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LANGUAGE CHANGE IN A POST-CREOLE CONTACT SETTING: NON-STANDARD *A/N'T* NEGATION IN SUFFOLK

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Abstract

This paper describes preliminary research on the role *ain't* for two groups of British speakers living in Suffolk: Anglos and Barbadians. The issues addressed are of relevance to sociolinguists and creolists. In most Anglophone countries, including Britain, the functions of *ain't* are remarkably similar - occurring with present tense verbs *be* and *have* only. An Anglophone pattern, based on previously reported tendencies and hierarchies is proposed and is used as the basis for comparison. Bajan¹ is one of the less often studied creoles and absent from work discussing their typological status in relation to L1s. Preliminary results provide some evidence of creole forms among first generation Bajans. Ethnically-aligned contrasts are also found for each generation as Bajans adopt the Anglophone pattern. The paper concludes that any interpretation of social and linguistic factors needs to be supplemented by further interactional analysis to account for the considerable inter-individual variation.

Keywords

syntactic variation, non-standard negation, British English, Barbadian English, Creoles

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¹ Henceforth, I refer to the speakers of Barbadian heritage and the non-standard forms spoken in Barbados as 'Bajan'. This is a term used by Barbadians, in Barbados and in Britain, to refer to themselves and their language.

**CAMBIO LINGÜÍSTICO EN UN ENTORNO DE CONTACTO POSTCRIOLLO:
LA NEGACIÓN NO ESTÁNDAR *AIN'T* EN SUFFOLK**

Resumen

Este trabajo describe la investigación preliminar sobre el papel de *ain't* en dos grupos de hablantes británicos que viven en Suffolk: anglos y barbadenses. Los temas tratados son de interés para los sociolingüistas y criollistas. En la mayoría de los países de habla inglesa, incluyendo Gran Bretaña, las funciones de *ain't* son notablemente similares – ocurre sólo con los verbos *ser* y *tener* en presente de indicativo. Se propone un patrón anglófono, basado en tendencias y jerarquías indicadas anteriormente, que se utiliza como base para la comparación. Bajan es uno de los criollos estudiados con menos frecuencia y está ausente de trabajos que cuestionen su tipología en relación con la L1. Los resultados preliminares proporcionan alguna evidencia de formas criollas entre la primera generación de Bajans. Los contrastes étnicamente alineados también se encuentran en cada generación cuando los Bajans adoptan el patrón de habla inglesa. El artículo concluye que cualquier interpretación de factores sociales y lingüísticos necesita ser complementado con un posterior análisis interaccional para dar cuenta de la considerable variación interindividual que existe.

Palabras clave

variación sintáctica, negación no estándar, inglés británico, inglés de Barbados, criollos²

1. Introduction

This paper reports on preliminary research on a well-known dialect feature, *ain't*. It is one of a number of features, which tends to recur in varieties of English. Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann's (2009) survey of 76 features across 46 English varieties, found that L1 varieties are distinct from creoles, with L2 falling somewhere in between the two. They suggest a number of implicational tendencies based on highly significant patterns across the varieties. Neither Suffolk, nor Bajan are included in the survey. However, Suffolk resides in the larger region of East Anglia, which is one of the British regions included in the survey and which conforms to the implicational tendencies.

The main tendency identified *ain't* — a variety of English will either have *ain't* for *be* and *have*, or it will have neither. We can further refine the tendency for L1 varieties, which I call the Anglophone pattern. This pattern is widely attested and occurs in the

² De ahora en adelante, me refiero a los hablantes patrimoniales de Barbados y las formas no estándar que se hablan en Barbados como "Bajan". Este es un término utilizado por los barbadenses, en Barbados y en Gran Bretaña, para referirse a sí mismos y a su idioma.

present tense of *be* and *have* only. Furthermore, it is restricted to the aux *have* but cannot occur with *have* as a main verb.

