



University
of Glasgow

EXOGENOUS AND ENDOGENOUS CHANGE WITHIN A LEVELLING VARIETY

Sophie Holmes-Elliott

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Introduction



- Incrementation
- How do children advance change?
- Exogenous vs endogenous
- Levelling

Overview



- Intro: incrementation, transmission vs diffusion
- Research aims
- Hastings
- TH-fronting & GOOSE-fronting
- Results
- Wider picture: advancement of change

Incrementation



- Labov (1994) increase of variable form in terms of
 - ▣ Frequency
 - ▣ Extent
 - ▣ Scope
 - ▣ Specificity

Transmission and Diffusion

Transmission

- Unbroken sequence
- Adult to child



Diffusion

- Results from contact
- Adult to adult



Transmission and Diffusion

Transmission

- Faithful replication



Diffusion

- Simplification



NYC, short-*a*, Labov, 2007

- Complex constraints: lexical, syllabic, grammatical
- Preserved in full between generations of NY-ers
- TRANSMISSION

- Spread to Northern New Jersey, Albany etc
- Constraints simplified and reanalysed
- DIFFUSION

High contact situation?

- “Such a clear dichotomy between transmission and diffusion is dependent on the concept of a speech community with *well-defined limits*, a common structural base and a unified set of sociolinguistic norms” Labov (2007)
- Levelling variety?

