LINGUISTIC INNOVATION

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(1.) PROBLEM

What kind of **Phenomena?**	**Processes** of linguistic innovation	**'The Innovative Speaker'** & **Awareness**
Environment	**Factors** of linguistic innovation	**Metaphors**

(2.) CASES & HEURISTICS

Map 8: Brunlanes (æ), speakers 25–69

Helgeroa

Larvik

Stavern

Hamna

240

260

260

280

280

280
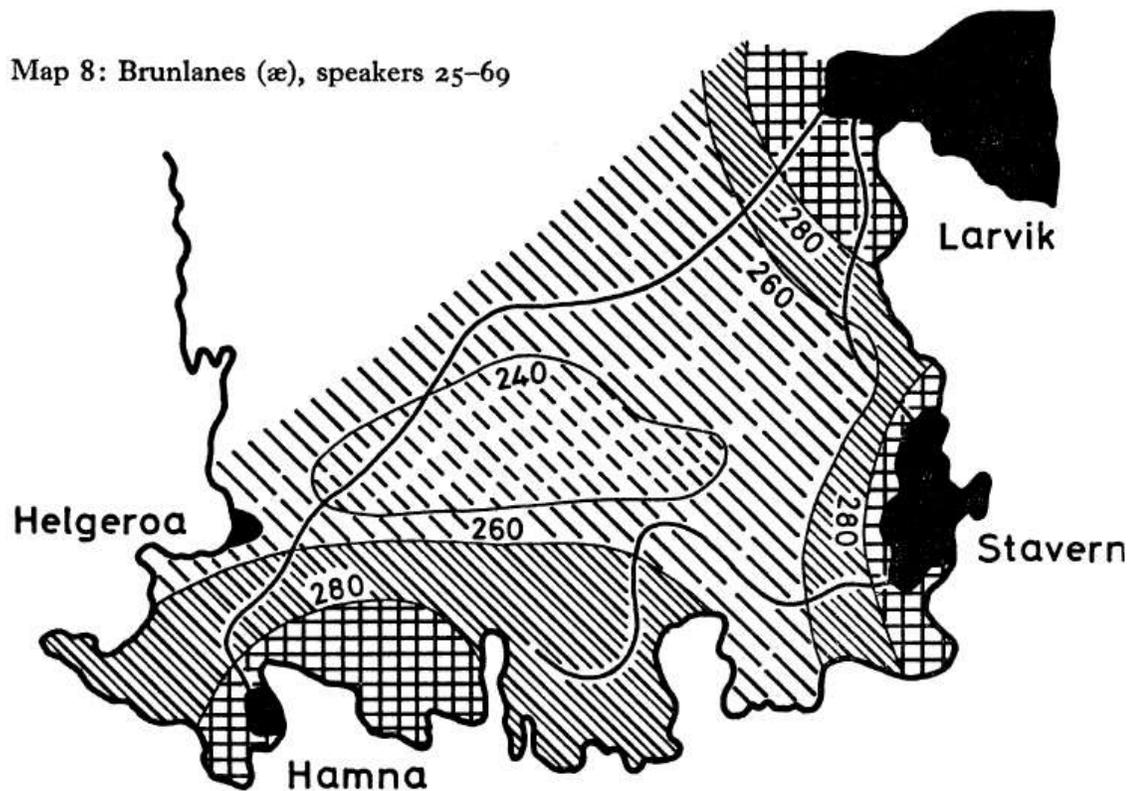
Img. 1 (Trudgill 1974, 231)

(A.) LABOV (1972) & TRUDGILL (1974)

/y/   /i/   /ʉ/   /u/
/ø/   /e/   /o/
        /æ/   /ɑ/

Img. 2 (Trudgill 1974, 225)

- Older speakers: tend to articulate /æ/ as [ɛ]
- Younger speakers: tend to articulate /æ/ as [æ] or even [a]

$$(æ) - 1 = [ɛ]$$
$$(æ) - 2 = [ɛɹ]$$
$$(æ) - 3 = [æ]$$
$$(æ) - 4 = [æ̞]$$
$$(æ) - 5 = [a̞ɪ]$$

Img. 3 (Trudgill 1974, 225)

Table 13.2: Distribution of (r) for complete responses

		% of total responses in		
(r)		*Saks*	*Macy's*	*S. Klein*
All (r-1)	1 1 1 1	24	22	6
Some (r-1)	0 1 1 1	46	37	12
	0 0 1 1			
	0 1 0 1 etc.			
No (r-1)	0 0 0 0	$\dfrac{30}{100}$	$\dfrac{41}{100}$	$\dfrac{82}{100}$
N =		33	48	34

