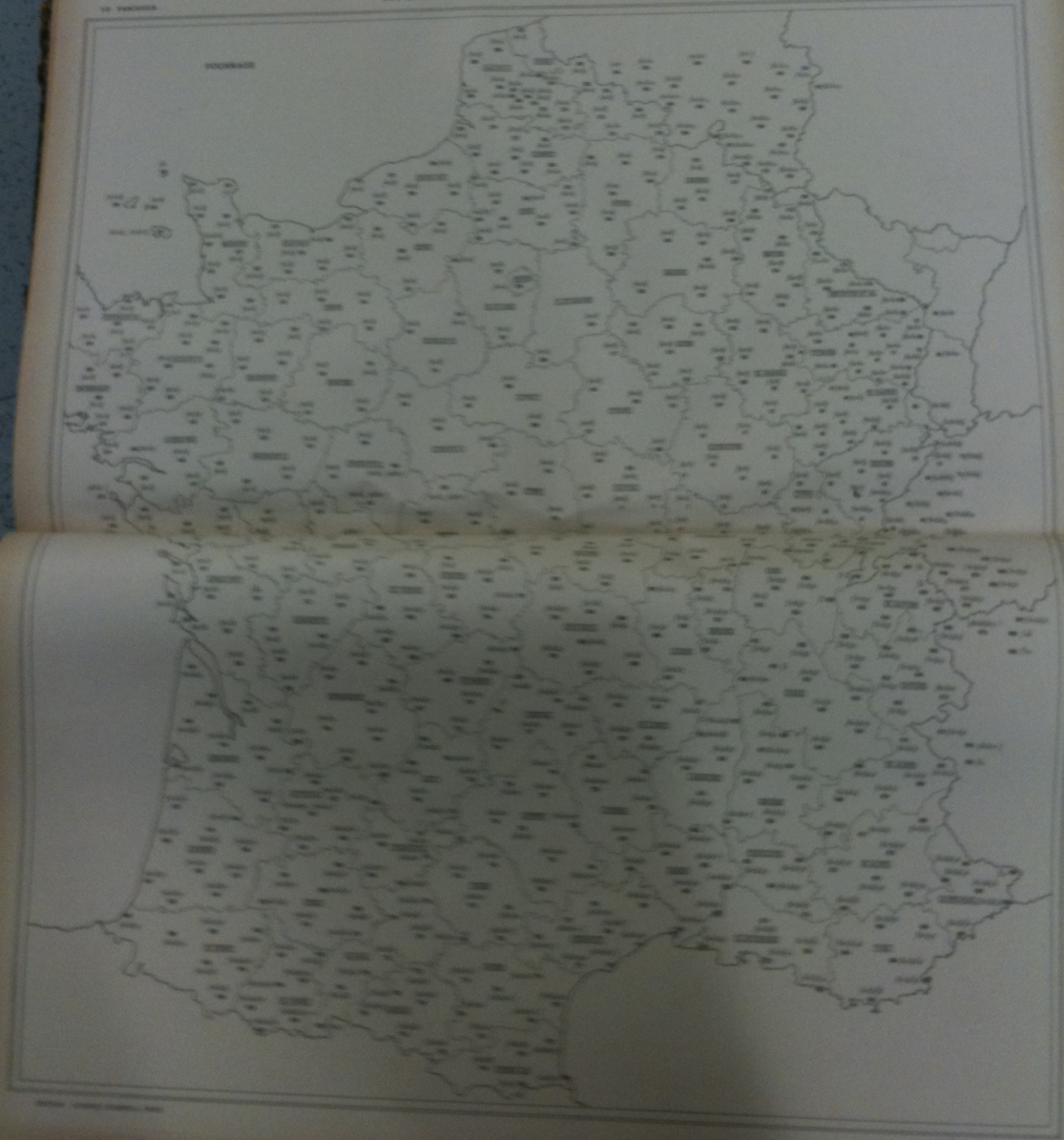


Language and Social Change



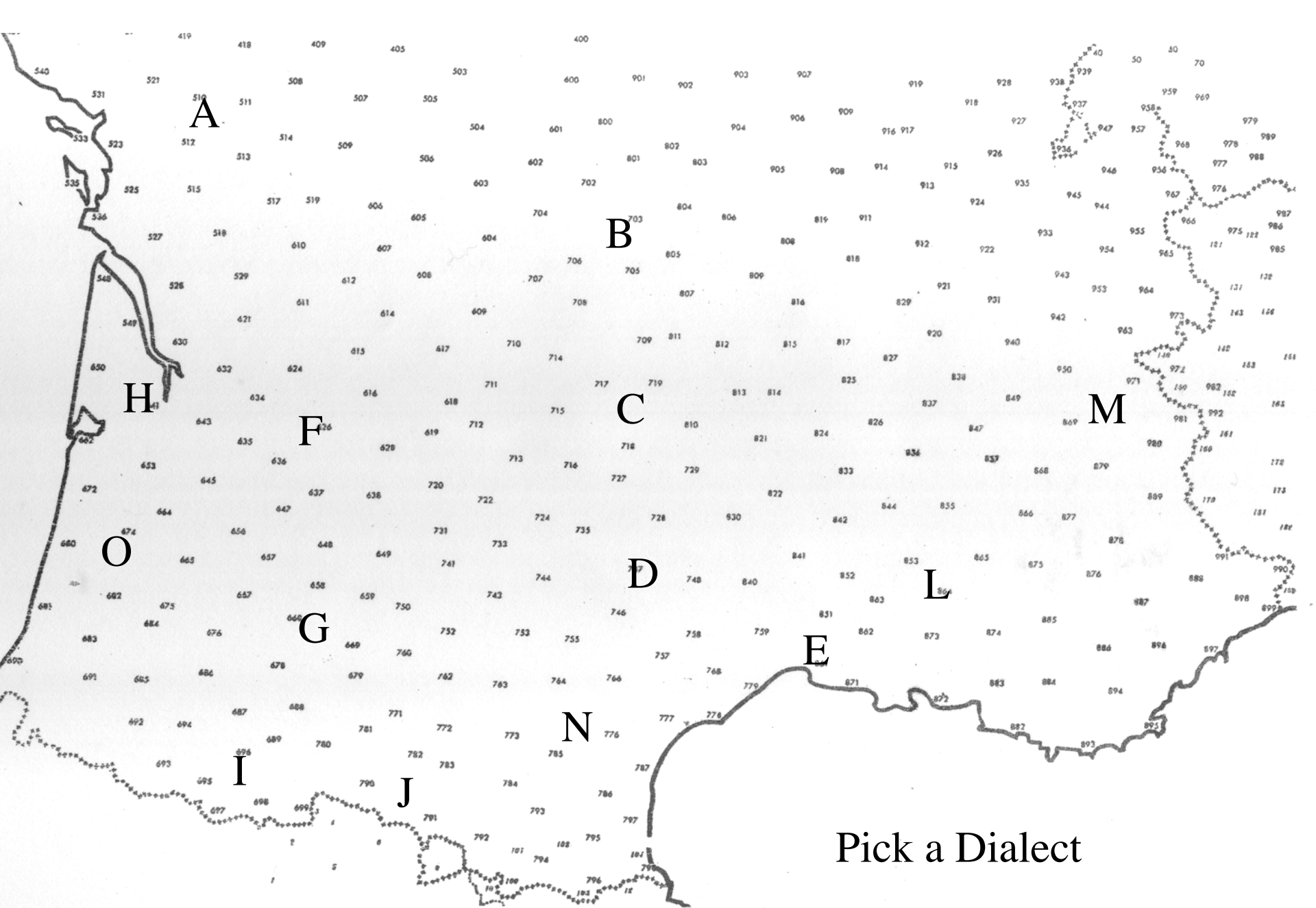
When is change?

- Getting away from a stadialist perspective.
- Change as an infinitesimal series of infinitesimally small events.
- Consider change in light of course themes:
 - Reproduction
 - Categories
 - Indexicality
 - Stylistic Practice
 - Authenticity
 - Pejoration
 - Appropriation



Language Life Cycles

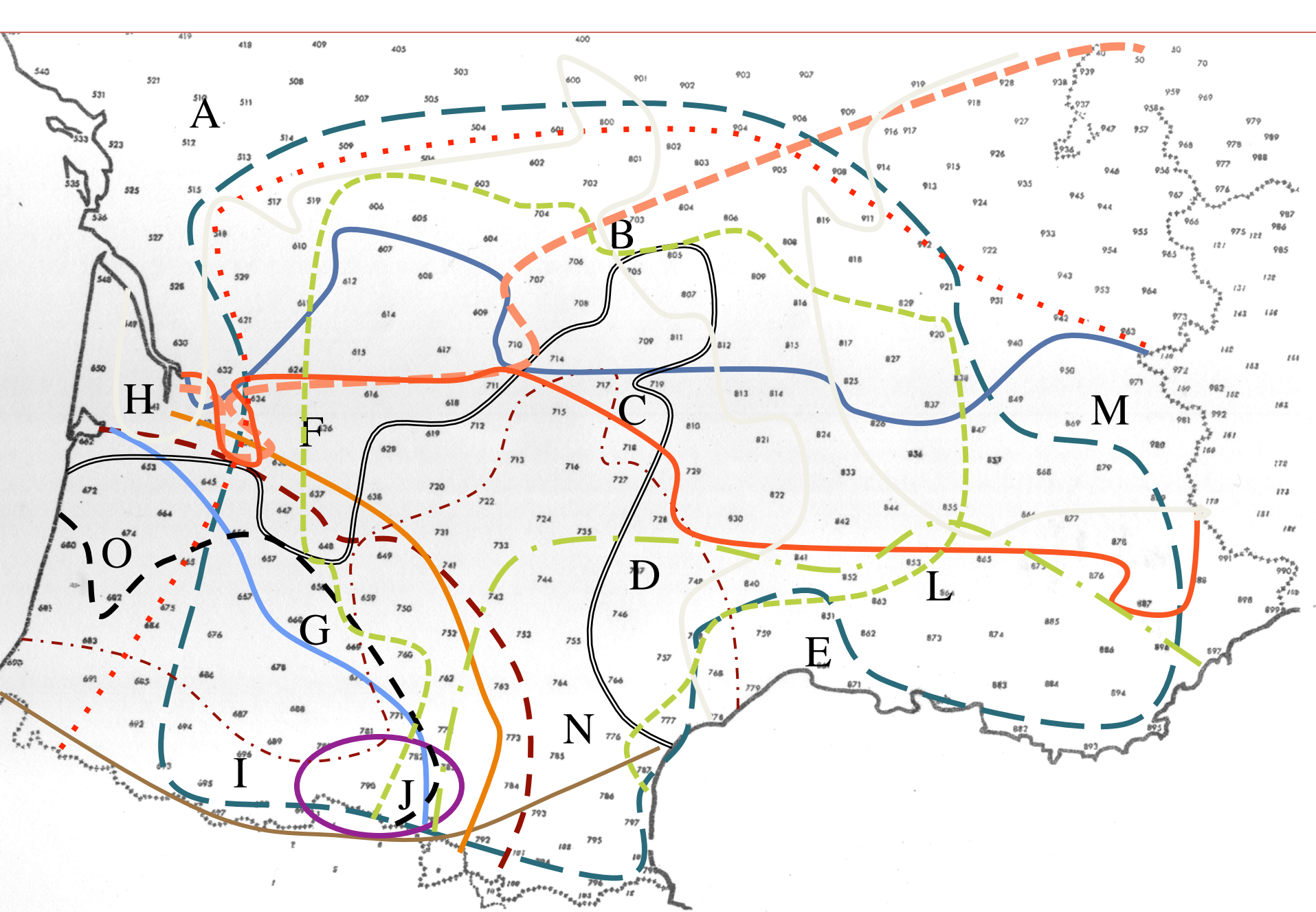
Edmont, Edmond and Gilliéron, Jules. (1902-1920). Atlas linguistique de la France. Paris: H. Champion.



