

## Words floating on the surface of sound change

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### The Neogrammarian viewpoint

Every sound change, inasmuch as it occurs mechanically, takes place according to laws that admit no exception.  
--Ostoff and Brugmann 1878

Sound-change is merely a change in the speakers' manner of producing phonemes and accordingly, affects a phoneme at every occurrence, regardless of the nature of any particular linguistic form in which the phoneme happens to occur. . . The whole assumption can be briefly put into the words: *phonemes change*. --Bloomfield 1933:353-4

### Lexical diffusion

We hold that words change their pronunciations by discrete, perceptual increments (i.e., phonetically abrupt) but severally at a time (i.e., lexically gradual) --Wang and Chen 1977:150.

The lexically gradual view of sound change is incompatible, in principle, with the structuralist way of looking at sound change. --Chen and Wang 1957:257.

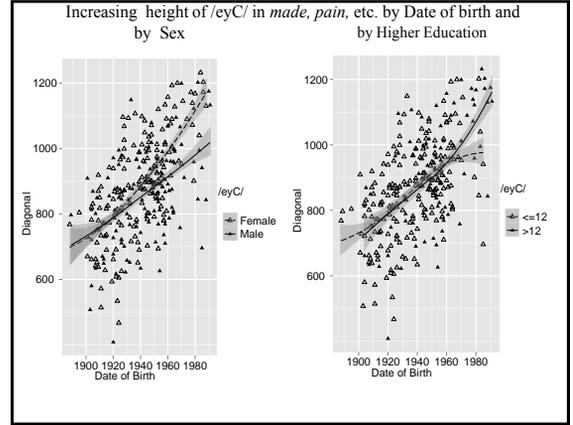
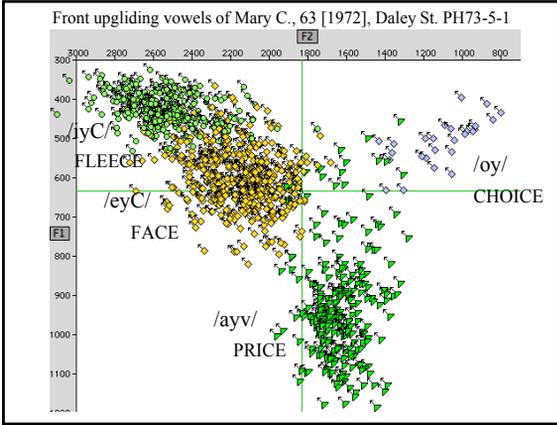
### The resolution proposed in 1981

Regular sound change is the result of a gradual transformation of a single phonetic feature of a phoneme in a continuous phonetic space.

Lexical diffusion is the result of the abrupt substitution of one phoneme for another in words that contain that phoneme.

The combined effects of lexical diffusion and regular sound change

## Regular sound change in Philadelphia



Regression analysis of raising of /eyC/ along the front diagonal for Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus [N=28,026]

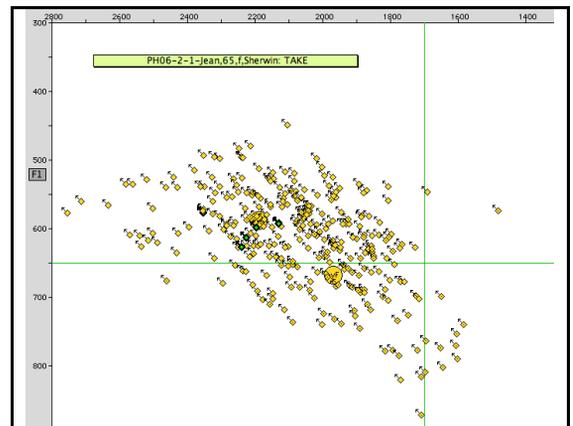
PHONETIC	Coef f	prob
Fricative coda	-56	0.0001
Nasal coda	-129	0.0001
Velar cpda	-110	0.0001
Labial onset	70	0.0001
Nasal onset	-21	0.0054
Apica onsetl	89	0.0001
Pallatal onse	202	0.0001
Velar onset	334	0.0001
C/Liq onset	-90	0.0001
No onset	236	0.0001
Multisyllabic	19	0.0001
Coda cluster	39	0.0001