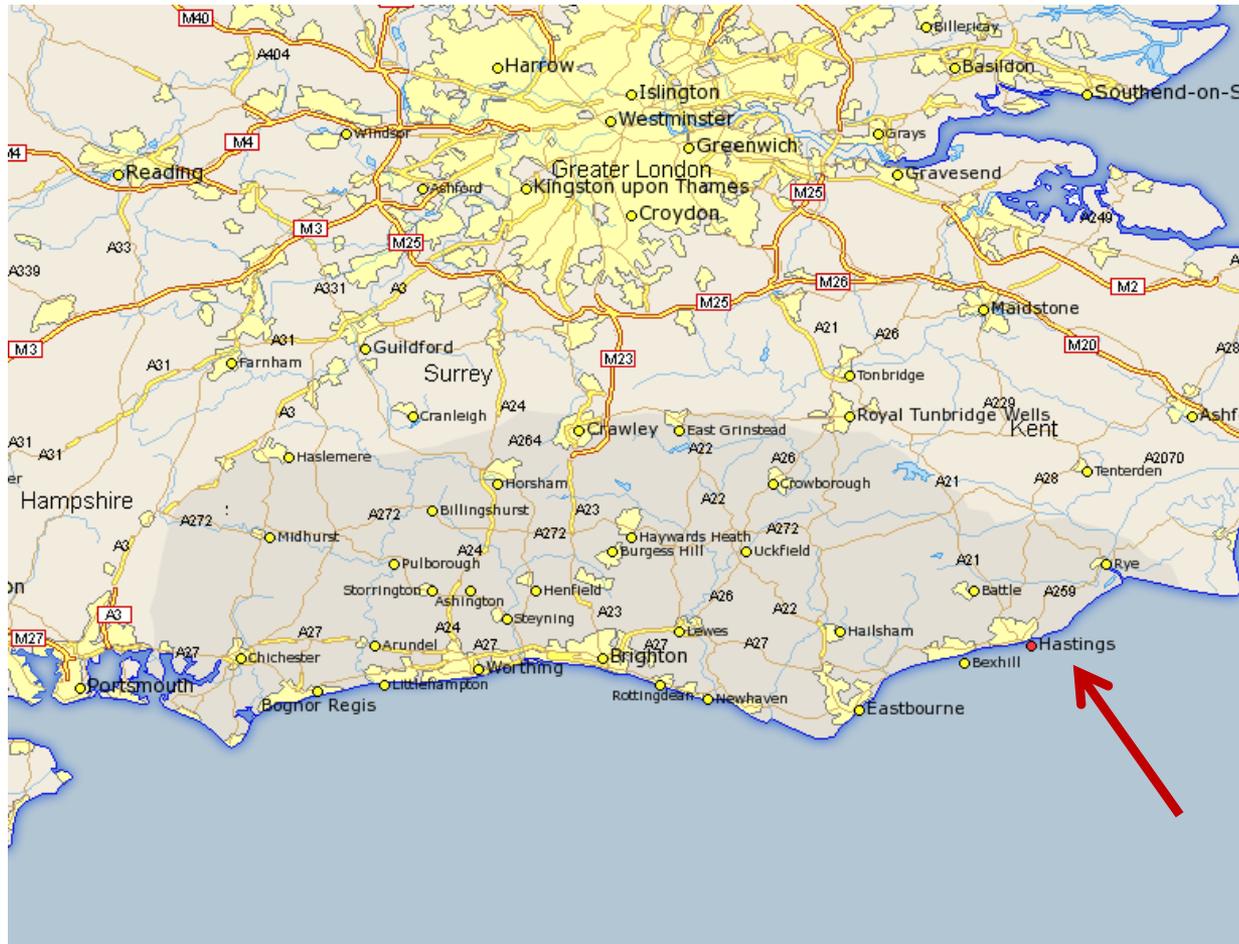
Research Aims

- Compare how two different types of change *pattern* within a levelling variety
- Compare how two different change types of change *increment* within a levelling variety
- How does the youngest cohort advance the change?

Data and method: Hastings



Data and method: Hastings



Sample

	Age range	Number of speakers
Old	60 – 90	9
Middle	35 - 50	11
Young	15 - 18	11
Kids	8 - 11	13

Variables

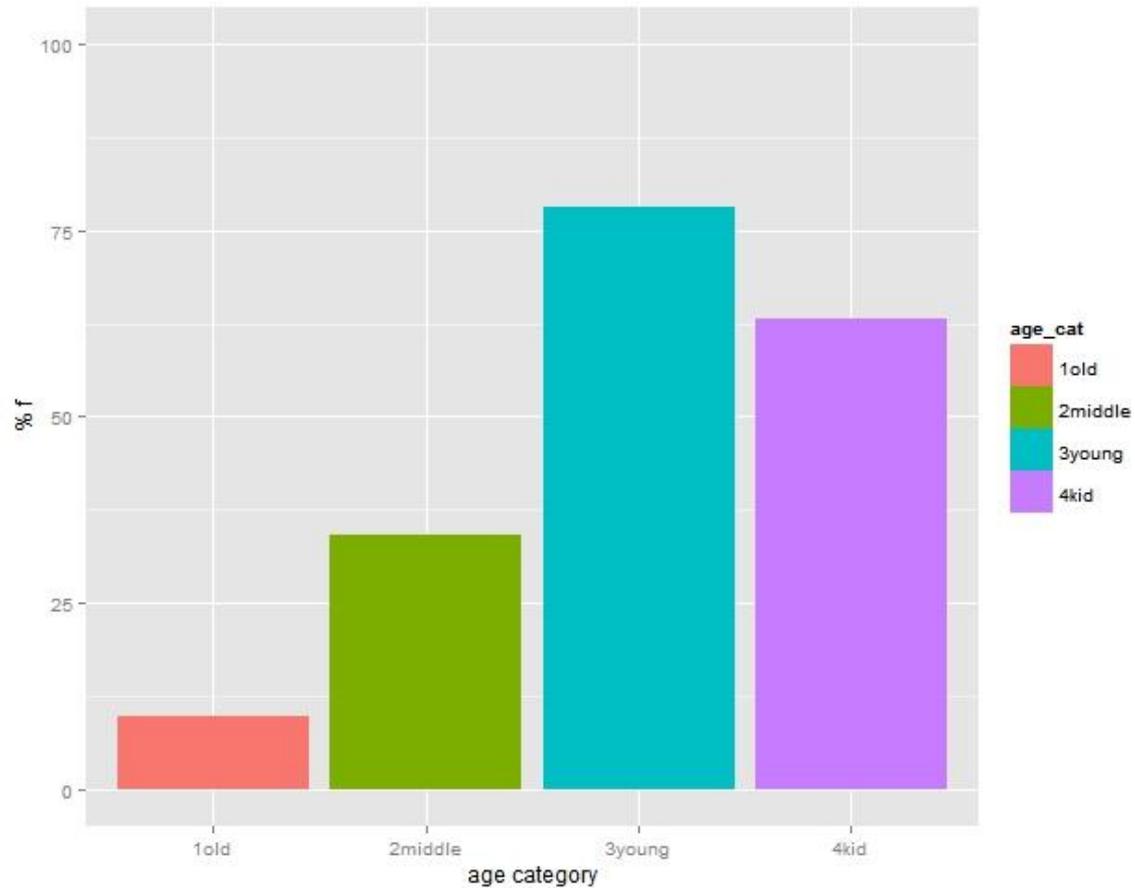
- 1. TH-fronting: **EXOGENOUS**
- GOOSE-fronting: **ENDOGENOUS**

Exogenous: TH-fronting

- Replacement of /θ/ with /f/:
- *I **think** [fiŋk] it was called Hastings **Health** [hɛɫf] **Authority** [ɔforɪti] (Jimmy, 49)*
- Origin: London (Milroy, 2006)
- Salient, non-standard, stereotype