Pick a Dialect

*una granda fiĵa kanta bene/plane

‘a big girl sings well’



How did French become a language and the rest dialects?

- France wasn't just there to begin with - it had to be constructed.
- The construction of a common standard language - French - was central to the construction of France.
- This involved codification, regulation, both of the spoken and written language.
 - French got standardized - that is, a relatively invariant dialect was created
 - French got grammars and dictionaries
 - French got enforced - required in documents, and administrative functions, etc.

A common linguistic variety can serve to unify a nation in two ways:

- As a lingua franca, facilitating communication across the entire population.
- As indexical of nationhood, of (a particular) common origin.

Power ...

- Elites can sustain themselves by hoarding access to communication. In pre-revolutionary France, schools in the countryside were discouraged:
 - Depriving peasants of the standard and the literacy that goes with it keeps their voices local.
 - Keeping peasants limited to the local, hence on the land, keeps the cities fed.
 - Keeping peasants from different places from speaking diverse varieties keeps them from uniting (a strategy that was used extensively in the slave trade).

Language Shift

After the French revolution, in the interests of participatory democracy, universal education was instituted - above all to give everyone access to French and to literacy in French.

This had its own abuses.

French was promoted as superior to 'patois', denigrating not only non-French dialects, but linguistic variability, and the cultures - even the minds - associated with non-French dialects.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

English as Cultural Bomb

..the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples' languages rather than their own.

Excerpted from Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature. London: James Currey, Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya, New Hampshire: Heinemann, 1986

<http://www.swaraj.org/ngugi.htm>

Language Shift

- Usually involves languages with unequal power (“H and L”).
- Diglossia – creates a linguistic division of labor in which the two languages are used in unequal domains.
- This (along with other factors) results in the pejoration – and eventual death – of the less powerful language.

Language Shift & Indexical orders

Language shift involved the replacement of the local variety by French situation by situation:

school

businesses

church

the street

the café

the home

French and “patois” come to index oppositional meanings based on:

education

Wealth

urbanity

intimacy

Changing soundscapes

Borrowing: French words came to index progress, global knowledge, refinement

French	Gloss	Borrowing
trottoir	sidewalk	trutwer
tracteur	tractor	trat:yr
fourchette	fork (hurko)	fursheto
géographie	geography	geografio
pharmacie	pharmacy	farmasio

French words came to sound “finer” than the Gascon equivalents

French	Gloss	Orig. Gascon	Borrowing
anémie	anemia	febleso	anemi
front	forehead	testo	frunt
menton	chin	barbo	mantun

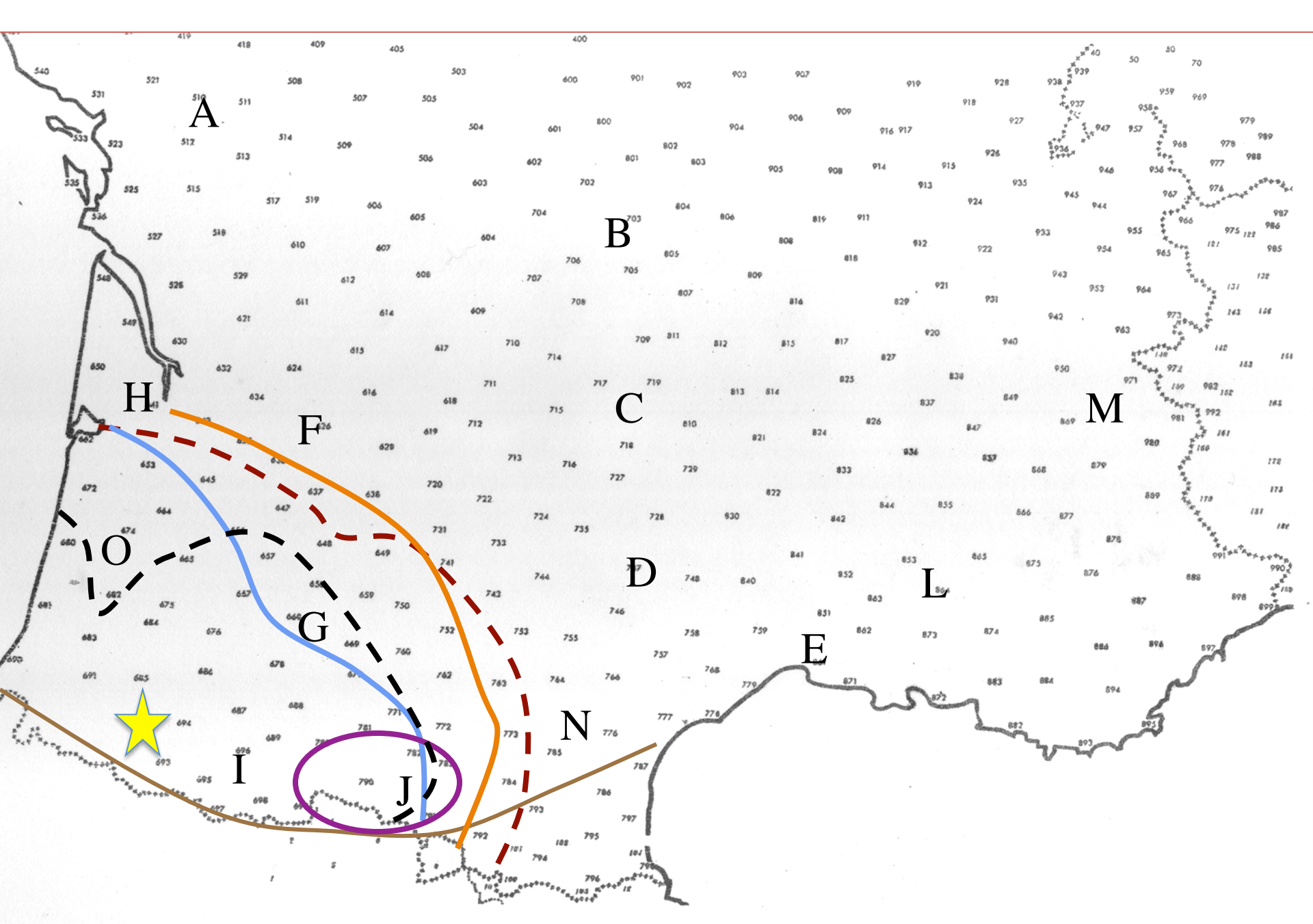
Which led to pejoration

French	Gloss	Orig. Gascon	Borrowing
varicelle	chicken pox	pigoto	bariselo
grange	barn	bordo	grangeo
chiffon	rag	peyot	chifun

Béziers 2007



Constructing ethnicity
Indexical inversion?



Coming full circle: Is it Gascon?

- *f>h French [fœ], Gascon huk
- *n> ø/V_V French [lyn], Gascon [lyo]
- Affirmative particle *que*



Language Shift

Shifting functions
Shifting indexicalities

Another Language Life Cycle

- Arabic is a language continuum
 - Classical Arabic as a unifying language
 - lingua franca
 - sacred language
- North Africa was colonized, mostly by French
 - French became the language of globality, finance
 - Postcolonial: French and Arabic as standards
 - Arabic indexes cultural, religious authenticity, masculinity
 - French indexes European culture, inauthenticity, femininity

Sadiqi, Fatima. 2003. *Women, gender, and language in Morocco*. Leiden: Brill.

Gendered Patterns of Language Shift

In traditional Arctic culture, men engaged in ice fishing, polar bear hunting, and seal hunting – activities that took them far from home and into considerable danger. While women went out into the tundra to hunt eggs and berries, they stayed fairly close to home, and their major activities involved processing the products of the men's hunt, curing the skins of the bears and seals and making clothing and structures from them.

Wyman, Leisy. 2012. Youth culture and linguistic survivance. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual matters

1. Mike: Kavialuq caught **maklaar** (bearded seal) at Friday.
2. Tom: Did they go out Friday?
3. Mike: Kavialuq and Ned's dad.
4. Evon: Cikigaq?
5. Mike: Ned's dad.
6. Evon: Cikigaq.
7. Mike: Who's Cikigaq?
8. Tom and Evon: Ned's dad.
9. Mike: Yeh. Cikigaq caught **maklaar** (bearded seal). You know when we go down, we go that way? I mean, that this way? And then, there was a **maklaar** (bearded seal) right there. **Issuriyagaq** (one-year-old spotted seal), Ernie said took 'em, and then . . . We were shooting that one, and then they went that way. And they xxx this way, and then they shot it. It went "**Qrr ch: . . . vvuu tksh;**" on the second one. Almost/ sink./
10. Evon: /Was it in/ the water? Under water? When they harpoon it?
11. Tom: Evon-am **pugtangainarnartuq** (never let it pop up)
12. Evon: Neh, it was gonna **kit'aq** (sink) it was like this, its back, very big, and it was going down. First it went like this "**ch:**" /staying on the water/.
13. Tom: /And then it was/ it was floating.
14. LTW: Hmm.
15. Mike: **Tegullruan?** (Did you take it with your hands?)
16. Evon: Harpoon.

Tok Pisin in New Guinea

- People coming back to villages from migrant work, introducing cosmopolitan status.
- Missionaries Introducing hierarchy
 - Buying labor
 - Church hierarchy
 - Pejoration of native culture
 - ‘Satan is in the bush’

Social change and Cajun language ideology

1921 legislation established English as the only official language in Louisiana, converting the educational system from French to English.

Cajun way of life was heavily stigmatized

1960s - Cajun Renaissance: Cajuns' socioeconomic status has risen significantly.

1997 survey: Preservation of French not considered vital to the survival of the Cajun community

78% did not believe that having French as a first language was important to being Cajun

58% said it was not important to live in a Cajun town or even to live in Louisiana

Young, French fluent people identified more strongly as Cajuns than the older generation did.

For a small number of people, mainly younger people who knew no French, **joie de vivre** was the only attribute they associated with being Cajun.

