

Language Change

Dr. Refnaldi, M.Litt.



INTRODUCTION

Congratulation! You have successfully finished Module 7. Welcome to Module 8. This module deals with language change. Due to its broad coverage, the materials and discussion of language change can be easily packed into one module. Thus, we need to limit our discussion on the main issues related to the key concepts of language change, aspects of language change and the relationship between language change and language teaching. After finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. explain and provide some examples of the key concepts of language change;
2. explain and critically argue the causes of language change;
3. explain and provide some examples of social network;
4. analyze the external aspects of language change;
5. analyze the internal aspects of language change;
6. explain and critically argue the role of language change in English language teaching.

To achieve these objectives systematically, the materials of this module are presented respectively as follow:

1. Unit 1: Key Concepts of Language Change
2. Unit 2: Aspects of Language Change
3. Unit 3: Language Change and English Language Teaching

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order to learn this module successfully.

1. Please read carefully the materials and explanation in each unit.

2. Then, read further related references and information by means of independent learning and reading.
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have discussion in groups or in pairs.
4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, read the materials again and you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do all the exercises and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided!

All right students, do your best and good luck!

UNIT 1

Key Concepts of Language Change

A. DEFINITIONS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

1. Definitions and Examples

My grandparents did not talk the way I talk. For example, my mother's father never used the Minangkabaunese word *piriang* referring to a plate. Instead, he always said *cipia*. My mother said the same word; however, I have never said that word, and even in childhood I considered it strange. Other today's young people also have very likely noticed that their parents or their grandparents speak or spoke a little differently from them. And, if they have children or grandchildren, they have almost certainly heard their children saying things that they would never say. Everywhere we can observe that we might find differences in speech between the generations. Each generation speaks a little differently because our language is always changing. And not just our language: every language is always changing. There is no such thing as a living language that fails to change. This is a piece of truth on which we can rely absolutely.

The example illustrated above, again, shows that languages always change. On a personal level, in day-to-day communication; however, this may not be easily apparent or obvious. We are so intimately connected to our language that we may fail to see its changes, in much the same way that our closeness to our children obscures perception of their development. But languages do indeed change. Some languages flourish and expand and some languages die. The above illustration depicts how the communication pattern in one family shifts from one language to another until communication between generations becomes difficult or ceases altogether. This is often the case in immigrant families as the children integrate into mainstream society and begin to lose their home language. Another example of language change is the observation in Pohnpei that the "high language" of respect used by the royal clan and also to address them is slowly dying out with a diminishing number of people capable of speaking it (Tawerilmang 1996).

There is a widespread legend about a remarkable village, as quoted in Trask (2010: 1), in the Appalachians or in Derbyshire or somewhere distant from London and New York, where the locals still speak pure and unchanged

Elizabethan English. It does not exist. Nobody on earth has spoken Elizabethan English since the time of Queen Elizabeth I, around 400 years ago. Similarly, there is nobody alive today who speaks Minagkabaunese English the way Yahya Datuak Kayo spoke it, or the way Syekh Djamil Djambek spoke it, or the way Agus Salim spoke it, or the way Buya Hamka spoke it.

What is the coloured stuff that women sometimes put on their cheeks called? The first recorded English name for this stuff is ‘paint’, recorded from 1660. In those days, both men and women of certain social classes painted their faces: you may have seen the garishly painted faces of the dandies in portraits of the time. In 1753, a new word appeared in English: ‘rouge’. The first writer to use this French word thought it necessary to explain to his readers that rouge was the same thing as paint. But rouge soon displaced paint, and it remained the usual English word for around two centuries. In the 1950s, ‘rouge’ was the only word anybody ever used. Then, in 1965, an advertisement coined a new word for the product: ‘blusher’. This word has gradually displaced ‘rouge’. When English people recently heard a fashionable young woman call it ‘rouge’, they almost fell over with astonishment because they had not heard anyone use the word for decades, and associated it with styles which were already ancient (Trask, 2010:2).

The example illustrated above shows that language change results from the differential propagation of linguistic variants distributed among the linguistic repertoires of communicatively interacting individuals in a given community. In addition, Michael (2015:484) says that language change is socially mediated in two important ways. First, since language change is a social-epidemiological process that takes place by propagating some aspect of communicative practice across socially structured networks, the organization of social groups can affect how variants propagate. It is known, for example, that densely connected social networks tend to be resistant to innovations, whereas more sparsely connected ones are more open to them. Second, social and cultural factors, such as language ideologies, can encourage the propagation of particular variants at the expense of others in particular contexts, likewise contributing to language change.

2. Universals of Change and Directionality Constraints

Most of the time, historical linguists are occupied with the business of describing language change, which is quite a challenging task in itself, given

that change is so difficult to observe. But ultimately we would also like to understand language change to the extent possible, or in other words, we want to answer why-questions such as “Why does language structure change in the way it does?”, “Why do languages change at all?”, “What motivates the occurrence of language change?” and so on.

Linguists working on particular languages are also often interested in particular why-questions such as the question “Why did the Romance languages lose the Latin case inflections?”. But unfortunately, particular why-questions of this kind are for most practical purposes unanswerable. The number of factors affecting language change is so enormous and we can control only so few of them that most change events must appear to us as historical accidents. Latin could have kept its cases, even with all the phonological erosion that made them difficult to distinguish, simply by applying morphological changes serving to preserve the case contrasts. Or Latin could even have developed more cases the way Hungarian and Finnish did. It so happened that it lost its cases, and trying to understand this unique historical event typically leads to frustration. In general, understanding requires that we identify non-accidental phenomena, and for understanding language change, this means that we have to find universals of language change (Haspelmath, 2004: 18).

To illustrate what Haspelmath means by universals of language change, a few random examples of proposed universals of language change (of different degrees of generality) are given in (1).

- (1) a. Survival of the Frequent (“Unmarked”)
 - (e.g. Winter, 1971; Wurzel, 1994)
 - When a grammatical distinction is given up, it is the more frequent category that survives.
 - (e.g. plural forms survive when dual/plural distinction is lost).
- b. Sound Alternations Result from Sound Change
 - (phonetics > phonology; *morphology > phonology)
- c. From Space to Time (e.g. Haspelmath, 1997b)
 - (spatial > temporal marker; *temporal > spatial marker)
- d. From Something to Nothing (e.g. Haspelmath, 1997a)
 - ‘something’ > ‘nothing’ (*‘nothing’ > ‘something’)
- e. From Esses to Aitches: s > h (*h > s) (e.g. Ferguson, 1990)

These are all general laws which we can potentially explain, and when we have such an explanation, we can apply it to individual instances of these universals. For example, we might want to say that the universal “Survival of the Frequent” is explained with reference to the cognitive notion of frequency-induced entrenchment (Bybee, 1985: 119): A frequent linguistic unit is remembered better because frequency of exposure leads to greater memory strength. When a distinction is given up, only the most entrenched category survives. Now let us take an individual instance of the Survival of the Frequent, say, the fact that when the Classical Greek dual/plural distinction was given up, only the plural forms survived. The plural was more frequent than the dual (Greenberg, 1966: 31-37), so this change is in line with the universal, and if we want to know why the plural rather than the dual survived in Greek, we can appeal to the explanation that we just gave. So in this sense we can say that a particular change was explained after all; but of course the explanation of the particular change has nothing particular about it. We cannot explain why this changed happened in Greek but not, say, in Slovene (where the old dual survived), and we cannot explain why it happened two and a half millennia ago rather than a thousand years later or a thousand years earlier. So wherever we can understand structural change, it is really universals of structural change that we understand. But unless we know whether a given instance of change is part of a larger trend, we do not know whether there is anything to explain.

Now when we look at reasonably robust universals of language change, we see that many of them take the form of directionality constraints. Of the five examples in (1) four have the form “A can change into Y, but Y cannot change into X”. Especially in phonology, it is easy to find cases of this type, and I list a few more in (2).

- (2) a. [k] > [ŋ] (*[ŋ] > [k])
 b. [p] > [f] (*[f] > [p])
 c. [u] > [y] (*[y] > [u])
 d. [z] > [r] (*[r] > [z])
 e. [ts] > [s] (*[s] > [ts])
 f. [l] > [w] (*[w] > [l])

So quite a few sound changes appear to be unidirectional, but there are of course also bidirectional sound changes, such as those in (3). Some of these changes are more likely in some positions than in others, and maybe a

more fine-grained description of the type of change would reveal a directionality tendency in some of these cases as well.

- (3) a. [t] > [θ] and [θ] > [t]
 b. [o] > [a] and [a] > [o]
 c. [i] > [ʔ] and [ʔ] > [i]
 d. [au] > [o] and [o] > [au]
 e. [b] > [v] and [v] > [b]

Thus, it is an empirical question whether a type of sound change is unidirectional or not. Even though many linguists (including Haspelmath) are not aware of any extensive discussion of this issue in the theoretical literature on phonological change, as Ferguson (1990) observes, every linguist with some experience in diachronic phonology has the intuition that there are often directionality constraints at work. Ferguson (1990: 59-60) says that one of the most powerful tools in the armamentarium of linguists engaged in the study of diachronic phonology is the often implicit notion that some changes are phonetically more likely than others. Thus if a linguist finds a systematic correspondence between [g] and [dʒ] in two related language varieties, it will be reasonable to assume that the stop is the older variant and the affricate the younger one until strong counter evidence is found. The linguist makes such an assumption because experience with many languages has shown that the change of [g] to [dʒ] is fairly common and tends to occur under certain well-documented conditions whereas the reverse change is unusual and problematic.

Ferguson goes on to observe that this powerful tool of directionality constraints is not generally covered in textbooks or handbooks of phonology or historical linguistics. These typically include taxonomies of attested sound changes and introduce technical terms like lenition, assimilation, syncope and epenthesis, but they usually do not say what an impossible change is, or which changes are ubiquitous and which ones are exceedingly rare. For synchronic universals in phoneme systems, we have Maddieson's (1984) handbook with inventories of 317 languages. Diachronic phonology, whether theoretically oriented or primarily interested in reconstructing particular protolanguages, would profit enormously from having a handbook of attested sound changes in the world's languages. Such a handbook would make it possible to identify constraints on possible sound changes, and many of the most interesting constraints will no doubt be directionality constraints. After

all, that [u] presumably never changes to [a] in one step, or that [l] never changes to [b], is not surprising, whereas the unidirectionality of the [u] > [y] change and the [l] > [w] change is much harder to explain. There are also some clear tendencies of lexical semantic change (e.g. 'cup' can change to 'head' and 'head' can change to 'chief', but the opposite changes are extremely unlikely).

Once we are confident that we have a universal directionality constraint in some domain, the question arises as to how it should be explained. If the source structure and the target structure are similar enough so that one change into the other gradually and often imperceptibly, why can't they change in either direction? This issue is beginning to be addressed by researchers working in the area of grammaticalization (e.g. Lehmann, 1993; Haspelmath, 1999), and this discussion could profit from analogous discussions in the other subfields of linguistics.

3. Causes of Language Change

For centuries, people have speculated about the causes of language change. The problem is not one of thinking up possible causes, but of deciding which to take seriously. Scientists are overwhelmed by the number of possible theories which come to mind in his work on certain sciences. They did a limitless number of hypotheses before they came to the conclusion about what actually happened. A similar problem faces linguists as Ohala (1974: 269) noted: 'Linguists are a marvellously clever bunch of scholars; there is really no limit to the imaginative, elegant, and intellectually satisfying hypotheses they can dream up to account for observed linguistic behaviour.'

In the past, language change has been attributed to a bewildering variety of factors ranging over almost every aspect of human life, physical, social, mental and environmental. At one time, for example, there was a suggestion that consonant changes begin in mountain regions due to the intensity of expiration in high altitudes. The connection with geographical or climatic conditions is clear because nobody will deny that residence in the mountains, especially in the high mountains, stimulates the lungs (Jespersen, 1922: 257). Luckily this theory is easily disprovable, since Danish, spoken in the flat country of Denmark, seems to be independently undergoing a set of extensive consonant changes – unless we attribute the Danish development to the increasing number of Danes who go to Switzerland or Norway for their

summer holidays each year, as one linguist ironically suggested (Aitchison, 2004:134).

Even when we have eliminated the ‘lunatic fringe’ theories, we are left with an enormous number of possible causes to take into consideration. Part of the problem is that there are several different causative factors at work, not only in language as a whole, but also in any one change. Like a road accident, a language change may have multiple causes. A car crash is only rarely caused by one overriding factor, such as a sudden steering failure, or the driver falling asleep. More often there is a combination of factors, all of which contribute to the overall disaster. Similarly, language change is likely to be due to a combination of factors.

In view of the confusion and controversies surrounding causes of language change, it is not surprising that some reputable linguists have regarded the whole field as a disaster area. Bloomfield (1933) argues that the causes of sound change are unknown. The same tone mentioned by King (1969) saying that many linguists, probably an easy majority, have long since given up enquiring into the why of phonological change. In addition, the pessimism is shown in Harris’ (1969) statement that the explanation of the cause of language change is far beyond the reach of any theory ever advanced. This pessimism is unwarranted. Even if we cannot consider all possible causes, we can at least look at a range of causes that have been put forward over the years, and assess their relative value. Aitchison (2004: 135-150) lists four general causes of language change: (i) fashion and random fluctuation, (ii) foreign elements, (iii) social needs, and (iv) politeness.

First, an extreme view held by a minority of linguists is that language change is an entirely random and fortuitous affair, and that fashions in language are as unpredictable as fashions in clothes. As Postal (1968: 283) says that there is no more reason for language to change than there is for automobiles to add fins one year and remove them the next, for jackets to have three buttons one year and two the next, and so on. This quotation illustrates how language is as fashionable and stylish as fashion as it always undergoes changes. He further argues that the causes of sound change without language contact lie in the general tendency of human cultural products to undergo ‘non-functional’ stylistic change. Another similar view of language change is that random fluctuations occur subconsciously, as sounds gradually drift from their original pronunciation. A theory that speakers accidentally ‘miss the target’ was prevalent in the 1950s,

popularized by Hockett who suggested that when we utter a speech sound, we are aiming at a certain ideal target. But since words are usually comprehensible even if every sound is not perfectly articulated, speakers often get quite careless, and do not trouble too much about hitting the ‘bull’s-eye’ each time (Hockett, 1958: 440).