1. Present tense aux *be* (e.g. *You ain't talking to me*)
2. Present tense cop *be* (e.g. *He ain't taller than my brother*)
3. Present tense aux *have* (e.g. *We ain't seen his friend*)
4. *Present tense *have* main verb (e.g. **I ain't have sugar with my tea*)

Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi (2004: 1147-1153) report that *ain't* occurring with a main verb as in example 4 is one of the rarest of the 76 features surveyed; present in only 7 of the 46 varieties, including two creoles: Gullah and Trinidadian/Tobsonian Creole. A number of scholars have suggested that *ain't* acts as a general negator in Anglophone creoles (example 5), occurring in a wider range of contexts than L1 varieties.

5. *ain't* as generic negator before a main verb (e.g. *I ain't know him*)

The site for this research is the post-creole, contact setting, in the town of Ipswich, Suffolk. The speakers in this study comprise Barbadian immigrants, their descendants and Anglos. The Suffolk data allows us firstly to compare speakers from L1 and creole backgrounds to gauge the extent that they are typologically distinctive. We can expect that Anglos would conform to the Anglophone Pattern described above, given that Suffolk lies in East Anglia. Neither Bajan, nor related Eastern Caribbean creoles are included in the survey. However, a number of Caribbean scholars consider *ain't* to be a general negator in Bajan.

This leads to our first research question: how typologically distinctive are Suffolk English and Bajan? In order to answer this question, I compare old Anglos with 1st gen. Bajans to see whether:

- 1.a) Suffolk Anglos and Bajans conform to the Anglophone Pattern?
- 1.b) Bajans have any evidence of a general negator *ain't*?

The work of Anderwald (2002) is relevant in helping to determine further tendencies of the Anglophone pattern. Her study is based on the British National Corpus of spoken English (BNC). She concludes that *ain't* has undergone a process of regularisation, with infrequent contexts producing higher frequencies of *ain't* than

higher frequency environments which tend to retain more complexity. The highest frequency environment is **cop be** followed by **aux have** and then **aux be**.

Idealised	aux be	> aux have	> cop be
BNC corpus average	aux <i>have</i> 14.1%	aux <i>be</i> 13.3%	cop <i>be</i> 7.6%
East Anglia region	aux <i>have</i> 31.3%	aux <i>be</i> 17.3%	cop <i>be</i> 8.2%
Reading, South West	aux <i>have</i>	cop <i>be</i>	aux <i>be</i>

(Anderwald 2002; Cheshire 1982)

Table 1. Anglophone Pattern frequency hierarchy of *Ain't*³

Table 1 is based on Anderwald's BNC corpus research. She describes an idealised pattern based on absolute frequencies of occurrence of verbs *be* and *have*, in the corpus; the BNC average across all British regions surveyed; and the figures for East Anglia (EA). I also include the hierarchical order reported by Cheshire (1982) for Reading in the South West. The table shows clearly a common tendency for *ain't* to occur more frequently with *have* than *be*. This tendency can therefore be included in the Anglophone pattern, at least as it occurs for British English (BrE). The figures included for the BNC average and EA are included here as relevant points of comparison with the Suffolk data. EA has higher rates of *ain't* with *have*, than the BNC average.

This leads to our second question: to what extent do Suffolk speakers conform to the Anglophone pattern found in the BNC data and EA region, in particular?

Ain't comprises a number of variants that may be linguistically and socially conditioned. Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi (2004: 1147) highlight one notable example the invariant form *innit* as in example 6, which occurs only in tag questions

6. invariant non-concord tags (*They had them in their hair, innit?*)

This feature has been observed in British varieties of English, especially in London and the South East, but not in Caribbean Creoles (see for example, Stenstrom 1997 and Torgersen & Gabrielatos 2009). Gunnel & Hoffman (2006: 283, 286) compares the BNC to an American corpus and finds that whilst tag questions occur in both varieties, they were nine times more frequent in the British data. She also observes the invariant form *innit* does not occur in American English. *Innit* seems to be exclusively British.

³ Aux refers to Auxiliary, Cop refers to Copula.