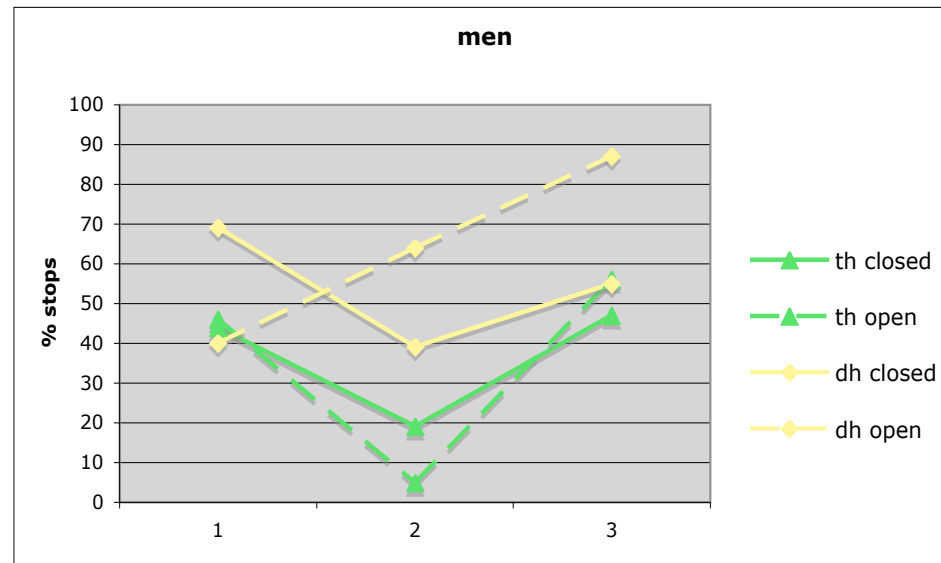
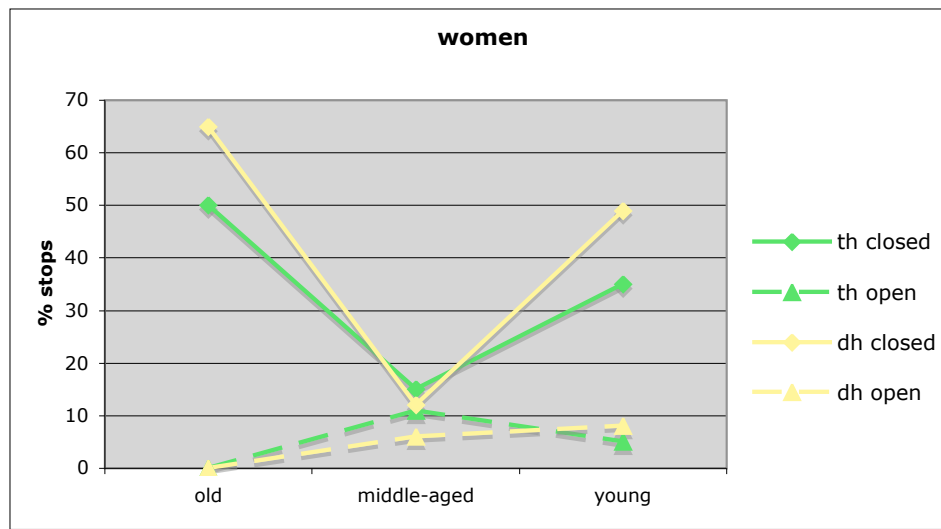
Dubois, S. and Melançon, M. 1997. Cajun is dead; long live Cajun: Shifting from a linguistic to a cultural community. *Journal of linguistics*, 1.63-93.

Closed networks -
most friends live in
town

stronger tendency for
women to have open
networks than men

Most people over 60
have French as their first
language.

All young speakers have
English.



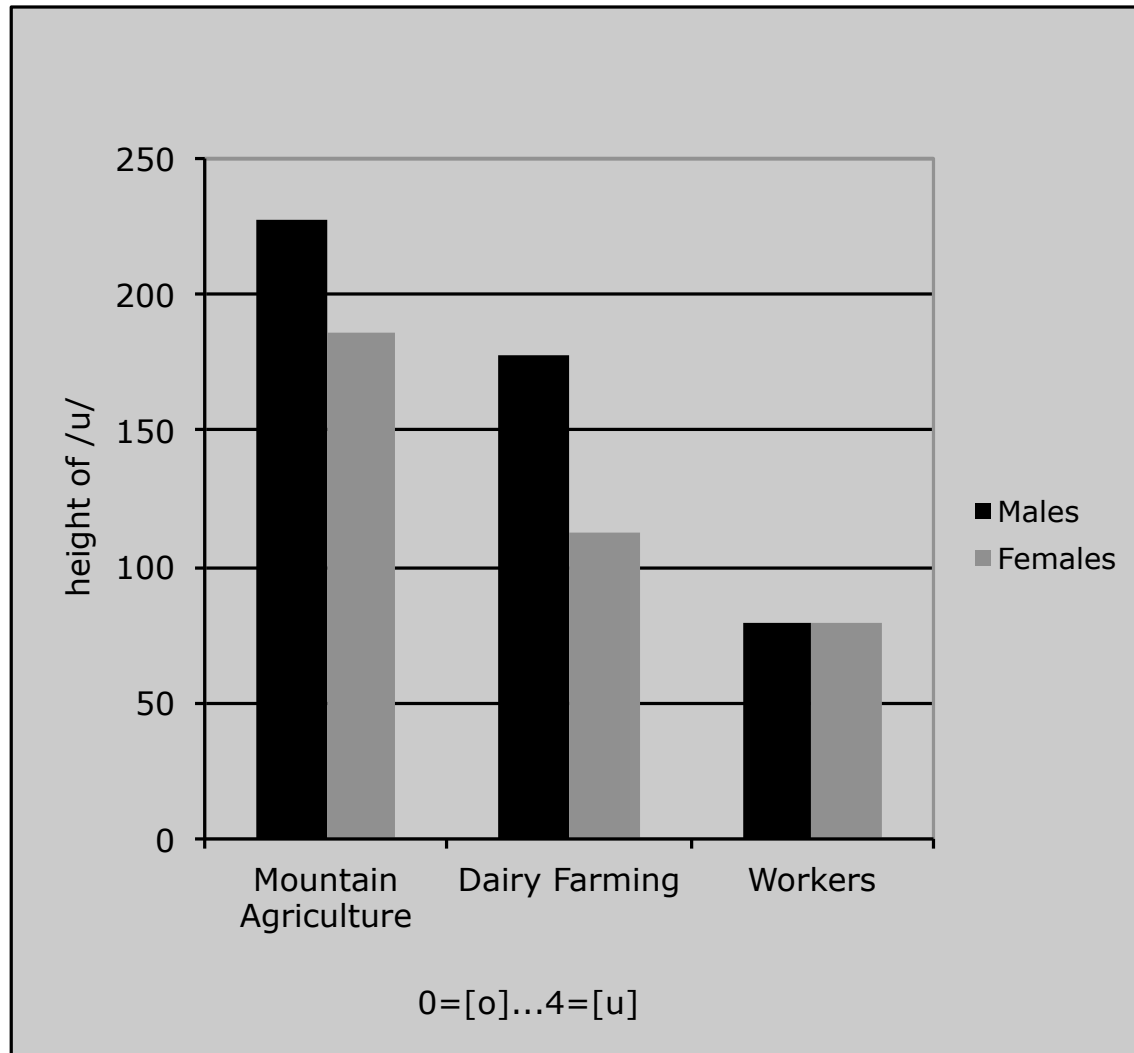
In older generation, girls
stayed in school while
boys worked on the
farms.

In the tourist age,
'outdoorsy' Cajun
culture is in the hands of
men

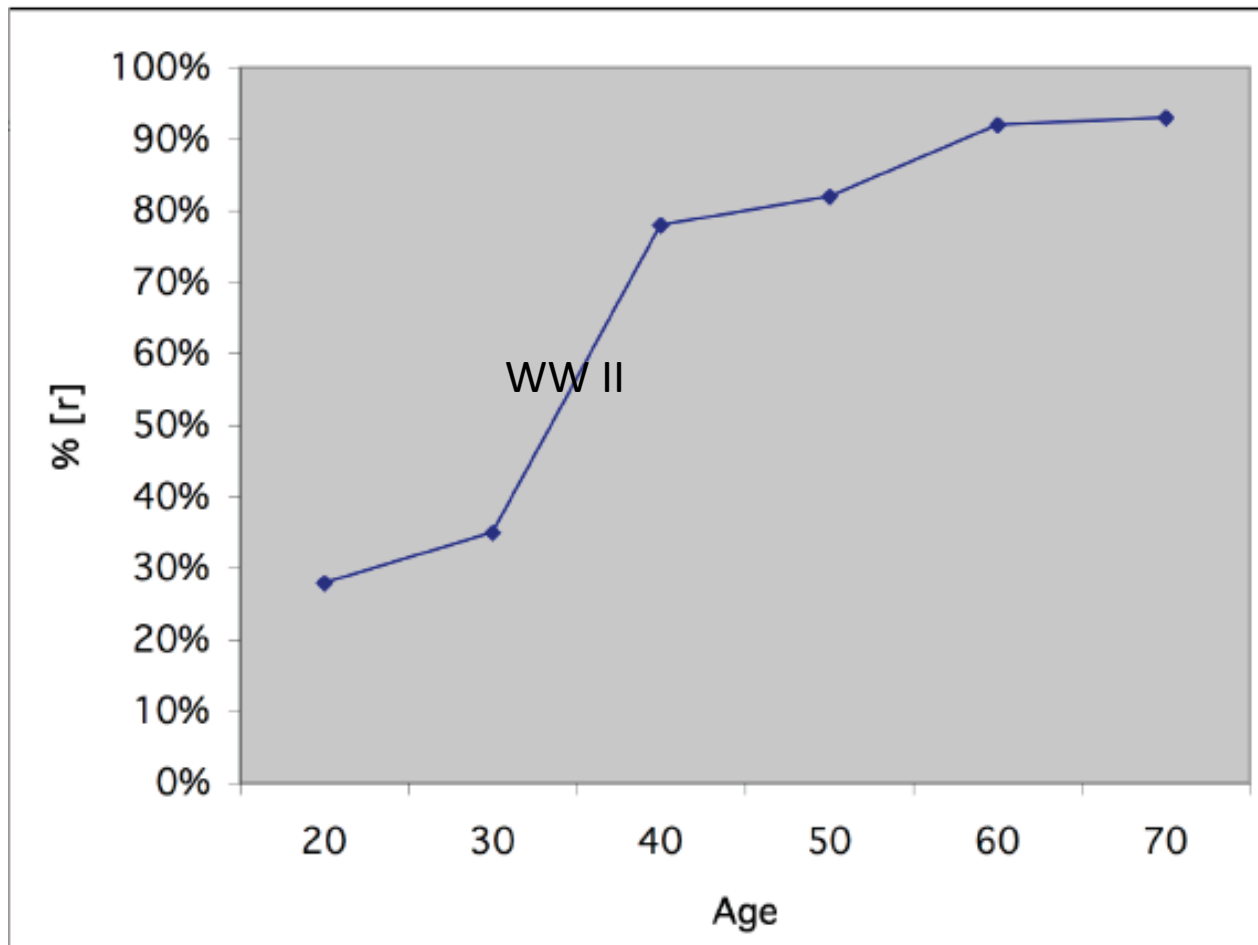
Dubois, Sylvie and Horvath, Barbara. 1998. Let's tink about dat: Interdental Fricatives in Cajun English. *Language variation and change*, 10.245-61.

Dubois, Sylvie and Horvath, Barbara. 1998. From accent to marker in Cajun English: A study of dialect formation in progress. *English World Wide*, 19.161-88.

HOLMQUIST, JONATHAN. 1985. Social correlates of a linguistic variable: A study in a Spanish village. *Language in Society*, 14.191-203.