Apparent time TH-fronting



TH-fronting

- Variety of reported constraints:
 - Positional
 - Lexical
 - Phonetic

- Position only significant constraint

Position

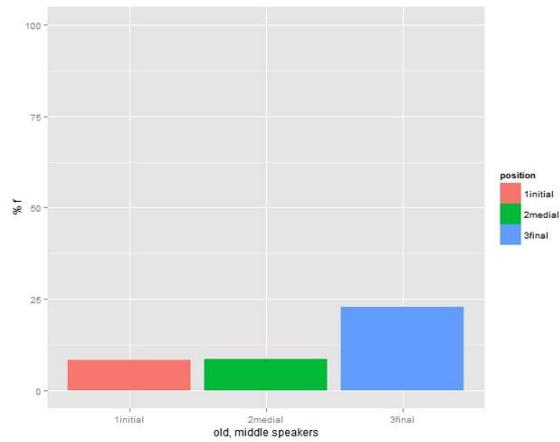
- Final: bath, month, death
- medial: athlete, nothing, ethics
- Initial: thing, three, thorn

- Hierarchy: final > medial > initial

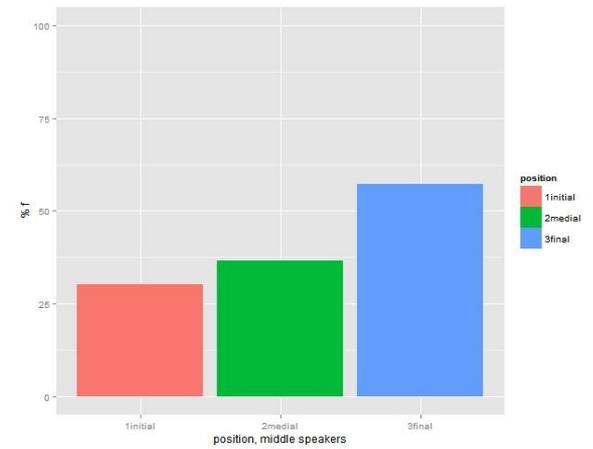
- What do the Hastings cohorts do?

Position

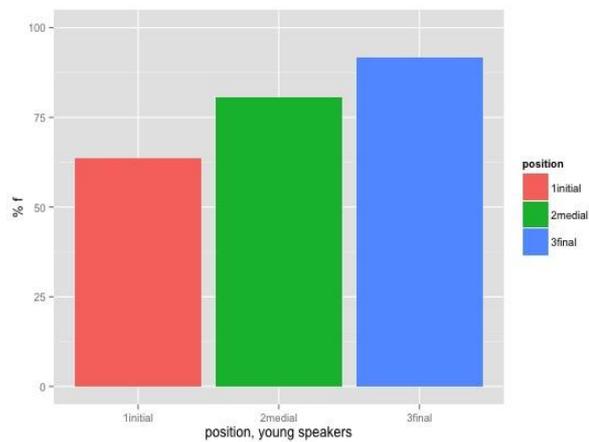
Old



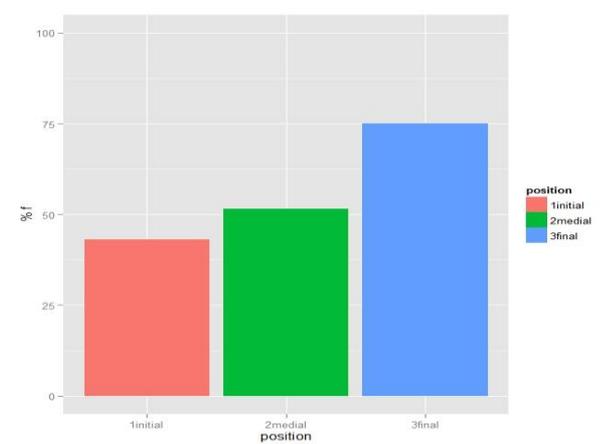
Middle



Young



Kids



Exogenous change: summary

- No consistent or complex constraints
- Position was faithfully replicated
- Incrementation = frequency
- cohorts advance change through increase in use

Endogenous: GOOSE-fronting

- Wells (1982) “those words whose citation form in RP and GenAm has the stressed vowel /u(:)/”
- Checked: *moon, spruce, food*
- Unchecked: *who, crew, due*