Second, perhaps, the majority of changes are due to the chance infiltration of foreign elements, and perhaps, the most widespread version of this view is the so-called substratum theory – the suggestion that when immigrants come to a new area, or when an indigenous population learns the language of newly arrived conquerors, they learn their adopted language imperfectly. They hand on these slight imperfections to their children and to other people in their social circle, and eventually alter the language (2004: 137). In addition to substratum theory, sometimes immigrants attempt to overcorrect what they feel to be a faulty accent, resulting not only in a movement away from the substratum language, but also in a change in the adopted language. Labov (1972: 171) found an interesting example of this phenomenon in New York. He noticed a tendency among lower-class New Yorkers to pronounce a word such as *door* as if it were really *doer* [dɒə] (rhyming with *sewer*). At first he was puzzled by this finding. When he looked more closely, he found that this pronunciation was related to ethnic groupings. He discovered that it was most prominent in the speech of youngish lower-class people of Jewish and Italian extraction, and suggested that this may be a case of children reacting against their parents.

In addition, Thomason (2003) argues that foreign material, transferred from one language to another, also includes three obvious types of change. First, some changes that occur in some cases of slow language death fall into the category of attrition—loss of linguistic material—but do not make the dying language more similar to the language that is replacing it; these are nevertheless contact-induced changes by my definition. Second, intentional linguistic changes, for instance in cases where a speech community deliberately distances its language from neighboring languages, are contact-induced but do not involve diffusion. And third, some changes occur as an indirect result of interference, typically when a borrowed morpheme sets off a chain reaction that has a snowballing effect on the receiving language’s structure.

Third, the widely held view on sociolinguistic causes of language change involves the notion of need. Language alters as the needs of its users alter, it

is claimed, a viewpoint that is sometimes referred to as a functional view of language change. This is an attractive notion. Need is certainly relevant at the level of vocabulary. Unneeded words drop out: items of clothing which are no longer worn such as *doublet* or *kirtle* are now rarely mentioned outside a theatrical setting. New words are coined as they are required. In every decade, neologisms abound. A *twigloo* is ‘a tree-house’. A *netizen* is a ‘net citizen’, a keen user of the Internet. *Twocking* ‘taking without the owner’s consent’ is car theft. These words all became widely used recently (Ayto, 1999). Names of people and objects are switched if the old ones seem inadequate. The word *blind* rarely occurs in official documents, and tends to be replaced by the ‘politically correct’ phrase *visually challenged*, which is supposedly less offensive to those who cannot see. The introduction of slang terms can also be regarded as a response to a kind of need. When older words have become over-used and lose their impact, new vivid ones are introduced in their place. As Colwin (1979) says that slang is language that takes off its coat, spits on its hands, and goes to work.

Sometimes, however, social needs can trigger a more widespread change than the simple addition of new vocabulary items. Let us look at some situations in which social factors have apparently led to more widespread disruption. Consider sentences such as in (4) and (5):

- (4) Dodi downed a pint of beer
- (5) Melisa went to town and did a buy.

English, we note, lacks a simple means of saying ‘to do something in one fell swoop’. This may be why the word *down* in (4) can be converted into a verb to mean ‘drink down in one gulp’, and the word *buy* in (5) into a noun which, when combined with the verb *do*, means ‘go on a single massive spending spree’. This type of fastmoving, thorough activity may represent a change in the pace of life, which is in turn reflected in the language, since we increasingly make use of conversions – the conversion of one part of speech into another. If this trend continues, the eventual result may be complete interchangeability of items such as nouns and verbs, which were once kept rigidly apart.

Fourth, finally, language change is motivated by politeness because humans are usually polite to one another, partly because polite behaviour gets better results than rudeness. Consider the sentences in (6) to (8) below.

- (6) This bill should be paid by return of post.

- (7) Prompt payment would be appreciated.
- (8) We order you to pay immediately.

Someone would be more likely to pay an outstanding bill when prompted by the sentences in (6) and (7), than by a blunt command as in (8).

Based on the sentences in (6) to (8), two observations can be made: first, humans all over the world are polite in similar ways. Second, politeness can affect the structure of the language. Therefore, we find similar changes induced by politeness in different parts of the world. This is particularly noticeable in the pronoun system. Plural ‘you’ becoming singular polite ‘you’ is perhaps the most widespread ‘politeness’ change. Many languages have at least two forms of a pronoun meaning ‘you’, a singular, and a plural. However, the plural form is widely felt to be more deferential. In numerous languages the plural ‘you’ has become the polite ‘you’, while the singular ‘you’ has become the familiar and intimate ‘you’, spoken to family, close friends and children. Its use to strangers is regarded as odd and offensive.

B. VARIATION AND CHANGE

1. The Social Basis for Linguistic Variation

Variation in language can be defined as a non-standard form of language in addition to its standard form. It happens because the performance of different speakers, and the same speaker in different contexts, can vary quite a lot. For example, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 6) say that speakers in some areas of the Midwestern United States might utter sentences such as “The car needs washed” while others would say “The cars needs to be washed” or “The car needs washing”. Further, an individual speaker might use all three of these constructions at different times. These different structures for expressing the same meaning are called variants. No one speaks the same way all the time, and people constantly exploit variation within the languages they speak for a wide variety of purposes.

Variation in language is most readily observed in the vernacular of everyday life. For example, a teenager says: “that were like sick”; an elderly man recounting a story to his granddaughter says: “you was always workin’ in them days”. Are these utterances mistakes? Are they slang? Are they instances of dialect? A variationist sociolinguist views such instances of language in use as an indication of the variable but rule-governed behavior

typical of all natural speech varieties. The vernacular was first defined as “the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov, 1972:208).

Variation in language can be observed just about everywhere from a conversation we overhear on the street to a story we read in the newspaper. Sociolinguists notice such variations too. In undertaking sustained analysis, what they discover is that people will use one form and then another for more or less the same meaning all the time the language varies. The harder part is to find the order, or the system, in the variation chaos. The way a variationist sociolinguist undertakes this is by means of the “linguistic variable”. A linguistic variable is the alternation of forms, or “layering” of forms, in language. The basic definition of linguistic variable is “two or more ways of saying the same thing” (Tagliamonte, 2012: 2). The more nuanced, early, definition also mentions that linguistic variables should be structural and “integrated into a larger system of functioning units” (Labov, 1972:8).

The linguistic equivalence of the variants of a linguistic variable is evident in a comparison of any paired variants, as, for instance:

- (9) a. Andika saw himself in the mirror.
b. Andika seen hisself in the mirror.

These utterances differ with respect to two morphological variables: (i) the verb see is represented in (9a) by *saw*, the strong form of the past tense, and in (9b) by *seen*, and (ii) the reflexive pronoun takes the form *himself* in (9a) and *hisself* in (9b). In spite of these differences, the two sentences convey exactly the same grammatical meaning and everyone who speaks English with even minimal competence recognizes their semantic identity.

The sentences do, however, convey very different social meanings as a direct result of their morphological variants. That is, they carry sociolinguistic significance. The sentence in (9a), with its standard forms, is emblematic of middle-class, educated, or relatively formal speech, while the sentence in (9b) is emblematic of working-class, uneducated, or highly colloquial (vernacular) speech. These differences will also be readily recognized by virtually every speaker of the language.

The social evaluations associated with these two sentences are conventional, and they appear to have no deeper sources than other types of social conventions, such as the convention in western nations that women precede men when they enter a room together on formal occasions, or that

people clasp one another's right hands on being introduced to one another (Chambers, 2003: 2). In fact, the analogy with etiquette can be taken further, because standard speech as exemplified by the sentence in (9a) is associated with 'good manners' in many settings, such as schools, white-collar work environments, and cultural institutions, whereas the sentence in (9b) conveys 'bad manners' in those same settings. Someone uttering the sentence in (9b) in response to a teacher's question might be regarded as rude, as would a man preceding his female partner into a banquet hall. Someone uttering the sentence in (9b) at the intermission of a play might be regarded as rough and unschooled, as would a man who failed to extend his right hand on being introduced to another man.

The sentences in (9) suggests that variation in language may reveal someone's social status or identity. In other words, the language used informs its user's identity. The term 'identity' has been regarded by Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 3) as a key concept in studies of youth language, and youth is also one of the social variables in studying linguistic variation. Earlier, Pujolar (2001:7) has pointed out that the use of particular speech varieties in the context of youth culture is an important part of the processes whereby young people construct their views about the world and their relationships amongst themselves and with other social groups. A lot of studies have been done concerning the language variation used by youth. Eckert (2000) and Kerswill (1996) reported the youth's preference for local varieties and variants. At the lexical level, Bloomfield (1984) found that young people are very fond of using slang. In particular, heavy use of taboo words, discourse markers and certain processes of word-formation and formal modification, such as clipping or syllable reordering, are often seen as typical features of youth speech.

Another interesting study on language variation involves gender differences. Kallmeyer and Keim (2003:32) reported that in in-group situations, when talking to one another, the girls of Turkish origin often use a German-Turkish language mixture even in the presence of members with another linguistic background. Depending upon the partner, the context, and the topic of communication, this in-group variety presents phases, where one of the languages, German or Turkish, can be described as the matrix language with many cases of transfer (e.g., borrowed terms, formulas, formulaic expressions, proverbs) from German or Turkish, respectively. These transfers are clearly marked as insertions or code-switchings, prosodically,

phonetically, and lexically. Such clearly marked cases of language variation, where from one point onwards a speaker changes the language or where a clearly contrasting construction from another language is inserted into a matrix language, could be described with code-switching models. In these cases, one language plays the dominant and the other a subordinate role.

Meanwhile, Maltz and Borker (1982:5-7) argue that girls use language to (i) create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality; (ii) criticize others in acceptable ways; and (iii) interpret accurately the speech of other girls. On the other hand, boys use language to (i) assert their position and dominance; (ii) attract and maintain an audience; and (iii) assert themselves when others have the floor. Besides, girls' talk is said to be non-hierarchical, co-operative and non-competitive, and to reflect intimacy, loyalty and commitment, while boys' talk is characterized by a hierarchical structure and power, briefly competitiveness and lack of cooperation.

The fact that boys' language differs from girls' language is in many respects supported by research reported in the relatively few studies of teenage language. In her study of the language of boys and girls in her "reading" data, Cheshire (1982:110), for instance, found not only that boys and girls used different linguistic features but also that they used them differently. For example, negative concord and *ain't* were more often used by boys than by girls. Eckert (1988: 67) discovered gender differences in pronunciation as well as grammar among the Jocks and Burnouts in her study of teenagers in the Detroit area, and argues that "the use of nonstandard grammar can reflect rejection of mainstream society and identification with the local non-mainstream community". Kotsinas (1994) cited in Stenstrom (2003: 95), who based her observations on conversational data from two socially distinct Stockholm suburbs, emphasizes that teenagers vary their language depending on the situation, and when it is a question of marking group belonging in particular. This, she says, is manifested, for example, in features of pronunciation and choice of vocabulary. Holmes (1995:56, 61) discusses the role of feedback in female and male spoken interaction by pointing to two separate studies of teenage talk. One is a study by Jenkins and Cheshire (1990) of secondary school discussion groups, which showed that, even if the distribution of minimal responses was fairly even, the boys used responses as an attempt to take the turn, while the girls used them to give support. The other is a study by Gilbert (1990) of New Zealand secondary school teenagers, which showed that the girls provided more

positive feedback than the boys in single-sex groups, but that there were no gender differences in mixed-sex groups.

The facts elaborated above show that language variation is a social phenomenon that can be found in every language. This variation is motivated by the fact that nobody speaks the same way all the time as they speak differently to the different people and in different contexts. In other words, it is determined by social variables, and the use of certain variation can determine the social status of the speaker.

2. Theorizing Variation and Language Change

Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) observed that theories of language assuming linguistic variation to be noise or meaningless divergence from some ideal synchronically homogeneous linguistic state – to be eliminated by ‘averaging’ or ‘abstraction’ – encounter profound difficulties in accounting for language change. In response to structuralist and generative theories that make problematic assumptions of this sort, Weinreich et al. argued that languages are not essentially homogeneous entities that are encumbered by an uninteresting overlay of random variation, but are rather dynamically organized by an ‘orderly heterogeneity’, in which variants are distributed throughout a speech community in socially-patterned ways (e.g. with respect to age and socio-economic class). Language change, they argued, emerges from this orderly heterogeneity as increasing numbers of individuals in a speech community employ a particular competing variant within this organized linguistic heterogeneity, and after a period in which two or more variants are in use, cease using the former variant(s).

In recent years, further theorization of this basic picture has taken up by evolutionary approaches to language change (e.g. Croft, 2000; Keller, 1994; Mufwene, 2001, 2008; Ritt, 2004), based on generalized accounts of evolutionary processes that abstract from the particulars of biological evolution so that processes of cultural change, including linguistic change, can be analyzed in evolutionary terms (Hull, 1988; Hull et al., 2001). These approaches see language change as arising from the differential replication of linguistic variants, where variants are best understood as the socially-situated communicative competence (Hymes, 1972) related to use of a particular linguistic element. Such competence combines knowledge of the structural characteristics of a linguistic element with its social-indexical properties (Thomas, 2011) and the phonetic (e.g. Foulkes and Docherty, 2006) or morphosyntactic elements (e.g. Plug, 2010) in nature.

Evolutionary approaches to language change consider the replication of linguistic competences to be critically mediated by their actual use to produce the linguistic elements they generate (or their use to interpret the elements produced by others). Significantly, competence use is implicated in two quite different type of replication. In the first type of replication, their use forestalls the decay of competences in the speakers themselves resulting in replication of the speakers' own competence. This can be seen in the works of Ecke (2004), Schmid and Dusseldorp (2010), and Badstubner (2011) on the loss of L1 competence. In the second type of replication, the competence is acquired by a new speaker as a result of being exposed to it, such that the competence is now found both in the original host and a new host. The differential propagation of a variant, leading to language change ultimately depends on both types of replication.