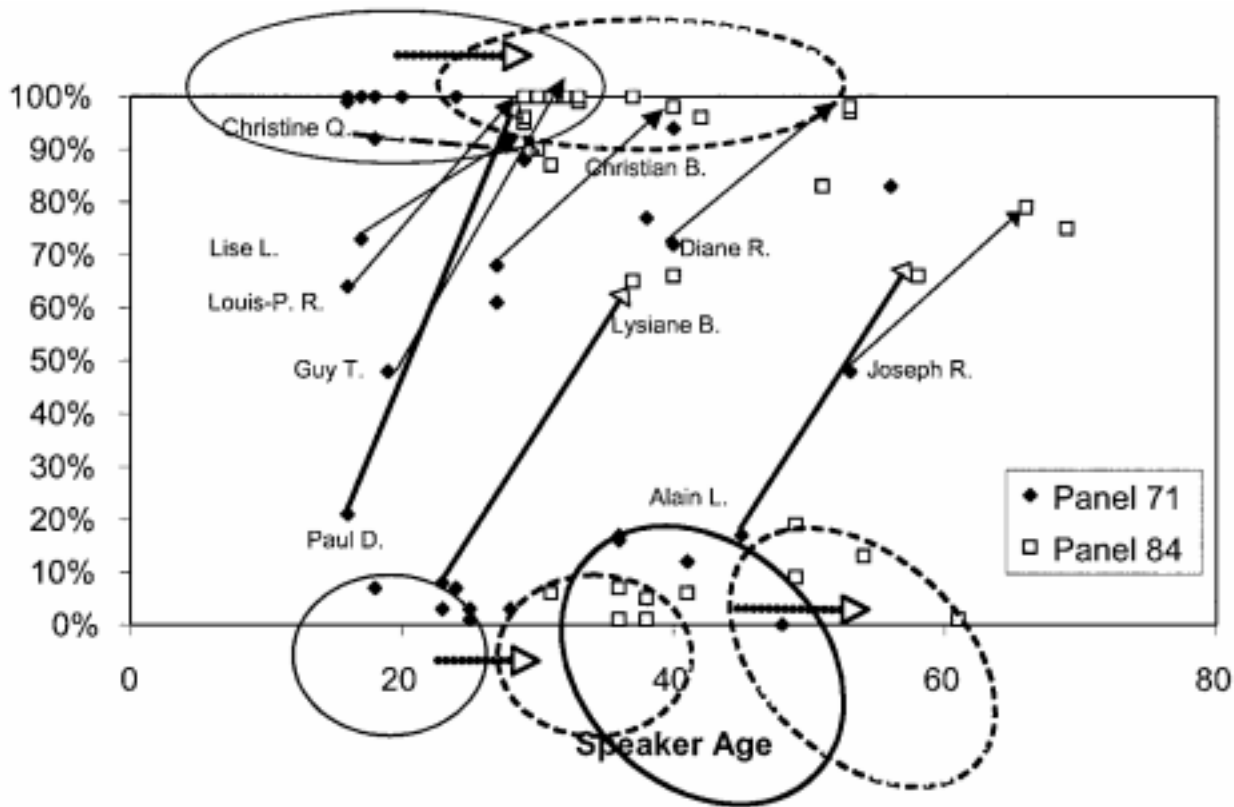


Height of (u) in Ucieda



% apical /r/ in Montreal

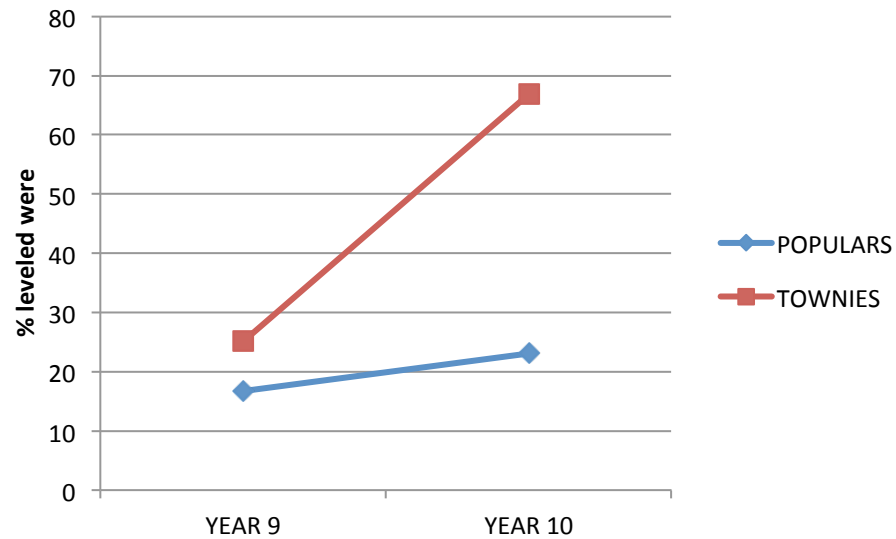
(from Clermont, J. and Cedergren, H. 1979. Les "R" de ma mère sont perdus dans l'air. Le français parlé: Etudes sociolinguistiques, ed. by P. Thibault, 13-28. Edmonton, Alberta: Linguistic Research.)



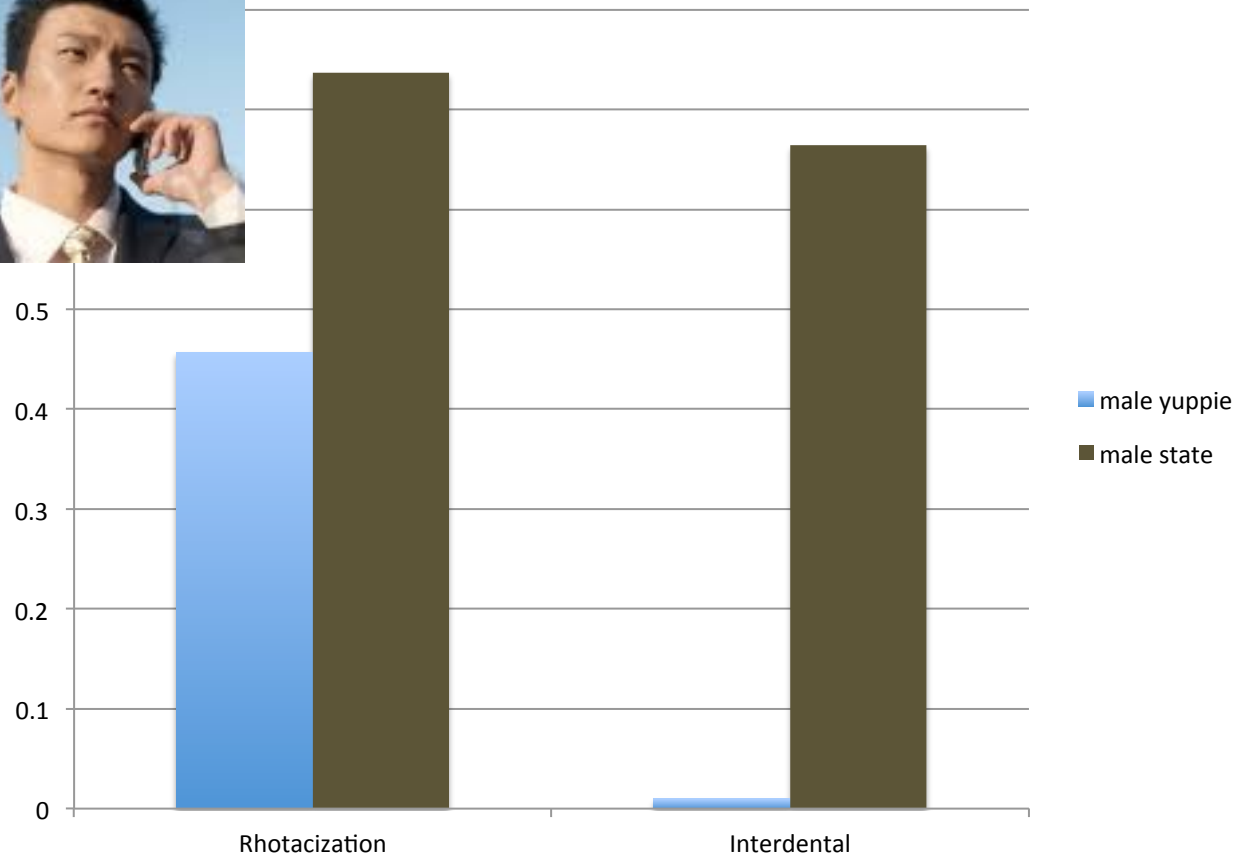
Individual changes in % dorsal /r/

Sankoff, Gillian and Blondeau, H el ene. 2007. Language change across the lifespan: /r/ in Montreal French. *Language*, 83.560-88.

Moore, Emma. 2004. Sociolinguistic style: A multidimensional resource for shared identity creation. *Canadian journal of linguistics*, 49.375-96.



Was this man born a Yuppie?



Personae:

The doctor, the son, and the gay diva

	Released /t/	Burst duration
Medical	6%	33 ms.
Barbecue	3%	49 ms.
	p=.010	p<.048

Podesva, R. (2004). On constructing social meaning with stop release bursts. Paper Presented at Sociolinguistics Symposium 15. Newcastle upon Tyne.

Variation and Social Change

- People change as they go from minute to minute, situation to situation, day to day, and through life.
- These changes are embedded in, and can bring about, social change.

Styles and Registers

- Style makes locations in the social landscape observable.
- Stylistic practice is an ongoing process that shifts the landscape as people make imperceptible and perceptible social moves.
- Once a style is widely recognized, becoming a broadly consensual location in the social landscape, it might be called a *register*

Register

- “a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices”

Agha, Asif. 2004. Registers of language. A companion to linguistic anthropology, ed. by Alessandro Duranti, 23-45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- “a coherent complex of linguistic features linked to a situation of use which draws on cultural images of persons”

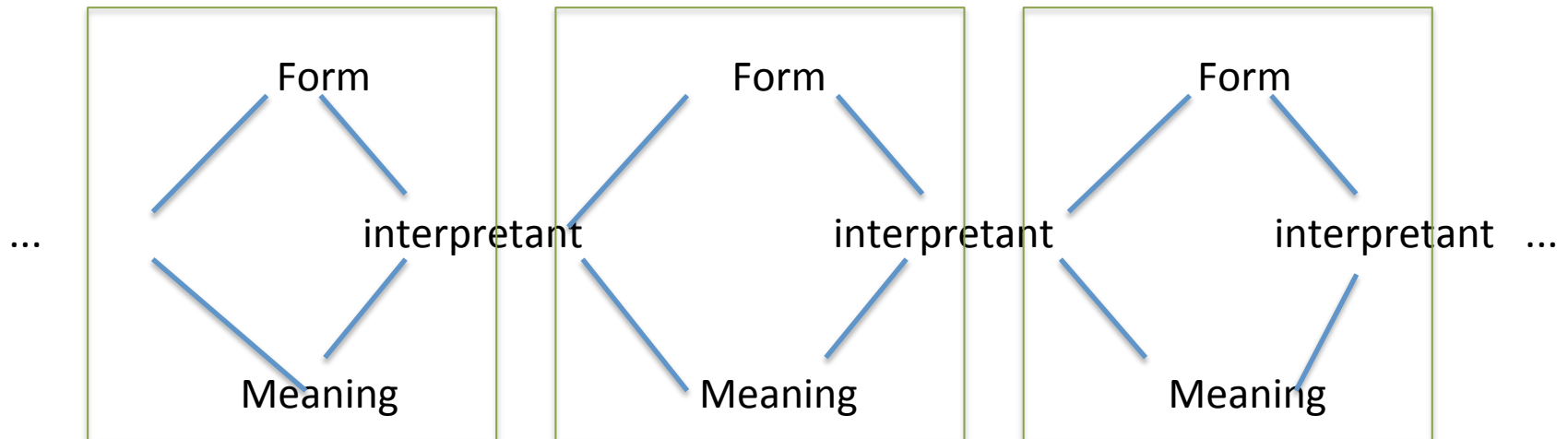
Irvine, Judith. 1990. Registering affect: Heteroglossia in the linguistic expression of emotion, . Language and the politics of emotion, ed. by Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, 121–61. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Enregisterment

- The process by which a linguistic repertoire COMES TO BE associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices.