- Pre-palatal environment: *news, beauty, few*

- Measured acoustically through second formant
- frontier vowels = higher F2

Moving forward in apparent time

- Much more front than label suggests in a wide range of English varieties:
- British English (Cheshire et al, 2011; Altendorf, 2008; Hawkins & Midley, 2005, Williams & Kerswill, 1999; Flynn, 2012; Hughes 2011; Jansen, 2010)
- American English (Labov, 1994; Clarke et al, 1995; Ash 1996; Fought, 1999; Hall-Lew, 2005; Fridland, 2008),
- Australian English (Cox, 1999)
- New Zealand English (Easton & Bauer, 2000),
- South-African English (Mesthrie, 2010)

Change from below

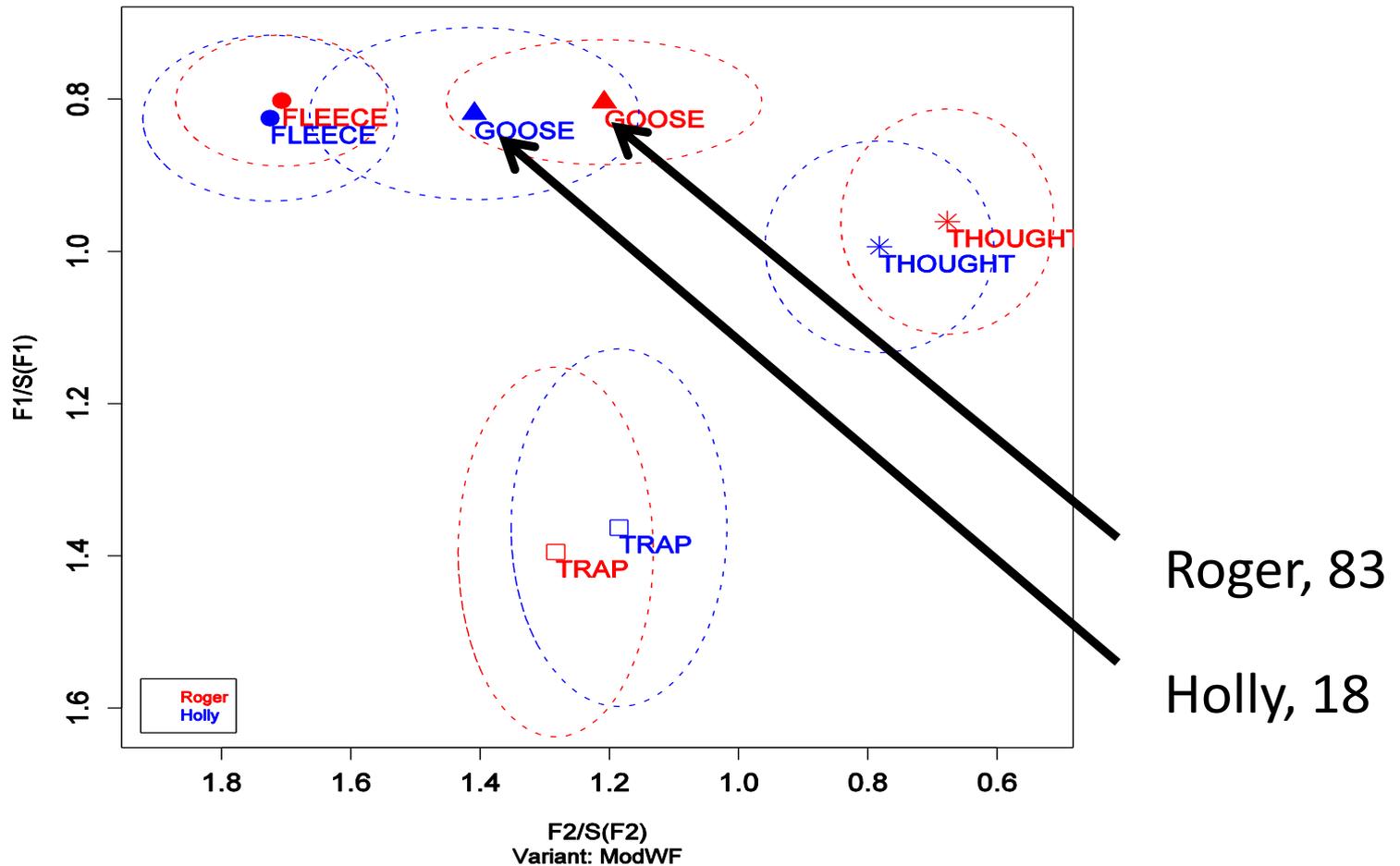
- Phonetically motivated:
 - Labov 1994: back vowels move to the front
 - Fridland 2008: jod promotes fronting
 - Stockwell & Minkova 1997: crowded back vowel space