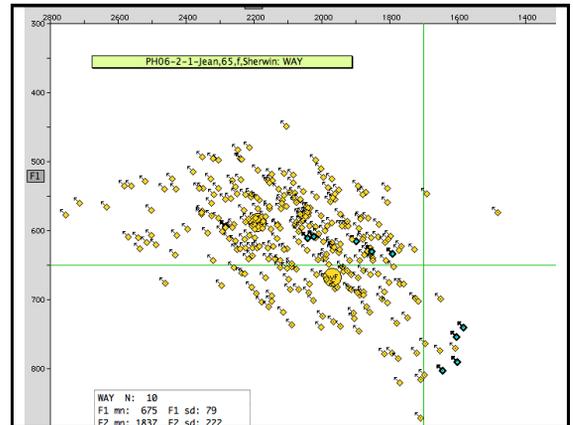
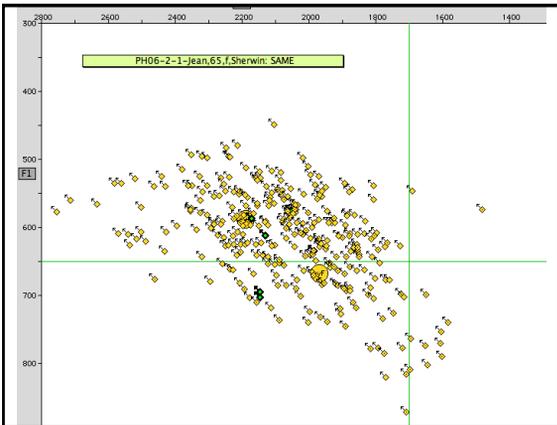
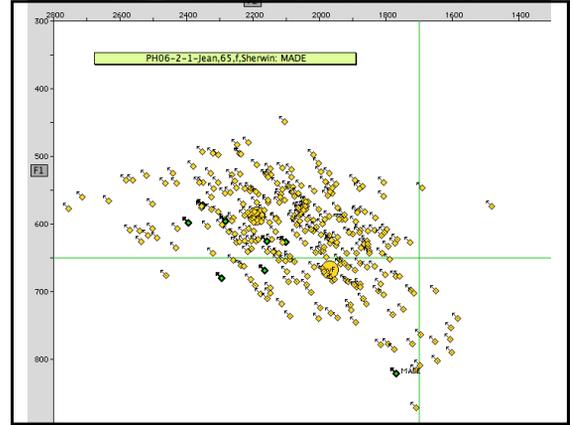
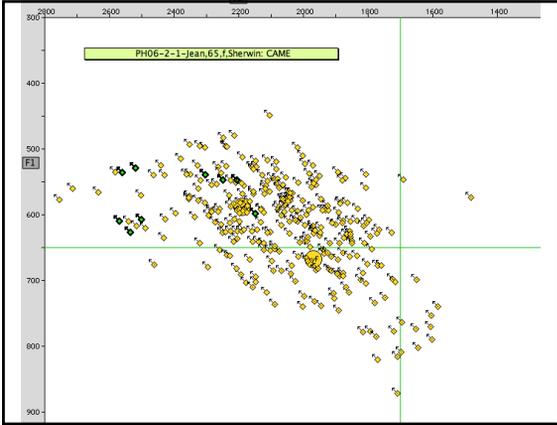
Regression analysis of raising of /eyC/ along the front diagonal for Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus [N=28,026]

PHONETIC	Coef f	prob	SOCIAL	Coeff	prob
Fricative coda	-56	0.0001	Date of birth	4	0.0001
Nasal coda	-129	0.0001	Higher Ed	16	0.0001
Velar cpda	-110	0.0001	Black	-21	0.0004
Labial onset	70	0.0001	Female	29	0.0001
Nasal onset	-21	0.0054	Italian	51	0.0001
Apica onsetl	89	0.0001	Irish	40	0.0001
Pallatal onse	202	0.0001			
Velar onset	334	0.0001			
C/Liq onset	-90	0.0001			
No onset	236	0.0001			
Multisyllabic	19	0.0001			
Coda cluster	39	0.0001			

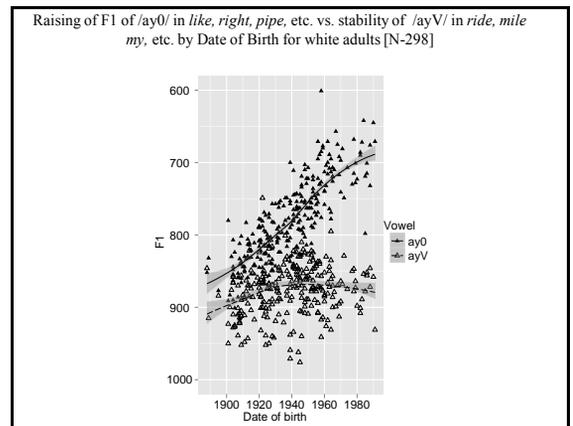
Regression analysis of raising of /eyC/ along the front diagonal for Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus [N=28,026]