Tbl. 1 Distribution of (r) in NY department stores (Labov 1972, 176)
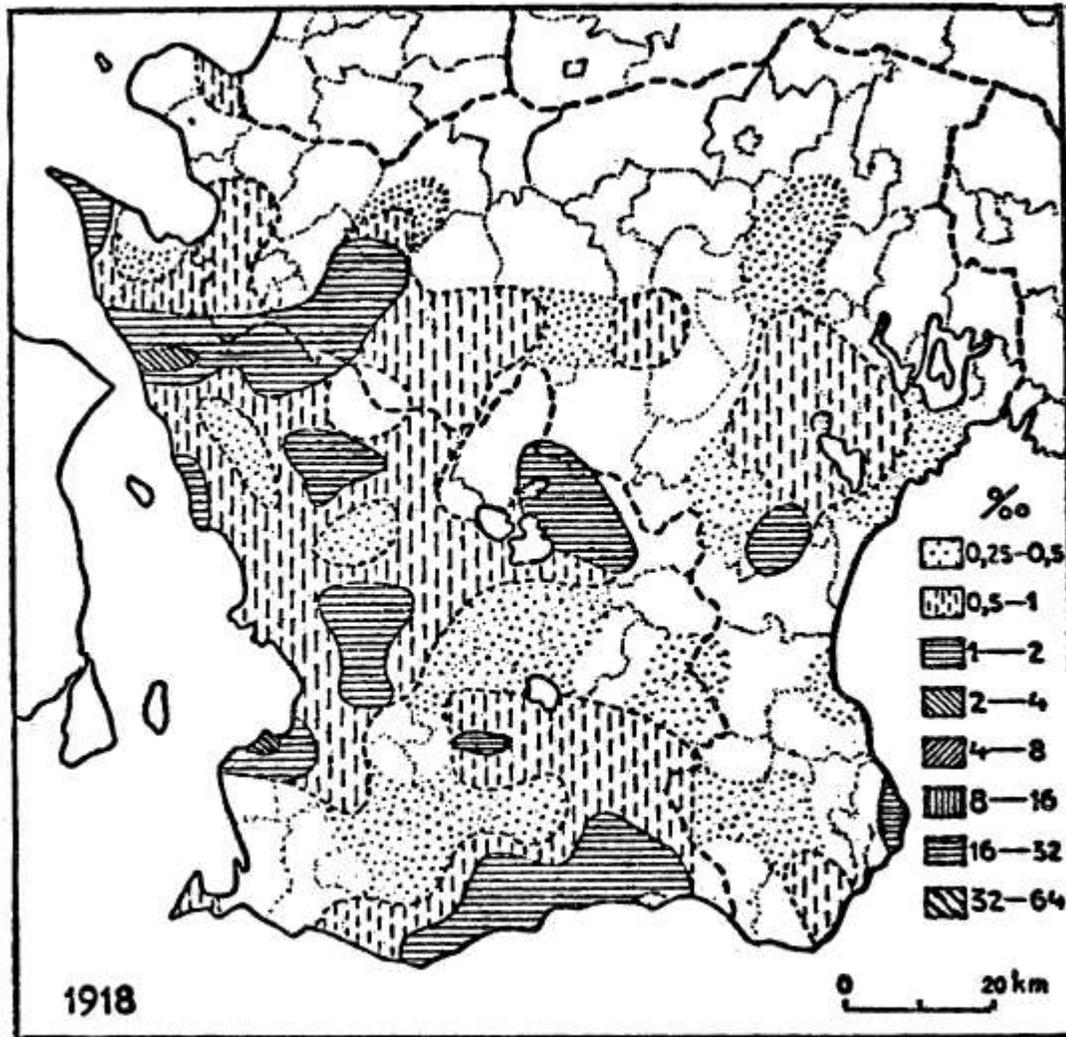
Map 4: Southern Sweden. Motor-cars per 1,000 inhabitants, 1918

Img. 5 (Trudgill 1974, 222)

$$Mij = \frac{PiPj}{(dij)^2}$$

M = interaction
P = population
d = distance

Img. 6 (Trudgill 1974, 234)

Eq. 3: $Iij = s.\dfrac{PiPj}{(dij)^2} \cdot \dfrac{Pi}{Pi+Pj}$

I = influence
Iij = influence of i on j

This yields indices of linguistic influence on Norwich as follows:

London 156
Birmingham 005

Img. 7 (Trudgill 1974, 235)
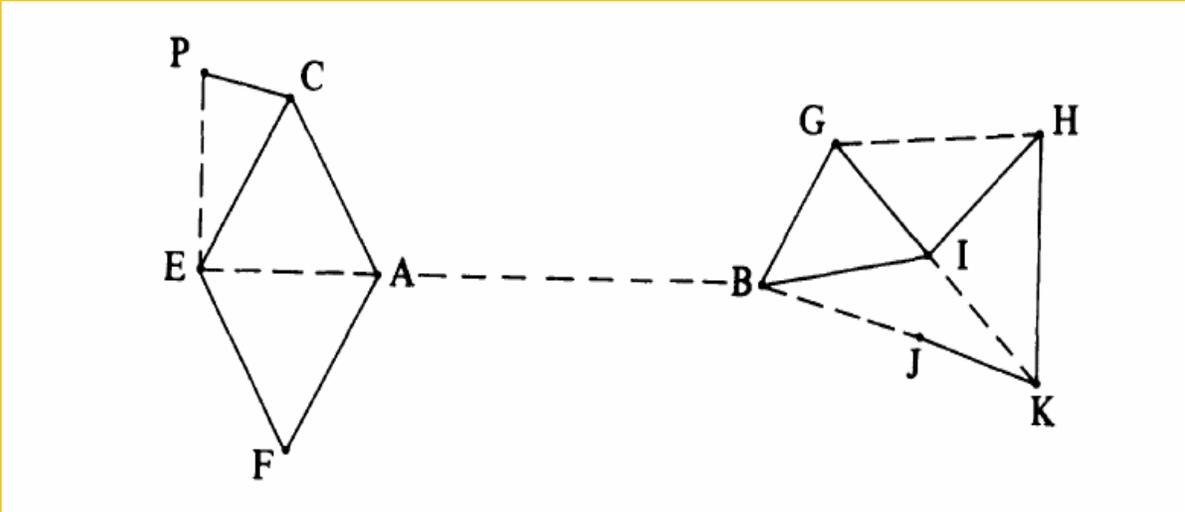
Img. 8 (Milroy & Milroy 1985, 365)

(B.) MILROY & MILROY (1985)

Distribution of different realizations
of two phonemes in Belfast

(i) /ɛ/ raising
+PRESTIGE (more monitored styles)
-CONSERVATIVE
Innovation leaders: WOMEN

(ii) /a/ backing
-PRESTIGE (rather subconscious
styles)
Innovation leaders: MEN

	Change led by	High correlation with network strength
/a/	Males	Females
/ɛ/	Females	Males

Table 5

Contrasting patterns of distribution of two vowels involved in change, according to sex of speaker, relative frequency of innovatory variants and level of correlation with network strength

Img. 9 (Milroy & Milroy 1985, 360)
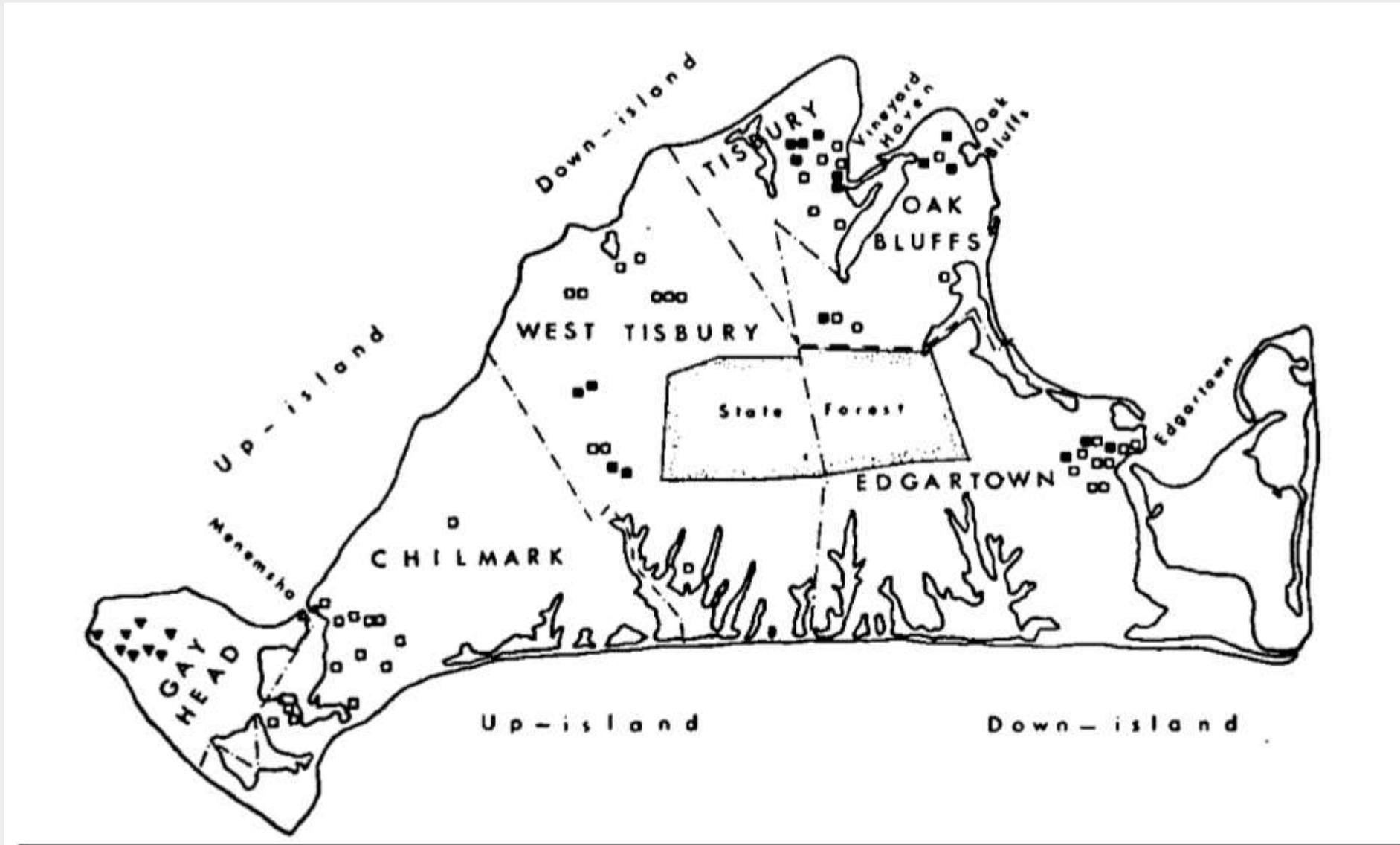
Img. 10 Map of Martha's Wineyard (Labov 1963, 276)