- No overt social evaluation: not commented upon and does not show style-shifting

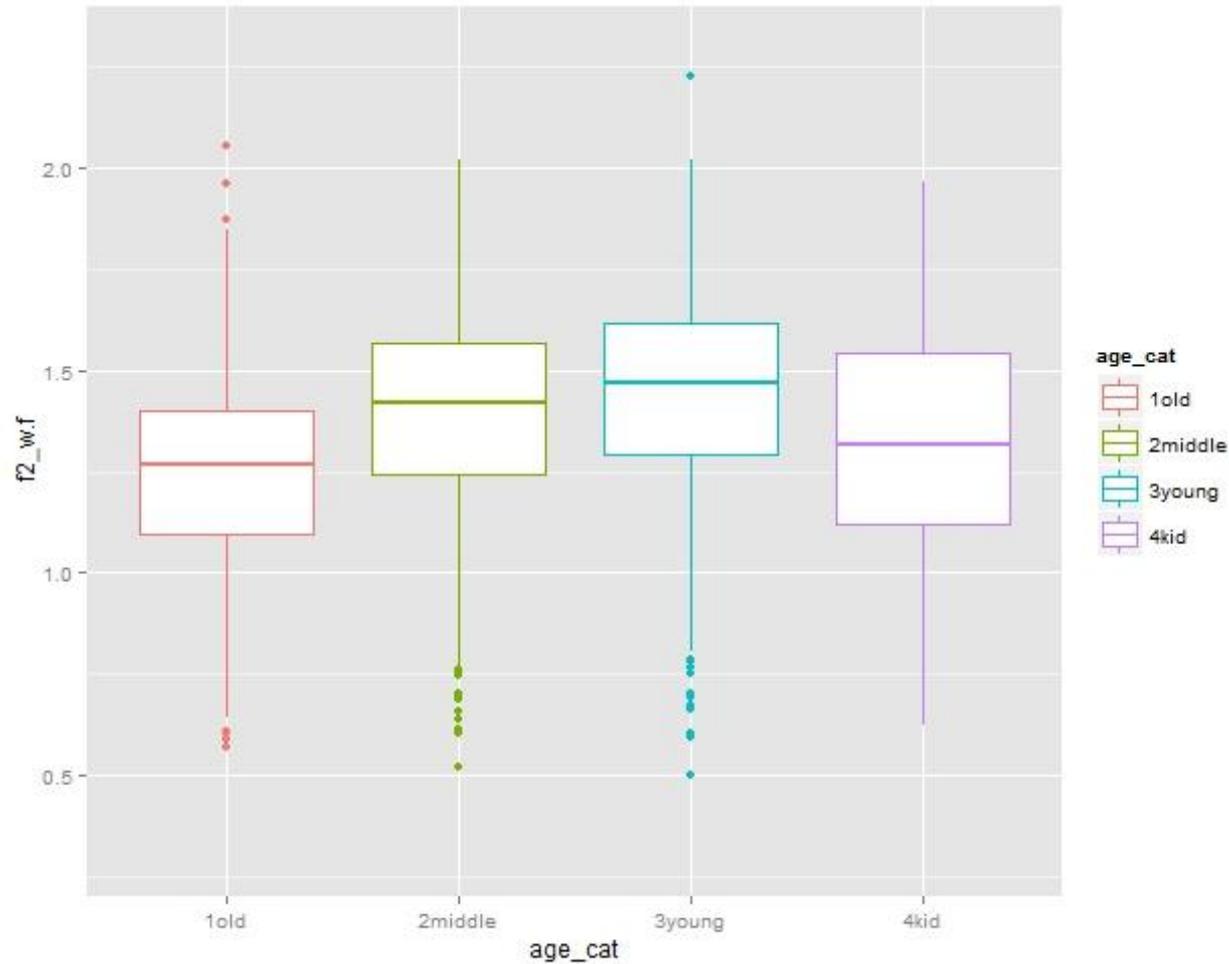
- *“gradual development of the linguistic system in the speech community, driven by factors internal to that community”* Labov, 2007