Agha, Asif. 2003. The social life of a cultural value. *Language and communication*, 23.231-73.

Linguistic change as change in signs, not just form



Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce, 8 vols. Edited by Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burks (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931–1958; vols. 1–6 edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, 1931–1935; vols. 7–8 edited by Arthur W. Burks, 1958).

A sign is ...

Something that stands for something, to someone in some capacity (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)

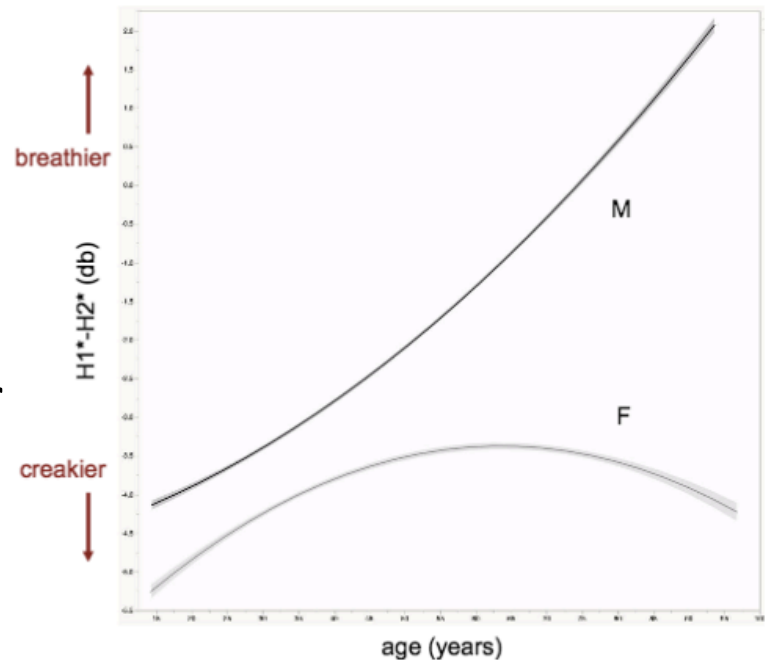


Something that stands for something, to someone in some capacity.



CREAK

- Yuasa, I. P. (2010). Creaky voice: A new feminine voice quality for young urban-oriented upwardly mobile American women? *American Speech*, 85(3), 315–337.
- Podesva, R. (2010). Gender and the social meaning of non-modal phonation types. Paper presented at the Berkeley Linguistic Society.
- Callier, P. and Podesva, R. (2015) Gender differences in the acoustic realization of creaky voice: evidence from conversational data collected in inland California. Paper presented at Linguistic Society of America annual meeting, Portland, OR.



Two very different personae



Mara Liasson



Sally Herships





Sally Herships is an award winning journalist who's been making radio for over a decade. She's produced or reported for BBC World Service, NPR, WNYC, Studio 360, has put in many hours at Radio Lab and is a regular contributor to public radio's Marketplace. Sally's work has been presented at UnionDocs Center for Documentary Art and she's taught radio workshops at NYU, Smith College, Feet in Two Worlds, Willie Mae Rock Camp for Girls and many other places. Her investigative project "The Five Percent Rule" was awarded the 2011 Third Coast Radio Impact Award and best Prepared Report for the 2011 Front Page Awards from the Newswomen's Club of NY and was an IRE finalist. Sally teaches Writing for Radio at Sarah Lawrence College. **When she's not making or teaching radio she enjoys sitting around, daydreaming, and drawing supermodels, robots and cats for sohosally.com**

All Dressed Up and Nowhere to Go

March 8th, 2014





Elise Hu



Zoe Chace



Steve Henn



Zoe Chace

- “this new generation of NPR reporters is big on the uptalking and the vocal frying and every other vocal vice you can think of, but I was actually thinking about her accent proper, uptalking notwithstanding.”
- “It's not an accent, it's her actual voice. It grates like cheese. Her accent is generic, inoffensive Eastern Seaboard.”



Herships



Policing the Police 2013



Blackberry 2011

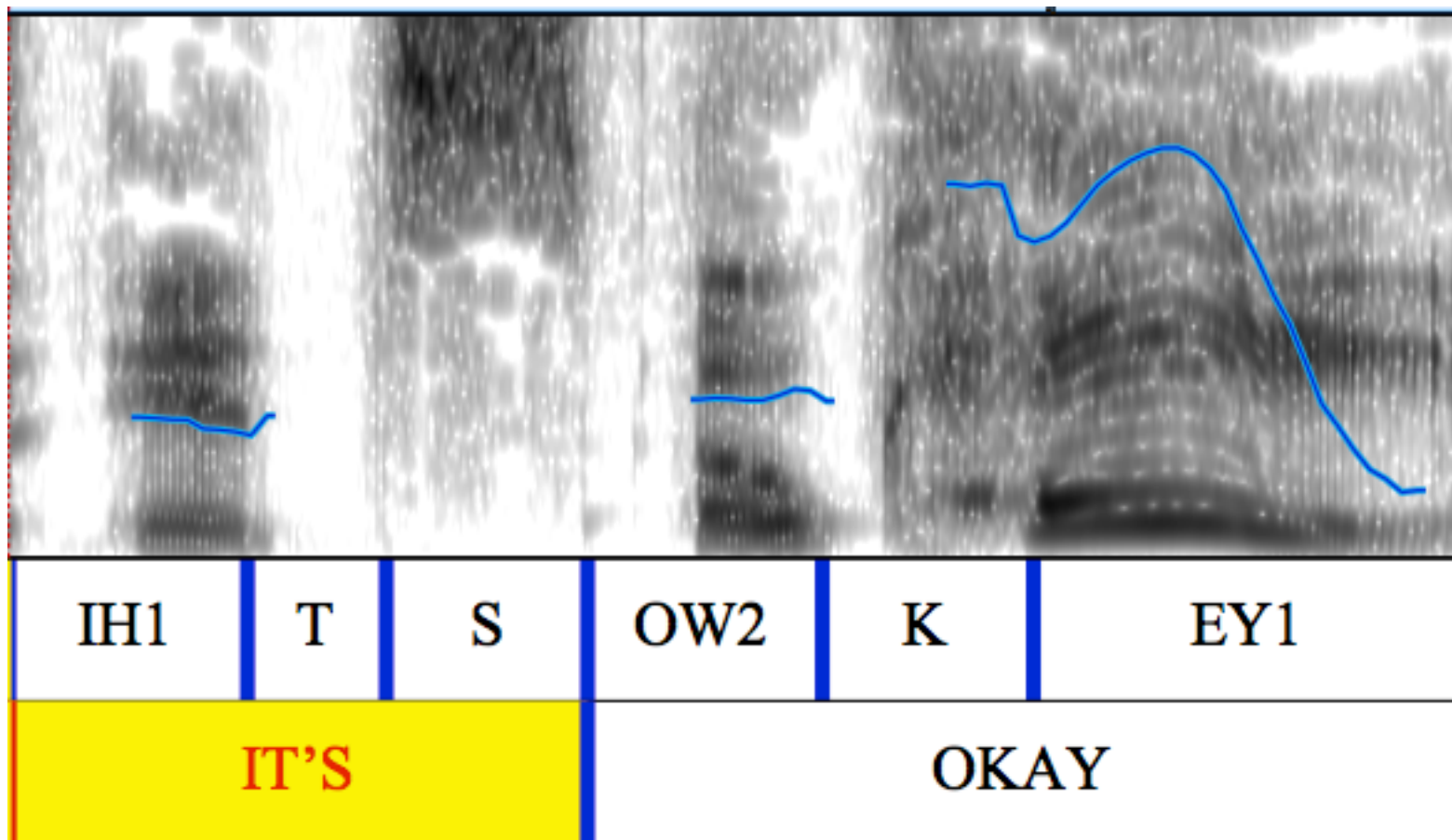


Product Liability 2012



Spare Chair 2014

?it's □ ?o^k a_y ?its Blackberry Ten ?is late



Creakiness

	Mean H1-H2	Sig. vs.
Blackberry	1.56	.011
Spare Chair	1.72	.005
Liability	2.42	ns
Policing	4.00	



Pitch differences from Policing

	Pitch Range in IPs	
	Mean	sig
Blackberry	273	.0002
Spare Chair	270	.0001
Liability	260	.0257
Policing	212	

Pitch differences from Policing

	Pitch Excursion		Max. Pitch	
	Mean	sig	Mean	sig
Blackberry	273	.0002	359	.0003
Spare Chair	270	.0001	361	.0001
Liability	260	.0257	360	.0077
Policing	212		305	

Pitch differences from Policing

	Pitch Excursion		Max. Pitch		Min Pitch	
	Mean	sig	Mean	sig	Mean	sig
Blackberry	273	.0002	359	.0003	96	ns
Spare Chair	270	.0001	361	.0001	91	ns
Liability	260	.0257	360	.0077	100	ns
Policing	212		305		93	

	Percent Glottal Stops	
	Value	sig
Blackberry	55	.0123
Spare Chair	80	2.56038E-07
Liability	61	.0109
Policing	36	

	Pauses/IP	
	Value	sig
Blackberry	.41	.0220
Spare Chair	.59	0.000e
Liability	.36	0.0821
Policing	.17	



The experiment

He says (Blackberry)



He says (Policing)