Persons		CI /ai/	CI /au/
40	Positive	0.63	0.62
19	Neutral	0.32	0.42
6	Negative	0.09	0.08

Tbl. 2 Centralization and Orientation towards Martha's Wineyard (Labov 1963, 306)

Three success types of speaker innovation:

(i) Fails to diffuse beyond speaker

(ii) Diffuses into a community the innovator has contact with, but no further

(iii) Diffuses from the first 'infected' community to others
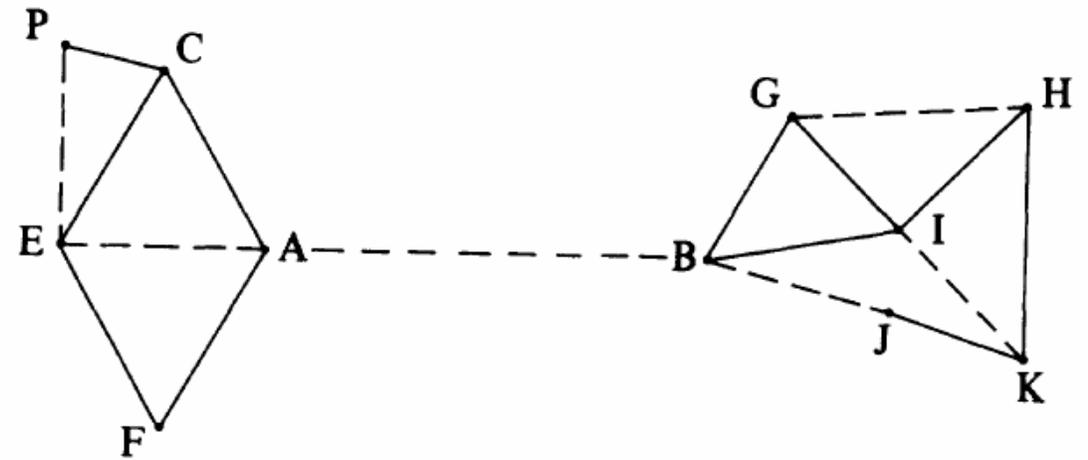
Figure 2
A bridge between two networks. ----, Weak ties; ——, strong ties.

Img. 11 (Milroy & Milroy 1985, 365)

## 'The Innovative Speaker' for Labov (u.a. 1963)

- Highest status (in terms of social class) within local community; largest number of community-external and -internal links

- Lower classes earlier affected by sound change (farest from standard)

- But studies show: upper-working, lower-middle-class indivuduals lead change

'The Innovative Speaker' for Milroy & Milroy (1985)

- **Innovators** are marginal to the group; hold many weak-ties with many social networks

- **Early-adopters** or **'Innovation leaders'** are central to the group; hold many strong ties within the community