Acoustics of GOOSE

Roger, male, 83 & Holly, female, 18



Apparent time GOOSE-fronting

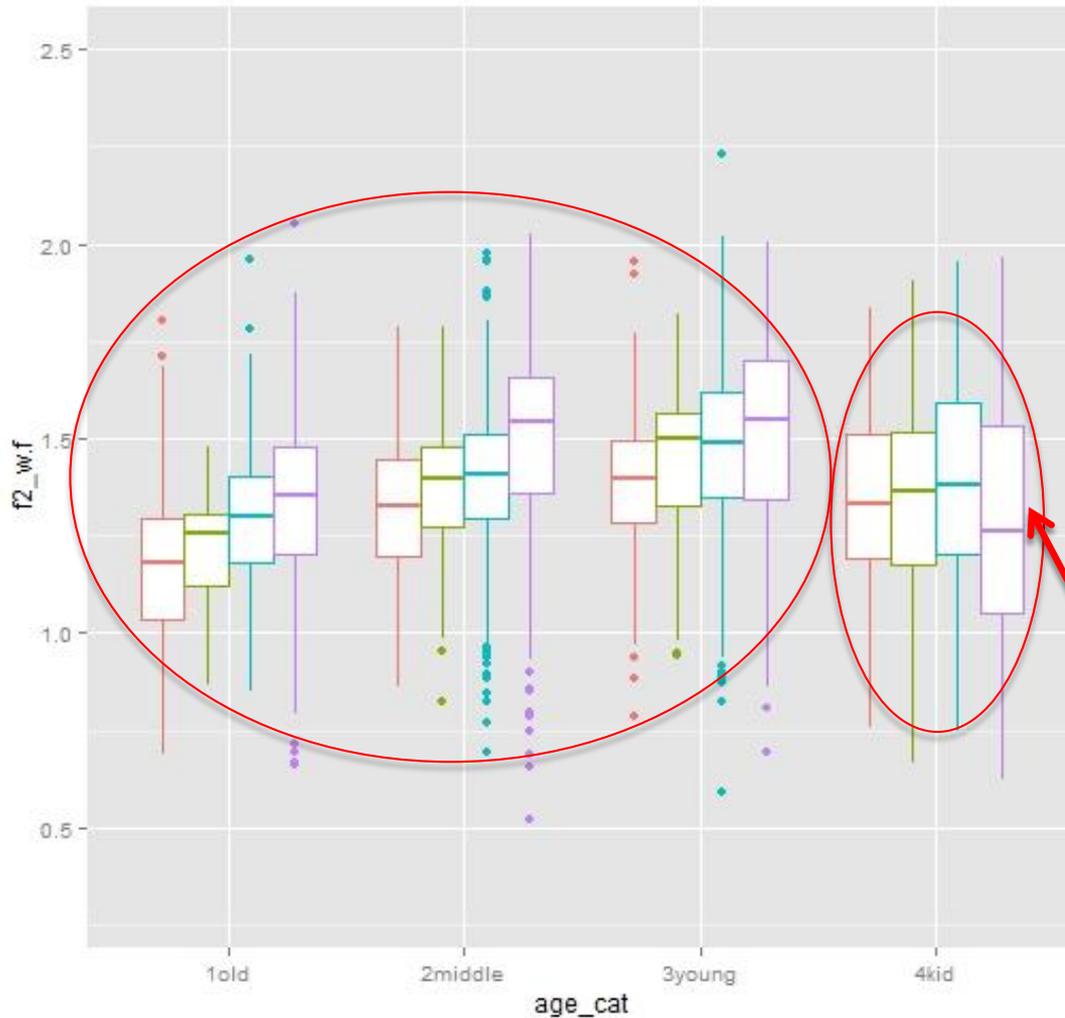


Preceding phonetic context

□ Palatals > coronals > non-coronals > lrw

(Fridland, 2008; Flynn, 2012 Labov, 1994; Clarke et al, 1995; Ash 1996)

