NEWSLETTER OF THE
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

NADS
32.3

Vol. 32, No. 3 September 2000

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NADS is sent in January, May and September to all ADS members. Send news and queries to editor and executive secretary Allan Metcalf, English Department, MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois 62650, phone (217) 479-7117 or (217) 243-3403, e-mail AAllan@aol.com. Erin Klee, administrative assistant.

ADS Annual membership is $35, students $20; plus $10 outside the United States. See Page 32.

ADS Web site (Grant Barrett, webmaster):
http://www.americandialect.org/

ADS-L discussion list: To join, send to listserv@listserv.uga.edu the message:
Sub ADS-L Your Name
Rocky Mountain

In association with RMMLA, Oct. 12-14; Boise, Idaho, Grove Hotel. ADS session Saturday, Oct. 14, 1:30–3:00 p.m., Whitewater room.

Chair: Thomas Du Bose, Louisiana State U.–Shreveport.


South Texas Spanish is often characterized as the language of the 16th century in the mouths of 20th century speakers. At the same time, the dialect is characterized by its “Spanglish” flavor. Together, these two linguistic tendencies turn up a rather unique dialect at once innovative and archaic. This paper examines the social status ascribed to examples of both these trends in the formative years of Mexican-American Spanish, drawing upon a 19th century corpus of Spanish documents from the South Texas Borderlands.

Mary Morzinski, U. of Wisconsin–La Crosse.

The various regional dialects in Norway can be distinguished in part by whether they are high tone or low tone. These tonemic features can be heard still in the English dialects of second- and even third-generation immigrants in La Crosse and Vernon counties of Wisconsin, even though other dialectal features such as syntax and lexicon have leveled. This study suggests a “first in, last out” theory that because intonation is one of the first features of language perceived in first language acquisition, it is one of the last to leave a second-language learner.


Stephanie J. Hysmith, Ohio U.


Angela Thirkell, Kipling’s cousin, wrote numerous novels chronicling the doings of Barsetshire, the fictional English county she had appropriated from Trollope. Her fiction betrays her contempt for the government’s social policies during World War II and after. These politics are manifest in the solemnisms of speech she gives to pushy, upwardly mobile characters, and her admiration, in contrast, for the “yokel” dialect she invents for the true laboring class. Thirkell’s manipulations of speech patterns and dialect assume that the reader share her social position and her nostalgia for the old order that the government’s Welfare State will occlude.

Mary E. Morzinski, Dept. of English, Univ. of Wisconsin-La Crosse, La Crosse WI 54601; phone (609) 785-8300, fax (609) 785-8301; morzinski@mail.uwlax.edu.

Membership in RMMLA is $30 individual, $20 student. Write RMMLA, Washington State Univ., P.O. Box 642610, Pullman WA 99164-2610; rmmla@rmmla.wsu.edu; http://rmmla.wsu.edu/rmmla/; phone (509) 335-4198, fax (509) 335-6635 ext. 54198.


Midwest

In association with MMLA, Nov. 2–4; Kansas City, Missouri, Hyatt Regency Crown Center. ADS session Thursday, Nov. 2, 4:00–5:30 p.m., Benton A.


1. “The Non-rhotic Film Pronunciation of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, or Why He Gives Her Class and She Gives Him Sex.” Nancy C. Elliott, Southern Oregon U.

2. “‘Too good for me, but I’ll drink it anyway’: Discourse Strategies of Appalachian Dialect Revealed in Charles Frazier’s Cold Mountain.”

Stephanie J. Hysmith, Ohio U.


Discussant: Thomas Murray, Kansas State University.

ADS Regional Secretary 1999–2000: Beth Lee Simon, Dept. of English and Linguistics, IPFW, Fort Wayne IN 46805-1499; simon@ipfw.edu.

Registration is $40 regular (includes 18 papers), $20 students (no papers). Membership in MMLA is $25 full and associate professors, $20 other faculty, $15 students. Write MMLA, 302 English-Philosophy Bldg., U. of Iowa, Iowa City IA 52242-1408; phone (319) 335-0331; mmla@uiowa.edu; www.uiowa.edu/~mmla/.

Future meeting: 2001 Nov. 1–3 Cleveland, Sheraton City Centre Hotel.
Y'All/You Guys Come to Washington Jan. 4–6

Once again ADS is happy to meet in the warm embrace of the Linguistic Society, this time in Washington, D.C. January 4 through 6.

**LSA registration:** As guests of LSA, we are expected to register with them, at their members' rate. In return, we get the Meeting Handbook and admission to all LSA meetings. Until Dec. 4, preregistration is available at $60, students and unemployed $25. On-site registration is $70, students and unemployed $30. Send check to LSA Secretariat—Annual Meeting, 1325 18th St. NW Suite 211, Washington DC 20036-6501, phone (202) 835-1714, fax (202) 835-1717, e-mail lsa@lsadc.org, www.lsadc.org.

**Hotel:** Say the magic words—“Linguistic Society of America”—and get the special rate of $99 single or double at the Grand Hyatt Washington (1000 H Street NW, Washington Center, Washington, DC 20001; (202) 582-1234, fax (202) 637-4781). This offer may not be available after Dec. 4.

**ADS registration:** Additional and *entirely optional*, but those who attend ADS sessions are encouraged to register with the ADS Executive Secretary for $20, students $10. This helps defray the cost of the refreshments for which our meetings are noted and earns you a distinctive decoration for your LSA badge.

**Annual luncheon:** 1:15 p.m. Saturday, Jan. 6. Speaker: ADS president Ron Butters (see Page 15). Cost is $30 all inclusive. LSA friends are welcome. Make reservations with ADS Executive Secretary Allan Metcalf by e-mail or using the form enclosed with this newsletter.

**Words of the Year:** Our millennial task of selecting words for the decade, century, and millennium is over. This year we’re simply choosing Words of the Year 2000—words that were new, notable, or especially characteristic of this year. To nominate a word or phrase in advance, send it to New Words Committee Chair Wayne Glowka, Dept. of English and Speech, Georgia College and State University, Milledgeville GA 31061, wglowka@mail.gcsu.edu; or to David Barnhart, PO Box 2018, Hyde Park NY 12538, Barnhart@highlands.com. Then come to the committee meeting and the final vote on Friday, January 5. To see previous years’ choices, go to the ADS website at http://www.americandialect.org/index.shtml and http://www.americandialect.org/woty.shtml.


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Session #1: Phonetics and Phonology

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

12:30-2:30 p.m. Chair: Alice Faber, Haskins Laboratories.

1:00-1:30: “Variation and Change in the Pronunciation of Syllable-Coda /r/ in 20th Century American Film Speech.” Nancy C. Elliott, Southern Oregon Univ.

This paper presents the results of a sociolinguistic study of rhoticity in the speech of over two hundred actors and actresses in a variety of genres of American films from the mid-1930s to the late 1970s. A steady decrease in the rate of r-less pronunciations was found in the speech of both individual subjects and the group as a whole. This decade-by-decade change indicates a shift in the prestige norm that actors and actresses imitated, from the non-rhotic model of British or New England speech to the rhotic model of Midwestern and Western speech. Female speech exhibits the characteristics of the prestige norm to a greater extent than male speech.

Conditioning factors in rhoticity variation include, in addition to time period of film and gender of subject, sociolinguistic accommodation to the pronunciation of a co-star, pronunciation modification towards the prestige norm by male speakers when addressing female co-stars, and the use of different pronunciations to portray a character’s status, moral qualities, and in a few cases, regional origin. Finally, shifting of pronunciation styles by a subject was used to express dramatic intents such as strong emotion and relational attitudes towards other characters.

3:10-2:00: “Surviving French in Louisiana Outside of Acadiana.” Michael D. Picone, Univ. of Alabama.

Fieldwork was conducted in the summer of 2000 for an NEH-funded project to supplement available resources in the construction of a lexical database for Louisiana French. As a member of the research team, part of my field assignment was to explore areas where French was known or thought to be present but which lay outside of historic Acadiana. To this end, I located and conducted field interviews among French speakers in Livingston Parish and in the three parishes surrounding New Orleans: Jefferson, Plaquemines, and St. Bernard. I propose to report on the preliminary results from the interviews conducted, and, in particular, on the heretofore unattested presence (in Louisiana) of the dorso-fricative [R], among French speakers in and around Grand Bayou (Plaquemines) and on Grand Isle (Jefferson). The presence of the dorso-fricative [R] at these sites provides additional evidence for the evolution of the French of the former European Creole society in tandem with the prestige standard of France. I will also report on migration patterns of both European Creole populations and Cajuns into Jefferson Parish and the resultant impact of this mix on the French spoken there and on corresponding notions of identity: namely, the modern dominance of the Cajun paradigm with regard to both.

4:00-2:30: “Network English: Fact or Fantasy?” Bethany K. Dumas, Univ. of Tennessee.