	Labov (1972); Trudgill (1974)	Milroy & Milroy (1985)
(1.) Linguistic analysis-areas	- Articulatory changes within one language's phonemic system	
(2.a.) Language Awareness (individual-collective)	/	- Speaker agency (?): innovation as marker of social (class) identity
(2.b.) Innovative Speaker	- Central, prestigious member with strong ties within and outside the group	- Marginal innovators; central innovation leaders with strong ties within
(3.) Process (and reception)	- Waves of language change	- Diffusion through social networks
(4.) Factors-Medium	- Stratified adoption by social class (distance to standard) - Adulthood threshold - Relative weight of 'central places	- Social meaning & prestige of linguistic choices - Speaker's social features (age, sex, class, ethnicity, …)
(5.) Environment	- Field work in small isolated areas - Modelling sound change of big 'Western' national languages	
(6.) Metaphors	- Inner movement of language - Waves from center to center - Social obstacles	- Social networks, strong & weak ties - Network marker, social meaning
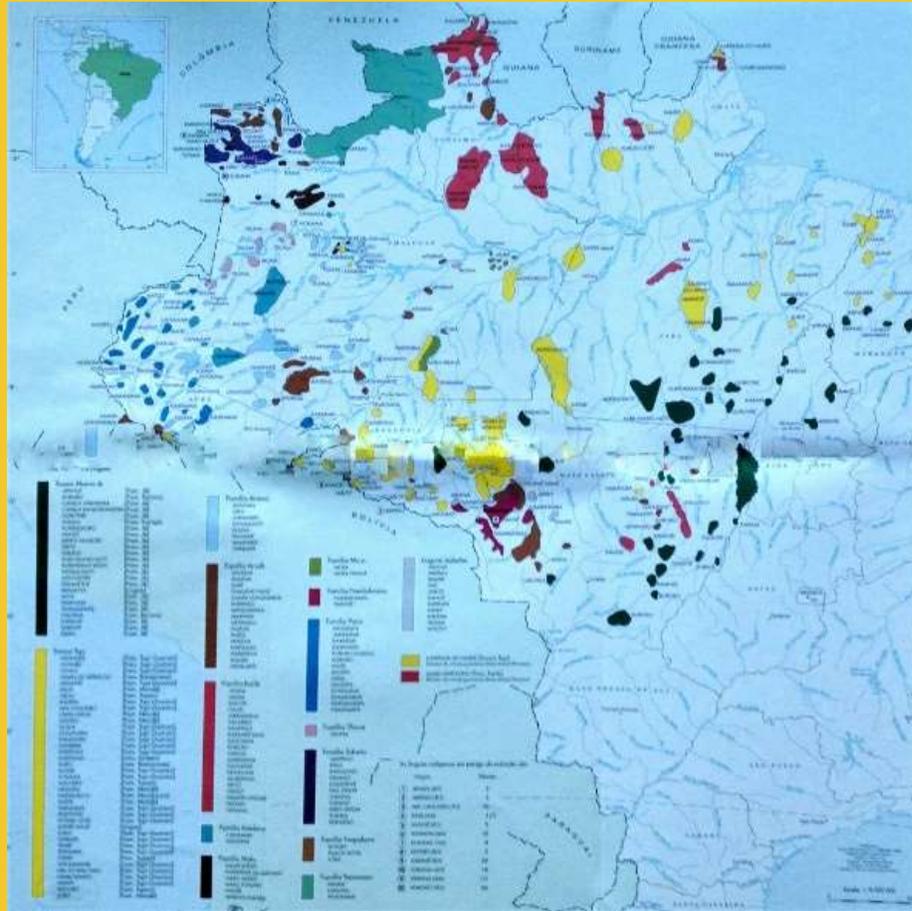
Img. 12 (Queixalós & Renault-Lescure, 2000)

(C.) TARIANA – NORTHWEST AMAZONIA

Img. 13 Areal (Epps:2013, pp. 333)

(1.)	Tariana (Aikhenvald:2001)			
	ne-na	*di-swa*	*diha*	*ma:t∫ite*	*bena*
	then.REMP.P.VIS	3.SG.GNF-lie	3.SG.PRON	Bad.NCL.ANIM	INDX
	'Then [there] it [the tapir] lay, the bad one. Wow!'				

(2.)	Tariana (Aikhenvald:2001)	
	nu-we-ri-yana	*d-hepa-mhade-ba*
	1.SG.POSSR-younger.sibling.POSSD-MASC-PEJ	3.SG.A.-EV
	' My naughty/stupid younger brother will obviously answer [me]'	

(3.)	Tariana (Aikhenvald:2001)	(4.)	Tariana (Aikhenvald:2001
	nu-ha-do		nu-ha-nir
	1.SG.POSSR-KINSHIP-POSSD.FEM		1.SG.POSSR-KINSHIP-POSSD.MAS
	'My mother'		'My father'

(5.)	East (Aikhenvald:2001)	Tucano	(6.)	East (Aikhenvald:2001	Tucano
	yɨ' ɨ	*pa-co*		*yɨ' ɨ*	*pa-cɨ*
	1.SG.POSSR	KINDSHIP-POSSD.FEM		1.SG.POSSR	KINDSHIP-POSSD.MAS
	'My mother'			'My father'	