Preceding phonetic context



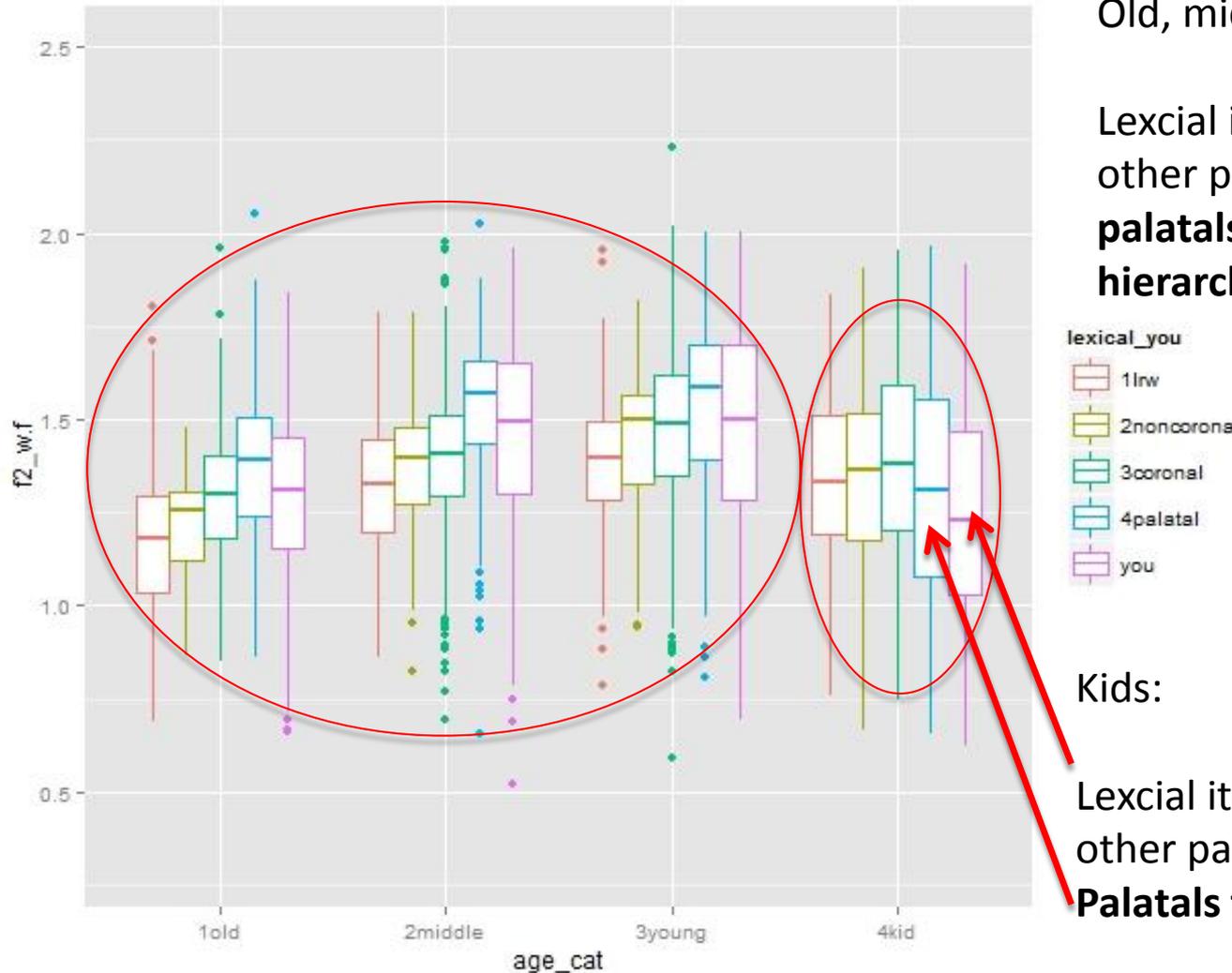
Old, middle and young all replicate classic hierarchy:

Palatals > coronals > noncoronals > lrw

Kids do something different:

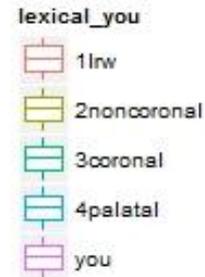
Palatals behind other contexts

Lexical effect?



Old, middle and young:

Lexical item *you* fronts less than other palatals
palatals still in front, regular hierarchy preserved



Kids:

Lexical item *you* fronts less than other palatals
Palatals following suit

What is the mechanism?

- **Reversal?**
- Kerswill, Torgersen & Fox (2008)
- *“Developments in London and the Southeast, then, run counter to the idea of drift. The reason behind this is likely to be dialect contact (with other varieties of English than British), language contact, and contact with L2 Englishes.”*
- Children in sample: highly mixed ethnicity school

What is the mechanism?

- **Incrementation?**
- faithful replication until the youngest cohort where they do something different:
- *“linguistic descent can be preserved even when this replication is imperfect, that is, when language changes. This is the normal type of internal language change”* Labov (2007)

Research aims

- Both features change in apparent time, similar diachronic pattern
- TH-fronting = wipe-out of more complex constraints, then faithful replication of simple one
- Increments = frequency
- GOOSE-fronting = reorganisation in kids' speech
- Increments = frequency and specificity

Incrementation and life-cycle

- GOOSE-fronting in Hastings, earliest stage
- NYC short-a, long development
- *“It is clear that the New York City short-a system is very far from whatever beginnings it had as a simple, phonetically determined sound change. This system has developed the lexical and morphological irregularities characteristic of many late stages of a change”* Labov, 2007

The role of children

- Role of children central to LVC:

Labov, 1989, Kerswill, 1996; Roberts, 1994, 1997, 2002; Foulkes, Docherty & Watt 1999; Smith et al 2007, 2009, 2013