The term “network English,” in use for at least two decades, is generally presumed by linguists to denote a more-or-less uniform variety of spoken English used primarily or canonically by network newscasters. It has been described as a “variety of English relatively free of marked regional characteristics; the ideal norm aimed for by national radio and television network announcers” (Wolfam, and Schilling-Estes 1998: 358) or a “centrally defined and regulated speech style . . . heard from the mouths of news readers and announcers from coast to coast” (Willmorth 1988:1). However, the supposed single standard of newscasters is bogus, as three major networks in the United States demonstrate. The anchorman for CBS is Dan Rather (South Midland); for NBC, Tom Brokaw (North Midland); and for ABC, Peter Jennings (Canadian). Almost every evening, regional speakers from a variety of speech regions can be heard on all three
networks; in recent years, even second-language-influenced varieties (e.g., Hispanic) have been present (Preston 1993:24). It cannot seriously be suggested that Rather, Brokaw, and Jennings share all phonological and grammatical characteristics. By that measure, there is no variety of broadcast English sufficiently homogeneous to merit the use of the term “network English.”

But it might be that network newscasters whose spoken English displays some clear regional features also exhibit some features not typical of their home patterns. Or perhaps network newscasters deviate from regional patterns in similar ways, either by aiming at shared target features of grammar or pronunciation or by avoiding other features.

The primary data for answering such questions are the on-air broadcast recordings of network newscasters. Useful information might also come from records concerning the early training of newscasters. For instance, Rather has recorded being sent to a speech teacher in Houston and has also recounted some of the conversations he had with individuals who “corrected” his “Texanisms” (Rather 1977:16, 45-55).

In this paper, the author will report the results of a survey of such information and attempt to identify phonological and grammatical targets and patterns of network newscasters. The author anticipates being able to identify some similarities among network newscasters sufficient to account for the popular perception that “there is a significant commonality among the sorts of US accents one hears on TV.”

References


Session #2: The Upper Peninsula (of Michigan)

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

3:00-4:30 p.m. Chair: Michael Linn, Univ. of Minnesota at Duluth.

5 • 3:00-3:30: “Pride and Parody of the Upper Peninsula (“Yooper”) Dialect of Michigan.” Victoria Bergvall, Michigan Tech Univ.

This paper discusses the linguistic features of the UP dialect of northern Michigan, and its representation in parodies both by locals (e.g., “Da Yoopers,” a UP singing/comedy group) and by outsiders (e.g., in the fall 2000 movie Escanaba in da Moonlight). I summarize the historical and linguistic features of the dialect, evaluate its cumulative distance from (more) “standard” Midwestern U.S. varieties, and analyze the impact of parodies on local and outsider attitudes towards the dialect.

Isolated by terrain and snow, the UP provides a unique site for the development and study of local dialect. The 19th century mining boom brought ethnic diversity (Cornish, Germans, Swedes, French-Canadians, Croatians, Italians, Finns) that faded with the mining bust and exodus during the early decades of the 20th century. The Finnish farmers who remained formed a tightly knit network that mixed remnants of the previous linguistic melange with “Finnglish.”

Awareness of the present local dialect is evident in the common bumper sticker “Say yah to da UP, eh!”, reflecting Nordic influence in the [ja], Finnish and Italian phonetic gaps in the fricative-replacement of [d] for eth in “da,” and (French-) Canadian in the tag, “eh” (frequently “hey” by Finnish descendants). More salient for local speakers and outsiders is the (aw) variable, as in “about,” locally instantiated closer to [o], approximating “a-boat,” but parodied by outsiders as “a-boot.” The parodies of the dialect reflect widespread awareness and uneasiness with its divergence from the “standard,” and foreshadow its possible disappearance.

6 • 3:30-4:00: “‘Keep Out You!’: The Effect of Attitude on Language Change in Michigan’s Keweenaw Peninsula.” Kate Remlinger, Grand Valley State Univ.

The dialect of Michigan’s Keweenaw Peninsula has certain phonological, lexical, and syntactic features that are not found in more mainstream varieties of American English and these features appear to be changing as a result of increased contact with mainstream varieties. However, dialect contact alone is not responsible for these changes: conflicting attitudes about the dialect between speakers (“locals”) and mainstream English speakers (mainly “transplants”) are a primary force. These conflicting attitudes about language are mirrored in discourse on insider/outside control of land development. Informed by discourse micro-linguistics (Macaulay 1991), the study is comprised of 42 one- to two-hour
taped interviews, representing an age-graded, gender-balanced, socially- and ethnically-stratified sample of speakers for the area. Gender, age, ethnicity, religion, education, occupation, and socioeconomic class are compared with linguistic features to determine their effects on the dialect’s variation and change. In addition, speakers’ attitudes about language and language use are examined to determine the relationship among language use, speakers’ attitudes, and dialect preservation and change.

Reference


This presentation discusses the use of ethnic slurs and marked dialect items as expressions of uneasiness with immigrant identity and English language acquisition within a diverse ethnic community at the turn of the 20th century. Michigan’s Keweenaw Peninsula is a copper-rich finger of land extending into Lake Superior. During the era of copper mining development and boom (1880-1915), 13-15 non-English-speaking ethnic groups settled on the Keweenaw at a critical period of intense immigration and rising anti-foreigner sentiment, when the push-pull of separation vs. assimilation to an idealized American ethos focused on acquisition of a standard American English that symbolized U.S. struggles to establish its own socioeconomic and strategic importance.

This presentation draws from a set of archival materials and personal interviews with surviving Keweenaw residents. The materials are replete with locally contextualized ethnic slurs couched within expressions which hedge accusations of disloyalty while highlighting characteristics of a true “American.” For example, in a 1909 letter to the paper, a writer of Cornish background complains of the “Dago” orchestra “skinning” the “American” band. “Doesn’t that just freeze you?” the complainant writes. In response, The Italian Peoples of This Locality cast aspersions on the letter writer’s English. In an interview, a Keweenaw-born Finnish woman, now in her 90s, tells how she and her sister refused to speak English in the presence of English-speaking “Down-Staters” who ridiculed their “Finglish.” In other documents, writers comment on locally marked phonological and lexical items from immigrant groups, especially Cornish, Finnish, Italian, and Slovenian, to construct images of an American language and identity.

Session #3: Lots of Southern Stuff

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

5:00–7:00 p.m. Chair: Ron Butters, Duke Univ.

8 • 5:00–5:30: “Lexical Variation in Coastal Georgia and South Carolina.” Lamont Antieau, Univ. of Georgia.

In his 1994 paper, “Lorenzo Dow Turner’s Early Work on Gullah,” Montgomery speculates that a comparison of Turner’s Gullah field records with certain LAMSAS records might reveal how distinct Gullah was from the speech of the Low Country in Georgia and South Carolina (160-1). The present paper takes this comparison as its goal, analyzing the lexical data of the Linguistic Atlas using statistical techniques such as spatial autocorrelation (Lee & Kretzschmar 1993) and discriminant analyses (Light & Kretzschmar 1996) as modified for application to the Atlas data. Additionally, this study tests the idea of Lee & Kretzschmar (1993) that “it may be possible to observe significant spatial clustering of whole groups of variants from semantic fields such as the vocabulary of farming, or of the household” (554). Specifically, this paper focuses on terms of housing, e.g. living room and mantel, a group of terms abundant in the Linguistic Atlas in general and adequately represented in both the LAMSAS and Gullah records as well. Significant differences between the responses of Low Country informants and Gullah informants have already been found for such variants as hearth and attic; further testing will reveal whether there are significant differences between the two groups with respect to other housing terms.

9 • 5:30–6:00: “The Linguistics of Southern Nationalism.” Michael Montgomery and Deaver Traywick, Univ. of South Carolina.

Among the many orphans of war are school children and their education. With the commencement of hostilities and the Union navy’s blockade of the Confederacy in the spring of 1861, it was no longer possible to obtain school books from Northern publishers. Southern educators and publishers stepped into the void and produced their own readers, spellers, grammars, and other volumes. Most of these, to be sure, were indistinguishable in content and approach from their Northern-produced counterparts, but in the rancorous sectionalism that built up to the conflict, some Southerners
had become restive about how Northern textbook authors portrayed the South. It was therefore no surprise that Southerners sometimes introduced Southern-oriented material to the school books they produced.

Among this new material was commentary, direct and indirect, on Southern English. This paper will explore that commentary, the language attitudes it conveyed, and its implications. Some Southern educators argued that separation from the United States would help free Southern speech from corrupting influences and render it the purest variety of English. At the same time features of pronunciation and grammar, many of them associated with the South, were singled out for correction, being labeled “vulgarisms” and in some cases “Africanisms.” Through this commentary it becomes clear that Southerners in the mid-19th century perceived social and ethnic differences in the region’s speech.

10 • 6:00–6:30: “The Outer Limits of Shifting: Bidialectalism.” Kirk Hazen and Kate Bucko, West Virginia Univ.

Productive bidialectalism, the purported ability to produce more than one dialect, may be a cover term for style shifting between social dialects. In this hypothesis, when a speaker produces linguistic features which are diagnostic of a certain social group, then is able to not produce those features at other times, the person is then bidialectal. But how complete of a switch does it need to be? Is there a certain percentage of feature switching that needs to be accomplished? This line of investigation also raises the question of what constitutes a social dialect vs. a regional dialect.