Terence Jones

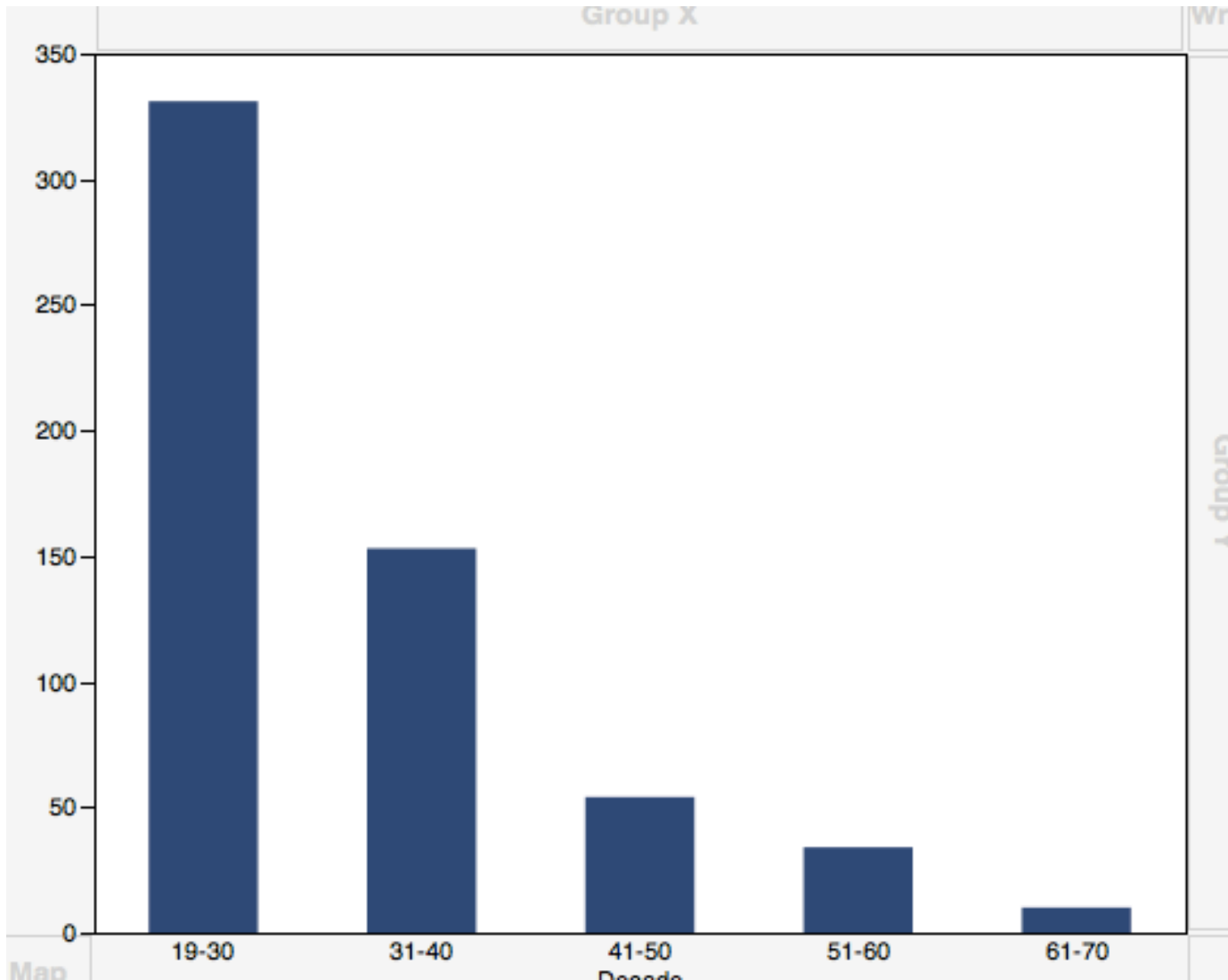
Please listen to this recording of a radio commentator, then go to the next page to give your evaluation of her style of delivery.



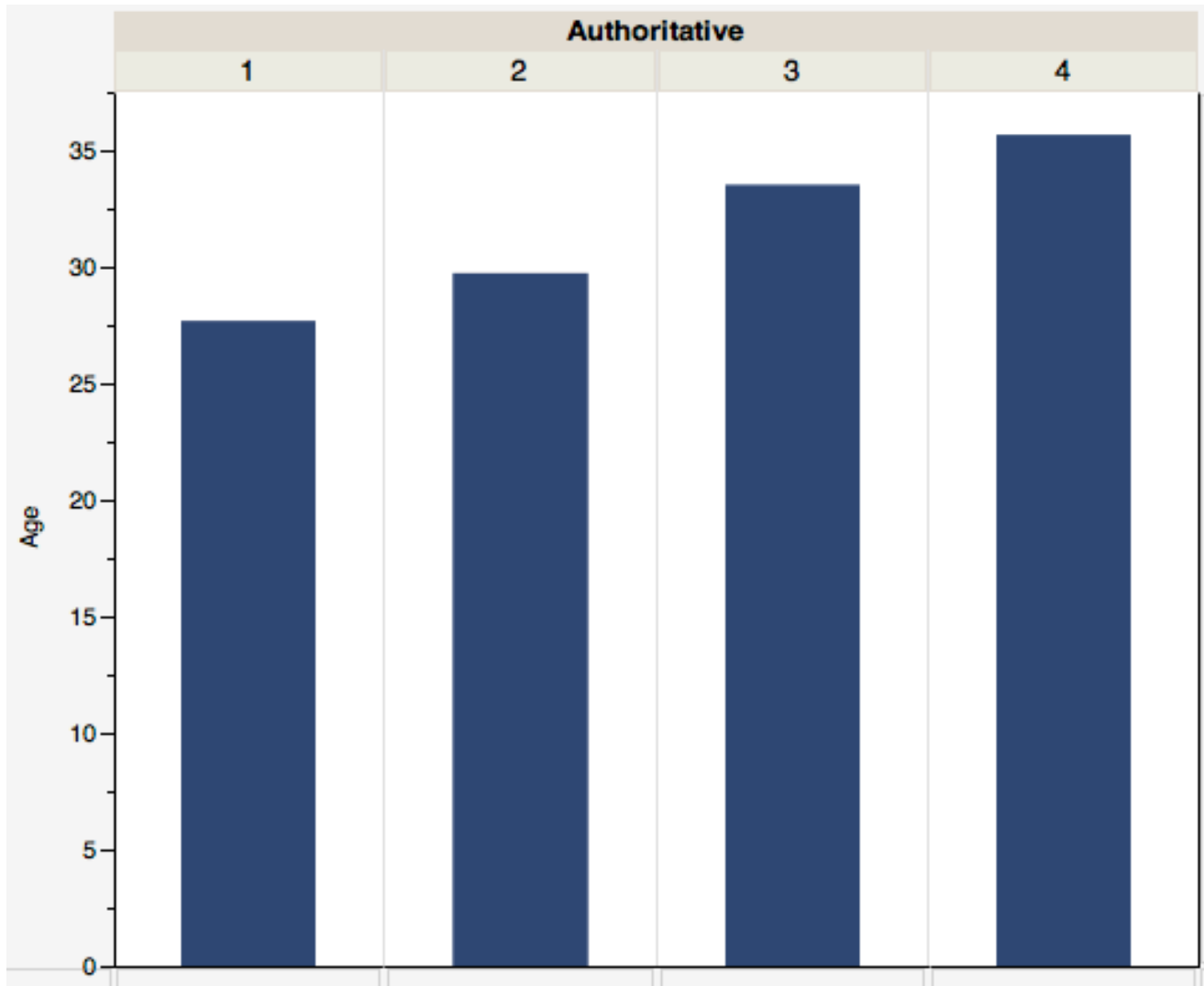
How authoritative does this person sound?

	Not at all authoritative	Slightly authoritative	Reasonably authoritative	Very authoritative
This person sounds	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