(7.)	Tariana (Aikhenvald:2001)		(8.)	Tariana (Aikhenvald:2001)	
	nu-ha	*ha-do*		*nu-ha*	*ha-niri*
	1.SG.POSSR-KIN.POSSD	KINDSHIP-POSSD.FEM		1.SG.POSSR-KIN.POSSD	KINDSHIP-POSSD.MAS
	'My mother'			'My father'	

Areally Diffused patterns and morphosyntactic awareness			
Inherited structures from Arawak	Evaluation	Diffuse patterns from East Tucano	Evaluation
Possession via prefixes	Correct	Possession via juxtaposition of terms	Incorrect
Serial verbs	Correct	Verb compounding	Incorrect
Clause sequencing via -ka	Correct	Clause sequencing via -ri (nominalizer)	Incorrect

Tbl. 3 (Aikhenvald:2001)

'This does not sound quite right. Our fathers used to say it differently. (…) This is almost like Tucano'

- Maye, one of the language authorities -
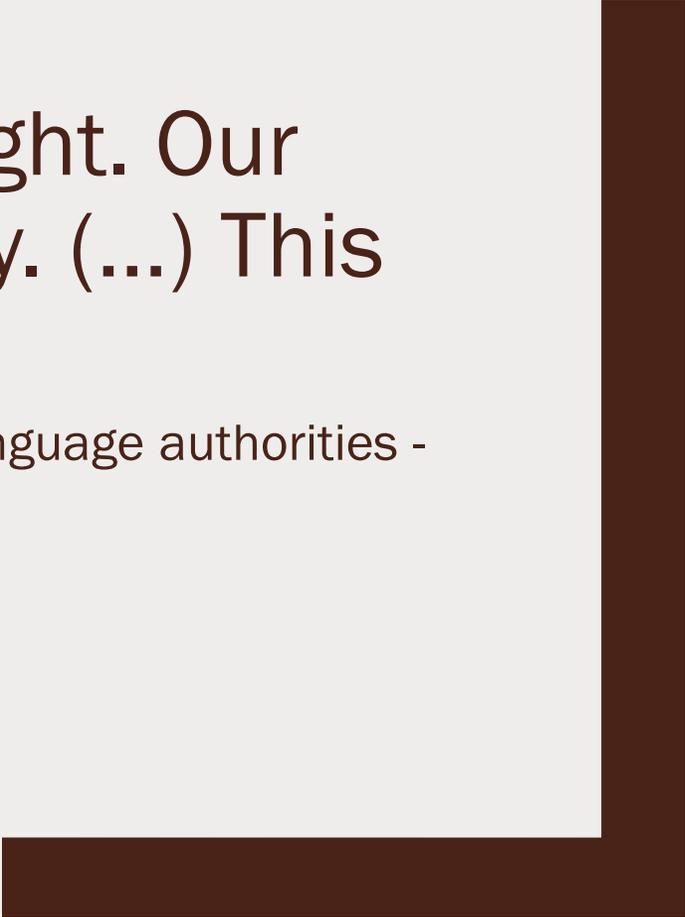
Img. 14 Wikipedia

(D.) NAHUATL IN TLAXCALA

(1.)	Nahuatl-Purism		(2.)	Spanish-Purism	
	ome	*tlaxtlāwi-ø*		*dos*	*mes-es*
	two.NUM	tortilla-SG		two.NUM	month-MAC.PL
	'two tortillas'			'Two months'	

(3.)	Nahuatl-Sort		(4.)	Spanish-Sort	
	ome	*mes-ø*		*dos*	*tlaxtlāwi-h*
	Two.NUM	month-SG		two.NUM	tortilla-PL
	(literally) 'two month'			'two tortillas'	

(5.)	Nahuatl (Hill & Hill:1980)
	putoh mitztlacatilih in monanah
	'Your mother bore you in whoredom'.
(6.)	Nahuatl (ibid.)
	xnechmaca mohuelti
	'Give me your sister!'