Through the investigation of regional dialect features which are socially marked, this paper aims to explore the overlap and boundaries of regional and social dialects under the rubric of bidialectalism. If bidialectalism is possible for social dialects (and it is far from clear that it is), is it possible for regional dialects? What regional features are candidates for such extreme shifting as to be called bidialectalism? Eleven speakers from Logan and Mingo Counties in the southern half of West Virginia are analyzed to give a phonological and morphophonological dialect profile of the region. With this profile as a backdrop, Clara, a 30-year-old, European-American female from a working class family, is compared qualitatively and quantitatively to assess her purported ability for bidialectalism. Except for a four-year stint in the northern panhandle of West Virginia, Clara has not lived outside Logan County. She was recorded alone with the interview team at one time and with her family present (daughter, mother, father) at another. Her mother and daughter, who were also interviewed, provide a wonderful opportunity for comparison even beyond the general community profile since neither one has lived outside Logan County and share all social factors except age. Classic Appalachian features such as a- prefixing (e.g., She went a-hunting), Scots-Irish subject verb concord (e.g., The girls goes to the store), and /ay/-ungliding before voiceless obstruents (e.g., bike [ba:k]) will be under investigation.

11 • 6:30–7:00: “To What Extent Can We Change Our Accents and/or Dialects?” Catherine Evans Davies, Univ. of Alabama.

Whereas bidialectalism, in particular “additive bidialectalism” (Sato 1989), has been promoted as a goal for students in the public schools who are non-mainstream-English speakers, recent work by Lippi-Green (1997) makes a strong case that true bi-dialectalism is a rarity if not an impossibility. Even changing one’s accent is seen as problematic.

Speakers of stigmatized varieties might be assumed to have, at least potentially, a strong motivation to change their accents and dialects. Even if covert prestige is operative, instrumental motivation could lead a speaker to try to achieve modification at least for certain purposes in certain contexts. Southern vernacular speakers, especially Alabamians from “the Heart of Dixie,” are clearly stigmatized among other Americans (cf. “American Tongues,” Preston 1989). As a non-Southern linguist in Alabama, I have encountered a number of Southerners who claim to have either modified their accents or become bi-dialectal. This paper begins an inquiry, within a qualitative sociolinguistic framework (Johnstone 2000), into the nature of bidialectalism by presenting data on some of these Southerners, including case studies of two Alabamians, one white and one black, who define themselves as bidialectal.

In Wolfram and Schiling-Estes’ terms (1998), both shift between a Southern Informal Standard (at the high end of formality), in a university context, and Southern White Vernacular and AAVE, respectively, in their home contexts. The data are tape-recorded ethnographic interviews, recordings of discourse in the two contrastive contexts with playback commentary, recordings of other speakers whose speech is perceived by the subjects of the case studies to be similar to their own in the two contexts, and judgments by Southern and non-Southern speakers of the degree to which accents and dialects have been modified. The ethnographic interviews include personal history, role models for speech, assessments of the effects of mass media, the motivation to change accent and/or dialect, the techniques used, specific linguistic modifications (in terms of phonology, morphology, lexicon, grammar, and/or pragmatics) of which the subjects are aware, and imitation of other accents and dialects.

It may be that these case studies represent highly unusual individuals, whose linguistic abilities provided the means for success within the educational system and access to higher education. They have also clearly retained the home accent/dialect as part of their identity.
Executive Council

Latrobe Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

8:00–10:30 a.m.: Open meeting; all members welcome. Coffee will be served. Presiding: ADS President Ronald Butters.

The Executive Council discusses and sets policy for the Society and hears reports from officers, editors, committee chairs, and regional secretaries. To get an advance copy of the agenda in early December, write or e-mail the Executive Secretary.

Words of the Year

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

10:30 a.m.–12:00 noon: New Words Committee. Chair: Wayne Glowka, Georgia Coll. and State Univ. Review of new words of 2000, and of nominations for Words of the Year (see Page 3). Final candidates will be identified in preparation for the afternoon vote (see Page 11).

Session #4: African American English I

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

1:00–3:00 p.m. Chair: Geneva Smitherman, Michigan State Univ.

12 • 1:00–1:30: “Reading Dialect and Grammatical Shout-Outs in Hip Hop.” Marcyliena Morgan, Harvard Univ.

Since hip hop artists and their fans use language style and dialect to represent regional, class and neighborhood identities and affiliations, language variation has distinct symbolic value in hip hop culture and is closely monitored. This paper analyzes reading dialect in regional hip hop oral delivery and writing. Reading dialect involves dialect opposition: highlighting and exploiting standard general English (GE) and African American Vernacular (AAE) linguistic and stylistic forms that are considered to be representative and different from each other (Morgan 1994). When speakers employ dialect reading in interactions, they immediately signal to members that some form of opposition or identity is in play. Since many features of GE and AAE are shared or structurally similar, it isn’t always clear to members of the hip hop and African American community that a distinction is being made. What reading dialect accomplishes is to transform the status of a lexical, prosodic, discourse or syntactic structure that could be either AAE or GE into a framework that exploits the congruities and incongruities of each system and how they impact each other. This is achieved through the use of features or rules of AAE that are generally known and culturally marked. This analysis explores the use of the AAE system of features and the type of innovation found in hip hop by analyzing the works and discourse of eight artists. In particular, it identifies syntactic constructions in relation to East Coast, Southern, Midwest and West Coast variation as well as grammaticalization in general.

13 • 1:30–2:00: “Cause I Likedid It That Way: Sound and Meaning in the AAL Past Tense.” Mary B. Zeigler, Georgia State Univ.

Question: Why do AAL speakers say such words as lovedid, likedid, talkdid, and walkded instead of loved, liked, talked, and walked?

Answers:

1. The African American answer: “Cause it sound right, don’t it, and you know what I mean anyway.”

2. The African American linguist answer: “Because it sounds right in the vernacular culture of an African American speech community which relies on orality rather than written diagnostics to determine meaning and proper communicative interaction.”

3. But some other linguists might answer: “Because they are trying to talk standard English and are getting confused about where the sounds end and the past tense morpheme begins.”

Some linguists (Labov et al 1968; Baugh 1983) call these productions a hypercorrection. They refer to this occurrence as any “linguistic extension that exceeds the standard, becoming overgeneralized to a broader range of linguistic environments, for example, pickted /plktld/ or giveded /glvdId/’” (Baugh 64). In other words, a hypercorrection occurs...
when the speaker attempting to use a standard variety overshoots the mark and produces a form which is similar to forms in that variety but does not occur in that variety. They say also that “hypercorrection is typically an individual matter, and the sporadic and irregular character of its distribution reflects the fact that these forms are not controlled by any rule of language, in the sense of a grammar used by a speech community” (1968: 152). Baugh reports that these features “appear to be random from the standpoint of internal linguistic patterning,” but “social circumstances—[such as formal contexts] . . . have a direct bearing on the hypercorrection process” (64,65). Labov and his colleagues say speakers confuse the pronunciation boundary between the sounds of the final consonant cluster and the morpheme boundary of the -ed suffix.

This study examines this verb form—AAL verbs with reduplicated -ed—within contexts not limited to standardized LWC (Language of Wider Communication) to describe the relationship between sound and meaning which underlies the internal linguistic pattern of the AAL past tense morpheme. Because this verb form occurs frequently enough in AAL speech and occurs across age and gender lines, this study uses tokens collected from metropolitan Atlanta speakers. It examines closely the morphophonemic process which produces this form and applies concepts related to reduplication.

The study concludes that AAL grammar produces this syncretic particle, in verbs such as loved, liked, talked, and walked, to represent the past tense and that it is not a confusion of boundaries between sound and meaning.

References:


14 • 2:00–2:30: “Attitudes and Language Identity among African Americans.” Sonja Lanehart, Univ. of Georgia.

Alexander (1979) says, “I will not accept the legitimacy of Black English or any other kind of non-prescribed English . . . If people cannot communicate in Standard English and have not developed their talents and skills—then who wants them? . . . I consider it a cheap insult to see educational standards lowered in Ann Arbor schools—solely for black students. How can we justify recognition of their non-prescribed broken English and then ask teachers to learn it?” In 1987 during an episode of “Oprah” entitled “Black English Versus Standard English,” Oprah Winfrey defined standard English as “having your subjects agree with your verbs.” In her opinion, that did not occur in AAE, therefore AAE is bad English. Yet, Oprah Winfrey—like Jesse Jackson, Maya Angelou, Bill Cosby, and Will Smith—speaks AAE. Mufwene (forthcoming) relates the following story: “A young man in a congregation to which I was explaining the situation [i.e., Ebonics controversy of 1996] said, in reference to Ebonics, perceived as the speech of the ‘ignorant’ and gang members, ‘Ain’t nobody here talk like that.’”

While AAE speakers deny there is such a thing as AAE, they continue to use it. Clearly there is an issue of covert prestige involved because no matter how much AAE speakers denigrate AAE and say it’s bad English, they continue to use and promote it within the African American community.

In order to explore attitudes and beliefs about AAE, I collected data from five Southern African American women across three generations in one family. I collected formal and informal speech data to assess their language of identity; I used a questionnaire to determine their language ideologies, and I collected narratives which included information about language and education. Each woman has a different relationship to their language of identity—AAE. What is interesting about their attitudes toward AAE is the relationship between their attitude and their level of education which also seems to be related to their language ideologies. Analysis of the intersection of their language of identity and their language ideologies within the context of their sociocultural and educational experiences shows that African Americans are often convincingly told that who they are is not who they should want to be. Hence, there is a conflict for African Americans between their language of identity and school and society.