Cross-speaker replication of a given competence thus requires that potential acquirers to be exposed to its use, entailing that this form of replication depends on potential acquirers' social network positions relative to speakers who already possess the competence, and on access to the social contexts in which the given competence is used. Cross-speaker replication is also affected by the social-indexical properties of the linguistic elements generated by the competence, since these properties play a crucial role in the frequency with which – and circumstances in which – they are used, as mediated in part by the perceived social efficacy of the element in question. Language change emerges, then, as the result of individual choices (at varying degrees of consciousness) to use particular variants, motivated by individual interactional goals that, by invisible hand processes, lead to large-scale changes in the distribution of variants in a speech community (Keller, 1994: 90–107).

The final general factor to consider, implicated in the efficacy of connections in social networks as transmitters of variants, is age and its effects on how likely a speaker is to acquire a given competence. Age, in this respect, is perhaps not a 'social' phenomenon as such, but nevertheless has an indirect social effect in introducing acquisition asymmetries into social networks.

C. SOCIAL NETWORKS

1. The Concept of Social Network

An individual's social network is straightforwardly the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, and social network analysis examines the differing structures and properties of these relationships. Such analysis has been applied by variationists fairly extensively over the last three decades or so to explicate informal social mechanisms supporting language varieties specific to particular social groups. Researchers have also addressed the question of how some social groups maintain nonstandard dialects or minority languages, often over centuries, despite pressures to adopt publicly legitimized national languages or varieties (Milroy and Llamas, 2013: 409).

Social network is better treated as a means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers' interactional behaviors than as a fixed social category. Given that the ties contracted by individuals within and between speech communities may change for many reasons, analysis of change in the operation of the social network mechanisms that support localized linguistic codes can illuminate the phenomenon of linguistic change. Network-oriented accounts of linguistic change have emerged both in variationist studies of contemporary speech communities and as post hoc sociohistorical studies of changes completed at earlier stages of the language (Bergs, 2005; Eckert, 2000; Fitzmaurice, 2007; Marshall, 2004; Milroy, 1992; Milroy and Milroy, 1985; Nevalainen, 2000; Sairio, 2009; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000).

Some recent analyses build on Milroy's proposal that, along with network content and structure, attitudinal factors provide a basis for measurement of speakers' integration into the community (Milroy, 1987: 140). Sensitivity to aspects of speaker agency, attitude, or orientation aligns social network analysis somewhat more closely with the communities of practice model, although social network accounts of groups or communities are generally rather more abstract – referring, for example, to locality, region, or group of language users. However, a partial convergence of the two approaches can be seen in some recent studies which have utilized the friendship network as a means of grouping speakers; a method which, to some extent, falls between the social network and the community of practice approaches. The examples can be seen in the works on ethnic varieties among adolescent speakers by Fox (2010), Cheshire, Fox, Kerswill, and Torgersen (2008), and Gabrielatos, Torgersen, Hoffmann, and Fox (2010).

Social network analysis of the kind employed by variationists was developed by social anthropologists mainly during the 1960s and 1970s (Milroy, 1987; Li, 1996; Johnson, 1994). Scholars from many different disciplines employ the concept for a range of theoretical and practical reasons. Personal social networks are always seen as contextualized within a macro-level social framework, which is “bracketed off” for purely methodological reasons – that is, to focus on less abstract modes of analysis capable of accounting more immediately for the variable behavior of individuals. Since no one claims that personal network structure is independent of broader social, economic, or political frameworks constraining individual behavior, a social network analysis of language variation does not compete with an analysis in terms of a macro-level concept such as social class.

A fundamental postulate of network analysis is that individuals create personal communities which provide a meaningful framework for solving the problems of daily life (Mitchell, 1986:74). These personal communities are constituted by interpersonal ties of different types and strengths, and structural relationships between links can vary. Particularly, the persons to whom ego is linked may also be tied to each other to varying degrees – ego being the person who, for analytic reasons, forms the “anchor” of the network. A further postulate with particular relevance to language maintenance or change is that structural and content differences between networks impinge critically on the way they directly affect ego. Particularly, if a network consists chiefly of strong ties, and those ties are multiplex or many-stranded, and if the network is also relatively dense – that is, many of ego’s ties are linked to each other – then such a network has the capacity to support its members in both practical and symbolic ways. More negatively, such a network type can impose unwanted and stressful constraints on its members. Thus, we come to the basic point of using network analysis in variationist research. Networks constituted chiefly of strong (dense and multiplex) ties support localized linguistic norms, resisting pressures to adopt competing external norms. By the same token, if these ties weaken, conditions favorable to language change are produced. The idealized maximally dense and multiplex network is shown in Figure 8.1 in contrast with a loose-knit, uniplex type of network shown in Figure 8.2.

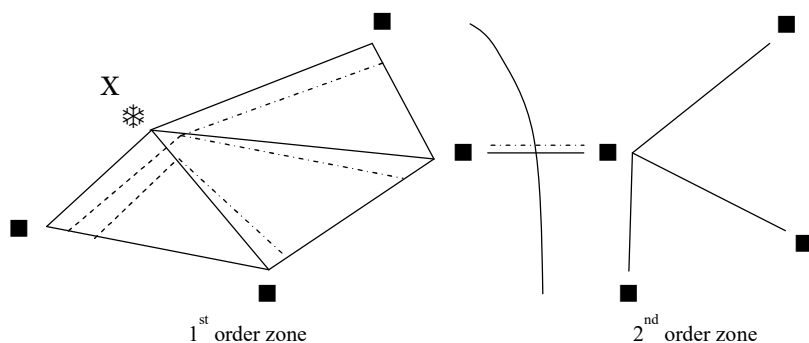


Figure 8.1

High-density, multiplex personal network structure, showing first and second order zones (Milroy and Llamas, 2013:411)

A social network may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. Indeed, the term “social network” is now more commonly associated with the web-based service where users interact over the internet. Research on online social networks can be seen, for example, in the works done by Garton, Haythornthwaite, and Wellman (1997) and Paolillo (2001). However, sociolinguistic research has generally focused on face-to-face interaction, and usually on first-order network ties – that is, those persons with whom an individual directly interacts. Second-order ties are those to whom the link is indirect, as shown also in Figure 8.1. Within the first-order zone, it is important to distinguish between “strong” and “weak” ties of everyday life—roughly ties which connect friends or kin as opposed to those which connect acquaintances. To supplement the notions of multiplexity and density, Milardo (1988: 26-36) distinguishes “exchange” from “interactive” networks. Exchange networks consist of persons such as kin and close friends with whom ego not only interacts regularly but also exchanges direct aid, advice, criticism, and support. Interactive networks, on the other hand, consist of persons with whom ego interacts frequently and perhaps over prolonged periods of time but on whom he or she does not rely for material or symbolic resources. An example of an interactive tie would be that between a store owner and customer. In addition to exchange and interactive ties, Li (1994) distinguishes a “passive” tie, which seems particularly

important to migrant or mobile individuals. Passive ties entail absence of regular contact, but are valued as a source of influence and moral support. Examples are physically distant relatives or friends.

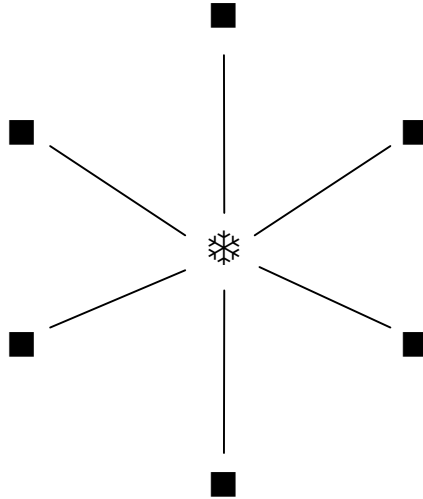


Figure 8.2
Low-density, uniplex personal network structure
(Milroy and Llamas, 2013:411)

Social network can contribute to language maintenance, shift, and change. Milroy and Llamas (2013: 416) say that networks constituted chiefly of strong ties function as a mechanism to support minority languages, resisting institutional pressures to language shift, but when these networks weaken, language shift is likely to take place. This implies that social networks can be constituted of either strong ties or weak ties corresponding to Milardo's (1988) interactive and exchange networks. Following Granovetter's (1973) argument that weak and apparently insignificant interpersonal ties (of "acquaintance" as opposed to "friend," for example) are important channels through which innovation and influence flow from one close-knit group to another, Milroy and Milroy (1985) proposed that linguistic innovators are likely to be individuals positioned to contract many weak ties. Since weak ties link close-knit groups to each other and to the larger regional or national speech community, they are likely to figure prominently in a socially accountable theory of linguistic diffusion and change.

2. Social Network, Social Class, and Mobility

The weak tie model of change elaborated above can illuminate dynamics of dialect leveling – that is the eradication of socially or locally marked variants (both within and between linguistic systems) in conditions of social or geographical mobility and resultant dialect contact. Leveling might reasonably be viewed as a linguistic reflex of the large-scale disruption, endemic in the modern world, of close-knit, localized networks which have historically maintained highly systematic and complex sets of socially structured linguistic norms. Such disruption arises from (for example) internal and transnational migration, war, industrialization, and urbanization. While these dynamics have operated earlier and more intensively in colonial contexts, as discussed by Chambers within a broad social network framework (2009:65-66), they continue to affect geographically or socially mobile populations. In any event, leveling gives rise to simplification, and a tendency for the localized norms of the kind supported by a close-knit network structure to become obliterated (Britain, 1997, 2010; Kerswill, 2003; Watt and Milroy, 1999). This process raises interesting psycholinguistic as well as sociolinguistic issues concerning the functions of close-knit networks.

On the basis of evidence from language attitudes research, sociolinguists generally assume an ideological motivation to underlie the long-term maintenance of often stigmatized norms in the face of pressures from numerically or socially more powerful speech communities; speakers want to sound (for example) Welsh, Irish, Northern English, New Zealandish, Canadian, African-American, American Southern and unlike whatever social group they perceive themselves as contrasting with. The dialect loyalty of such speakers and their resistance to change originating from outside the group is usually said to be motivated by their desire to index group identity. This sociointerindexical function of forms has recently been examined experimentally with attention to social network structure and the perceptual relevance of rhythm among Maori English and Pakeha English speakers in New Zealand (Szakay, 2008). Listeners who were more closely integrated into Maori social networks are reported to be significantly better at using rhythm to cue ethnicity than those who were less integrated. Szakay thus demonstrates the role the social network plays in accounting not only for variable frequency of forms used but also for speakers' accuracy in identifying ingroup and outgroup members.

While attitudes and awareness of social indexicality play a key role in the persistence of localized forms, the motivations to index group identity alone are insufficient to maintain nonstandard varieties reliably. Relevant here is Payne's (1980) demonstration of the social conditions needed for children to learn the highly localized phonolexical complexities of the Philadelphia system; particularly, their parents needed to be locally born for such learning to take place. What this amounts to is that, if a close-knit community network structure loosens and members become mobile, the social prerequisites for supporting highly localized norms disappear and dialect leveling takes place. Thus, not only does a community's sense of distinctiveness become redundant as network ties loosen (a social and ideological issue) but, from a psycholinguistic perspective, speakers lack the extensive and regular input needed to maintain localized norms.

Such norms are sometimes complex; for example, Belfast speakers whose networks are relatively loose-knit reduce the number of linguistically conditioned allophones of /a/ by eliminating the extreme back and front variants characteristic of the vernacular system, often converging on a very narrow area of vowel around the centre of the vernacular range (Milroy 1982; Milroy, 1999). Thus, close-knit networks may be viewed not only as social and sociolinguistic support mechanisms which facilitate the construction and maintenance of local distinctiveness; from the point of view of the language learner, they also provide the intensive input required to master complex, localized linguistic structures which lack the support of institutional models. For example, Docherty, Foulkes, Tillotson, and Watt (2006) document the daunting (socio) linguistic complexity encountered by infants acquiring the phonology of their ambient Tyneside dialect. Leveling, which from this cognitive perspective can be viewed as a simplification strategy, takes place when such input is no longer present.

We conclude by considering the links between mobility, social network structure, and social class. Following Giddens (1989: 205–273), class is viewed as one of four systems of stratification which promote inequality in society. While the other three (slavery, caste, and estates) depend on institutionally sanctioned inequalities, class divisions are not officially recognized, and since an individual's class position is to some extent achieved, class stratification is accompanied by varying degrees of mobility. Issues of power inequalities between groups and individuals are raised in this discussion, which so far have only been touched upon.

Different types of network structure seem to be broadly associated with different social classes: loose-knit networks with the socially and geographically mobile mainly middle classes, and close-knit ties with very low status and very high status speakers. In terms of the predictions of the weak tie model of change discussed above, this association is consistent with Labov's principle that innovating groups are located centrally in the social hierarchy, characterized as lower-middle or upper-working class (Labov, 1980: 254). The question then arises of how an integrated model of change and variation might be constructed which takes account of the relationship between social class and social network structures. Such an integration is desirable, since the association of different network types with different social class groups is not arbitrary but springs from the operation of large-scale social, political, and economic factors (contra Guy (1988), who views network and class as unrelated but pertaining, respectively, to a micro- and macro-level of analysis).

Traditionally, sociolinguistics has assumed a consensus model of class, where the community is said to be fundamentally cohesive and self-regulating. Yet, the vitality and persistence of nonstandard vernacular communities highlighted by network studies is more readily interpreted as evidence of conflict and division than of consensus. Accordingly, Milroy and Milroy (1993) argue that a dynamic model of class as a process which splits the community into subgroups (characterized by different orientations to work, leisure, and family) is helpful in constructing an integrated theory of variation and change.