This leads to our third question:

- 3.a) What are the range of variants for *ain't* in the Suffolk data?
- 3.b) What linguistic and social factors condition the variation?

2. The Data and Methodology

The Suffolk data consists of sociolinguistic interviews from 24 speakers supplemented by ethnographic participant and non-participant observations over a three year period, between 2000 and 2003. The data are a sub-sample from a larger dataset of 74 speakers comprising, Anglos, and Caribbeans from a range of islands including, Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, Nevis, St Vincent. The largest two groups are from Jamaica and Barbados. This paper reports preliminary findings for Anglos and Barbadians only. Speakers are grouped according to life-stages, old — retired or nearing retirement, mid — established in work and with families and, young — mostly secondary school children. These life stages also coincide with the settlement patterns of the Barbadians. The first generation⁴ of Barbadians came to England as adults in the 1950s and 1960s and are over 60 years old. The second generation arrived in the 1970s age 10 or are British born. This group is in the mid-age category. The third generation are all British born and are in the young category. The results are grouped by ethnicity and age. I also provide a qualitative account of other social factors where relevant.

A total of 809 tokens are analysed split between *be* and *have*. Tokens of *be* are three times more frequently occurring than *have*. A further breakdown in verb *be* will not be considered at this point. Rather I compare the data against the main tendency shown in Table 1, i.e. that *ain't* occurs more often with *have* than *be*.

For the purposes of comparison with findings from the BNC, the linguistic environment is coded for non-tags and tags. The dependent variable is coded as *ain't*, negative contraction, auxiliary contraction and full negation. The main forms of *ain't* are further coded (*ain't*, *in't* and *innit*). Initial indications are that *innit*, may not be completely invariant. For example, Anderwald (2002: 147) suggests that it is semi-

⁴ Henceforth, I refer to the generations as 1st gen., 2nd gen. and 3rd gen.

invariant. In the first instance, I shall include *innit* in the overall figures and then focus in more detail on its distribution. *Innit* is considered to be a peculiarly British feature, but tends to be excluded from larger studies (Gunnel & Hoffmann 2006). This smaller study provides the opportunity to examine how this form behaves in two ethnic groups.

The descriptions of Bajan have either emphasised its similarities with British English or its typological distinctiveness, as a creole. Others, such as Walker & Sidnell (2011) consider the possibility of co-existent systems rather than a single highly variable system along classic continuum model proposed by (e.g. Bickerton 1975; DeCamp 1971). A variationist approach does not have to make judgments of this kind. As well as presence-absence of a feature, variationists look at relative frequencies and consider linguistic or social determinants. A variationist approach is used here, because Bajan has the longest sustained links with British English and, because the Bajans in this study are assimilating to a local form of British English. This kind of complex situation where contact occurs at several stages of development requires a more open approach. Initial empirical results allow us to identify the main patterns of variation across the data. This is supplemented by qualitative observations with a view to establishing the best way to interpret the data.

3. Bajan negation

I now summarise the literature on Bajan negation before presenting my analysis of the Suffolk data. Van Herk (2003: 243) observes that descriptions of Bajan tend to assume that all non-standard features are creole forms. *Ain't* in particular, is considered to be part of a creole grammar, perhaps a mesolectal feature, rather than dialectal feature of English. Walker & Sidnell (2011) conducted a variationist study of Bequia, an Eastern Caribbean variety, historically related to Bajan. They found different patterns of Creole and English forms linked to historical and geographical settlement patterns on the island. As well as differences in terms of presence/absence of features, the co-occurrence of other non-standard features, e.g. negative concord, TMA⁵'s are also relevant. The authors interpret different rates of occurrence and linguistic conditioning,

⁵ TMA – tense, mood and aspect markers.

as being due to the same underlying system, with subsequent restructuring for some communities. Their discussion avoids the need to classify features in terms of varying degrees of creole.