Regardless of whether AAE’s origins are as a creole or a dialect of English, African Americans will continue to speak AAE despite antagonistic pressures socially, economically, educationally, and otherwise. We can continue to produce generations of African Americans who have a love-hate relationship with the very essence of who they are because they are made to believe that though they cannot change the color of their skin things will be better for them if they can just change the color of their language—benefiting no one, or we can encourage a people who have been only discouraged and scorned to accept who they are and demand that others do the same—benefiting all.

References


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More African American: Friday, January 5 (Cont.)

15 • 2:30–3:00: “We are the Streets: Street Conscious Copula Variation in the Hip Hop Nation.” Hesham Alim, Stanford Univ.

Recently, a controversy has developed among scholars as to whether hip hop artists are utilizing African American Language features in their poetics (i.e. lyrics). This paper seeks to do three things: (1) Describe the controversy surrounding this area of inquiry, (2) Closely examine and analyze the use of African American Language features within the actual speech and poetics of hip hop artists, and (3) Introduce street conscious copula variation in reference to Labov’s isolation of contextual styles and Baugh’s language use in varying social contexts. I have decided to analyze each artist’s lyrics in the same way a linguist would approach the analysis of a corpus of natural speech. This means that I will note the frequency and distribution of copula absence as it appears in the artist’s lyrics. I will also analyze their speech during natural conversation (or as close to natural conversation as one can achieve). The natural conversation data comes from artist interviews conducted by the author himself, as well as those found in a hip hop publication which focuses entirely on the interview format. This exercise is interesting on comparative grounds alone, but it also raises some important questions: How much do we know about the conscious control of grammatical features in our language? If there is conscious control of certain features (in this study, copula absence), how would this control serve the speaker?

In comparing lyrical data to interview data, we see that street conscious hip hop artists demonstrate higher levels of copula absence in their lyrics. Since hip hop lyrics are sometimes written, rewritten, rehearsed, performed, and recorded several times over, they are a form of consciously worded expression. Given that hip hop artists vary the rate of copula absence, what we are witnessing is street conscious copula variation—the conscious variation of copula absence in order for the artist to stay street, or to stay connected to the streets.

Session #5: African American English II

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

3:30–5:00 p.m. Chair: Carolyn Adger, Center for Applied Linguistics.

16 • 3:30–4:00: “Linguistic Intelligence and Linguistic Discrimination.” John Baugh, Stanford Univ.

Howard Gardner’s formulation of Linguistic Intelligence is based on mastery of literacy; however, oral linguistic traditions often reflect highly artistic modes of discourse that have escaped classification by Gardner’s original criteria. Controlled experiments were presented to subjects as “linguistic sensitivity tests,” based on modifications to Lambert’s (1976) matched guise techniques as well as those described by Lambert and Tucker (1978). The early stages of this research examined housing discrimination based on speech; that research in turn has given rise to the present focus on “Linguistic Intelligence” as it pertains to US residents who speak English with different regional, social, and racial traits. Moreover, many do not speak a national or regional variety of Mainstream US English (M.U.S.E., Lippi-Green 1997). Evidence for the present research on this topic is gathered from “testers” who work for the National Fair Housing Alliance. More specifically, these “testers” are linguistically diverse and include many members of ethnic groups who often have limited access or personal (i.e. interactive) exposure to M.U.S.E.

The expanded experiments introduce questions about “Linguistic Intelligence,” drawing directly upon Gardner’s (19xx) theory of “Multiple Intelligences.” These findings echo some of the impressions first conveyed by Tucker and Lambert regarding the devaluation of African American Language, particularly in professional contexts. However, reactions to the Ebonics controversy along with pervasive linguistic stereotypes indicate that attitudes toward a broad social range of African American speech is becoming increasingly complex. For example, do “Rap Artists” exhibit “Linguistic Intelligence” in ways that are comparable to T.S. Eliot (cited by Gardner)? Results from 311 subjects confirm that opinion varies considerably.

A series of recordings of various U.S. accents in short utterances of no longer than 10 seconds each was presented. These who heard these stimuli were asked to describe as many social characteristics of the speakers as possible; for example, their sex, education, region, race and/or ethnicity, a host of social qualities, and intelligence. The evaluated dialects include British English, German Accented English, Japanese-American English, African American English, Chicano English by English dominant speakers, and Chicano English by Spanish Dominant speakers. Judges’ opinions reflect a combination of attitudes that are shaped substantially by the personal experience and exposure of judges to various dialects; that is, personally or through stereotypical exposure through public media.

The paper concludes by offering a refinement to Gardner’s theory and contrasting it with Chomsky’s conceptual division between linguistic competence and linguistic performance. We call for expanded criteria by which one might classify linguistic intelligence and the essential need to clarify the cultural (de)valuation of ethnically diverse dialects within the United States.
17 • 4:00–4:30: “She say, she go, she be like: Verbs of quotation over time in African American Vernacular English.” Patricia Cukor-Avila, Univ. of North Texas.

Over the past 30 years the use of say/said as the main verbs of quotation in English has rapidly diminished, first giving way to go/went and more recently to be like, the latter form having become the first choice of younger speakers to introduce direct speech. The rapid expansion of be like has been documented in several linguistic studies (cf. Butters 1980, 1982; Blythe et al. 1990; Romaine and Lange 1991; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999). Recent apparent time research on the use of be like in an African American speech community in Philadelphia (Sanchez and Charity 1999) suggests a similar preference in younger speakers for be like over other quotatives such as say or go, and that this change is being led by males. Their study also suggests that the use of zero quotatives and other verbs of quotation (i.e., scream, holler, wonder) are more common in the speech of older generations.

The present study extends the research initiated by Sanchez and Charity (1999) through an investigation of verbs of quotation in real time data from African American Vernacular English speaking residents of a rural community in Texas. Specifically, this study documents the distribution of the verbs of quotation by gender and age, focusing on the types of quotatives used by different generations in the community and within the same family. In addition, data will be presented on the change over time in quotative use by two teenage girls recorded over a twelve-year period, suggesting that similar to other grammatical changes documented in their speech, the increase in the use of be like correlates to a change in their social orientation and identity from rural to urban.

18 • 4:30–5:00: “Ain’t misbehavin’? Not contraction in Early African American English.” James A. Walker, York Univ.

Studies of negation in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) typically focus on its most salient exponents, ain’t and negative concord, both of which are exemplified in I ain’t got no time for nothing (African Nova Scotian English, Speaker 040, concordance line 288). Recent studies (Weldon 1994; Howe 1997; Howe & Walker 1999) provide evidence against the hypothesis that ain’t in AAVE is the relic of a prior creole negator (DeBose 1994; DeBose & Faracas 1993), but these studies consider only the constraints on ain’t. Since ain’t arose during the development of auxiliary and not contraction in Early Modern English (Strang 1970; Warner 1993), an important question for the origins debate is whether these constraints can be attributed more generally to processes of contraction.

In this paper, I examine the constraints on not contraction in three varieties of Early African American English: African Nova Scotian English (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1991), Samana English (Poplack & Sankoff 1987) and the Ex-Slave Recordings (Bailey et al. 1991). Extracting every instance of not negation (Tottie 1991) from these corpora yielded over 5000 tokens, each of which was coded for a number of linguistic factors culled from the literature. Although the analysis is complicated by the restricted variable context of ain’t and by the interaction of not contraction with variable auxiliary contraction and deletion, preliminary analysis reveals parallel results across the three varieties. As in previous studies, the significance of the type of auxiliary and the insignificance of stativity and grammatical factors argue against a creole origin for ain’t. Surprisingly, these effects also constrain not contraction, providing further evidence that ain’t is the extension of more general English processes of contraction. Similarly, the most consistent effect—the presence of negative concord—constrains both ain’t and not contraction. While Weldon (1994) attributes this effect to stylistic considerations, I argue that it is part of a recurrent process of weakening and reinforcement in the history of the English negation system.

**Words of the Year: Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt**

5:15–6:30 p.m. Discussion and voting on nominations determined in the morning (see Page 8). All present are invited to vote.

**Bring-Your-Own-Book Exhibit and Reception: Latrobe Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt**

6:30–7:30 p.m. Tables will be available to display your books and order forms.

**NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT:** The Nominating Committee, consisting of elected member Natalie Maynor and Past Presidents Walt Wolfram and Lawrence M. Davis (chair), proposes for vice president 2001 and 2002 (succeeding to the presidency in 2003-04) Michael Montgomery, Univ. of South Carolina; for Executive Council member 2001 through 2004, Beverly Flanigan, Ohio Univ.; for Nominating Committee member 2001 and 2001, Joan Houston Hall, DARE. Additional nominations may be made by petition with the signature of at least ten members which must reach the Executive Secretary by December 20.