| (7.)	Nahuatl (Hill & Hill:1980)
	necuhli
	'Pulque'
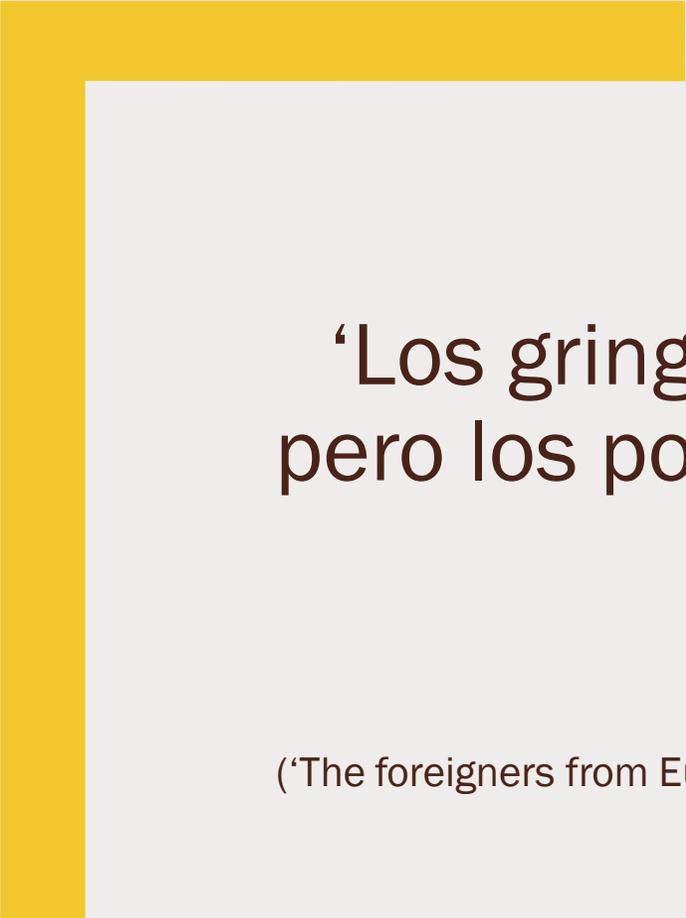
'Los gringos de Europa toman vino de ley, pero los pobres mexicanos toman pulque de maguey'

- Anonimous -

('The foreigners from Europe drink wine with legal stamps, but the poor Mexicans drink pulque from maguey')
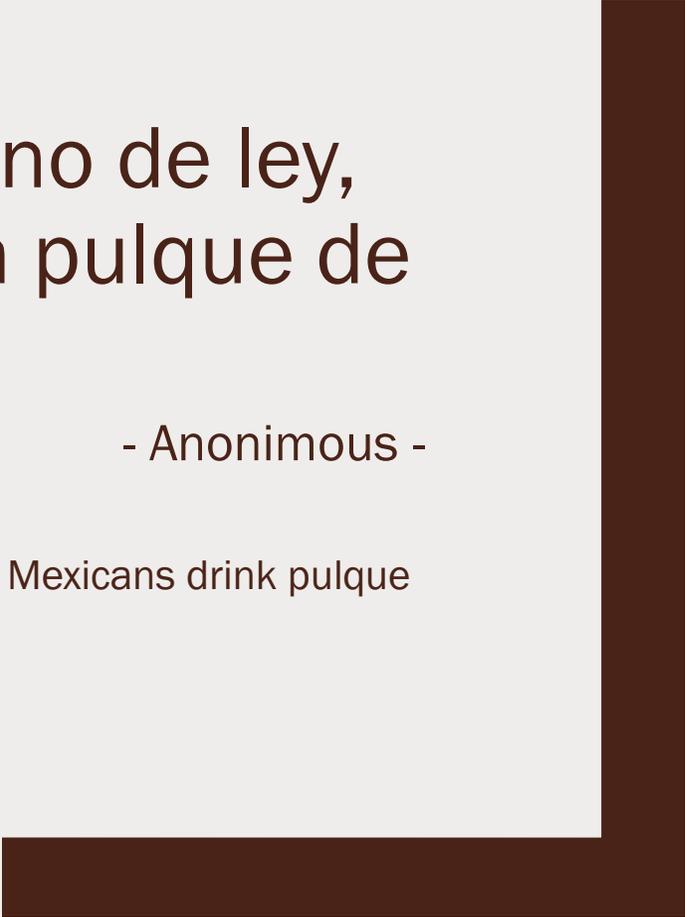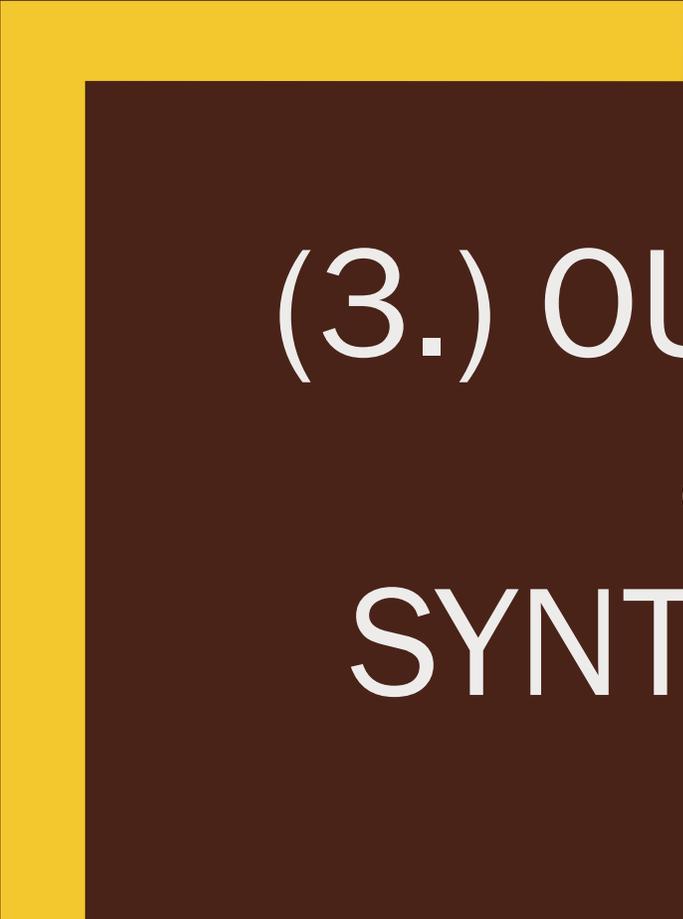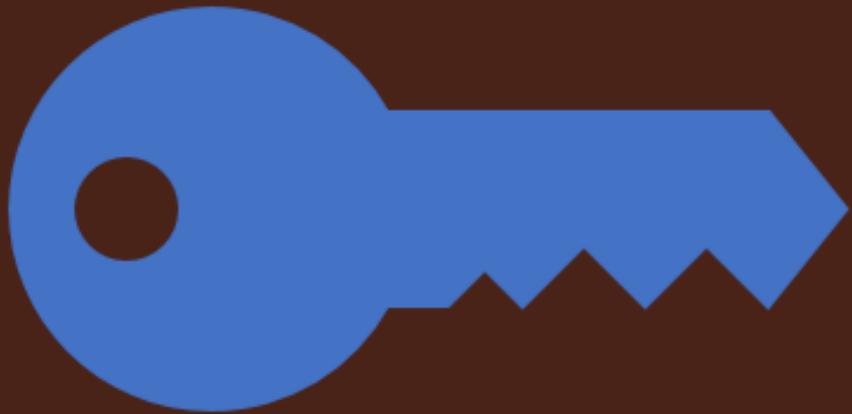
(3.) OUTLOOK & SYNTHESIS