A number of scholars provide examples to show that in Bajan, *ain't* can occur across a wider range of verb and tense contexts than L1 English varieties. *Ain't* may be functioning like the preverbal *no*. Burrowes (1983) is one of a number of scholars who considers *ain't* to be part of a creole grammar. She identifies Anglophone Creoles as having the following forms as a negator — *no*, *n*, *in* and that Barbados has related variants *in*, *din* and *ain't*. (see Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2004; Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009: 1646, for a review of the main differences between creoles and L1 varieties). In example 11 *ain't* occurs before a verb phrase in Bajan:

11. *Uh ain't did stan fo lie much – I didn't stand to lie much* (Burrowes 1983: 43).

The form *din* is derived from *didn't* but with a different distribution/function in English-Based Creoles from British English (Meyerhoff & Walker 2012: 217-8; Walker & Sidnell 2011: 3). *Din* is also found in Barbadian Creole. Van Herk (2003: 255) describes the system of an elderly Bajan lady. She represents the most basilectal speaker in his sample. Her use of *ain't* covers a much wider range of contexts than in BrE including where BrE would use *do* in present and past tense and *be* in past tense. The following examples indicate a number of functions for *ain't* and *din* that are not found in BrE.

The past tense of *be* (*wasn't*) can be replaced with either *ain't* or *din*, as in:

12. *I din born big or I ain't born big - wasn't* (Van Herk 2003: 254)

The verb *do* present tense, can be replaced with *ain't* as in:

13. *It ain't concern you - It doesn't concern you* (Van Herk 2003: 254).

Rickford & Handler suggest that a related form (*y*)ent is a mesolectal feature derived from *ain't* that can occur with *do* past as in:

14. *I yent say nothing to she? - I didn't say...* (c 1800s: Rickford & Handler 1994: 242-3).

4. Results

I present examples of the linguistic environment for *ain't* for 1st gen. Bajans. Examples 15 and 16 indicate that *ain't* is typologically distinctive. It occurs with a greater number of verbs and tenses than BrE. There is some evidence to suggest that *ain't* covaries with the Barbadian contraction *din* mostly for the verb *do*, and for past tense *be*.

15. *Ain't/din with verbs do past*

- a) dey pick me for one dat I ***ain't*** had a cat in hell of wining [274Buster] - didn't have
- b) we ***ain't*** get de treatment [86Bessy] – didn't get
- c) I ***din*** know a lot of people [93Betty] – didn't know

16. *Ain't/din with can, be past,*

- a) I think you can go on the back, ***ain't*** you mm [230Bessy] - can't you
- b) she couldn't let me in because her husband ***ain't*** der [124Bessy] wasn't there
- c) we were black ***ain't*** we [92Bessy] – weren't we
- d) I ***din*** so acquainted with [294Betty] – I wasn't so acquainted with

The examples occur mostly in Bessy's speech and to a lesser extent, Betty, even though the latter is the most basilectal speaker. 1st gen. males use the most acrolectal speech. Buster uses the Bajan *din* for *didn't* and in 15a) *ain't* is used with the lexical verb *have*, that is blocked in the Anglophone pattern. The apparent gender distinction can be explained to an extent by social factors. The men came from the main city of Bridgetown and had wider social networks. The women came from rural communities and their social networks were confined to family and close contacts. In addition, Betty had some post-16 privately-paid, education. Scholars working on Eastern Caribbean varieties have noted that geographical settlements can account for such linguistic differences. In particular, the rural/urban distinction is an important social factor as to whether an individual uses basilectal features. Whilst the differences between 1st gen. men and women can be explained by the differences in social networks afforded by the urban/rural environments, it is not the whole picture. Betty has the most basilectal features in her speech including copula deletion, non marking of the past tense (Braña-

Straw 2011: 66). She grew up in the rural environment in the parish of St John. Bessy grew up in the less rural parish of Christchurch and had more frequent access to the urban centre, having spent time in Bridgetown working for a family friend. We might expect that Betty would be the most frequent user of basilectal forms of *ain't*. Individual factors seem to be at play and will be addressed in the discussion.