_NADS_ 32.3 September 2000 / 11
**Saturday, January 6: Business Meeting and ASL**

**Annual Business Meeting**

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

8:00–8:45 a.m.: Election (see bottom of previous page); report of yesterday’s Executive Council meeting; as time permits, reports of officers, editors, committee chairs, regional secretaries. Most of the business of the Society is conducted at the Executive Council meeting (8 a.m. Friday, open to all members; see Page 8).

**Session #6: Variation in American Sign Language**

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

9:00–11:00 a.m. Chair: David Barnhart, Lexik House.

19 • 9:00–9:30: “Grammatical and Phonological Conditioning of 1-Handshape Variation in ASL.” Robert Bayley, Univ. of Texas, San Antonio; Mary Rose, Stanford Univ., and Ceil Lucas, Gallaudet Univ.

We examine a case of phonological variation in ASL: variation in the form of signs made with a 1-handshape (in citation, or dictionary form, thumb closed, fingers closed, index straight). Signs made with this handshape include pronouns, wh- words, grammatical function words, verbs, adverbs, nouns, and adjectives. In this paper we test Liddell and Johnson’s (1989) claim that the 1-handshape is subject to processes of assimilation in pronouns and possibly in other signs as well.

Data are drawn from sociolinguistic interviews and small group conversations with more than 200 signers who participated in a large-scale study of ASL in seven different regions of the United States (Lucas et al., in press). Although there are a large number of variants of 1-handshape in our corpus, analysis of 5,195 examples indicates that 95 percent of the tokens may be reduced to three variants: the citation form, the “L” handshape (thumb open, fingers closed, index straight), and the “open hand” variant (thumb open, fingers open). Here we report on three separate VARBRUL analyses, with particular attention to the effects of grammatical function and the surrounding phonological environment.

Contrary to what previous arguments about variation in the handshape of PRO.1 (‘I’) might lead us to expect, the results indicate that phonological constraints did not exert the strongest influence on the choice of a variant of 1-handshape. Rather, the grammatical category proved to be the first order linguistic constraint in two of the three VARBRUL analyses, with +cf and the “open hand” variant defined as the application value. Grammatical category also significantly constrained signers’ choice of the “L” handshape variant. Phonological factors did have significant effects in all three analyses, however, and the results indicate that progressive and regressive assimilation are at work. Simply put, the more features of the target a variant shares with the preceding and following handshapes, the more likely signers are to choose that variant. Assimilation does not provide a full explanation, however, as variation is also constrained by a variety of social factors including age, social class, ethnicity, the region of the country where the signer resides, and language background (ASL or other) as well as by grammatical function.

The results highlight several conclusions. First, like variation in spoken languages, variation in sign languages is likely to be systematic. Second, variation in sign languages is highly unlikely to be subject to only a single cause. Third, the influence of grammatical function, which parallels the results for studies of two other phonological variables, the sign DEAF and the location of a class of signs represented by the verb KNOW, suggests one way in which variation may differ in languages in a manual/visual mode from variation in languages in an oral/aural mode.

20 • 9:30–10:00: “Gender Variation in American Sign Language Fingerspelling.” Kristin Mulrooney, Georgetown Univ.

This study investigates what factors may be contributing to variation in fingerspelled signs in American Sign Language (ASL) by performing a VARBRUL analysis on the data. Eight videotaped interviews of Deaf ASL users (four men and four women) which were conducted by Deaf reporters for the television series Deaf Mosaic were analyzed for fingerspelled sign production. Fingerspelling was chosen because it occurs frequently in ASL and would provide a significant number of tokens from each informant. In addition, ASL fingerspelled signs have an accepted standard form which is referred to as the citation form. This is the form that one would find, for example, in an ASL dictionary. Variation from this citation form is referred to as a non-citation form. Each fingerspelled sign was coded for the following factor groups: grammatical function (noun, verb, proper noun), phonological environment (location of preceding sign and location of following sign), whether the fingerspelled sign was in a lexicalized word, and finally the gender of the signer. The goal of the study was to see which factor group favored the production of non-citation form fingerspelled signs.
The VARBRUL analysis suggests that the grammatical function of the fingerspelled word that the fingerspelled sign occurs in has the most influence on whether a fingerspelled sign is produced in citation or non-citation form. This result differs from that of spoken languages, which are more influenced by a word's phonological environment, but it does parallel the results found in other investigations on ASL variation (Lucas 1995; Bayley, Lucas, Rose 2000). The phonological environment did have an influence, specifically whether or not the following sign was produced in the traditional fingerspelling area. The final factor that appears to have an influence on production is the gender of the signer. Male signers favored the production of non-citation form fingerspelled signs, while women favored the production of citation form fingerspelled signs.


The Location variable occurs in a class of ASL signs that are produced at the forehead or temple; these signs are variably pronounced lower on the face or head. Previous analysis of lowering has shown that lowering is a change in progress, and that men are more likely to lower their forehead signs than women (for men, VARBRUL probability = .543, for women p = .451) (Lucas et al., forthcoming). This study uses a subset of the data from that study (N = 1750) to show that this gender difference does not hold for all Deaf men and women in the study. Rather, it is young white middle-class men who account for the gender effect on this variable. I draw on Ochs’s (1991) notion of indexing, in which non-referential features point to a social meaning, to argue that lowering is linked to linguistic entitlement, and only secondarily to masculinity, in Deaf communities.

Men of all ages are more likely than women to lower their signs, but this gendered difference is not constant across age groups. Among people aged 11-25, males strongly favor lowering (p = 0.620), while females disfavor it (p = 0.376). For older signers, gender differentiation on this variable is weak or nonexistent. Middle class signers are more likely to lower than women, and among both working and middle class signers, men favor lowering (p = 0.554), but women disfavor it (p = 0.426). Men from Deaf families and who work in professional occupations are most likely to lower forehead signs. Black signers show no gender differentiation in their use of lowering, but white men are much more likely than white women to lower forehead signs. Thus, according to any social factor, members of higher-status groups are more likely to lower their signs.

This change parallels social and language ideological shifts in the Deaf community. In the last 40 years, the Deaf community’s definition of itself has shifted from an audiological one to a linguistic-cultural one, in which using ASL means claiming an identity as culturally Deaf. The class structure of the community has also shifted, from “essentially a one-class community” to one in which there is a growing professional class (Padden 1998). This professional class has been largely responsible for, and has been the primary beneficiary of, the growing political visibility of the Deaf community, organized in part around language ideological issues. During the same period, ASL has been accorded scientific and social recognition as a natural language. Members of the younger, professional class can thus claim entitlement to use their natural language in public domains as well as private ones. Family heritage is also linked to power and language ideology in Deaf communities, as Deaf people from Deaf families are viewed as the “core” of the Deaf community, keepers of the native language of the community and transmitters of culture from generation to generation. Signing lower on the body by younger, white, middle class men thus indexes power, entitlement, and an ideological take on ASL as a possession of a truly authentic Deaf self.

22 • 10:30–11:00: “Lexical Variation in African American and White ASL.” Ceil Lucas, Gallaudet Univ. and Alyssa Wulf, Univ. of California Berkeley.

This analysis is based on the signed responses to 34 stimuli (pictures and fingerspelling) by 139 African American and White signers in three age groups and at two socioeconomic levels, a subset of the population (n=207) of an on-going study of sociolinguistic variation in ASL. Interviews were videotaped with the signers in seven locations around the U.S. The analysis shows that for 28 of the 34 stimuli, African American signers use signs that the White signers do not. Furthermore, White signers use fingerspelled variants for four signs which the African American signers do not use. The presentation will focus on eight signs: relatively new forms of AFRICA and JAPAN co-exist with older versions; COMPUTER represents a new technology sign; RABBIT, DEER, TOMATO and SNOW are all possible candidates for change in progress; ARREST is a verb for which many variants were produced by all signers in the sample. The analysis for these eight signs reflects the bigger picture: for seven of the eight signs, African American signers displayed unique variants. But contrary to the claim by Woodward and Erting (1975) that African American signers tend to use older forms of signs, we see old and new forms of RABBIT, DEER, TOMATO and SNOW used by both African American and White signers in all regions and age groups. Finally, AFRICA and JAPAN illustrate the difference between lexical innovation and phonological change, as the new forms for these signs are used by both African American and White signers in all age groups and regions.
Spitten Image, LAGS, etc.: Saturday, January 6 (Cont.)

Session #7: Varia

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt

11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m. Chair: Luanne Von Schneidemesser, DARE.

23 • 11:30–12:00: “Double-Exposing the Spitten Image.” Laurence R. Horn, Yale Univ.

Among the stock examples of popular etymology in language change regularly cited in the scholarly, popular and electronic press is the familiar designation for a child who closely resembles a parent (with metaphorical extensions to other cases of resemblance). Most lexicographers and language mavens of both electronic and dead-tree varieties from Saffire’s “On Language” and Morris’s “Word Detective” to the OED regard the widespread rendering spittin(g) image as a folk-etymological reanalysis of an original spit and image. Some, on the other hand, insist that the true source is, in fact, spirit and image, while a smaller minority opts for splitting image. It has even been maintained with total, if misplaced, confidence that the spit in question is the metal or wooden object on which meat is roasted.