PHONETIC	Coef f	prob	SOCIAL	Coeff	prob	LEXICAL	Coeff	prob	N
Fricative coda	-56	0.0001	Date of birth	4	0.0001	Frequency	0.0003	0.7453	
Nasal coda	-129	0.0001	Higher Ed	16	0.0001	DAY	68	0.0001	481
Velar cpda	-110	0.0001	Black	-21	0.0004	NAME	50	0.0002	825
Labial onset	70	0.0001	Female	29	0.0001	TAKE	50	0.0001	1476
Nasal onset	-21	0.0054	Italian	51	0.0001	CAME	27	0.0149	1272
Apica onsetl	89	0.0001	Irish	40	0.0001	MAKE	15	0.2473	1311
Pallatal onse	202	0.0001				STAY	11	0.5513	294
Velar onset	334	0.0001				MAYBE	-18	0.1246	856
C/Liq onset	-90	0.0001				WAY	-42	0.1788	81
No onset	236	0.0001				NBRHD	-67	0.0001	1069
Multisyllabic	19	0.0001				SAME	-96	0.0001	929
Coda cluster	39	0.0001				PLAY	-128	0.0001	573





Lexical diffusion in Philadelphia



Lexical diffusion as the result of the developed opacity of Canadian raising

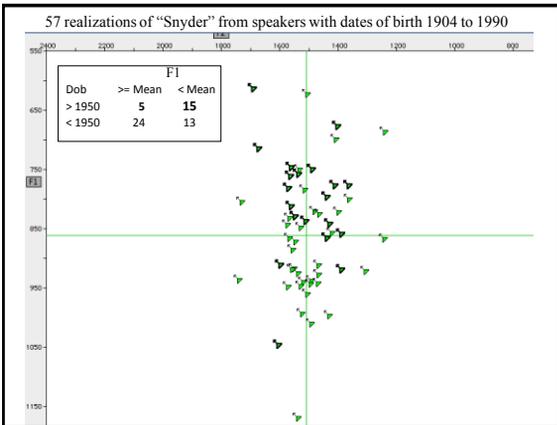
write [rɪt]                      ride [raid]  
 \_\_\_[-voi]                      \_\_\_ [+voi]  
 writer [rɪɪrə]                  rider [raɪrə]  
 \_\_\_ [+voi]                      \_\_\_ [+voi]

↓

spider [spɪɪrə]  
 Snyder [snɪɪrə]  
 tiger [tɪɪgə]  
 tiny [tɪɪni]  
 . . . .

Regression analysis of /ay0/ in Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus [N=74,215]

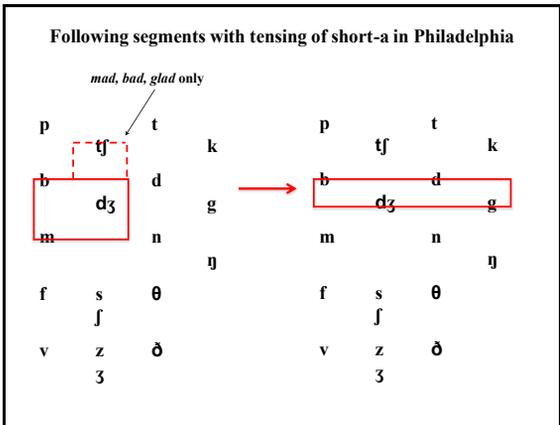
Variable	Coefficient	prob	Onset	Coefficient	prob
Frequency	0.00	0.0001	Labial	-32.74	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001
Date of Birth	-0.32	0.0001	Nasal	46.51	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001
Black	26.21	0.0001	Apical	-27.06	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001
Hispanic	28.63	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001	Velar	13.50	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001
Higher Ed	-10.63	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001	/w/	-14.13	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001
Female	3.49	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001	/y/	-79.31	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001
<b>Coda</b>			CVC(C)VC	13.53	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001
Stop	-13.07	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001	<b>SPIDER [N=10]</b>	<b>-127.24</b>	<b>0.0001</b>
Fric	-6.81	0.0009	SNYDER [N=15]	-56.21	0.0404
Nasal	-17.57	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001	(Dob > 1970)		
Labial	10.17	0.0008			
Apical	8.65	<sup>2</sup> 0.0001			