I now turn to the empirical results for *ain't* with verbs *be* and *have* in the present tense. This allows us to determine the extent that each group conforms to the Anglophone pattern and to compare both frequency of occurrence of *ain't* and its main variants with the BNC data (as per Anderwald 2002).

Groups	Verb	Aux		Neg (ex. <i>ain't</i>)	(inc. <i>ain't</i>)
Bajans	<i>be</i>	58.33	>	21.83	34.52
	<i>have</i>	6.6	<	80.19	92.45
Anglos	<i>be</i>	46.82	<=	31.53	48.09
	<i>have</i>	5.88	<	77.94	92.45

Table 2. Anglophone Hierarchy for *be* and *have*, present tense (%)

Table 2 shows the frequencies of aux versus neg. The expected hierarchy is aux > neg for *be* and aux < neg *have*. The hierarchy certainly holds for Bajans, but is not so clear cut for the Anglos who have similar rates of aux and neg for *be*. In addition, overall rates of aux for *be* are comparatively low (58% Bajans, 47% Anglos) compared to the BNC data (80% EA, 92% BNC average). The neg rates for *have* are in line with EA (97%) if we include *ain't*, (Bajans and Anglos 92%).

Group	<i>be</i>		<i>have</i>
Bajans	12.70	=	12.26
Anglos	16.56	>	13.24
BNC	8.90	<	14.10
EA ⁶	10.50	<	31.30

Table 3. Frequency of *ain't* for the Anglophone pattern (%)

Table 3 compares the relative frequencies of *ain't* in the Suffolk and BNC data. Suffolk Anglos have the highest rates of *ain't* for *be*, followed by Bajans, then EA. For *have*, EA has higher rates than the BNC average, whereas rates for Anglos and Bajans

⁶ East Anglia region.

are slightly lower than the BNC average. A noticeable difference is that *ain't* occurs more frequently with *have* than *be* in the BNC data. The reverse pattern is found for Suffolk Anglos, whilst there is no difference in rates for Bajans. This result is likely to be due to the decision to include *innit* forms, rather than to any inherent differences.

Group	Verb	Non-Tags		Tags
BNC	<i>be</i>	5.8	<	14.8
BNC	<i>have</i>	12.9	<	18.2
Anglos	<i>be</i>	3.9	<	35.2
Anglos	<i>have</i>	13.6	>	12
Bajans	<i>be</i>	4.15	<	37.23
Bajans	<i>have</i>	10.3	<	17.4

Table 4. Percentage Frequency of *ain't* non-tags v tags

Table 4 compares the frequency of *ain't* in non-tags and tags. Bajans follow the BNC pattern, in which *ain't* occurs more frequently in tags than non-tags for both verbs. Anglos have the same pattern for *be* but not for *have*. Both groups have substantially higher rates of occurrence than in the BNC data with verb *be*. This is largely due to inclusion of *innit*. However, the decision to include *innit* does not affect the overall patterns found in the data.

Group	Form	Non-tags	tags
Anglos	in't	70	<10
	innit	Nil	>60
	ain't	30	30
Bajans	in't	10	<10
	Innit	Nil	>75
	Ain't	90	15

Table 5a. Forms of *ain't* occurring with verb *be* (%)

Group	Form	Non-tags	tags
Anglos	in't	Nil	nil
	innit	Nil	nil
	ain't	100	100
Bajans	in't	nil	20
	innit	nil	40
	ain't	>85	40
	han't	<15	nil

Table 5b. Forms of *ain't* occurring with verb *have* in percentages

Tables 5a and 5b show the distribution of the main variants of *ain't*. According to Anderwald (2002: 130) *in't* does not occur at all with *be* in EA. The Suffolk data provides evidence to the contrary. Anglos have *in't* as the main form in non-tags at 70% compared with only 13.3% BNC average. By contrast in tags, *in't* is the least frequent form at less than 10% compared with the BNC average of 65.9%. Bajans also have the *in't* form in tags at 20%. The percentages are probably not directly comparable due to my inclusion of *innit*. However, the main point holds, that the Suffolk data contradict Anderwald's claim that *in't* is not used in East Anglia. Now to compare Anglos with Bajans, the main difference is in non-tags. The main form for Anglos is *in't*, whereas the main form for Bajans is *ain't*. If we look at tags, we can see that the main form is *innit* for both groups and that they have a similar distribution of forms *innit>ain't>in't*.