If we grant, with the majority, the primacy of spit an(d) image, what remains to be explained is (i) why it is typically the FATHER who is the source of the “image” in question (a pattern that persists into current usage as indicated by Usenet postings), (ii) what spittle or saliva has to do with genetic transmission, (iii) what motivates the apparently redundant conjunction if spit = image, and (iv) what phonological and morphological processes yield the range of attested forms. Yet another variant, the spitten image, with the dialectal passive participle used as an attributive adjective, is occasionally acknowledged, only to be summarily dismissed (“repr. corrupted pronunc. Spit and (image, picture)” OED, s.v. spitten). It will be argued that dialectal, semantic and cross-linguistic evidence converges on the plausibility of spitten image as the actual source of the expression in question. It will further be shown that the motivation of this figure attested in French, Dutch, and Greek as well as English rests in the analogy between spit and another bodily fluid visually and texturally similar to it but inherently more relevant to the transmission of genetic material. The identification of spit with semen will be supported (briefly) with evidence from Egyptian mythology, Biblical law, Talmudic commentary, folk stories (including those constructed by defeated German and American soldiers), and the history of English slang.


In the collection of dialect data for the LAGS project, as with all linguistic projects, numerous communities were not sampled. In Texas, none of the limited industry maritime communities were sampled: the very communities that are now endangered linguistically and socioeconomically. A new project, Fishing for Life, has been funded and the initial phonological inventories of the oldest generation of fisherfolk have been comprised and will be presented. These inventories represent an initial stage of the compilation of the dialect descriptions. This field report will also contextualize the linguistic data with the emerging ethnographic data to piece together some of the social and economic history of two of the traditionally most important shrimping and crabbing communities along the Texas Gulf coast. These communities are still limited industry maritime communities, but there is an outstanding outmigration of and non-local orientation among the younger generations, leading to the depopulation of these communities as a direct result of macro-level regulations drastically limiting the fisheries industry in Texas.

The rapid changes affecting the maritime communities have diverse sources politically and economically, but have similar effects: the aging populations and shifting local identities forewarn the dissolution of these culturally and linguistically rich communities. The Fishing for Life project is a comparative ethnodialectological project documenting the dialects and social history of limited industry maritime communities along the Texas Gulf Coast with the goal of developing explanatory models for the actuation of sociolinguistic change.

25 • 12:30–1:00: “Think Really Different: Continuity and Specialization in the English Adverbs.” Sali Tagliamonte and Rika Ito, Univ. of York, UK.

Use of -ly or -e in English adverbs, as in (1), has long been recognized as a highly variable area of the grammar (e.g. Poustma 1928: 627, Quirk et al. 1985: 405).

(1) a. I was real small, you know, really tiny built.
   b. They’ve braked too quick or maybe they’ve turned a corner too sharply.

The formation of adverbs with -ly is a relatively recent phenomenon. In Old English adverbs were formed from adjectives by adding -e. In Middle English final -e ceased to be pronounced and -ly developed as the regular mode of forming adverbs. The new -ly form showed an early preference for written, formal styles (Poustma 1962: 634) but has been gradually increasing ever since (Nevalainen 1997). Internal factors are implicated in this development as well: -ly forms first appeared as adverbs of manner modifying verbs and then gradually extended to all adverbial functions (ibid.).
This scenario of long-term variation and change presents an interesting area for study. First, because the relatively gradual rate of change and ongoing attestations of variability suggest that the distribution of -ly and -0 in apparent time may shed light on the stages of development of adverbial formation. Second, because the development of -ly has been sensitive to stylistic factors since its inception, its extralinguistic distribution patterns can be used to track the interrelationship between grammatical and social factors in language change.

In this paper we consider these issues by examining the variation in (1) in a socially and generationally stratified corpus from a single community. We test for age, sex, and educational level as well as lexical adverb, function, type, and syntactic position. Using multivariate analyses and the comparative method we assess the direction of effect, significance and relative importance of these factors in the variable formation of adverbs in apparent time. Preliminary analysis of over 1000 adverbs reveals that the -ly form is dominant (83%). The most significant factor conditioning the variation between -ly and -0 is age: -ly forms are increasing dramatically in apparent time. However, further cross-tabulations with individual lexical items reveal that this change is restricted to a single item, really. Moreover, really represents 78% of the adverbs used by speakers under 35 years of age as well as 63% of all the tokens of -ly in the data.

In contrast, separate analysis of all the other adverbs shows that variability between -ly and -0 is entirely stable. Sex and education exert statistically significant effects: -0 is favored by men and less educated speakers. Here, however the strongest factors are internal: uninflected forms are favored when the adverb modifies a verb, (lb) as opposed to an adjective. These findings confirm that variation between -ly and -0 is a classic sociolinguistic variable. Yet the strong linguistic conditioning reveals that grammaticalization processes involved in adverbial formation in English are still ongoing in contemporary dialects. On the other hand, specialization of really is a new and spectacular development.

Annual Luncheon

Latrobe Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt. Please make reservations in advance; see Page 3.
1:15-2:45 p.m. Speaker: Ronald Butters, Duke Univ., ADS president.

Session #8: Perceptions and Attitudes

Burnham Room, Level 3B, Grand Hyatt
3:00–5:00 p.m. Chair: Nancy Niedzielski, Rice Univ.
Sociolinguistic studies in the sixties and seventies revealed that Francophones in Quebec suffered from linguistic insecurity; that is, they felt that their variety of French was inferior to the variety spoken in France. Research in the eighties and early nineties points to an emerging Quebecois standard. By using perceptual dialectology methods established by Preston (1986, 1996a, 1996b, 1998, to appear), this study aims to gain insight into the current popular status of Quebecois French among Montrealers with regard to other varieties of French, including an examination of the perceptual dialect boundaries of Quebec. I found that the current younger generation suffers little or no linguistic insecurity, rating their variety equal to continental French. In addition, I provide the first perceptual dialect maps of Quebec.
27. 3:30–4:00: “Who’s the Most Dutchified of Them All? The Perception and Evaluation of Dialectal Differences in Plain Pennsylvania German Communities.” Steve Hartman Keiser, Ohio State Univ.
Although recent studies of morphosyntactic variation in Deitsch, a.k.a. Pennsylvania German, have suggested that Deitsch as spoken by plain speakers (i.e., Amish and Mennonites) is diverging from the Deitsch of non-plain speakers (see, e.g., Huffines 1986, 1989, and Louden 1993), it remains true that lexical and phonetic variation between geographic regions is the source of the most significant dialect divisions in Deitsch (e.g., Reed and Seifert 1954). This areal variation is most marked within southeast Pennsylvania—the “cradle” of Deitsch language and culture—and less noticeable as one compares midwestern varieties.
Data are collected from over fifty speakers in five plain Deitsch-speaking communities: two in Pennsylvania (Bucks/Montgomery Counties and Lancaster County) and three in the Midwest (Madison County, OH; Holmes County, OH; and Kalona, IA). After completing a translation task of 50 lexical items whose variants serve to differentiate Lancaster from other varieties in Pennsylvania and from the Midwest, informants are asked to identify people whose Deitsch is “different.”

Preliminary results support previous findings in perceptual dialectology: speakers often identify their own area as distinctive and make rather fine-grained dialect distinctions between communities adjacent to their own, but are less precise in identifying differences in more distant communities (Preston 1989: 36, 118). Thus, despite the fact that the
Perceptions: Saturday, January 6 (Cont.)

most significant production differences are found within Pennsylvania, Midwestern speakers identify only a simple Midwest vs. Pennsylvania opposition. For Pennsylvania speakers in Lancaster County, on the other hand, there is a salient local opposition between Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites—though this perceived denominational dialect divide is shown to correlate closely with a clear areal distribution in production.

Though plain speakers are often reluctant to supply them, evaluatory comments of different Deitsch varieties center on the polysemous notion of “dutchiness” (and its polar opposite “Englishness”). A “dutchified” Deitsch dialect may be one that faithfully or futilely resists English borrowing, one that borrows freely from English but regularly incorporates the borrowings into Deitsch phonology, one that is perceived as more correct, one that reflects a “backward” rural or religious outlook, one whose speakers are more “down to earth,” or some combination of these meanings. The notion of “dutchiness” can thus be variously employed by speakers to construct a unique oppositional social identity within the mosaic of plain Deitsch communities across North America.

28 • 4:00–4:30: “Un-American Speech: Representations of Non-Native Speakers of US English.” Stephanie Lindemann, Univ. of Michigan.

Attitudes research has often been conducted separately from the study of language variation and change, which is regarded as the central concern of sociolinguistics. However, an understanding of attitudes to language varieties is crucial to a full understanding of variation and change (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968). Preston’s work on speakers’ evaluations of varieties of U.S. English has illustrated these speakers’ mental representations of social groups; Preston (1999) has suggested how these mental representations may relate to style-shifting and language change. The current study applies similar methods to those used by Preston in order to address U.S. English speakers’ mental representations of groups who do not speak U.S. English natively.