With the link between social class and network structure as their point of departure, Kerswill and Williams (1999) investigated the relationship between social class, mobility, and susceptibility to change by comparing the language behavior of low- and high-mobility speakers of different social statuses in the English towns of Reading and Milton Keynes. They conclude that network structure has the predicted effect – that is, close-knit networks maintain localized norms, while loose-knit networks facilitate change. However, they argue that the variables of class and network need to be considered independently, given the different language behaviors of mobile high-status and mobile low-status groups. Further light is shed on the links between class and mobility by research currently in progress in the North East of England, which examines differences between members of low-status groups who are classified as either working and mobile (those commuting

within the region) or long-term unemployed and non-mobile. Use of highly localized phonological features rather than supralocal forms, and orientation to highly localized, close-knit communities rather than (sub-) regional centers of gravity are investigated in relation to this widening social division

While the relationship between class, network, and mobility is evident, its precise character is as yet unclear, as are the linguistic outcomes associated with interactions between these social variables. However, since they are constructed at different levels of abstraction, it is likely that a two-level sociolinguistic theory would be helpful. Such a theory should link the small-scale networks, where individuals are embedded and act purposively in their daily lives, with larger scale social structures which determine relationships of power at the institutional level. The different sociolinguistic patterns associated with both strong and weak ties would need to be considered, with attention to recent research on the sociolinguistics of mobility. For while strong ties give rise to a local cohesion of the kind described by network studies of close-knit neighborhoods such as those in Belfast or Detroit, they lead also to overall fragmentation in the wider community. Conversely, it is weak ties that give rise to the linguistic uniformity across large territories such as that described by Chambers in Canada, Labov in the United States, and Trudgill, Gordon, Lewis, and MacLagan (2000) in New Zealand. The social dynamics underlying both diversity and uniformity lie at the core of an accountable theory of language variation and change (Milroy and Llamas, 2013: 422-423).



EXERCISE

Unit 1

Definitions of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) How do you define language change? And give examples illustrating changes in your local language!
- 2) Explain two important ways in which language change is socially mediated!
- 3) Explain the directionality in the following sound changes?
 - a. [k] > [g] (*[g] > [k])
 - b. [f] > [p] and [p] > [f]

- c. [e] > [ə] and [ə] > [e]
 - d. [ʃ] > [ç] (*[ç] > [ʃ])
 - e. [aɪ] > [e] (*[e] > [aɪ])
 - f. [aʊ] > [o] and [o] > [aʊ]
 - g. [u] > [y] (*[y] > [u])
- 4) Mention the four general causes of language change according to Aitchison (2004)!
 - 5) How does need cause language change?

Variation and Change

Exercise

- 1) How is variation in language is mostly observed? And give examples in English!
- 2) How can you analyze the following two sentences?
 - a. I don't like his style.
 - b. Me ain't like him style.
- 3) Mention some social variables causing language variations!
- 4) What is the consideration of evolutionary approaches to language change?
- 5) Explain the idea of the following quotation!

“Language change emerges, then, as the result of individual choices (at varying degrees of consciousness) to use particular variants, motivated by individual interactional goals that, by invisible hand processes, lead to large-scale changes in the distribution of variants in a speech community (Keller, 1994:90–107).”

Social Network

Exercise

- 1) Explain the concept of social network!
- 2) Explain how social network can contribute to language maintenance, shift, and change!
- 3) What do Milardo's (1988) interactive and exchange networks mean?
- 4) Prove that different types of network structure seem to be broadly associated with different social classes!
- 5) How did Kerswill and Williams (1999) investigate the relationship between social class, mobility, and susceptibility? And what was their conclusions?

Key to Exercise

Unit 1

Definitions of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) Language change is a result from the differential propagation of linguistic variants distributed among the linguistic repertoires of communicatively interacting individuals in a given community.
Free answer.
- 2) First, since language change is a social-epidemiological process that takes place by propagating some aspect of communicative practice across socially structured networks, the organization of social groups can affect how variants propagate. It is known, for example, that densely connected social networks tend to be resistant to innovations, whereas more sparsely connected ones are more open to them.
Second, social and cultural factors, such as language ideologies, can encourage the propagation of particular variants at the expense of others in particular contexts, likewise contributing to language change.
- 3)
 - a. [k] can change into [g], but [g] cannot change into [k]
 - b. [f] can change into [p], and vice versa
 - c. [e] can change into [ə], and vice versa
 - d. [ʃ] can change into [c], but [c] cannot change into [ʃ]
 - e. [aɪ] can change into [e], but [e] cannot change into [aɪ]
 - f. [aʊ] can change into [o], and vice versa
 - g. [u] can change into [y], but [y] cannot change into [u]
- 4)
 - (i) fashion and random fluctuation
 - (ii) foreign elements
 - (iii) social needs
 - (iv) politeness
- 5) Language alters as the needs of its users alter: unneeded words drop out and new words are coined as they are required.

Variation and Change

Exercise

- 1) Variation in language is mostly observed in the vernacular of everyday life. Vernacular is the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech.

For example, a teenager says: “that were like sick”; an elderly man recounting a story to his granddaughter says: “you was always workin’ in them days”.

- 2) The two sentences are different in terms of formal and casual variations of language. The sentence in (a) shows a standard English, while the sentence in (b) is a variation of English which is commonly used by teenagers in their informal conversation. The two sentences do not show the example of language change, instead, they show variation in English.
- 3)
 - a. Education level.
 - b. Social status.
 - c. Age.
 - d. Gender.
- 4) Evolutionary approaches to language change consider the replication of linguistic competences to be critically mediated by their actual use to produce the linguistic elements they generate (or their use to interpret the elements produced by others).
- 5) Language change much depends on the interest of people to choose a particular choice and to leave the other to achieve their goal. Besides, language change is caused by the choice of a variation in language which is most preferable by people in a certain speech community.

Social Network

Exercise

- 1) Social network is a means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers’ interactional behaviors. Social network analysis examines the differing structures and properties of the relationships between individuals. A social network may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. Indeed, the term “social network” is now more commonly associated with the web-based service where users interact over the internet.
- 2) Networks constituted chiefly of strong ties function as a mechanism to maintain minority languages. However, when these networks weaken, language shift is likely to take place. Furthermore, if weak ties link close-knit groups to each other and to the larger regional or national speech community, then they will be likely to figure prominently in a socially accountable theory of linguistic diffusion and change.

- 3) Interactive network means strong ties social network, while exchange network means weak ties social network.
- 4) Loose-knit networks with the socially and geographically mobile are mainly associated with middle classes, and close-knit ties are mainly associated with very low status and very high status speakers.
- 5) They did it by comparing the language behavior of low- and high-mobility speakers of different social statuses in the English towns of Reading and Milton Keynes.



SUMMARY

Languages always change. On a personal level, in day-to-day communication; however, this may not be easily apparent or obvious. We are so intimately connected to our language that we may fail to see its changes, in much the same way that our closeness to our children obscures perception of their development. But languages do indeed change. Some languages flourish and expand and some languages die. For centuries, people have speculated about the causes of language change. The problem is not one of thinking up possible causes, but of deciding which to take seriously. Aitchison (2004: 135-150) lists four general causes of language change: (i) fashion and random fluctuation, (ii) foreign elements, (iii) social needs, and (iv) politeness.

The four general causes of language change as mentioned by Aitchison are, undoubtedly, motivated by the presence of language variation. Variation in language can be defined as a non-standard form of language in addition to its standard form. It happens because the performance of different speakers, and the same speaker in different contexts, can vary quite a lot. Variation in language is most readily observed in the vernacular of everyday life. Variation in language can be observed just about everywhere from a conversation we overhear on the street to a story we read in the newspaper. In addition, variation in language is motivated by the fact that nobody speaks the same way all the time as they speak differently to the different people and in different contexts. In other words, it is determined by social variables, and the use of certain variation can determine the social status of the speaker.

Variation in language has an indirect social effect in introducing acquisition asymmetries into social networks. Social network is better treated as a means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers' interactional behaviors than as a fixed social category. A social network

may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. Indeed, the term “social network” is now more commonly associated with the web-based service where users interact over the internet. Social network can contribute to language maintenance, shift, and change. Networks constituted chiefly of strong ties function as a mechanism to support minority languages, resisting institutional pressures to language shift, but when these networks weaken, language shift is likely to take place.



FORMATIVE TEST 1

Answer the following questions.

- 1) How do you differentiate language change and variation through the following facts?
 - a. When I came to the office, I heard some people saying ‘surat kabar’ to refer to ‘newspaper’; however, when I was waiting for the bus, I also heard people saying ‘koran’ to refer to ‘newspaper’.
 - b. When I was a teenager, I heard the word ‘mengejawantahkan’ from the television to refer to ‘to apply’. But now, in my 40’s, I never heard that word anymore. Instead, I hear people saying ‘mengaplikasikan’ to refer to ‘to apply’.
- 2) What is something universal in language change?
- 3) What motivates people to replace old words by such new words as e-pal, e-mail, e-report, and e-journal?
- 4) Explain the social basis of using the following sentences!
 - a. I really appreciate if the attendees remain silent.
 - b. Keep silent, please.
 - c. Shut up!
- 5) Explain language variation involving boys and girls based on the research done by Maltz and Borker (1982)!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Aspects of Language Change

A. EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

1. Genre and Change

Some writers may construct texts within generic conventions because they intend their texts to have the particular ‘meanings’ that are associated with the genre. Readers may interpret such texts according to the same conventions because they are familiar with previous similar texts and recognise the intentions. In other words we read a generic text through an intertextual process, using our previous experience of other texts to inform our reading of the current one. So, although genres are in one sense abstract labels without any content as such, in another sense they are very useful in helping us to categorise the vast amount of material we read and hear every day of our lives.

Knowing that readers have previous experience of generic texts allows producers of texts to be confident that they will reach their intended audience(s). This same sense of predictability also allows authors to ‘play’ with generic conventions and in some way subvert them. A parody is a comic variant of a generic text which can be used to amuse, make a satirical point, or both. Advertisements, for example, increasingly use forms of parody to draw our attention to a product or service.

Bex (1996) says that generic labels are used to describe groups of texts which seem to have similar language features and to be performing similar social functions. In other words genres can be analyzed from two broad standpoints: (i) by looking at the linguistic structures in texts; and (ii) by looking at the attitudes and values which the texts contain.

Genres as communicative texts indicate what kinds of activities are regarded as important within a society. This means that genres change over time because they reflect the way social situations change. At the same time, by reflecting social change, they can actually reinforce such change. Think, for example, of the ways in which television soap operas have reflected social change since they first appeared on television in the early 1960s, and the ways in which they are ‘used’ to shape public attitudes to social issues.

Because generic labels are just that, labels without any content as such, it is possible to see language change connecting to genre in three basic ways (Beard, 2004: 16).

- (i) There can be change within a genre, e.g. the way a sports fixture is reported after the event, the way a recipe is written.
- (ii) There can be a new sub-genre, which belongs to a genre in one sense, but which takes it off in a different direction in another, e.g. a preview of the sports fixture, a celebrity cookery book.
- (iii) Sometimes the process of generic change goes beyond adapting existing genres, however. New discourse communities may develop with particular interests that are not represented within existing genres. In such cases radically new genres are likely to develop. In addition new genres may develop because new technologies allow new forms of communication, e.g. fans discussing the match in a chat room, recipes on the internet.

Therefore, the changes that occur within a genre may include: (i) changing social attitudes and values can be seen when comparing texts over time; (ii) levels of formality change with a tendency for modern texts to be more informal; and (iii) topic specific vocabulary may change, although it often stays within the same semantic area.

2. Borrowing and Language Change

One of the most obvious kinds of change in language is the appearance of new words. This kind of change can be quite conspicuous: you may actually notice the first time you encounter a new word (though, as we shall see later, you may not). New words have been pouring into English at a prodigious rate throughout its history, and the rate of appearance of new words is now perhaps greater than at any previous period. One of the major tasks faced by lexicographers (dictionary writers) in preparing their new editions is to collect the thousands of new words which have appeared since their last editions. Some publishers even bring out an annual volume of new words. Where do all these new words come from?

One very obvious source of new words is foreign languages whose process is known as borrowing. Thomason (2001: 134) defines borrowing as the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language. There are several

reasons why English speakers (or others) might want to borrow a foreign word. The simplest one is that the word is the name for something new. When the English settlers in North America encountered an animal they had never seen before, with a masked face and a ringed tail, they naturally asked the local Indians what they called it. What the Indians said sounded to the English speakers like ‘raccoon’, and that therefore became the English name for this beautiful creature. Similarly, when the English discovered that the Gaelic speakers of the Scottish Highlands were producing a most agreeable beverage, they asked what it was called. The Scots replied with their Gaelic name for it, *uisgebeatha*, which means ‘water of life’ in Gaelic. This name was taken into English as ‘whiskybae’ and quickly shortened to ‘whisky’ (Trask, 2005: 9).

This particular word, by the way, has continued to travel. As the knowledge of whisky has spread across Europe and the world, its Gaelic name has travelled with it. In most European languages, the word whisky has been taken over as the name of the beverage. Even in faraway Japan, whisky is now consumed and is known in Japanese as *uisukii*.

The name of another familiar beverage has made a similar journey. Many centuries ago, the people of Ethiopia discovered that a delicious hot beverage could be made from the beans of a bush which grew locally. They passed on the beverage, and their name for it, to the neighbours the Arabs. The Arabs in turn passed both on to the Turks, who became famous for their skill at preparing the beverage. The Turks then introduced both the drink and the name to the Europeans, and particularly to the Italians, who also became famous for their distinctive way of preparing the stuff. English visitors to Italy returned home full of enthusiasm for the new beverage, and the ancient Ethiopian name finally passed into English in the form *coffee*.

But encountering something new is not the only possible reason for borrowing a word from a foreign language. For example, English speakers borrowed the words ‘faucet’ and ‘autumn’ from French, even though English already had the words ‘tap’ and ‘fall’ with the same meanings. The reason for this was prestige: for a long time, French was a more prestigious language than English, and English speakers were often eager to show off their command of this prestigious language. Such speakers are still with us today. Many English people may actually know someone who is fond of punctuating his or her English speech with French words and phrases like *merci*, *au contraire*, *force majeure*, *à la mode*, and *genre*. Very many French

words have entered English in just this way. Even the familiar word ‘face’ was borrowed from French into English, where it rapidly displaced the native word *anleth*, with the same meaning (Trask, 2005: 11).

Today, however, the shoe is on the other foot. English has become the most prestigious language on earth, and speakers of Spanish, Italian, German, Japanese and even French eagerly borrow English words and phrases into their own languages. We can look at any popular magazine from Western Europe or even from Japan, and you will see bits of English scattered about the pages. When we just picked up an Italian magazine at random; on almost every page someone is described as a rockstar, a top model, a sex-symbol, a superstar or a top manager. An ad for a computer promises a hard disk, a mouse and a floppy. One film is labelled a horror, while another has a happy-end. Fashion articles talk about the look and explain what’s currently in. And the pages are spattered with English words like jogging, fan, gadget, hobby, T-shirt, massage parlour, zoom, pay-tv, show, home video, mass media, status and check-up.

