24.901 Sociolinguistics and Sound Change

0. Gender differences in spoken language

Japanese

- Lexical items: *boku* (masc. first person) vs. *watakushi* (neutral)
- Grammatical particles: *da yo* (masc. blunt) *wa yo* (fem. Soft)
- Voice quality: breathy voice (fem.)

Sapir (Male and female speech forms in Yana 1928)

- Most words have two forms: male and female
- Female derived by reduction (devoicing) of final syllable
- Male used when male addresses another male, female otherwise

Vaupe_s region of Amazon (Jackson 1983)

- Eastern Tukanoan
- Linguistic exogamy: man must take wife who speaks a different language
- Individual's identity marked by language of father
- When woman moves to husband's community she continues to use her father's language while husband (and children) use father's language
- Extensive multilingualism: Barasana, Desano, Tatuyo,

1. Quantitative sociolinguistics (Labov)

- major finding: ordered heterogeneity: a particular grammatical variable (e.g. rhotic vs. nonrhotic) increases/decreases monotonically along some social dimension
- variation by style (formal---casual conversation)
- variation by age (may reflect sound change in progress)
- variation by social class and gender
- variation: stable vs. changing
- implication: Structural-Generative abstraction of ideal speaker in homogeneous speech community overlooks an important aspect of linguistic competence: people alter their grammatical output in response to different social contexts and to signal their identity or affiliation to particular social groups
- 2. William Labov (b. 1927, BA Harvard '48, Ph.D. Columbia '64)

- founder and chief exponent of quantitative sociolinguistics
- student of Uriel Weinreich (Columbia, U Penn since 1970)
- large scale quantitative analysis of the vernacular speech: NYC, Philadelphia, other American dialects
- editor Language Variation and Change
- director of *Dialect Survey of North America* (2005)
- author of Principles of Linguistic Change I, II, III

3. Sociolinguistic interview; stylistic variants

- Minimal pair
- Word list
- Reading style
- Careful speech
- Casual (non-monitored) speech

Figure 4.2

- NYC nonrhotic
- Rhotic pronunciation restored as prestige norm after WWII (change from above)
- 81 adults of Lower East Side (1962)
- systematic correlation with attention to speech and social class
- lower middle class increases in more formal setting: linguistic insecurity
- 4. Labov's Department Store Study (1966) fig. 4.3, 4.4
 - 264 individuals encountered in two afternoons in 1964; anonymous
 - Saks, Macy's, S. Klein
 - Floorwalker, sales clerk, sweeper
 - Item from 4th Fl. WL: *Where's X(e.g. shoes)?* [fourth floor] *Excuse me*. [Fourth Floor]

Results

- Stratification by store (social class): 4.3
- Stratification by phonological context (preconsonantal vs. word-final)
- Stratification by style (emphatic speech more rhotic)
- Stratification by occupation (2.4 in p. 56)
- Stratification by age

5. Study replicated by Fowler (1986)

- Same results but overall more rhotic (sound change in progress)
- The next generation increments the change
- Alternative explanation of age grading is not plausible
- Age grading: speakers become more conservative as they get older
- Philadelphia [aw] fronting and raising also shows this [3.7, 3.6]
- Observations of different generations in same family: 4.9 a,b: raising of æ vowel
- Recordings of one speaker at two separated points: Jenny Rosetti (Philadelphia) at ages 68 (1973) and 85 (1990): vowel system largely stable

- But Queen's Annual Christmas Message: 1950's to present (Harrington (2006): some effect of changes in RP (raising of lax 1 in *kit*, *happy*)
- 6. Classification of sound changes:
 - a. shift: p -> h in Japanese; V -> V: / ____ [+voiced]

b. mergers: a and o merge (*father* and *hot*); t & d merge to flap, etc. Herzog's Principle: at a dialect boundary mergers expand: *whale* vs. *wail* Garde: mergers are irreversible by normal sound change (from below) A sound change from above may lead to hypercorrection: generalization of change to to novel nonetymological lexical items intrusive [r] of Eastern Mass is commonly interpreted as reflex of hypercorrection: the spa[r] is (*spa* or *spar*)

Hock (1986:428)	<u>border</u> soda	<u>Southern</u> sody
	opera Missoura	opry Missouri

c. split: umlaut in German (original phonetic context lost)

d. chain shifts: one shift elicits another related one

drag chain: one sound moves into the space formerly occupied by another:

English Great Vowel Shift where [i:] diphthongizes and centralizes to [aj], [e:] shifts to former position of [i:]

push chain: one sound encroaches on another, which shifts to remain distinct (more difficult to document)

7. Sound (more generally linguistic) change

- some variation is stable (e.g. t/d deletion of wes(t) documented since 16th century)
- while other kinds are dynamic with the gradual replacement of one category by another over time as in nonrhotic > rhotic.
- mystery: how does the child discern which variation is stable and which is to be carried forward (assuming that children are the primary vehicles of change from below)?

8. Two kinds of sound change:

- changes from above: introduced by dominant social class, often with full public awareness, show up in careful speech: NYC rhoticization
- changes from below: initially below level of consciousness, typically lower or middle classes initiate: Northern Cities Shift
- NCS: [æ] raises and tenses, [a] of cot fronts, [_] lowers and unrounds; [_] backs encroaching on [_] which backs and rounds
- more detailed studies like Eckert's show group identification rather than social class per se is better predictor (cf. solidarity of values, identification (Sturtevant 1947)

8. Belten High (Eckert)

- Jocks: middle class values, achieve goals by conforming to normative institutions established by adults
- Burnouts: resist adult authority, achieve goals by escape from adult control, rely on local resources
- For a number of sound changes in the NCS burnouts are in lead: eg. Extreme backing of wedge (*bus -> boss*):

Jocks	Burnouts
.43	.59

• but social class gives way to gender: 13.7

9. Labov sees gender as most important social determinant in sound change

<u>Finding 1</u>: For stable variables women show a lower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants

- $-ing \approx -in$; former used by women more in New England, NYC, Norwich, Australia, Ottawa, ...
- stop and affricate forms of English interdentals used less by women: NYC, North Carolina, Belfast
- Quebecois Fr, Chilean Sp., Taiwanese studies report similar findings

Finding 2: in changes from above women adopt the prestige form more than men

• rhotic NYC, QF retraction of /a/ in *-ation*

<u>Finding 3</u>: For changes from below (the proto-typical, unconscious sound change) woman are typically in the lead

- Gauchet (1905) Charmey (Sw Fr) women one generation ahead of men in diphthongization of a: and e:
- NYC raising of ah and oh
- NCS early changes of æh, o, and oh (Wolfram, Eckert)

Speculation:

- young women and female adolescents more fashion/style-conscious than males
- extending a linguistic variable is comparable to other fashion statements
- they spend more time with young children, who set their variables accordingly



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