Native speakers of U.S. English living in Michigan completed a number of tasks to assess how they evaluate and classify non-native U.S. English speakers in general and native speakers of Korean in particular. A modified matched-guise task assessing attitudes towards Korean-accented English was given to study participants, who were asked to rate Korean and American voices on various traits. These listeners were also asked to rate the likelihood for each speaker that s/he was a native speaker of English, and to identify each speaker’s ethnicity. “Native speaker” proved to be a salient dimension for these listeners, who almost always identified native and non-native speakers accurately. Guessing ethnicity of the non-native speakers appeared to be much more difficult, but almost all guesses for Korean speakers were of some stigmatized group, whether or not the phonological patterns of the groups are similar to those of native Korean speakers. Furthermore, native Korean speakers were generally evaluated more negatively than were native English speakers. The internally undifferentiated but salient, negatively evaluated, category that emerges for stigmatized non-native speakers parallels Preston’s (1993, 1996, 1999) findings for assessments of native geographically-based dialects by residents of Michigan and Indiana, where the salience of a largely undifferentiated “Southern” dialect is correlated with its perceived incorrectness.

These matched-guise and speaker identification tasks can further be compared to characterizations by Michiganders of different kinds of English spoken around the world, based in part on their labeling of a world map (following similar procedures as Preston for U.S. varieties of English). A final source of information is these Michiganders’ responses to a list of countries, for which they are asked to rate how “correct,” “pleasant,” “friendly,” and “familiar” they believe the English spoken by people from each country to be.

29 • 4:30–5:00: “Perceptions of a New Speech Community.” Susan Tamasi, Univ. of Georgia.

Traditional perceptual studies have shown that people can make judgments about the speech of a region even if they do not have first-hand knowledge about it, and therefore, they must have preconceived, stereotyped notions about the area. This idea is shown through previous studies (e.g. Preston 1989, 1993) in which the majority of non-Southern informants (from Michigan, Indiana, and Hawaii) drew some type of Southern region in their maps, revealing that the South is the most commonly distinguished linguistic region of the United States. These studies have also shown that informants rated the South as the region lowest in terms of “correctness” and “pleasantness.” Because these studies have shown that negative attitudes exist toward Southern speech and since Atlanta is currently an area of enormous growth with nearly one million moving in within the last ten years, a study of this Southern city is a good place to begin in order to see how a person’s perceptions evolve when he/she changes speech community.

This paper presents the results of a perceptual study in which 100 people who have moved to Atlanta within the last five years were surveyed. The informants were asked to look at a map of the U.S. and draw boundary lines between the areas where people speak differently. They were then asked to return to the map and mark the areas where the most “correct” English and the most “pleasant” English are spoken. Follow-up interviews were conducted with 20% of the
informants in order to clarify responses. The results from this set of informants were then compared to the results of a previous perceptual study conducted with 32 native Georgians. This paper looks at several questions surrounding both sets of informants, including: How do the linguistic perceptions of the new inhabitants of the South compare with those who are native to the area? How do the new inhabitants rate the South in comparison with their home towns? Have the informants moved from an area of linguistic security to an area of linguistic insecurity and does this affect their ideas toward language?

References


**ADS at MLA, Washington, One Week Earlier**


Session 625: Friday, Dec. 29, 3:30-4:45 p.m., Park Tower Suite 8212, Marriott Wardman Park.
Chair: Michael Adams, Albright Coll.
1. “Goals and Teaching English Language Classes.” Sonja L. Lanehart, U. of Georgia.

Teachers need to develop and clearly articulate the goals for a class and know those goals can match or advance students’ goals in order to facilitate motivation and learning in the classroom. I plan to use my Fall 2000 English language courses (i.e., “Language Use in the African American Community”) as an example of this strategy, including course structure, activities, assessment, etc.


This paper begins with the most basic question: “What is Standard English?” The answers to this question expose many of our assumptions as speakers, scholars, and teachers about English and what it means to teach “English.” The rest of the paper examines some of the issues involved in teaching standard and non-standard language varieties in English composition, literature, and language classrooms, from teaching grammar and writing to reading dialect literature. Throughout, I argue that by foregrounding the politics of these language issues, we can effectively teach both “standard” language forms and encourage critical discussion of the ideological issues involved in this kind of pedagogy.


As students more and more think first of the Internet as a learning resource, we should be thinking about using their interests to teach American English. Several Web sites are available just for this purpose, including Labov’s site for his Phonological Atlas of North America and my own Linguistics Atlas site. Other sites, too, can be used as resources, including various dictionary sites and the Linguistic Data Consortium. If used with care, the Web itself can be a primary source for the study of American English.

Session 810: Saturday, Dec. 30, 1:45-3:00 p.m., Park Tower Suite 8211, Marriott Wardman Park.
Chair: Anne L. Curzan, U. of Washington.


Whereas American culture has infiltrated all of France, in the form of McDonalds, Star Wars, and Power Rangers, for example, and whereas there is a longstanding antag­nism between the French and the “Roastbeefs,” it is nevertheless the case that English is being force-fed in French universities to the sounds of pavement, satchel, WC, lift, and fish and chips. There is a notion floating around that American is not a language, or at least not an authentic one. I am American and had to come to France to find out that I don’t speak English.

Once the right to teach American English has been established, the challenge of what and how to teach has to be met. American materials are less available in France than British ones, although that availability is improving through satellite television, the Internet, and the recent importation of holidays such as Halloween. A particular use of audio-visual documents of varying sorts has proven effective and fun, in teaching up-to-the-minute American language, regional behavior, accents, and expressions, as well as comprehension of intonation, gestures and facial expressions as carriers of meaning. This program has been developed for third-year French university students of English at Le Havre University.


Study of American English ought to include a study of “bad” American English (1) because it’s intellectually irresponsible to teach only part of a subject in order to be polite, (2) because “bad” American English is used often and thoughtlessly and is, therefore, a subject that needs classroom treatment, for both intellectual and social reasons, and (3) because many react to “bad” words equally thoughtlessly and attempt to obstruct it wrongly and for the

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South Central Regional Meeting

In association with SCMLA, Nov. 9-11; San Antonio, Gunter Hotel. ADS session Thursday, Nov. 9, 5:45-7:15 p.m., Alamo room.

Chair: Lori Boykin, West Texas A&M Univ.


In many ways At Fault stands apart from the rest of the Chopin canon, especially in its detailed treatment of the changing social and economic situation in late 19th century Louisiana. A careful analysis of Chopin’s use of dialectal variation in both French and English provides insight into the established social structure of her community among with the changes brought by industrialization.

Chopin’s first novel portrays a multi-tiered, multi-lingual society in the midst of unprecedented economic transition. This society is composed of a wide variety of ethnic groups, many of them unique to the cultural milieu of Louisiana. It is populated by a cultural elite of French descent, fluent in both French and English. These Creoles dominate the social landscape even as their economic hegemony is threatened by the rise of industrialism and an influx of “American” timber and rail barons. However, not all members of the French Creole community are members of the social elite. Their ethnic identity is demonstrated by their fluent French, but they speak a Creole dialect of English that marks their more marginalized economic status, especially with respect to the influx of Anglo-American industrialists. This segment of the French Creole community shares its Creole English with another group, one that is unique to Northeast Louisiana—the Creoles of Color. This community, dating to earliest colonial days and comprised of a mixture of French, Spanish, African, Native American, and other ethnic groups, occupies a social space that has continually shifted under changing social and economic influences. In addition to their Creole English, this group also speaks a Creole dialect of French. Among this community, the degree of divergence of the Creole dialects from the standard French and English of other groups serves as a marker of economic status and degree of integration into the Anglo-American economic order—the more standard the dialect, the higher the economic and social status of the individual.

The upper class Anglo-Americans speak standard American English, though little if any French, and their growing influence is viewed with dismay by much of the rest of the community. This group is quite conscious of dialectal variation; for example, the upper class Milicent considers Gregoire’s non-standard English as reason enough to reject his romantic advances despite his relatively high status in the Creole community. The other Anglo-American group portrayed by Chopin is the growing industrial middle class. The English of this group is nonstandard and peppered with slang. The significance of the this profusion of slang for a contemporary audience is shown by the response of reviewers to Chopin’s novel. Despite their relative economic prosperity, the middle class Anglo-Americans’ dialect clearly distinguished them from the social elite. The former slave community of African-Americans speak a standard form of AAVE which distinguishes them from the rest of society as surely as does their ethnicity.


Northern and Central Louisiana have long been understudied areas by linguists. While speech patterns in the region resemble other areas of the South, a few marked differences emerge in lexical items and phonological data. Marthaville is a small rural community which lies about 20 miles west of Natchitoches. The area’s population is primarily of Anglo-Scots-Irish and African-American origin. Marthaville, while not highly populous now, at one time was a major railroad town because of the timber industry. Ten speakers ranging in age from 60 to 85, and ten younger community members, ranging in age from 15 to 45, have been selected as a starting point in this research. The dialect patterns of these 20 speakers seem to be fairly similar to the community as a whole. However, within each group, a variety of (Please turn to Page 30)
differences have become apparent. Younger speakers indicate a raising of the [a] in body to sound more like [aj] and differences in pronunciation of vowels in hawk and hog from the older group. Additionally, many lexical terms prevalent in the older group do not occur in the younger group.

One goal of this research is to ascertain if speech traits of the older members of the community have been passed on to the younger generations or if the younger generations’ speech patterns are affected by other factors such as the nearby college or modern day prestige variants.


