellt och einfach."

### 5.9.5 Conclusion

The evaluation of the questionnaire survey and the interviews has revealed many links of language and identity in linguistic practices and in the assessment of linguistic practices and languages (and their varieties). The point of departure is a twofold construction of linguistic space: on the one hand, a space is constructed via the observed linguistic similarities which transcends the current territorial borders and follows the old Moselle-Franconian dialect continuum; on the other hand, the territorial borders are reflected in a multilingual Luxembourgish language area which is clearly distinct from the neighbouring German language area. The special status of Luxembourgish for the identities of its speakers shows itself in favourable assessments in the semantic differentials and in high approval rates for the statement that Luxembourgish is a language in its own right. One can add to this also the generally more negative assessment of the use of dialects by German speakers in Luxembourg which in comparison to the use of standard German or Luxembourgish is significantly lower. Luxembourgish distinguishes itself from the Moselle-Franconian dialects of the German border area by its language status, its usefulness in communication as well as by the special role it has played in the construction of a national identity (see Fehlen 2011: 571f.) and in the subject constitutions of its speakers. For its speakers, it holds a high communicative and symbolic value, which has the effect that speaking a German dialect in Luxembourg is not regarded as appropriate by all speakers, due to its smaller communicative range and lower status.

## 5.10 Conclusions

Following the frequently voiced *desiderat*, the case studies of this chapter sought to present empirical research that links current approaches of spatial and identity studies with those of today's subject analysis. The investigation centred on spatial and identity constructions in border regions and the different ways they articulate themselves in subject constitutions. Building on chapter 3, the present chapter focussed on subjectivations, i.e. the question of how norms and significations are actually lived in everyday-cultural practices. Of particular interest here was, on the one hand, the relationship of subjectifications and subjectivations – or the shifts and creative forms of appropriation they reveal – and the relationship of spaces and identities in cross-border contexts, on the other.

Against this background, a number of case studies elaborated and linked processes of subjectification and subjectivation in the framework of specific contexts. For instance, the everyday dietary practices: these were related to social, cultural and institutional aspects and examined for the subjectivations they express regarding sustainability or 'responsible way of eating'. The findings reflect a largely hedonistic subject constitution of the interviewees that is primarily