This fondness for English words has particularly upset the linguistic conservatives in France, where the authorities are constantly making efforts to stamp out the use of English borrowings. At intervals, the French government issues lists of English words which people are forbidden to use, with matching lists of ‘genuine’ French words which they are supposed to use instead. Government employees, including teachers, are actually obliged to follow these guidelines, but, of course, most people in France ignore them and go on using any English words that take their fancy. French speakers happily spend *le weekend* indulging in *le camping*; they often listen to *le compact-disc* or *le walkman*, and they may have a taste for *le rock* or *le jazz* or *le blues* or even *le heavy metal*. If they fancy an evening out, they may go to *le pub* to have *un scotch* or *un gin* or *un cocktail*, or they may go to see *un western* or *un strip-tease*; if not, they may stay home to read *un best-seller* or just to watch *le football* on television. It seems we are now paying back the French with interest for all the words we’ve borrowed from them over the years.

3. Language Contact and Language Change

Language change is often brought about by contact between speakers of different languages or dialects, rather than by variation internal to a given speech community. Contact between populations who speak different

languages involve extensive bilingualism. Accordingly, Weinreich (1953) pointed to the crucial role of bilingual speakers as the locus for language contact. However, high prestige languages may influence other languages without necessarily involving bilingualism.

Historical research on contact induced language change relies on more documentation than historical research on social variation, since we often know what languages have been in contact with each other, and the spread of bilingualism or multilingualism within populations in the past is often attested indirectly or even directly. On the other hand, our knowledge of language contact in the past is limited by the fact that some languages have left no written documentation. Thus, interference from substratum is often hard to evaluate, when the substratum is constituted by an unknown language (Luraghi, 2010: 363).

Whether changes brought about by contact differ in type from changes brought about by internal causes is a matter of discussion. According to Labov (1994), phonological change “from below”, that is, starting within a speech community, results in higher regularity (it corresponds to “neogrammarian” change) than phonological change “from above”, that is, deriving from contact, which takes the form of lexical diffusion. This view is criticized by Milroy (1999), who remarks that “no empirical study so far carried out has actually demonstrated that sound change can arise spontaneously within a variety” (1999: 24). Milroy further points out that specific changes are thought to be internally caused when there is no evidence for external causation, that is, for language contact. These remarks imply that all changes are ultimately due to contact, which is an arguable position, depending on what one means when one speaks of “a variety”.

According to Trudgill (1989), contact induced changes and changes which initiate inside a low contact speech community have different outputs. Trudgill observes that koineization is typical of contact situations. Koinés are compromise varieties among diverse dialects of the same language (Mufwene 2001: 3); they tend to lose “marked or complex variants” in favor of “unmarked, or simpler forms” (Trudgill, 1989:228-229). Trudgill regards the high number of adults acquiring a second language in contact situations as the cause for simplification. The role of learners in bilingual situations, and the bearing of imperfect learning on language change is also highlighted in Thomason (2003). Thomason remarks that features introduced by learners into a target language (TL) are mostly phonological and syntactic, rather than

lexical, and that one of the effects of imperfect learning will be that learners fail to learn some features of the TL, usually features that are hard to learn for reasons of universal markedness (Thomason, 2003: 692). This observation is in accordance with Trudgill's remarks on simplification.

However, there appears to be more than simplification in the effects of language contact and bi- or multilingualism. In the first place, a role is also played by typological distance of the TL from the learners' language, not necessarily connected with markedness (Thomason 2003: 692). Besides, specific types of linguistic areas seem to favor varying degrees of linguistic diversity and complexity, as indicated in Nichols (1992). By comparing what she calls "spread zones" with "residual zones", Nichols (1992: 21) argues that the former are characterized, among other features, by low genetic density, low structural diversity, rapid spread of languages and language succession, and use of lingua francas, while typical features of residual zones are high genetic density, high structural diversity, no appreciable spread of languages and hence no language succession, and no lingua franca. This is not to say that residual zones are not also characterized by language contact, and bi- or multilingualism, however, the absence of a lingua franca implies (often extensive) multilingualism for inter-ethnic communication; accordingly, residual zones usually display some clear areal features. Furthermore, according to Nichols, traditional laws of dialect geography are reversed in residual zones, where innovations come from the periphery, rather than from the center (Nichols, 1992: 22).

In "normal" situations, the periphery of an area is only partly reached by innovations developing from its center, and often displays typical features of isolated areas, as argued in Andersen (1988). According to Andersen, such peripheric and isolated areas display a tendency toward higher phonological elaboration, that is, higher complexity, a feature also typical of residual zones. However, even though residual zones, as described by Nichols, are certainly isolated from spread zones, languages spoken within residual zones do not seem to be isolated from one another. Obviously, Nichols and Andersen are not speaking of the same types of area, since Andersen refers to the periphery of dialectal areas, and to peripheric or isolated dialects of the same roof language spoken in the central area, rather than of areas of high genetic density. However, the parallel shows that it is at least doubtful that one can establish a correlation between lack of contact induced change and increasing complexity.

B. INTERNAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

1. Lexical Change

At 'lexical' or word level it is possible to comment on a number of aspects of language change. These usually involve the introduction of 'new' lexical items into the language – although words also fall out of use, they are, by definition, rarely noticed to be doing so.

One way in which new words enter the language is by borrowing from another language. Borrowing is the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time (Hoffer, 2002). Borrowing language usually loses words as they are replaced with words from another language. However, not all kinds of words are borrowed. According to Oshodi (2012), one general belief is that languages do not normally borrow grammatical items from other languages. This idea supports Weinreich's (1953) idea that languages normally resist this; thus conjunctions, prepositions, introducers, verbs, etc., are not usually borrowed.

English is a frequent borrower of words, with nouns and adjectives being the most frequent categories, adverbs and pronouns the least. Often a word has an anglicised spelling based upon how the word was heard. So, for example, from Arabic we have 'alcohol', 'alcove', 'assassin', from Hindi 'bungalow', 'dungaree', 'shampoo'. When first arriving into the language they are often written in inverted commas, or by using italics. As they become more subsumed into the language, though, such markers disappear.

A large number of borrowed lexical items refer to eating and drinking, with the words in their original language carrying an extra sense of being exotic. In Britain in particular French food (or cuisine) has traditionally been seen as sophisticated. The connotations around food terminology are subtle and fast changing. So, for example, the word 'café' (often pronounced in an English way as 'caff') was often quite low status but has now moved up-market again if pronounced in the French way. 'Brasserie' and 'bistro' are other French words with a specific set of connotations when used in British English.

The use of affixes is a highly productive source of lexical development and invention. Suffixes tend to change the class of a word and can at the same time expand upon its range of meaning. So the noun 'profession', which usually refers to certain types of occupation, gives the adjective

‘professional’ with its much wider range of meanings. (Consider for example the use of ‘professional foul’ in sport.) Prefixes are usually much more obviously tied to meaning. So, for example, the prefix ‘hyper’ (from the Greek for ‘over’/‘beyond’) can be added to many nouns to give a sense of bigness or extensiveness (‘hypermarket’, ‘hypertext’, ‘hyperinflation’) and can even stand alone as with ‘hyper’, a short form of ‘hyperactive’. ‘Mega’, also suggesting vastness, can be added to many nouns and also for a while existed as a fashionable ‘word’ in its own right (Beard, 2004: 90).

Back-formation involves losing rather than adding an element to a word, so the verb ‘to edit’ comes from ‘editor’ and ‘to commentate’ from ‘commentator’. Clipping is another form of abbreviation, examples being ‘veg’, ‘fan’, ‘deli’. Compounding adds two words together as in ‘body-blow’, ‘jet set’, with such compounds sometimes using a hyphen to show that two words have been put together. Blending adds elements of two words together as in ‘brunch’, ‘electrocute’.

Acronyms and initialisms are even more extreme forms of abbreviation. Acronyms are ‘words’ made out of the initial letters of a phrase, such as ‘SATS’. Sometimes the name of the organisation is deliberately arranged so that it can have a creative acronym, as in ‘ASH’, which stands for Action on Smoking and Health. The tautology in the name of the epidemic ‘SARS’, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, is presumably there to avoid an otherwise unfortunate acronym; and the teachers’ organisation ‘NUT’ uses an initialism even though its name could be an acronym – but not a very flattering one.

In contrast to abbreviations, noun phrases, although not strictly single words, can be seen as lexical units. So, for example, in the sentence ‘The temperamental left-sided footballer with classical good looks scored on his debut’, the core noun ‘footballer’ is pre-modified with ‘temperamental left-sided’ and post-modified with ‘with classical good looks’.

2. Change in Pronunciation

When Shakespeare puts the words ‘death-mark’d love’ and ‘could remove’ in a rhyme scheme at the beginning of *Romeo and Juliet*, this causes problems for modern readers and actors – there is no way that ‘love’ and ‘remove’ rhyme in modern Standard English. The fact that they are in a rhyme scheme as part of a sonnet is strong evidence that to Shakespeare these words would have rhymed. From close attention to such things as rhyme it is possible to have some idea of how Shakespeare’s plays may have sounded to

contemporary audiences. Recording equipment gives us much clearer evidence that as recently as the 1940s and 1950s actors such as Olivier and Gielgud sound very different from actors nowadays (Beard, 2004: 95).

Pronunciation then, like everything else in language, changes over time, and because it involves the sounds of language, and so is very obvious, it leads to particularly strong attitudes. Change in pronunciation is largely responsible for the existence of different ‘accents’—that is, different ways of pronouncing a language. The word *accent*, as it is used in linguistics, simply means a particular way of pronouncing the language (Trask, 2005: 19). Hence, every speaker of English has an accent. It is not just the Glasgow bricklayer, the Dorset farmer or the Jamaican pop singer who has an accent: I have an accent, you have an accent, the starchiest television newsreader has an accent, and the Queen herself has an accent. Of course, everybody will certainly regard some accents as more familiar, or as more prestigious, than others, but this cannot change the fact that every speaker necessarily has an accent.

For some people in Britain the pronunciation of ‘data’ with a short first ‘a’ sound is like nails scraping on a blackboard. In Britain, there are often hostile attitudes to what is perceived to be American pronunciation. The so-called ‘mid-Atlantic drawl’ of some radio disc jockeys and television presenters has been much mocked, with a recent trend being to replace them with presenters who have a clearly obvious British regional accent. (Although the range of accents is not equally distributed – there are far more Irish and Geordie than Glaswegian or Brummie.) When a president or other public figure stresses the first syllable ‘u’ on ‘United States’ a whole host of attitudes can be released in British hearers.

A BBC guide to pronunciation in 1981 recommended that broadcasters should use the following:

- | | | |
|-------------|---|---------------------------|
| (10)adults | – | stress first syllable |
| aristocrat | – | stress on first syllable |
| comparable | – | stress on first syllable |
| controversy | – | stress on first syllable |
| decade | – | stress on first syllable |
| contribute | – | stress on second syllable |
| dispute | – | stress on second syllable |
| distribute | – | stress on second syllable |

harass – stress on first syllable
research – stress on second syllable
(Beard, 2005: 96)

Almost certainly, though, despite such instructions, the pronunciation of these words is subtly shifting. It is not just individual words though that undergo change. Australian ‘soaps’ have been blamed (note that language change is rarely given credit!) for the upwards intonation that increasingly occurs at the end of an utterance, regardless of whether it is a question or not. Where pronunciation patterns are associated with young people in particular there are likely to be polarised attitudes; older people will deplore, younger people will find common identity.

3. Change in Spelling

Although the English written alphabet has twenty-six letters, these letters and their combinations represent something like forty-four basic sounds. George Bernard Shaw famously highlighted what he saw as the eccentricity of English spelling by spelling the word *fish* as ‘ghoti’: ‘gh’ from ‘tough’; ‘o’ from ‘women’; and ‘ti’ from ‘fruition’. Shaw was one of a number of people who have tried over the years to rationalise spelling by deliberate change. The ITA (Initial Teaching Alphabet) was popular in schools in the 1960s and 1970s as an aid to early literacy. Although spelling is as arbitrary as any other aspect of language, any attempt to change spelling meets fierce opposition. There are many more aspects to writing than spelling ‘correctly’, yet for many people ‘being able to spell’ is the most important sign of whether someone is literate (Beard, 2004: 92).

Spelling has undergone steady change over time, although the standardisation of spelling through dictionaries has obviously slowed this process. In Britain there is particular disdain for what are seen as American spellings, such as ‘flavor’, ‘theater’, ‘fulfill’. These though are attitudes to the culture of the language users rather than being logical objections. The use of spell-checkers on computers has added another layer of controversial ‘authority’ and the dominance of Microsoft often reinforces American patterns. In addition, new modes of communication such as texting have led to alternative ways of spelling, and subsequent cries of horror about declining standards. Meanwhile commercial organisations in particular ‘play’ with spelling to create various effects: listings in the Tyneside telephone directory

include: ‘Xpress Ironing’, ‘Xpertise Training’, ‘Xsite Architecture’, ‘Xtreme Talent’ and ‘Xyst Marketing Agency’.

In spite of the role of dictionaries and the creation of spelling checker, it is perfectly possible for spelling to change, and indeed the spelling of English has changed substantially over the centuries, both in its main lines and in the details of particular words. As Trask (2005: 24) noted that sometimes the spelling has changed to represent a genuine change in the pronunciation of a word, as when the Old English spelling *hlæfdige* was eventually changed to *lady* to keep up with the newer pronunciation. In other cases the general spelling conventions of English have been altered, leading to a change of spelling even without any change in pronunciation, as when Old English *cwic* was replaced by *quick*.

4. Change in Grammar

In the previous sub-chapters, we have seen examples of the ways in which language change has resulted in differences of vocabulary and pronunciation among the several varieties of contemporary English. In this sub-chapter we shall be looking at the phenomenon of grammatical change. Differences in grammatical forms between varieties of English are perhaps less conspicuous than differences in vocabulary or pronunciation, but they nevertheless exist. Consider the following two sentences, and decide which seems more natural to you:

- (11) a. My turntable needs the stylus changed.
b. My turntable needs the stylus changing.