For many years linguists have assumed that nonstandard features are either retentions of older forms that have disappeared from the standard (e.g., holp for helped) or the consequences of language contact (e.g., copula absence in AAVE). However, a careful examination of a range of nonstandard features shows that these two sources account for only some nonstandard features. Two other sources must also be taken into account. These are innovation and overgeneralization. Innovation accounts for features such as habitual be and had + past as simple past in AAVE, while overgeneralization accounts for the loss of distinctions among many strong past and past participle forms.

ADS Regional Secretary 1999-2000: Charles B. Martin, Dept. of English, Univ. of North Texas, P.O. Box 13827, Denton TX 76203-3827; phone (817) 565-2149, cmartin@facstaff.CAS.unt.edu.

Preregistration is $40, students $15. Onsite Registration is $45, students $20. Membership in SCMLA is $30 full professors, $25 associate and assistant professors, $20 instructors and students. Write SCMLA Membership Secretary, Texas A&M Univ., Dept. of English, College Station TX 77843-4227; phone (979) 845-7041; fax (979) 862-2292; www-english.tamu.edu/scmla/; scmla@tamu.edu.

Future Meeting: 2001 Nov. 1–3 Tulsa, Downtown Doubletree Hotel.

South Atlantic Regional Meeting

In association with SAMLA, Nov. 10-12; Birmingham, Alabama, Sheraton Civic Center. ADS session Saturday, Nov. 11, 4:45–6:15 p.m., East E.

The Language of Cross-Cultural Communication.
Chair: Margaret Lee, Dept. of English, Hampton Univ., Hampton VA 23668; mlee303@yahoo.com.

1. “‘They Were Stupid’: HUD’s Failed Creole Brochure Resedents Rights & Rispsabilities” (20 min.). Wayne Glowka and Elijah Scott, Georgia College & State U.

2. “De Ole Time Talk We Still de Talkum Here’: Gullah, An American Creole” (20 min.). Cherry S. Harmond-Early, Cameron U.


Executive Committee: Peter Patrick, U of Essex; Natalie Schilling-Estes, Georgetown U.; Guy Bailey, U. of Texas-San Antonio.

ADS Regional Secretary 1999–2000: Michael Picone, Dept. of Romance Languages and Classics, Univ. of Alabama, Box 870246, Tuscaloosa AL 35406-0246; mpicone@bama.ua.edu.

Registration by Oct. 9 is $50, students $25. Membership in SAMLA is $40 individual ($30 first year), $25 student. Write SAMLA, Georgia State Univ., University Plaza, Atlanta GA 30303-3083; phone (404) 651-2693; www.samla.org; samla@samla.org.


SAMLA Linguistics Section

Our New Books: Slang, How We Talk, Russian, Non-Linguists

If you have recently published a book, send pertinent information to Executive Secretary Allan Metcalf (address on cover), and we’ll mention it here.


Allan Metcalf. *How We Talk: American Regional English Today*, xvi + 207 pages, with maps and illustrations. Houghton Mifflin, November 2000. $24 hardcover, $14 paperback. ISBN 0-618-04363-2,-4. This is a skookum book, not too spendy, aimed at a general audience but availing itself of y'all’s (or you guys’s) research on regional dialects. Covering both sounds and words in detail, it takes the reader on a guided tour from South to North to West and out to Alaska and Hawaii, adding a chapter on ethnic dialects and one on dialects in the movies. Along the way it incorporates specimens ranging from Henry James’s diatribe against the American “r” to Camper English’s poem “Surfer Dude.”

Rose Nash. *NTC's Dictionary of Russian Cognates Thematically Organized*. NTC/Contemporary Publishing Group, 2000, xxiv + 264 pages. ISBN 0-8442-0459-5, US $24.95, CDN $36.95. An innovative reference designed for both Russian and English speakers that opens the door to thousands of words that are essentially the same in both languages. The book is organized into 20 theme groups further subdivided into a wide range of topics. Included are terms in literature, art, music, science, technology, religion, foods, entertainment, sports, transportation, communications, commerce, finance, history, and more. Special importance is given to everyday high-frequency words and recent post-Soviet additions to Russian vocabulary. Step-by-step pronunciation and alphabet guides help the user master the Cyrillic alphabet. Used alongside a standard desk dictionary, this work is a useful resource for writers, students, immigrants, businesspeople, and anyone else coming in contact with these two important world languages.

Frank Parker and Kathryn Riley. *Linguistics for Non-Linguists: A Primer with Exercises*. 3rd edition. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2000. ISBN 0-205-29930-X. This revised edition features hundreds of exercises, many of them new, now integrated throughout each chapter; an expanded treatment of syntax; a chapter dealing exclusively with the representation of language in writing (e.g., relations between phonology and spelling); a new chapter on “Language Processing” that discusses concepts from psycholinguistics and discourse analysis; and updated “Supplementary Readings” for each chapter. Instructor’s Manual also available. For more information, see www.abacon.com.

ADS at MLA

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wrong reasons. In the liberal arts college, and in universities anchored by study of the liberal arts, there are many, often incompatible expectations about language and expression, language and free expression, language, and civility, and language in public relations. Teaching about “bad” American English in classrooms can inform the whole college community and stimulate useful conversation about language and language use in the college’s life, not to mention life beyond the ivory tower.

3. “Two Countries 'Divided by a Common Language': British and American English in the Classroom.” Leonard R.N. Ashley, Brooklyn College CUNY.

It was an Irishman, George Bernard Shaw, naturally very conscious of British language imperialism, who remarked that Britain and America are divided by a common language. How do we make college students aware of the facts of this connection? Students can be taught about language changes and differences in the survey courses in English literature, which include both old and new, both British and American authors (and sometimes Canadian, Australian, Caribbean, and other writers of English). Literature with its combination of intellectual and cultural content, and its combination of personal, political, and emotional appeal, is the best way to look at language completely. So teach linguistics in the literature class!
Pass Papers or Pull DARE if You Know These Words

If you are familiar with any of the following words or expressions, please let us know. It is most helpful if you can give an example or examples of how it is (or was) used, and as much detail as possible about when, where, and by whom. Address DARE Chief Editor Joan Hall at 6125 Helen White Hall, 600 N. Park St., Madison WI 53706, or by e-mail at jdhall@facstaff.wisc.edu.

paralyzed oath—Is anyone familiar with the phrase “to take a paralyzed oath”? What does it mean? Where is it used?

pass papers—Most of us would probably say “deliver the paper,” but in some places the news carrier is said to “pass papers.” Where is that phrase current?

picnic—In Wisconsin, picnic is used to refer to a large bottle of beer. Is the term used this way elsewhere?

pucker tree—As a name for a persimmon tree this term makes good sense, but how widely is it used?

pull—For those who still recognize a rotary phone: we have a single quote that says, “You don’t have to pull the 2 and the 5 on Key West numbers—only the last five numbers.” Does anyone else know this sense of pull?

pull(ing) skiff—Three examples of pull skiff or pulling skiff were found in the Gulf States to refer to a rowboat. Are the terms used elsewhere?

pump—The phrase on pump (from German auf Pump), meaning ‘on credit’ (as in “He bought it on pump”), is attested three times in Nebraska. Is it really that restricted?

pumpfoot—All three of our examples for this word, meaning ‘a clubfoot,’ come from Maine or New Hampshire. Is it still recognized there? Anywhere else?

push row—This verb phrase, meaning ‘to row facing forward,’ is attested by two quotes from Maine. Are other boaters familiar with it?

Saint Paul sandwich—This seems to be one with multiple fillings, one of which is egg. Is this named for the Minnesota city? Our only evidence comes from the Gulf States, Missouri, and Nebraska.

salary—Two Informants, both from Virginia, use salary to mean ‘a pledge or tithe to a church.’ Since both speakers are Black, we wonder if this use of the word is common in African-American church communities.

salmagundi—A cold plate of meats, fish, eggs, and vegetables, usually artfully arranged and topped with a vinegar dressing; is this meaning still current? Two quotes from Nebraska say that the word (sometimes abbreviated to sal) has been extended to mean a meal consisting of a variety of dishes, i.e., a potluck. Does anyone else know that use?

sheep fly—Eleven DARE Informants, chiefly from Maryland and Delaware, give this response for a biting fly, describing it as either brown or green. Can anyone provide a scientific name?

Dictionary Deadline Nears

Dec. 1 is the deadline for proposals for the Dictionary Society of North America’s biennial meeting in Ann Arbor May 6–9, 2001. Send them to the conference organizer, Richard W. Bailey, at rwbailey@umich.edu or Dept. of English, 3187 Angell Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI 48109-1003.

For information on this society so near and dear to ADS, see http://polyglot.lss.wisc.edu/dsna/index.html.

Membership & Dues

ADS membership includes not only American Speech but also the monograph supplement Publication of the American Dialect Society and this newsletter three times a year. Dues for 2001 are again $35, students $20, plus $10 extra for members outside the United States. Life Membership is available for $700. If you have a question about your membership, ask your friendly Executive Secretary or better yet our contact at Duke:

Cindy Foltz, Journals Fulfillment, Duke University Press, Box 90660, Durham, NC 27708-0660; phone 1-888-387-5765 or 919-687-3613; fax 1-919-688-2615; cinfoltz@duke.edu.