Table 5b charts the distribution of forms between non-tags and tags with verb *have*. For both groups, the form *ain't* occurs categorically in non-tags⁷. Anglos also have categorical use of *ain't* in tags, whereas Bajans have a fairly even distribution between the forms *ain't*, *innit* and *in't*. Whilst, *innit* is restricted to tags for both groups, the figures indicate that Bajans are using *innit* in a greater number of linguistic environments than simply as an alternative form of *isn't it*, as their Anglo counterparts do. Further examination of the data reveals that it is Bajan-born speakers from the 1st and 2nd gen. who use *innit* in this way. British-born speakers do not, rather they use the Anglo pattern, if at all⁸. Example 17 provides examples of the different ways in which the two ethnic groups use *innit*. For the Anglos, *innit* can only replace *isn't it*.

17. *Innit*

- a) Oh right, yeah that's nice, *innit?* And you can see all of the bird life, all the waders and that sort of thing (Sadie, mid-age Anglo)
- b) Life is like that, *innit?* (Simon, old Anglo)
- c) It's a sanctuary for them, to retreat from London, you have to come up here, *innit?* (Bernard, 2nd gen. Bajan)
- d) I thought to myself the word type don't seem write there, *innit?* (Bessy 1st gen. Bajan)

⁷ Given the small number of token numbers we can consider Bajan results to be categorical. There was only one instance of another form *han't* by Bernard.

⁸ Many speakers in the sample use only standard forms.

5. Summary and Discussion

This results show that Suffolk Bajans (2nd and 3rd gen.) and Anglos mostly conform to the Anglophone pattern defined by the main tendency and frequency hierarchy proposed in the literature. The constraints for the Anglophone pattern are that *ain't* only occurs with verbs *be* (cop and aux) and *have* (aux), in the present tense. It cannot occur with *have* as a main verb. Furthermore, *ain't* occurs more frequently with *have* than *be*. A comparison with the BNC data and the regional figures for East Anglia have shown that the Suffolk data has similar patterns in terms of the hierarchy of usage between standard and non-standard variants.

The post-creole contact situation in Suffolk has thrown up a number of ethnically distinctive patterns in terms of the distribution of variant forms of *ain't* and the linguistic conditioning. Below is a summary of the main distinctions to be found between Bajans and Anglos.⁹

1. Anglos favour *in't* with *be* (non-tags) and *ain't* is categorical for *have*
2. Bajans favour *ain't* with *be* (non-tags) and variable forms for *have*
3. 1st gen. Bajans use of *ain't* is not restricted to the Anglophone pattern
4. 1st/2nd gen. Bajan-born speakers use the invariant *innit* form in tags, whereas Anglos only use it in place of *isn't it*, in tags.

There is considerable inter-speaker variation within the data. Many speakers have produced exclusively standard forms, whilst others are frequent users of non-standard forms. Analysing syntactic variation is problematic if treated purely from a quantitative perspective. Cheshire (2005) shows that qualitative analysis is useful to add further insights, especially in the context of tag questions and formulaic expressions. The remainder of the discussion will focus on the results 3. and 4. above, and highlight further areas for research.