It is likely that we find one of these much more normal than the other. Very roughly, if we live in the southeast of England, in Scotland or in North America, we probably prefer the first form; if we come from the north or the Midlands of England, or from the southwest, we are more likely to prefer the second. (‘very roughly’ means the distribution of these two forms is rather complex.) Here we have a case in which different regional varieties of English have developed slightly different grammatical forms. Now consider another pair of examples, and decide which you prefer:

- (12) a. The stylus needs changed.
b. The stylus needs changing.

This time the distribution is different. The (12a) form is preferred by most speakers in Scotland and in the western Pennsylvania area of the United States (an area, remember, which was largely settled by people of Scottish origin). All other speakers use the (12b) form, and indeed usually find the (12a) form startling. Consider another pair of examples:

- (13) a. She gave it me.
b. She gave me it.

Which of these is more normal for you? Most speakers in the north of England appear to prefer the (13a) form, as do also many southern speakers. Other southerners, and probably most speakers outside England, use only the (13b) form. In this case, the historical evidence seems to show rather clearly that the (13a) form was once usual for all English speakers; the (13b) pattern appears to be an innovation that has appeared in the last two or three centuries.

More surprising examples of grammatical change are not hard to find. The familiar verb *go* formerly had an irregular past-tense form *yede* or *yode*. In about the fifteenth century, however, it acquired a new past-tense form: *went*. Where did this odd-looking form come from? It came from the now rare verb *wend*, which was formerly inflected *wend/went*, just like *send/sent* and *spend/spent*. But the past-tense *went* was detached from *wend* and attached to *go*, which lost its earlier past tense, giving the modern English pattern *go/went*. Meanwhile the verb *wend* has acquired a new past-tense form *wended* (as in *She wended her way home from the party*.)

On the whole, the changes in the grammar of English in the last several centuries have been less than dramatic. At an earlier stage of its history, however, English underwent some changes in its grammar which were decidedly more spectacular and far-reaching.

Most conspicuously, words in Old English changed their form for grammatical purposes far more than occurs in the modern language. So, for example, ‘the king’ is variously *se cyning* or *þone cyning*, depending on its grammatical role, while ‘to the king’ is *pæm cyninge* and ‘to the kings’ is *pæm cyningum*, with the sense of ‘to’ being expressed by the endings. This kind of grammatical behaviour is found in many other European languages, such as German, Russian and Latin. It was formerly the norm in English, too, but, in the centuries following the Norman Conquest, most of these endings disappeared from the language—and indeed English is today a little unusual

among European languages in the small number of grammatical wordendings it uses.

You have probably also noticed that the order of words in Old English is sometimes rather different from the modern order. The placement of pronouns like ‘me’ and ‘it’ has particularly changed, and, as the example *She gave it me/She gave me it*, discussed above, shows, some modern varieties have altered the earlier pattern more than others. It is possible to identify grammatical changes which have been in progress in English for centuries. Let us look at one of these. Consider the following examples:

- (14) a. Edison invented the electric light.
 b. The electric light was invented by Edison.

These two constructions are conveniently called the ACTIVE (14a) and the PASSIVE (14b). From early in the Old English period, the passive construction has existed side by side with the active. For many centuries, however, the passive was limited to occurring in certain very simple types of sentences. In more complex types of sentences, the passive could not be used; this was particularly so with the -ing form of the verb (Trask, 2005: 29).

5. Change in Meaning

Changes in meaning can be looked at via denotative meanings and connotative meanings. The word ‘nice’ which now means ‘pleasant’ or ‘agreeable’ originally meant ‘ignorant’, coming from the Latin *nescire* meaning ‘not know’. Gradually the word moved through ‘coy’ to ‘particular/distinct’, a meaning which it can still have, and then on to its most usual present meaning (Beard, 2004: 94). Context, though, is all, and it is possible to use the word ‘nice’ with quite negative connotations. If you describe your new love interest as ‘nice’, your friend might conclude that the relationship will not last. If you tell your friend that their new jacket is ‘nice’ they might well think that you don’t like it that much. So, denotative meanings in dictionaries can be limited in their scope; a whole range of contextual factors can subtly affect what a word or phrase on any single occasion.

In addition, Trask (2005: 32) used a literary work illustrating change in meaning. He quoted a nineteenth-century nursery rhyme as in (15).

- (16) The child that is born on the Sabbath day
 Is fair and wise, and good and gay.

This rhyme was used to celebrate the Princess Elizabeth (now Queen Elizabeth II) who gave birth to a son, Charles, the future Prince of Wales on a Sunday in 1948. It is most unlikely that any future royal births will be commemorated in quite this way: even the most barnacle-encrusted peer would probably now be reluctant to describe the heir to the throne as ‘gay’. In 1948, the word ‘gay’ had, in everyday usage, only its traditional meaning of ‘cheerful’, ‘lively’. But in the 1950s this word began to be used as a synonym for homosexual, and that is now its most usual sense: if someone tells you John is gay, you will probably understand ‘John is homosexual’, not ‘John is cheerful’. Since 1948, the word gay has changed its meaning rather radically.

In fact, all of the words *villain*, *churl* and *boor* once meant nothing more than ‘farm worker’. Today all three are insults, a development perhaps reflecting the city slicker’s habitual contempt for his or her unsophisticated rural cousins. The word *peasant* is now going the same way: though we can still speak of third-world farmers as ‘peasants’ without intending any slight, we can equally say *You peasant!* meaning ‘You uncultured lout!’. Needless to say, English words have been changing their meanings throughout the history of the language. Some of the changes which have occurred are easy to understand, while others are quite surprising. Here are a few examples: *girl* formerly meant ‘young person (of either sex)’; *meat* formerly meant ‘food (of any kind)’; *dog* was formerly the name of a particular breed of dog. The examples of *girl* and *meat* illustrate what linguists call ‘specialization’, i.e. the meaning of a word becomes less general than formerly. The opposite development, generalization, is illustrated by *dog*. Both of these appear to be particularly common types of change in meaning.

In Spanish, the word *caballo* means ‘horse’, and *caballero*, which is derived from it, apparently means ‘horseman’. However, when you visit Spain, you will see public toilets marked *Caballeros*, but you are hardly likely to observe any horsemen attempting to ride into them, or even up to them. *Caballero* did indeed mean ‘horseman’ once, but, since only people of an elevated social class could afford to ride horses, the word came to mean ‘man of quality’, ‘gentleman’ (in the older sense of this English word); today *caballero* is simply a polite word for ‘man’, just like English ‘gentleman’, which has similarly enlarged its meaning.

One of the most fertile sources of new meanings is the creation of ‘euphemisms’—polite but roundabout expressions for things which are considered too nasty to talk about directly. When indoor plumbing began to

be installed in houses in the eighteenth century, the new little room installed for private purposes was at first called a *water closet*, soon abbreviated to *WC*. Eventually this term came to be regarded as intolerably blunt, and it was variously replaced by *toilet* (which had previously meant simply ‘dressing table’) or *lavatory* (a Latin word meaning ‘place for washing’). Today these words in turn are regarded as unbearably crude by many people, and yet further euphemisms have been pressed into service: the usual American word is now *bathroom* (the toilet and the bath are usually in the same room in an American house), and an American child who says *I gotta go to the bathroom* is definitely not looking for a bath (Trask, 2005: 33).

Sex is another area in which euphemisms flourish. In the nineteenth century, the novelist Jane Austen could write of the very genteel Miss Anne Elliott and her haughty neighbour Captain Wentworth that ‘they had no intercourse but what the commonest civility required’. The author would have been dumbfounded by the effect of this sentence on a modern reader: in her time, of course, the word *intercourse* meant nothing more than ‘dealings between people’. In the twentieth century, however, the phrase *sexual intercourse* was created as a very delicate way of talking about copulation; this has now been shortened to *intercourse*, and this sexual sense is now so prevalent that we find it impossible to use the word in any other sense at all.

In addition to euphemism, another area of meaning worth thinking about with regard to language change involves ‘metaphor’. Whereas literary metaphors tend to be obvious in the comparisons they make (‘I wandered lonely as a cloud’) there are many so-called dead metaphors where the original comparison is less obvious. Linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Goatly (1997) have shown how many ‘dead’ metaphors exist in English and how they can subtly affect the way we think about the world. When a blind student says ‘I see’ when solving a problem in class, they are referring to the mental act of understanding via the physical act of seeing – and nobody in the class notices that a blind student is talking about being able to see.



EXERCISE

Unit 2

External Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) Why do some writers construct texts within generic conventions?

- 2) How can genres be analyzed from its broad standpoints?
- 3) How can genre connect to language change?
- 4) How is ‘borrowing’ related to language change?
- 5) How does language contact contribute to language change?

Internal Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) Explain types of processes in lexical change!
- 2) Give the example(s) of change in pronunciation!
- 3) Give example(s) of change in spelling!
- 4) Notice the following sentences!
 - a. My father bought a new bag me.
 - b. My father bought me a new bag.

What phenomenon of language change happens in the two sentences? Explain!
- 5) How does meaning play a role in language change?

Key to Exercise

Unit 2:

External Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) Some writers may construct texts within generic conventions because they intend their texts to have the particular ‘meanings’ that are associated with the genre. Therefore, readers will interpret such texts according to the same conventions because they are familiar with previous similar texts and recognise the intentions.
- 2) Genres can be analyzed from two broad standpoints, i.e by looking at the linguistic structures in texts, and by looking at the attitudes and values the texts contain.
- 3) Genre connects to language change in three basic ways: (i) changing social attitudes and values can be seen when comparing texts over time; (ii) levels of formality change with a tendency for modern texts to be more informal; and (iii) topic specific vocabulary may change, although it often stays within the same semantic area.
- 4) First, borrowing process can make nothing become something. This is motivated the notion of ‘naming’. As technology develops, language

needs to provide a name for every new item invented. Second, borrowing is motivated by prestige. For a long time, French was a more prestigious language than English, and English speakers were often eager to show off their command of this prestigious language.

- 5) As language contact occurs when two or more languages or varieties interact, there is a possibility that one language is considered more powerful than the other(s). This powerful influence can contribute to change some lexical items in a less powerful variation.

Internal Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) a. Borrowing is the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time (Hoffer, 2002). Borrowing language usually loses words as they are replaced with words from another language. However, not all of kinds of words are borrowed. According to Oshodi (2012), one general belief is that languages do not normally borrow grammatical items from other languages.
- b. Affixation is the process of forming new words by adding either suffixes and/or affixes. Suffixes tend to change the class of a word and can at the same time expand upon its range of meaning. So the noun 'profession', which usually refers to certain types of occupation, gives the adjective 'professional' with its much wider range of meanings. Prefixes are usually much more obviously tied to meaning.
- c. Back-formation involves losing rather than adding an element to a word, so the verb 'to edit' comes from 'editor' and 'to commentate' from 'commentator'.
- d. Clipping is another form of abbreviation, examples being 'veg', 'fan', 'deli'.
- e. Compounding adds two words together as in 'body-blow', 'jet set', with such compounds sometimes using a hyphen to show that two words have been put together.
- f. Blending adds elements of two words together as in 'brunch', 'electrocute'.
- g. Acronyms and initialisms are even more extreme forms of abbreviation.

- 2) According to a BBC guide to pronunciation in 1981, the word *adult* was stressed in the first syllable. However, English native speakers today put the stress in the second syllable.
- 3) The Old English spelling *cwīc* was replaced by *quick*.
The Old English spelling *hlæfdige* was changed to *lady*.
- 4) The phenomenon taking place is change in grammar. The sentence in (a) was once usual for all English speakers. However, the (b) pattern appears to be an innovation that has appeared in the last two or three centuries.
- 5) Changes in meaning can be looked at via denotative meanings and connotative meanings. The word ‘nice’ which now means ‘pleasant’ or ‘agreeable’ originally meant ‘ignorant’, coming from the Latin *nescire* meaning ‘not know’.



SUMMARY

Language Change is motivated by both internal and external aspect of language change. The external aspects include genre, borrowing, and language contact. Genre is used to describe groups of texts which seem to have similar language features and to be performing similar social functions. Genres as communicative texts indicate what kinds of activities are regarded as important within a society. This means that genres change over time because they reflect the way social situations change. At the same time, by reflecting social change, they can actually reinforce such change. The adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language. There are several reasons why English speakers want to borrow a foreign word, and the simplest one is that the word is the name for something new. All changes are ultimately due to contact, which is an arguable position, depending on what one means when one speaks of “a variety”.

Meanwhile, internal aspects include changes in lexicon, pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and meaning. Lexical change usually involves the introduction of ‘new’ lexical items into the language that includes borrowing, affixation, back formation, clipping, compounding, blending, acronym and initialism. Pronunciation then, like everything else in language, changes over time, and because it involves the sounds of language, and so is very obvious, it leads to particularly strong attitudes. Change in pronunciation is largely responsible for the existence of different ‘accents’—that is, different ways of pronouncing a

language. Spelling has undergone steady change over time, although the standardisation of spelling through dictionaries has obviously slowed this process. In Britain there is particular disdain for what are seen as American spellings, such as ‘flavor’, ‘theater’, ‘fulfill’. These though are attitudes to the culture of the language users rather than being logical objections. Differences in grammatical forms between varieties of English are perhaps less conspicuous than differences in vocabulary or pronunciation, but they nevertheless exist. Changes in meaning can be looked at via denotative meanings and connotative meanings. The word ‘nice’ which now means ‘pleasant’ or ‘agreeable’ originally meant ‘ignorant’, coming from the Latin *nescire* meaning ‘not know’.



FORMATIVE TEST 2 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) Give the example of language change (can be in English or in your local language) motivated by genre?
- 2) Mention the factors leading to borrowing?
- 3) Why was Labov’s (1994) view of phonological change “from below” and “from above” criticized by Milroy (1999)?
- 4) Give the examples of affixation that contributes to lexical change!
- 5) Give the examples of change in spelling taking place in Bahasa Indonesia!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

Language Change and English Language Teaching

A. THE SPREAD OF CHANGES

1. From Group to Group

Many linguists have used the metaphor of waves to explain how linguistic changes spread through a community. Any particular change typically spreads simultaneously in different directions, though not necessarily at the same rate in all directions. Social factors such as age, status, gender and region affect the rates of change and the directions in which the waves roll most swiftly. The wave metaphor is one useful way of visualising the spread of a change from one group to another – as figure 8.3 demonstrates.