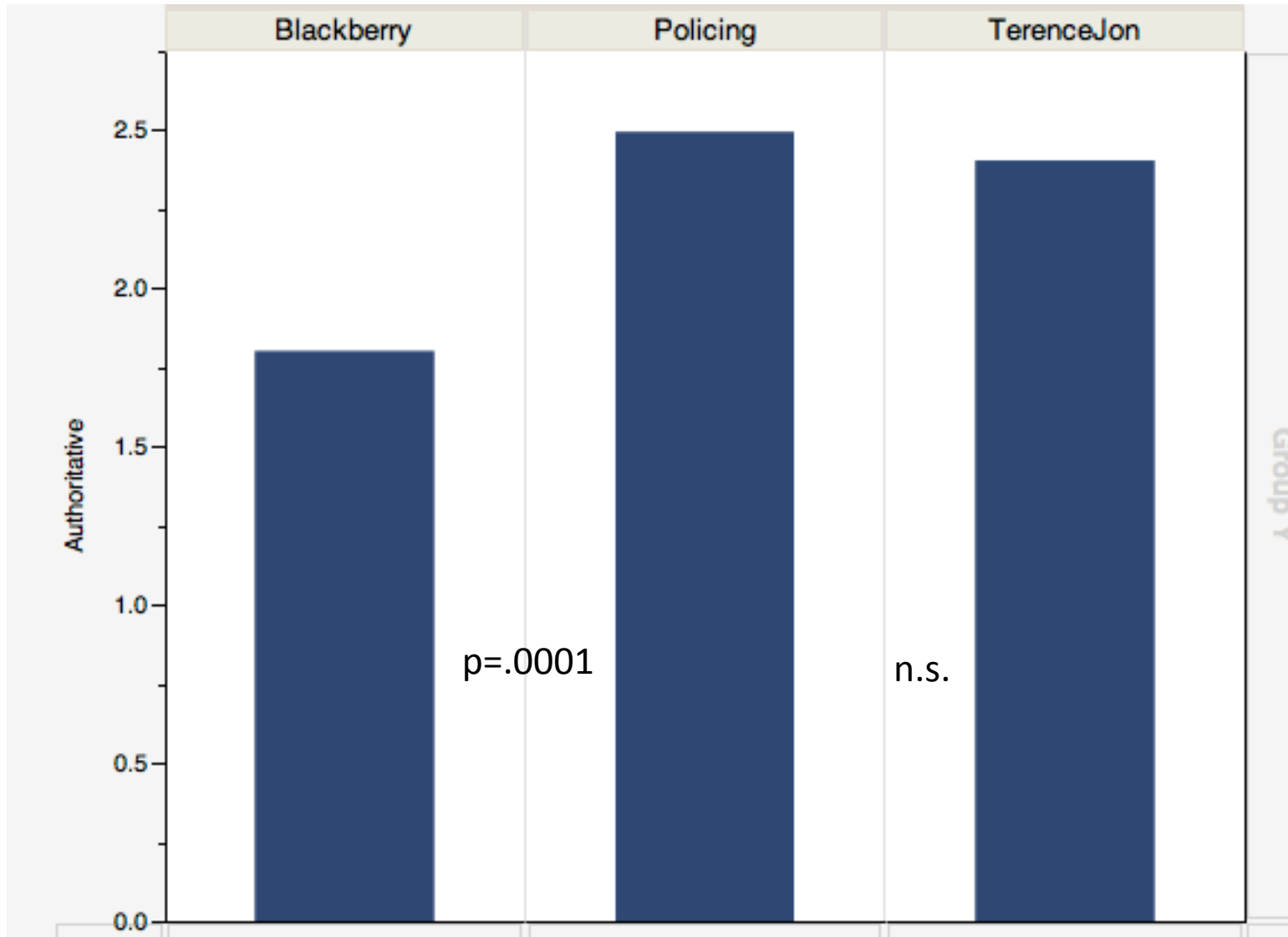
Turkers' Age by Decade



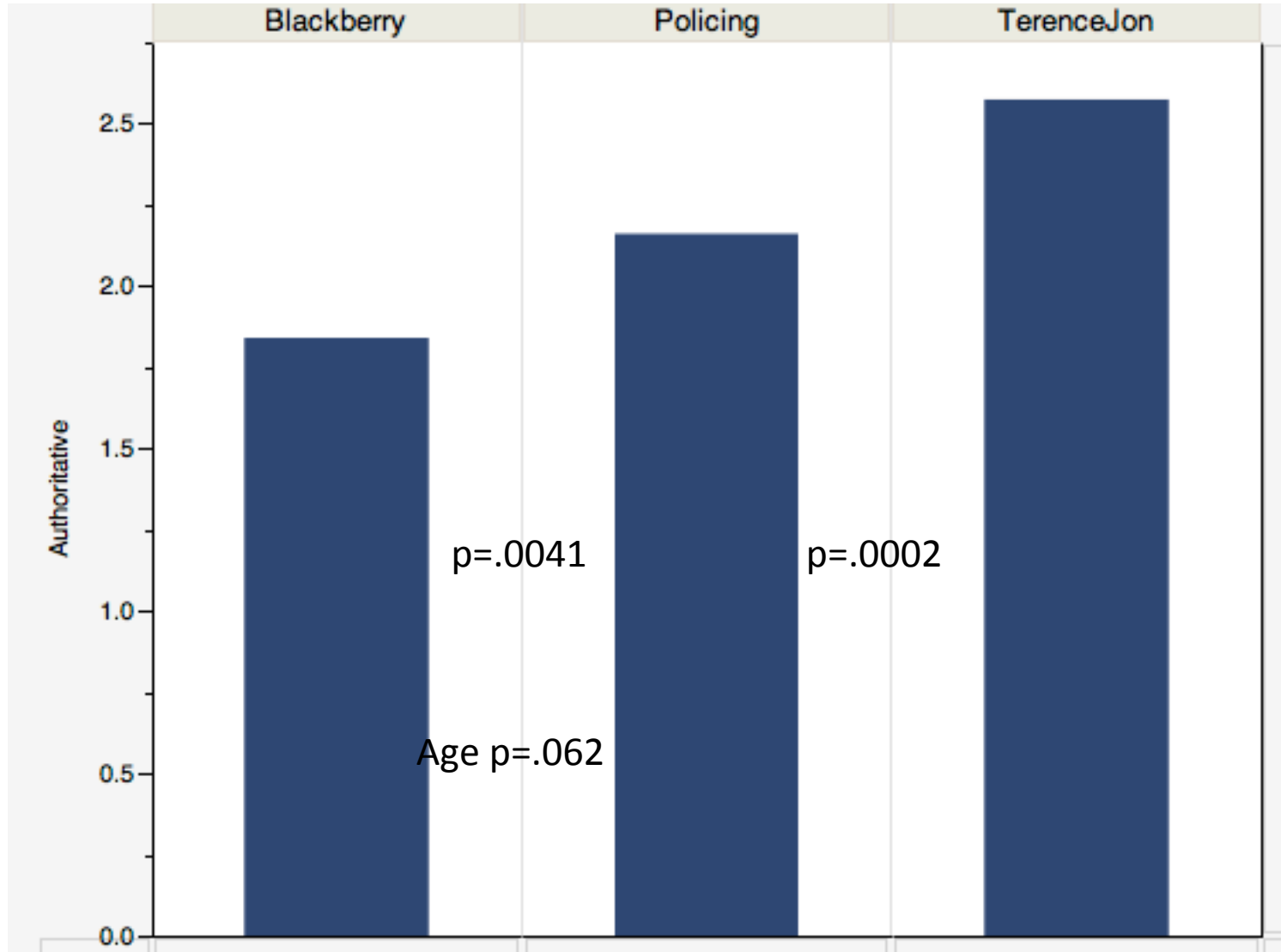
Terence Jones age $p=.0003$



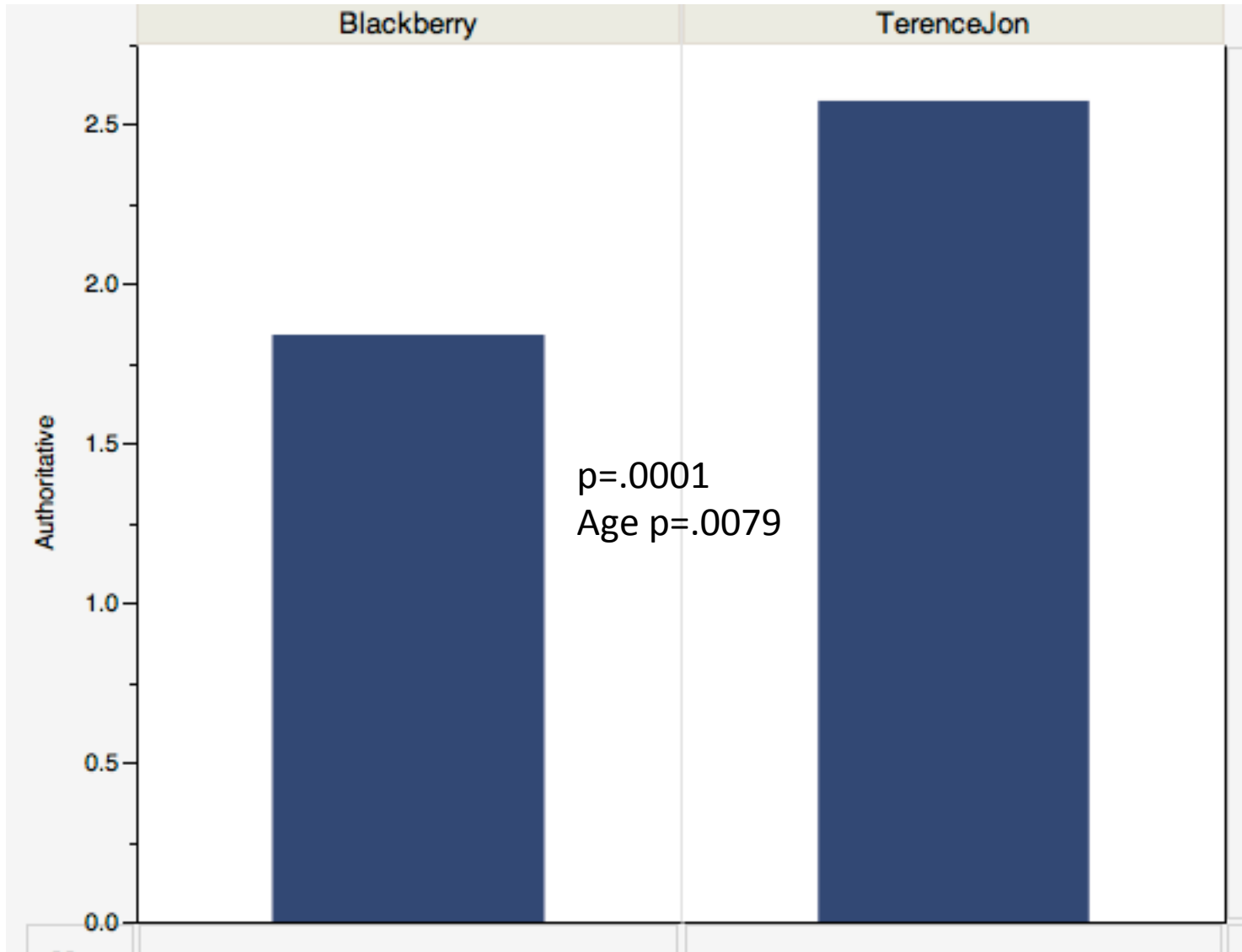
Middle Americans



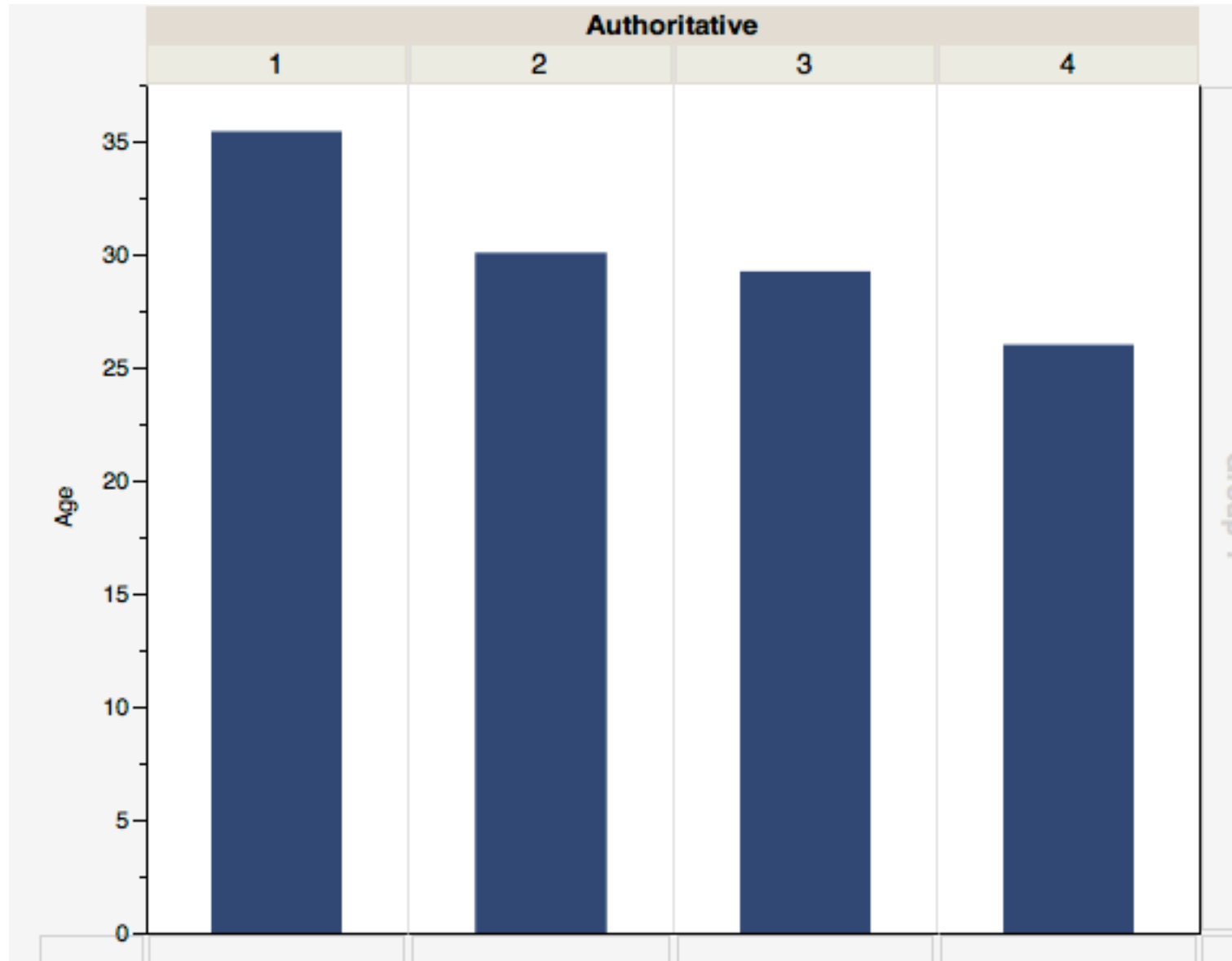
Coastal



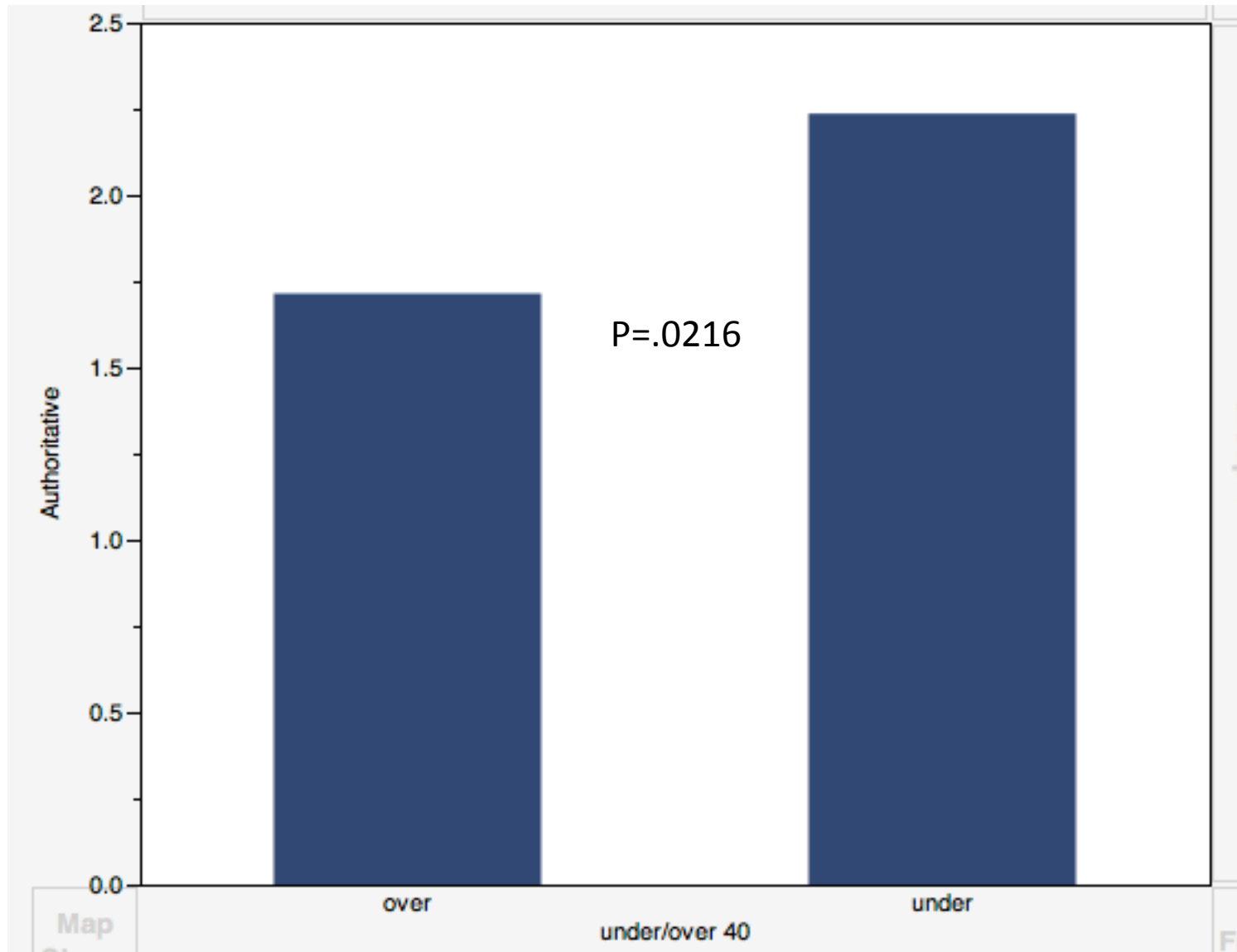
Coastal

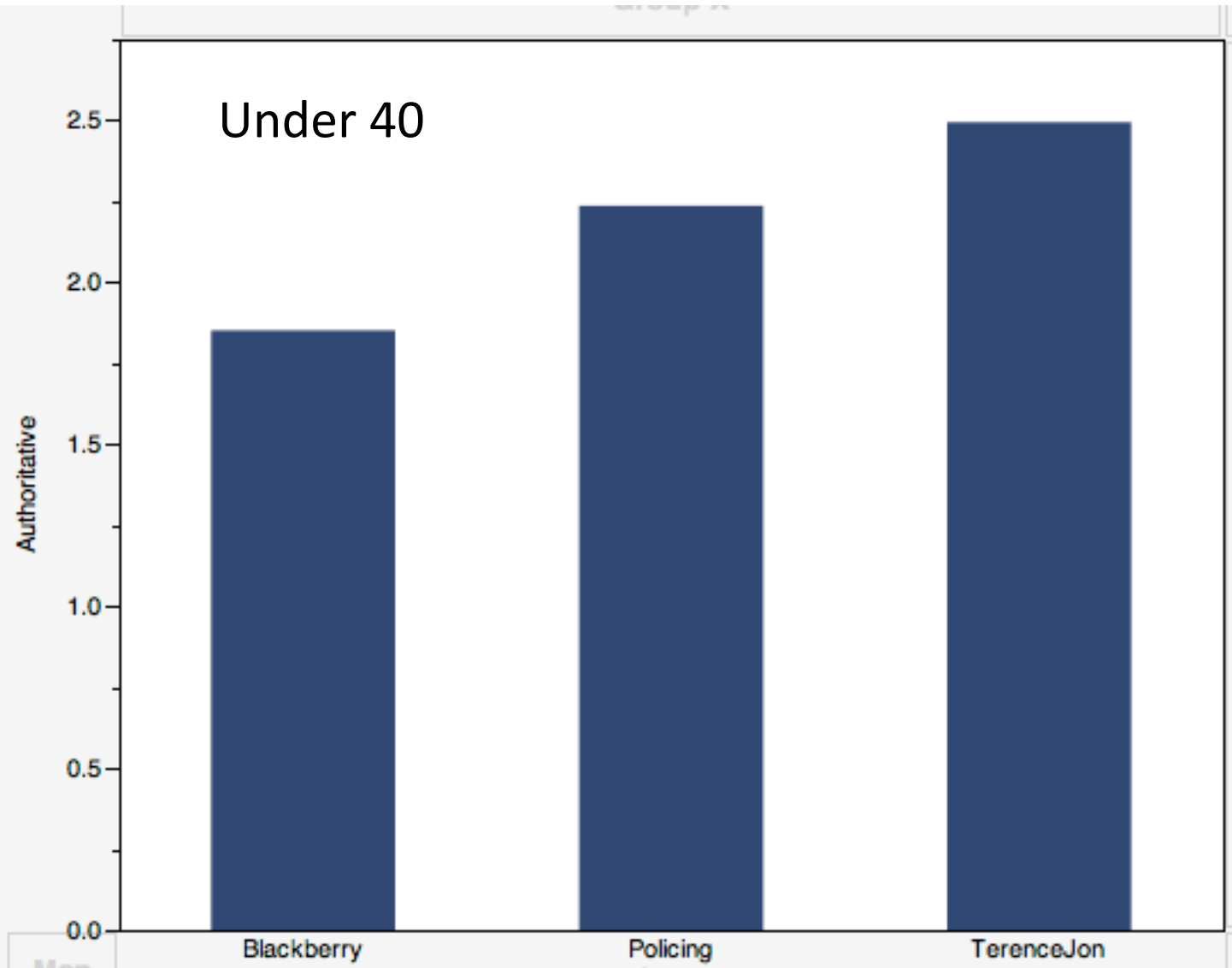


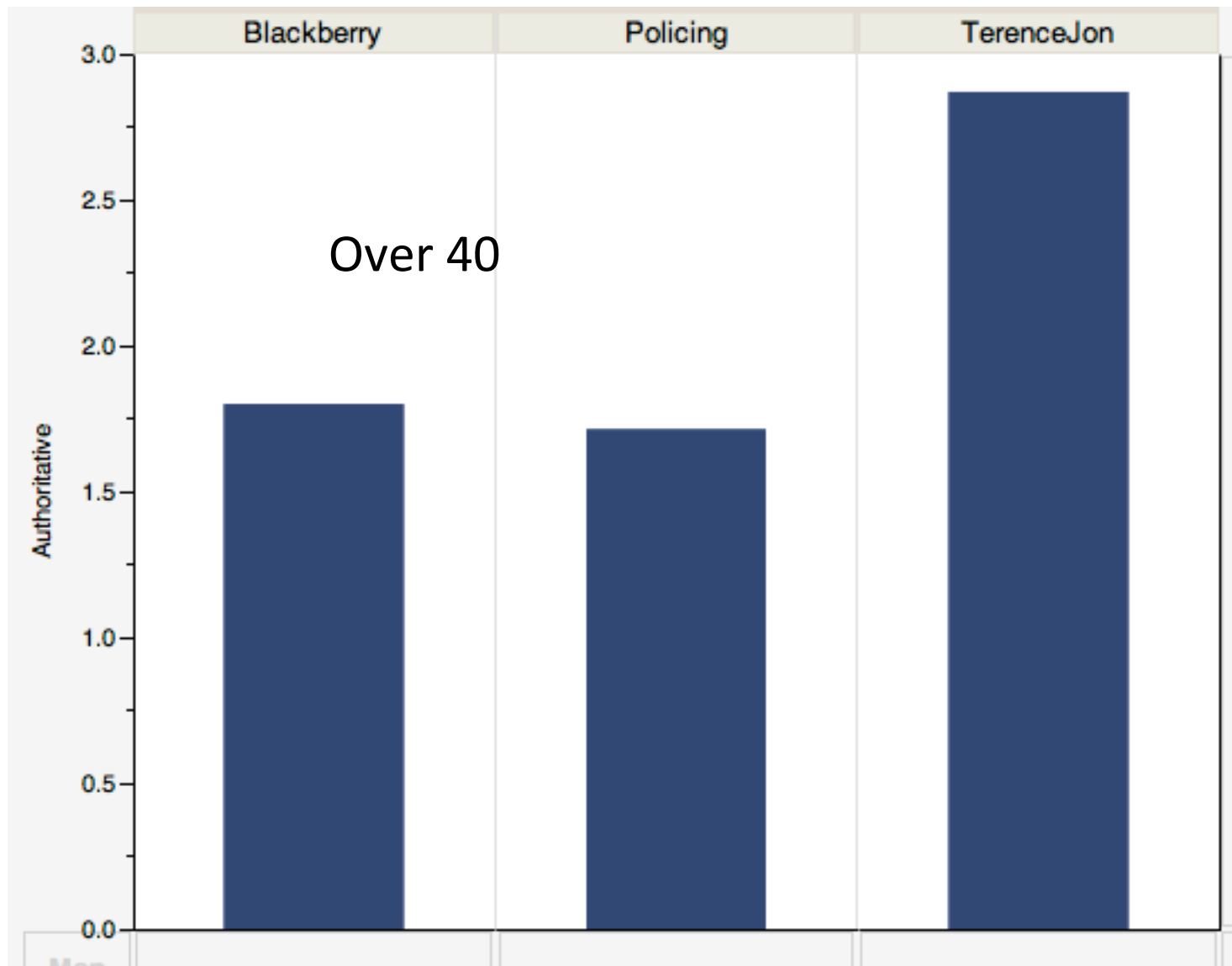
Policing age: $p=.0620$



Policing: over and under 40







Personae

- Change is what makes language viable for human life.
- Social change, like linguistic change, must take place in small enough increments to maintain interpretability.
- Changes in personae constitute small and immediately accessible social changes.



Indexical Obsolescence



- The young are leaders in both social and linguistic change.
- The new personae they construct constitute new distinctions in the social order.
- These distinctions are less interpretable to people who do not participate in the new social order.
- Older people are likely to interpret stylistic changes in terms of an older social order.