- *“Most of the complicated work leading to the eventual establishment of a new, single norm will be carried out by children under the age of eight.”*
Trudgill, (1986)

Thanks to Jennifer Smith, Jane Stuart-Smith
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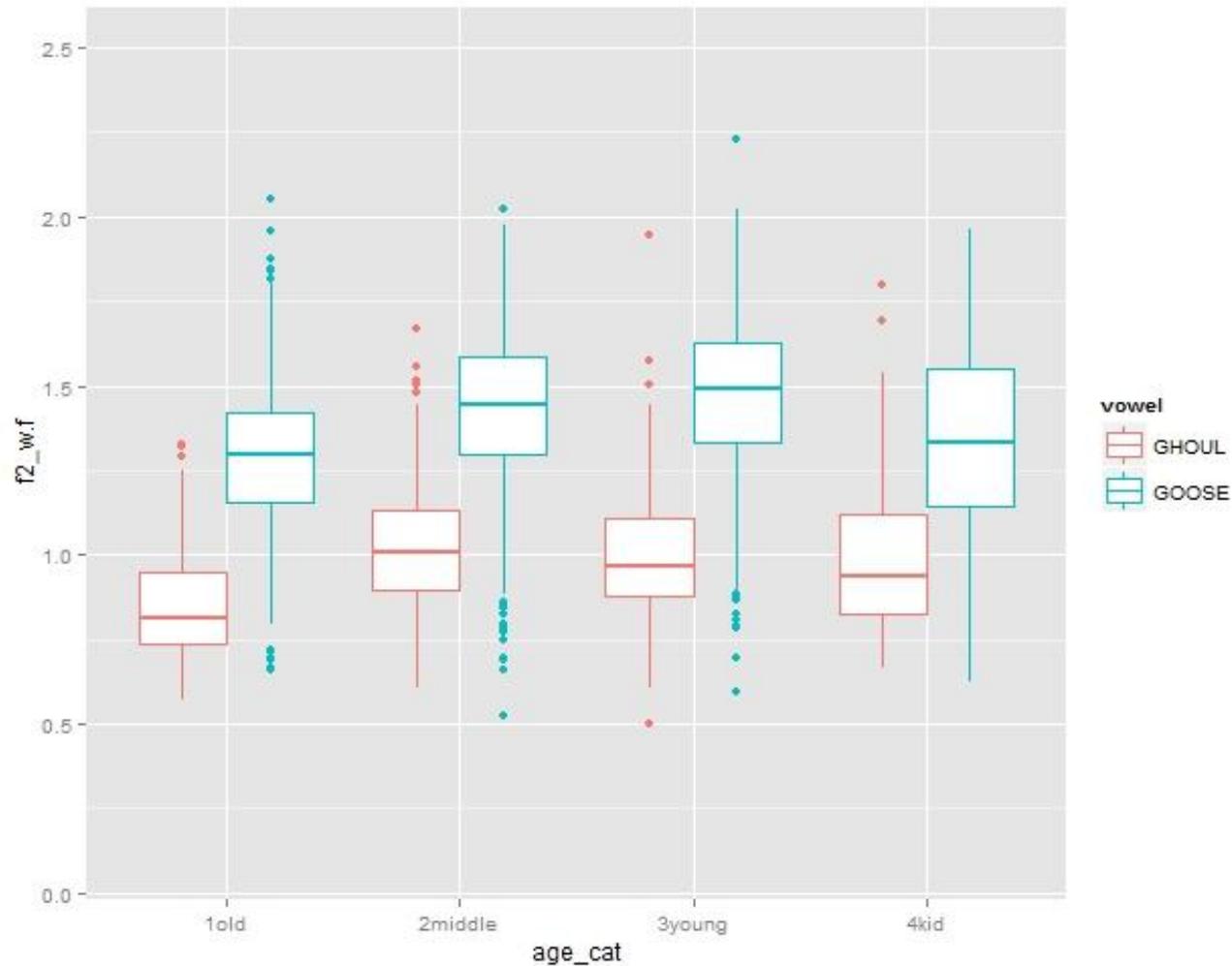
Sophie Holmes-Elliott
University of Glasgow | School of Critical Studies
s.holmes@englang.arts.gla.ac.uk

GOOSE GHOUL split



- Coda –I, blocks fronting
- Rule, school, tool etc

GOOSE GHOUL in apparent time



What is the mechanism?

- **Different model?**
- Cheshire et al (2011), teenage Londoners did not model the constraints of their care-givers
- Meaningful contact with Londoners?