In any speech community different sets of waves intersect. You belong simultaneously to a particular age group, region and social group. A change may spread along any of these dimensions and into another group. Linguistic changes infiltrate groups from the speech of people on the margins between social or regional groups – via the ‘middle’ people who have contacts in more than one group. These people seem to act as linguistic stockbrokers or entrepreneurs. This point is illustrated in more detail below when we look at the reasons for linguistic change.

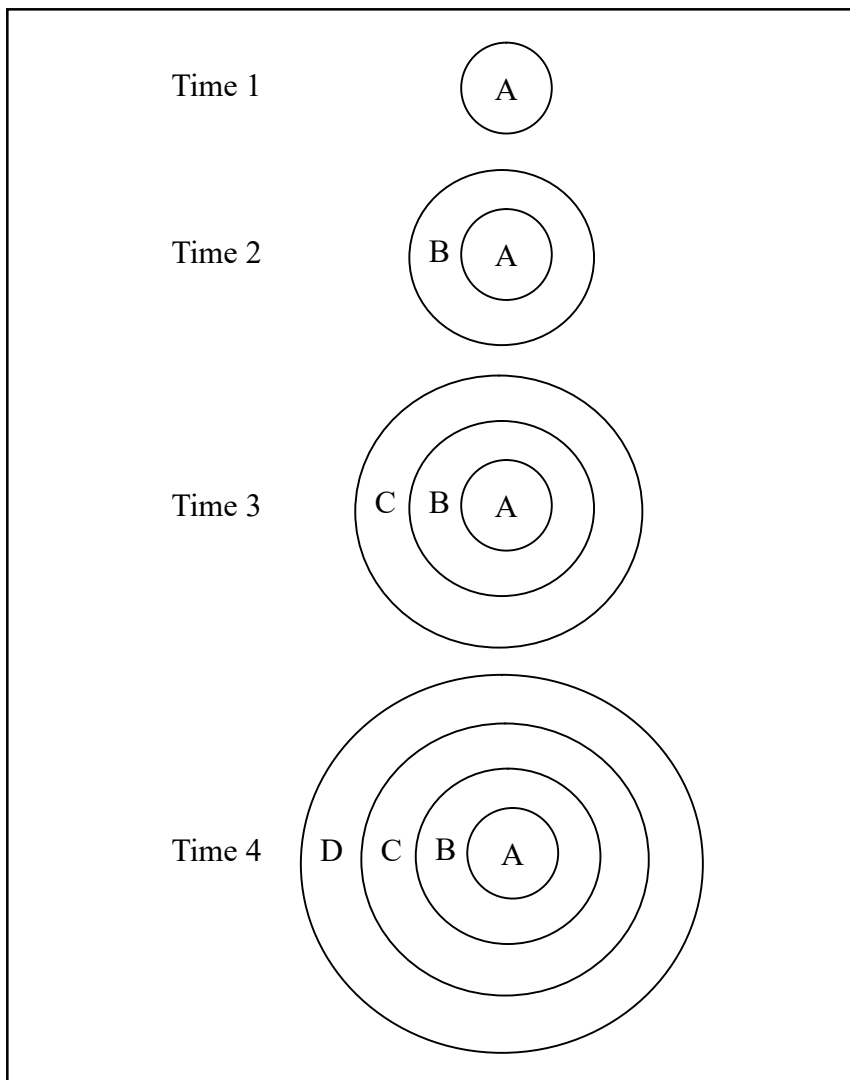


Figure 8.3
The wave-like spread of linguistic changes
Holmes (2013: 215)

This diagram was originally proposed by Bailey (1973: 159) that has been simplified by Holmes (2013: 215). The letters A, B, C, D used in Figure 8.3 respectively represent different age groups, social groups or regional groups.

2. From Style to Style

One theory of how a change spreads presents the process as a very systematic one. In the speech of a particular individual, it suggests the change spreads from one style to another (say from more formal speech to more casual speech), while at the same time it spreads from one individual to another within a social group, and subsequently from one social group to another. Using this model, we would trace the spread of prestigious post-vocalic [r] pronunciation in New York, for instance, first in the most formal style of the young people in the most socially statusful group in the community. Then it would spread to a less formal style for that group, while also spreading to the most formal style of other groups, such as to older people's speech, and to the speech of people from a lower social group. The change gradually spreads from style to style and from group to group, till eventually almost everyone uses the new form in all their speech styles. Figure 8.4 provides a visual representation of this process.

When a change is a prestigious one, it usually starts at the top of the speech community – in the most formal style of the highest status group and spreads downwards. A vernacular change, such as centralisation in Martha's Vineyard, or the spread of glottal stop for [t] in the middle and at the end of words, tends to begin in people's more casual styles. If it is a form which is considered very non-standard, it may take a long time to spread, and it may never gain acceptance by the highest status social groups or in formal speech. Innovating groups who introduce new vernacular sound changes tend to be around the middle of the social class range – in the upper working class, for instance. And, as one might expect, younger people tend to adopt new forms more quickly than older people do and they use them more extensively. So in the London area and East Anglia, for instance, the use of glottal stop for final [t] has spread very fast in recent years, and it is now heard very frequently even in the more formal styles of young people (Holmes, 2013:216).

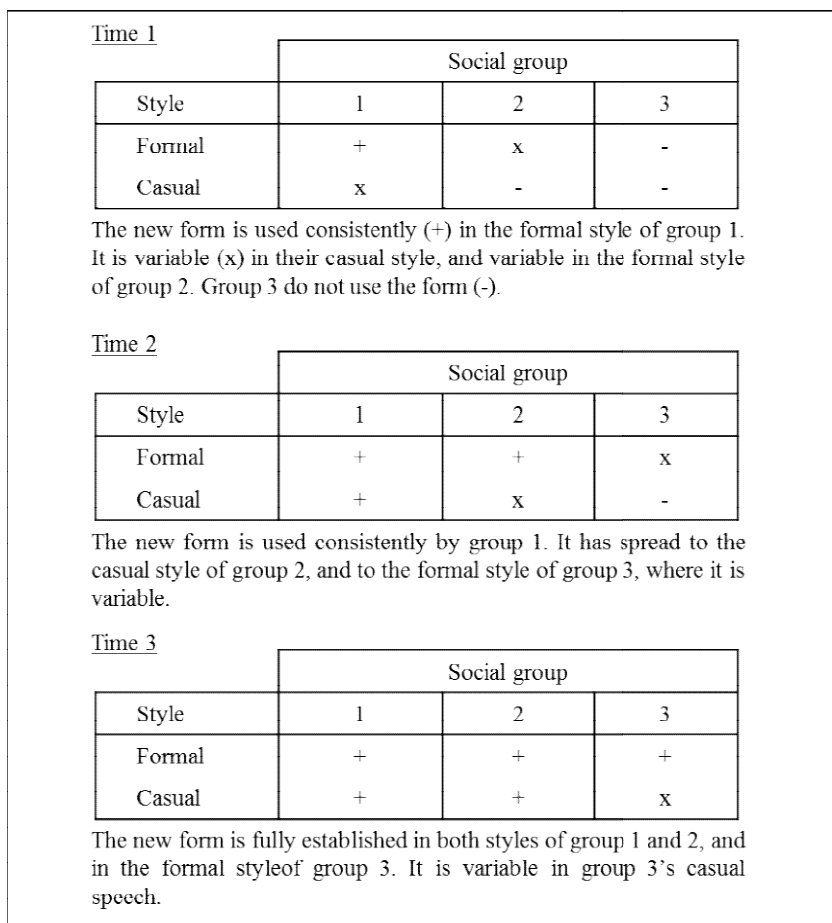


Figure 8.4

A model of the spread of a vernacular change through two speech styles and three social groups (Holmes, 2013: 216)

This diagram was originally proposed by Bailey (1973: 176) that has been simplified by Holmes (2013: 216).

3. Form Word to Word

It seems to be the case that sound changes not only spread from one person to another and from one style to another style, they also spread from

one word to another. Sound changes typically spread through different words one by one. This is called *lexical diffusion*. According to Penny (2003: 70), lexical diffusion emphasizes that during the spread of any change some words are affected before others, or, to look at the process from the other angle, some words are more resistant to change than others. Those which are more resistant to change will usually be those lexical items which signify aspects of reality which are central to the concerns of the community whose speech is potentially open to the change in question.

When a sound change begins, all the words with a particular vowel do not change at once in the speech of a community. People do not go to bed one night using the sound [u:] and wake up using [au] in *house*, *pouch*, *how* and *out*. Instead, the sound change occurs first in one word, and then later in another, and so on. In Belfast, for instance, a vowel change affected the vowel in the word *pull* before *put*, and *put* before *should*. And in East Anglia, the vowel in *must* changed before the vowel in *come*, which changed before the vowel in *uncle*, although they all started off with the same vowel, and they all ended up with the identical different vowel at a later point. Of course, a change often does not spread to all the possible words which could be affected (i.e. the sound change does not go to completion), so there are often some words which remain with the original pronunciation. In English, *trough* and *tough* got left behind with final [f] compared to *though* and *bough* which lost their final fricative consonants as a result of a widespread sound change (Holmes, 2013: 218).

In New Zealand, a vowel change which is currently in progress is the merging of the vowels in word pairs like *beer* and *bear*, which used to be distinct. This change, too, seems to be proceeding by the process of lexical diffusion. A recent study suggested that the distinction had disappeared completely for most young people in the pair *really/rarely*, while *fear* and *fair* were still distinct in many young people's speech.

Such lexical diffusion of change is, of course, evident also in Spanish. The isogloss which, in Cantabria, separates retention of initial /h/ in *hacer* 'to do, make (in English)' from its deletion (i.e., the isogloss which separates /haθér/ from /aθér/) is to be found further to the west than the isogloss which separates these two pronunciations in *hacha* 'axe' (Penny, 1984). The data provided by ALEA (1962–73: maps 1548–50, 1553, 1556) reveal a similar word-by-word retreat of /h/ in western Andalusia. In the Spanish words *hiel* 'bile', *hollín* 'soot', *hoz* 'sickle', and *moho* 'mould', /h/ appears in practically

all the localities studied in western Andalusia, sometimes recorded alongside a form without /h/. By contrast with words such as these, which refer to concrete notions, the abstract *hambre* ‘hunger’ appears to be much more open to influence from the standard, showing a large predominance of /h/-less forms, in the same area of western Andalusia (Penny, 2003: 71).

B. LANGUAGE CHANGE AND ITS IMPLICATION IN ELT

1. English Change in APPARENT TIME and in REAL TIME

When we hear the word ‘renumeration’ for ‘remuneration’, we will probably assume that it is an error. But errors can persist and spread. Is ‘renumeration’ an error, or has the form now changed? Is there a point at which observers can claim to have seen a change? When should dictionaries include both forms? The questions are equally impossible to answer whether we are asking about a change in the speech of a single individual or a change in ‘English’, especially since both forms will typically co-exist for some time in either case. In retrospect, we can say that a change took place at a certain time, but it is difficult to observe that change while it is occurring. In the change from ‘renumeration’ to ‘remuneration’, any speaker must say one or the other. In other cases, though, intermediate forms are possible. Consider the change from Old English *hūs* /hu:s/ to Modern standard English *house* /haʊs/. This pronunciation did not simply jump from one form to another, but changed almost imperceptibly over time. We can hear different stages in the continuing change if we listen to an old-fashioned upper-class Londoner, a young upper-class Londoner, a young speaker from the Home Counties, a young Cockney, a New Zealander and an Australian saying *house* (Bauer, 1994: 12). If we could hear speakers of Old English, we would be able to hear that their vowel phoneme (or distinctive speech sound) in *hūs* sounded different from that in current *house* even if we could not specify the precise changes that phoneme underwent from decade to decade. Bloomfield (1933: 357) summarized this in his slogan ‘phonemes change’.

Consider an example from Trudgill (1974; 1988) using techniques developed by Labov. This concerns a change affecting /e/ before an /l/ in Norwich, in eastern England. The change in question is one from [ɛ1] to [ɜ1] to [ʌ1] in words like *bell*. Trudgill terms this change ‘centralization’. He assigns a pronunciation like [ɛ1] the index value 1, a pronunciation like [ɜ1] the index value 2 and a pronunciation [ʌ1] the index value 3. By adding the

index values in a lot of words and dividing by the number of tokens, he is able to create an ‘index score’ for individuals. By averaging the index scores of individuals, he can calculate an index score for a whole group. Let us consider what Trudgill’s informants did when reading a passage aloud. Their index scores show how centralized their pronunciations of the relevant vowel were on average. If we plot their index score against their year of birth, we find the pattern shown in Figure 8.5, where the range of possible index scores runs from 1 (no centralization, closest to [ɛ1]) to 3 (maximum possible centralization, closest to [ʌ]) on all occasions).

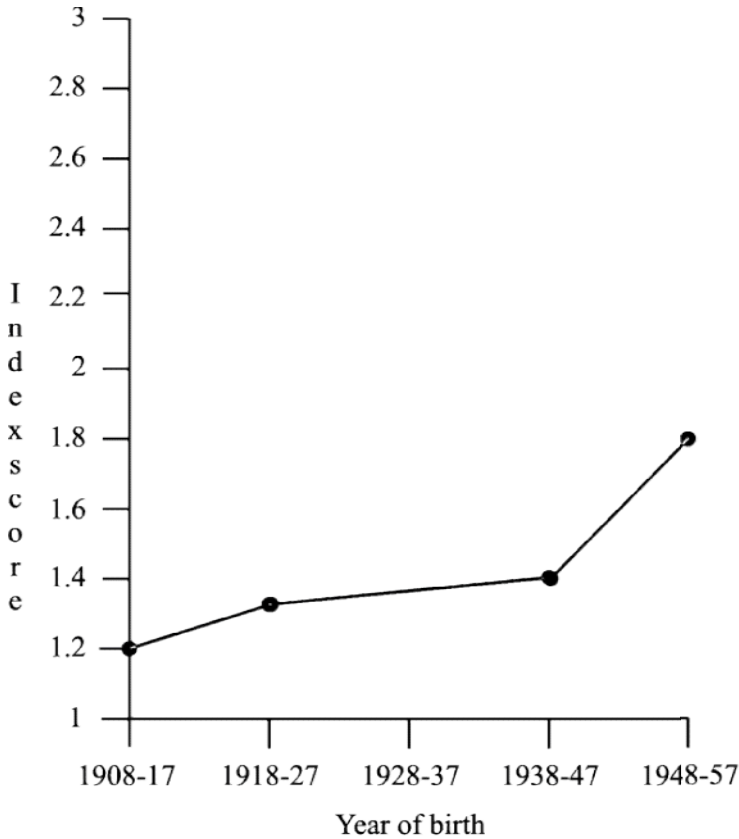


Figure 8.5
Changes to /ɛ/ before /l/ in Norwich (Trudgill, 1974; 1988)

The graph indicates that younger speakers show a greater degree of centralization than do older speakers. In this particular case, we have further evidence that a change was taking place when the material summarized in Figure 8.4 was collected in 1968. Trudgill returned to Norwich fifteen years later, and looked at the language of the new generation of young speakers, and found the trend indicated in Figure 8.4 was continuing (Trudgill, 1988).