Innit is increasingly used in tags and has multiple discourse functions (Cheshire 1982, 1991, 2005). Neither tags, nor *innit* are described in the linguistic literature for Bajan. The invariant form occurs with *be* and *have* across the person/number paradigm

⁹ There are a number of other distinctions in the data that occur in each generation but these will be discussed in future work.

in the speech of 1st and 2nd gen. immigrants indicating that it could be an innovation. Bajans may have acquired both the form and the tag environment in Britain. The invariant form could have arisen independently from acquisition strategies based on overgeneralization, i.e. the extension of a linguistic form to a greater number of linguistic environments, and/or it could perform a range of discourse functions. On the other hand, Anglos use *innit* exclusively to replace *isn't it* in tags. Bajans could have extended the linguistic environment to include all person/number forms of *be* and *have*. Earlier research has shown that this strategy is used for other variables. For example, Edward, a 2nd gen. speaker was found to extend the use of glottalised forms of /t/ to environments that were blocked for Anglo speakers (Braña-Straw 2007: 16-17). Studies on the ethnically diverse population of London, suggest that ethnic minorities are the greatest users of tags and the invariant form *innit* (Palacios-Martínez 2010; Torgersen & Gabrielatos 2009). These earlier studies agree that *innit* as an invariant form is an innovation, led by young non-Anglo males in inner London. My findings seems to support the claim that invariant *innit* is an ethnically driven innovation. It also provides further evidence that the feature may have been present much earlier in immigrant speech, occurring as it does in the speech of Bajans who arrived in the 1960s. In Suffolk, invariant *innit* may be perceived as immigrant speech, an innovation that is not taken up by British born 3rd gen. Bajans and not present in Anglo speakers.

I stated earlier that the Suffolk data mostly conforms to the Anglophone pattern. However, 1st gen. Bajans provide us with evidence of a creolised system. *Ain't* can occur with *be* and *have* in the past tense, with *have* as a main verb and with other TMAs, particularly *do*. The data seem to point to *ain't* as a generic negator as claimed by creole scholars. Even with this small sample, there is considerable variation between individuals. The use of creole features could be attributable to sociolinguistic factors that have been transferred from the island situation. In this study, the female speakers exhibit most of the creole features. I include a summary of the main features of 1st gen. Bajan island background. These are some of the factors that are known to account for variation on Barbados (as described by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 48-49; Van Herk 2003).

1. Berty post secondary, private education, urban, politically active, coloured

2. Buster secondary education, urban, politically active, black
3. Bessy secondary education, near urban, family networks, black
4. Betty secondary education, remote rural, family networks, self disclosed as poor, black

Pre-migration, the social networks for the women were constructed around family and domestic activities. They had a rural upbringing with relatively more geographical isolation, lower levels of education and income. By contrast, the men's networks were open and multiplex. An interesting component of their networks came from their political activities. Earlier research discussed in Braña-Straw (2011), has shown that political activism continues to be an important factor in Britain, with both men continuing to be politically active in local Anglo-dominated politics. The women's social networks are largely confined to the West Indian community. (Further discussion of the speakers' social situations, pre- and post-migration, are described in Braña-Straw 2011: 64-67.) Based on the social factors outlined, we can expect Berty to be the most acrolectal speaker and Betty to be the most basilectal speaker. Variationist studies often find that the highest frequency of non-standard features is found in the most vernacular speech. The above social factors would suggest that Betty should be the most vernacular speaker. However, looking at the data, Bessy (not Betty) uses *ain't* in the greatest number of non-standard environments.

Given that token numbers are too small to support further quantitative analysis, I chart speakers' use of forms, both standard and non-standard in terms of presence or absence. I define the acrolect as consisting of the use of aux and neg contractions for *be* and *have* in the present tense. The Anglophone forms consist of *ain't* and its variants also occurring with *be* and *have* in the present tense. The Bajan form is the use of *din* as a contraction of *didn't*. The creole forms consist of *ain't* or *din* occurring with the main verb *have*, *be* and *have* in the past tense, and other verbs.