	Labov (1972); Trudgill (1974)	Milroy & Milroy (1985)	Tariana – Northwest Amazonia	Nahuatl – Tlaxcala
(1.) Linguistic analysis-areas	- Articulatory changes within one language's phonemic system		- Morphology - Phonology - Morphosyntax - Syntax	- Lexical - Honorifics - Nummerals
(2.a.) Language Awareness (individual-collective)	/	- Speaker agency (?): innovation as marker of social (class) identity	- Monitoring process - Generational awareness - Typology of awareness	- Language attitudes - ‚Consciousness tests' - Ethnic-consciousness - Sorters Vs. Mixers
(2.b.) Innovative Speaker	- Central, prestigious member with strong ties within and outside the group	- Marginal innovators; central innovation leaders with strong ties within	- Individual Speech	/
(3.) Process (and reception)	- Waves of language change	- Diffusion through social networks	- Perception Differences - Social authority (elders) - Forms Vs Patterns	- Boundary-marking - Functional split - Language of power - Ethnic Solidarity - Stigmatization
(4.) Factors-Medium	- Stratified adoption by social class (distance to standard) - Adulthood threshold - Relative weight of 'central places	- Social meaning & prestige of linguistic choices - Speaker's social features (age, sex, class, ethnicity, …)	- Ideologies (Correct Vs. Incorrect) - Language of Nostalgia	- Civil purism - Political-economic pressures - Reorganization of working life
(5.) Environment	- Field work in small isolated areas - Modelling sound change of big 'Western' national languages		- Social exclusion & status - Historical Factors - Language contact - Inheritance - Multilingualism	- Bliligualism - The Conquest & Alliances
(6.) Metaphors	- Inner movement of language - Waves from center to center - Social obstacles	- Social networks, strong & weak ties - network marker, social meaning	/	/

- Which social factors favour or inhibit the creation, adoption or rejection, of Linguistic Innovation?

- Who is to determine what a Linguistic Innovation is?

- Why do speakers create Linguistic Innovations in a certain direction?

- Why do speakers adopt or reject Linguistic Innovation?

- Where to search for (i) speaker awareness and (ii) Linguistic Innovation?

- How social, historical, personal factors undermine language awareness?

- Where are monitoring processes based on?

- How do internal and external factors of language change interact?

Check-List

1. Problem:

- Analysis categories

2. Cases & Heuristics :

- Labov, Milroy, Innovativ Speaker, Tariana and language monitoring, Nahuatl

3. Outlook & Synthesis

- Categories-particularities, open questions

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