The change illustrated in Figure 8.5 is a change in APPARENT TIME: because older speakers show little evidence of a particular feature, and progressively younger speakers show more and more, we can hypothesize that the change is gradually becoming more established. This can be complemented by observing change in REAL TIME, as Trudgill did when he returned to Norwich fifteen years after his original survey, and carried out a new one. There is a certain amount of evidence that change in apparent time is not mirrored exactly by change in real time (e.g. Bauer, 1985: 76-77), but it is generally accepted that evidence of change in apparent time does indicate that change is taking place in real time. So Labovian methodology allows us to observe language change by observing a pattern of variation with age. One of the important advances that has been made in Labovian methodology is the demonstration that precisely the same kind of variation can be found when the conditioning factor is not time but social class or formality.

In addition, change in apparent time is based on the analysis of the distribution of linguistic variables across different age groups (Turrel, 2003: 7). However, she further says that this distribution across age groups should not be confused with the regular linguistic behaviour of age grading, repeated in every generation, which has to do rather with differences resulting from the language development found in all individuals. Meanwhile, observation in real time observes a speech community at two discrete points in time.

2. ELT implication of English changes

The spread of English has brought with it the development of many new varieties of English, which has led to much discussion regarding what standards should be promoted in the teaching of English. Implicit in discussions of variation are the notion of standards, a standard language, and issues of power and identity that are built into such concepts. Standard language is the term generally used to refer to that variety of a language that is considered the norm. It is the variety regarded as the ideal for educational purposes, and usually used as a yardstick by which to measure other varieties

and implement standard-based assessment (McKay, 2010: 109). The related notion of language standards has to do with the language rules that inform the standard and that are then taught in the schools.

The challenge that World Englishes present to the Standard English ideology is one of plurality – that there should be different standards for different contexts of use and that the definition of each Standard English should be endonormative (determined locally) rather than exonormative (determined outside of its context of use). However, if there are different forms of Standard English, the concern of mutual intelligibility emerges. The fact that some speakers of English use a variety of English that is quite different from a standard variety of English has led some to argue that the use of these varieties of English will lead to a lack of intelligibility among speakers of English. It is this fear that has led to a widespread debate over standards in the use of English (McKay, 2010; Rajagopalan, 2004).

One of the early debates over standards occurred at a 1984 conference to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the British Council. At this conference, Randolph Quirk and Braj Kachru, two key figures in the growing debate over standards in international English, expressed conflicting views on the issue of standards in relation to international English. Quirk argued for the need to uphold standards in the use of English in both countries where English is spoken as a native language and in countries where English is used as a second or foreign language. He maintained that tolerance for variation in language use was educationally damaging in Anglophone countries and that the relatively narrow range of purposes for which the nonnative needs to use English is arguably well catered for by a single monochrome standard form that looks as good on paper as it sounds in speech (Quirk, 1985: 6). For Quirk, a common standard of use was warranted in all contexts of English language use.

Kachru (1985: 30), on the other hand, argued that the spread of English had brought with it a need to re-examine traditional notions of codification and standardization. He said that the global diffusion of English has taken an interesting turn: the native speakers of this language seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardization; in fact, if current statistics are any indication, they have become a minority. This sociolinguistic fact must be accepted and its implication recognized. What we need now are new paradigms and perspective for linguistic and pedagogical research and for understanding the linguistic creativity in multilingual

situations across cultures. Kachru maintained that allowing for a variety of linguistic norms would not lead to a lack of intelligibility among varieties of English; rather what would emerge from this situation would be an educated variety of English that would be intelligible across the many varieties of English.

The debate regarding the teaching of standards continues today with some arguing for the promotion of a monolithic model of English, while others support a pluricenter model. Those like Quirk who argue for a monolithic model contend that native-speaker models should be promoted because they have been codified and have a degree of historical authority. Kachru insisted that ‘the native speakers [of English] seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardisation’ (Kachru 1985: 30). The monolithic model is in keeping with one of the central tenets that Phillipson (1992) argues has traditionally informed English language teaching, namely, that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker. This perspective also lends support to the notion of the insider and outsider, the “Self” and the “Other”, since it is native speakers who are seen as the guardians of standard English. On the other hand, those like Kachru who support a pluricentric model of English contend that language contact necessarily leads to language change. They argue that the development of new varieties of English is a natural result of the spread of English. In many ways, the debate reflects a tension between the global and the local brought about by the new social space of globalization. Whereas global space has brought exposure to English, local space has taken the language and modified it for the local context. What is important to add to the pluricentric perspective is that today language use is often not just English but a mix of a variety of languages that highlights the speaker’s identity and proficiency. In such encounters, the question of standards needs to be highly contextualized.

The fact that new varieties of English have developed is closely associated with issues of identity. These new varieties are a factor of cultural and linguistic contact; they reflect individuals’ desire to signal their unique identity while speaking a global language. The new varieties also become a basis for ‘Othering’ in which those with more power assert that their variety is in fact the ‘standard’ (McKay, 2010: 111). Finally, what is considered by many to be the standard is the variety promoted in educational institutions, places to which those with less affluence often have limited access.



EXERCISE

Unit 3**The Spread of Changes***Exercise*

- 1) Explain how changes in language spread!
- 2) How does the change from style to style take place?
- 3) Explain the difference between prestigious change and vernacular change!
- 4) What's your understanding of lexical diffusion?
- 5) What is a vowel change which is currently in progress in New Zealand?

Language change and its implication in ELT*Exercise*

- 1) What is a change in apparent time?
- 2) What is a change in real time?
- 3) What does it mean by standard language? And how is it defined in the context of education?
- 4) What is the difference between monolithic model of English and a pluricenter model of English?
- 5) Why the question of standard language is needs to be highly contextualized?

Key to Exercise**Unit 3:****The Spread of Changes***Exercise*

- 1) Language change spreads in different ways: (i) from group to group, (ii) from style to style, and (iii) from word to word.
- 2) The change spreads from one style to another means the change from more formal speech to more casual speech, while at the same time it spreads from one individual to another within a social group, and subsequently from one social group to another.
- 3) A prestigious change usually starts at the top of the speech community – in the most formal style of the highest status group and spreads

downwards. A vernacular change, such as centralisation in Martha's Vineyard, or the spread of glottal stop for [t] in the middle and at the end of words, tends to begin in people's more casual styles.

- 4) Lexical diffusion is about sound changes which typically spread through different words one by one. Lexical diffusion emphasizes that during the spread of any change some words are affected before others, or, to look at the process from the other angle, some words are more resistant to change than others.
- 5) The merging of the vowels in word pairs like beer and bear, which used to be distinct.

Language change and its implication in ELT

Exercise

- 1) A change in apparent time is a change based on the analysis of the distribution of linguistic variables across different age groups.
- 2) A change in real time is a change based on the observation of a speech community at two discrete points in time.
- 3) Standard language is the term generally used to refer to that variety of a language that is considered the norm. It is the variety regarded as the ideal for educational purposes, and usually used as a yardstick by which to measure other varieties and implement standard-based assessment.
The related notion of language standards has to do with the language rules that inform the standard and that are then taught in the schools.
- 4) A monolithic model contends that native-speaker models should be promoted because they have been codified and have a degree of historical authority. Meanwhile, a pluricenter model of English has traditionally informed that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker.
- 5) Because what is important to add to the pluricentric perspective is that today language use is often not just English but a mix of a variety of languages that highlights the speaker's identity and proficiency. The variety of languages they reflect individuals' desire to signal their unique identity while speaking a language.



SUMMARY

Language change spreads in different ways: (i) from group to group, (ii) from style to style, and (iii) from word to word. Many linguists have used the metaphor of waves to explain how linguistic changes spread through a community. Any particular change typically spreads simultaneously in different directions, though not necessarily at the same rate in all directions. Social factors such as age, status, gender and region affect the rates of change and the directions in which the waves roll most swiftly. In the speech of a particular individual, it suggests the change spreads from one style to another (say from more formal speech to more casual speech), while at the same time it spreads from one individual to another within a social group, and subsequently from one social group to another. It seems to be the case that sound changes not only spread from one person to another and from one style to another style, they also spread from one word to another. Sound changes typically spread through different words one by one. This is called lexical diffusion.

In terms of time, language change can be both a change in APPARENT TIME and in REAL TIME. The change in APPARENT TIME happens because older speakers show little evidence of a particular feature, and progressively younger speakers show more and more, we can hypothesize that the change is gradually becoming more established. Meanwhile, the change in REAL TIME uses the change in apparent time as the exact mirror, but it is generally accepted that evidence of change in apparent time does indicate that change is taking place in real time. Observation in real time observes a speech community at two discrete points in time.

The spread of English has brought with it the development of many new varieties of English, which has led to much discussion regarding what standards should be promoted in the teaching of English. Kachru (1985: 30) argued that the spread of English had brought with it a need to re-examine traditional notions of codification and standardization.



FORMATIVE TEST 3

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What is the important advance that has been made in Labovian methodology of a change in apparent and real time?
- 2) What does it mean by endonormative and exonormative?

- 3) What is the implication of the fact that some speakers of English use a variety of English that is quite different from a standard variety of English?
- 4) What are the conflicting views on the issue of standards in relation to international English on the debate of the 50th anniversary of the British Council?
- 5) Why did Phillipson (1992) argue that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker of English?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) The phenomenon illustrated in (a) shows variation in language because the two words are still being used. The only thing distinguishing them is the place and the participants involved in the conversation.

On the other hand, the phenomenon illustrated in (b) shows change in language. People stopped using the old word '*mengejawantahkan*' to replace it by the word '*mengaplikasikan*'. However, the old word is still in the memory of elderly people.

- 2) A frequent linguistic unit is remembered better because frequency of exposure leads to greater memory strength.
- 3) The use of these new words are related to the notion of social need. Language alters as the needs of its users alter. Nowadays, more and more people have interaction through internet connection; therefore, they need new words facilitating their new kinds of interaction.
- 4) The sentences do, however, convey very different social meanings as a direct result of their morphological variants. That is, they carry sociolinguistic significance. The sentence in (a) and (b), with its standard forms, is emblematic of middle-class, educated, or relatively formal speech, while the sentence in (c) is emblematic of working-class, uneducated, or highly colloquial (vernacular) speech. These differences will also be readily recognized by virtually every speaker of the language.
- 5) Girls use language to (i) create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality; (ii) criticize others in acceptable ways; and (iii) interpret accurately the speech of other girls. Besides, girls' talk is said to be non-hierarchical, co-operative and non-competitive, and to reflect intimacy, loyalty and commitment.

On the other hand, boys use language to (i) assert their position and dominance; (ii) attract and maintain an audience; and (iii) assert themselves when others have the floor. Besides, boys' talk is characterized by a hierarchical structure and power, briefly competitiveness and lack of cooperation.

Formative Test 2

- 1) In English, a narrative is used to retell whatever happened in the past either it is factual or fictional. However, today, a narrative is limited only to retelling the event by considering the plot of the text such as orientation, complication, and resolution. If the text does not include this plot, despite its occurrence in the past, it can belong to either recount or report.
- 2) a. The need of naming a new thing or object.
b. Prestige reason.
- 3) Milroy (1999) remarks that “no empirical study so far carried out has actually demonstrated that sound change can arise spontaneously within a variety”. Milroy further points out that specific changes are thought to be internally caused when there is no evidence for external causation, that is, for language contact. These remarks imply that all changes are ultimately due to contact, which is an arguable position, depending on what one means when one speaks of “a variety”.
- 4) a. The addition of “e-” is a new prefix standing for “electronic”. This affix emerges as the advancement of technology involving internet. So, nowadays, we often hear the word “email”, “epal”, and so on.
b. The addition of suffix “-er” for almost all of word classes, for example, “facebooker” referring to people having account in facebook, “jilbaber” referring to women wearing a veil, etc.
- 5) Bahasa Indonesia used to have diphthongs such as “oe” and “dj”. However, today, we never find those diphthongs anymore: “oe” is replaced by monophthong “u”, and “dj” is replaced by “j”. The spelling “j” itself was also once used in Bahasa Indonesia to refer to “y”.

Formative Test 3

- 1) The important advance that has been made in Labovian methodology is the demonstration that precisely the same kind of variation can be found when the conditioning factor is not time but social class or formality.
- 2) Endonormative means the definition of Standard English should be determined locally, while exonormative means the definition of Standard English should be determined outside of its context of use.
- 3) The fact has led people to argue that the use of these varieties of English will lead to a lack of intelligibility among speakers of English.

- 4) One of the main speakers, Randolph Quirk argued for the need to uphold standards in the use of English in both countries where English is spoken as a native language and in countries where English is used as a second or foreign language. He maintained that tolerance for variation in language use was educationally damaging in Anglophone countries and that the relatively narrow range of purposes for which the nonnative needs to use English is arguably well catered for by a single monochrome standard form that looks as good on paper as it sounds in speech.

On the other hand, another main speaker, Braj Kachru, argued that the spread of English had brought with it a need to re-examine traditional notions of codification and standardization. He said that the global diffusion of English has taken an interesting turn: the native speakers of this language seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardization; in fact, if current statistics are any indication, they have become a minority.

- 5) Because it is native speakers who are seen as the guardians of standard English.

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