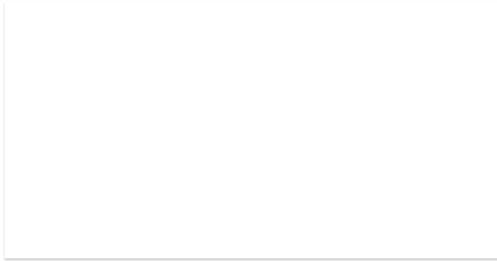
Some properties of a neogrammarian change: raising of tense /æh/ and the lexical rule of short-a tensing

	(æh)	short-a tensing
a) lexical diffusion found	no	yes
b) discrete	no	yes
c) phonetic differentiation	single feature	many features
d) phonetic conditioning	precise	rough
e) grammatical conditioning	no	yes
f) social affect	yes	no
g) categorically perceived	no	yes
h) learnable	yes	no

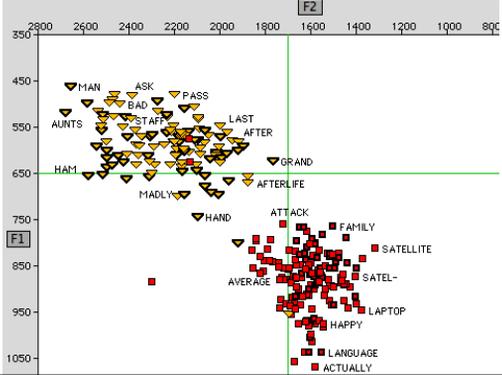
Social correction of Philadelphia phonology:  
 from the split system to the nasal system



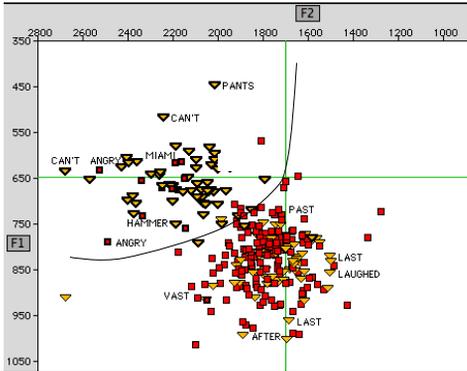
Some further conditions on the tensing of short-a in Philadelphia



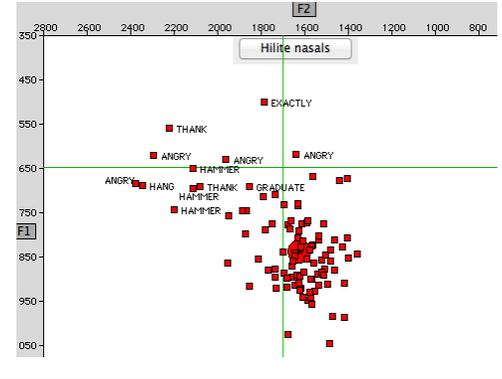
Tense/lax split of short-a in Philadelphia: system of Jean A., 60, Lock St. [2006].



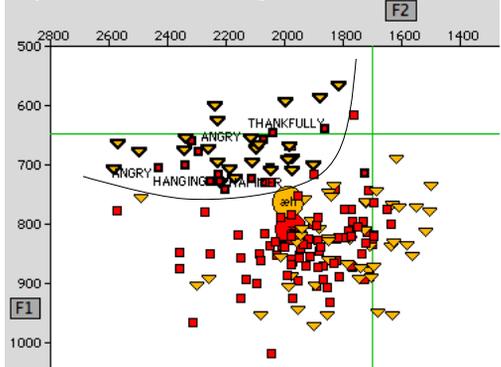
Reorganization of Philadelphia split short-a as nasal system by Alex B., 19, Masterman High School/Penn (freshman)



Tensing of short-a before velar nasals and intervocalic nasals by MacKenzie, Masterman High School/1<sup>st</sup> year. University of Pennsylvania



Re-organization of Philadelphia split short-a as nasal system by Carleton, 18. Masterman High School/Yale (freshman)



At the current stage of linguistics, we are likely to make more progress by broadening our data base and following the method of strong inference than by deduction from a ruling hypothesis (John R. Platt *Science* 146:347-353, 1964).

In order to discover when sound change is governed by regular phonological conditions and when by lexical selection we must take into account the significant findings that support both points of view.

Most recent findings show that speech communities can superimpose lexical effects on regular phonetic change or convert a lexically determined split into a regular allophonic opposition.