Speaker	Standard/Acrolect	Anglophone	Bajan/Mesolect	Creole/Basilect
Berty	Yes	No	No	No
Buster	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Bessy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Betty	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 6. Features present in individual speaker sample for 1st gen. Bajans

Berty as expected is the most acrolectal speaker; he uses standard forms, exclusively. Furthermore, he seems to have a more restrictive pattern than that permitted by the British Standard pattern. Aux contraction is confined to *be* and neg contraction to *have*. Buster also has the same restrictions as Berty. This restricted pattern may represent a Bajan acrolect, rather than a British standard. Buster also has some non-standard forms: the Bajan use of *din* as a further contraction of *didn't*; and just one token of *ain't* with the main verb *have*. As well as social factors, a number of studies suggest that interactional factors play a role in the use of non-standard forms. For example, Palacios-Martínez (2010: 22) investigated the Corpus of London Teenagers for the use of non-standard negation. The corpus includes descendants of West Indian immigrants. She finds that *ain't* has several pragmatic functions. Speakers might style-shift to non-standard forms for a number of interactional purposes: to denote refusal or opposition or to insist on the point in question. The non-standard forms might appear in narratives, personal anecdotes, stories, jokes. Its function is to make the speech event more lively and realistic or to voice the words of a character. The non-standard was also subject to style-shifting towards the interlocutor. Buster's single use of *ain't* with the main verb *have*, occurs in an idiomatic expression *I ain't had a cat in hell*, at the end of a narrative. It has been suggested that British West Indians are more likely to code-switch between acrolectal and basilectal forms as an act of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Sebba 1993). Further qualitative research is planned to examine pragmatic and interactional functions of these basilectal forms.

Now, we turn to the 1st gen. Bajan females. Social factors suggest that Bessy should be next on the continuum. While token numbers are too few for quantitative analysis at the level of the individual, the few standard tokens produced by Bessy suggests that she has the same restricted acrolect pattern as the males. She uses *ain't* with *be* present and past tense, with *can* present tense and, co-occurring with *din* to replace *didn't*. Betty hardly uses standard forms at all. She has one neg token with *be* and *have*. Betty uses *ain't* with *be* and *have* in present tense but does not with other TMAs; effectively she displays the Anglophone pattern. *Din* is used for *be* past tense and in place of *didn't*. Again further research is needed to look at possible interactional factors to account for the use of creole features in the females' speech.

The degree to which 1st gen. Bajans use features from the acrolect varies considerably, as does the degree to which they use mesolectal or basilectal forms. For example, neither male uses the Anglophone pattern whereas the females do. This apparent gender distinction may be due to the differences in social networks both before and after migration. Whilst I have been able to find useful patterns from preliminary quantitative analysis, it is clear that more qualitative research is needed to account further for the patterns observed.

6. Conclusion

This study has found that 1st gen. Bajans exhibit patterns that suggest a creole negation system was present in Barbados. The group comparisons are useful to understand how the Suffolk data compares with the BNC. Both Anglos and Bajans conform to the main tendencies of the Anglophone pattern and at first glance it would seem that Bajans are a closer match to the BNC data, than Anglos. Preliminary figures have indicated a number of ethnically-aligned contrasts that are present in all three generations. However, the group figures conceal considerable individual variation. Initial qualitative observations suggest that pre- and post-migration social factors can account for some of the inter-speaker variation for 1st gen. speakers. In addition, a number of interactional factors have been noted in the literature as well as observed in the Suffolk data. More qualitative research will need to focus on the role of interactional factors.

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DIVISIÓN DIALECTAL DEL ESPAÑOL VENEZOLANO: ESTUDIO DIALECTOLÓGICO PERCEPTIVO

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Resumen

En este artículo se analiza la percepción de los hablantes caraqueños sobre la distribución del espacio geolocal venezolano. Los resultados muestran la clasificación dialectal del país a partir de las percepciones y creencias subjetivas de los informantes y posteriormente, estos resultados se contrastan con los datos ofrecidos por los lingüistas. Este tipo de estudios permite analizar cómo los hablantes comunes reconocen y valoran su propia variedad dialectal y la de los demás. Asimismo, este tipo de trabajos dialectológicos perceptivos permiten describir y explicar la dinámica del contacto y cambio lingüístico.

Palabras clave

dialectología, dialectología perceptiva, percepción, Venezuela

DIVISIÓN DIALECTAL DEL ESPAÑOL VENEZOLANO: ESTUDIO DIALECTOLÓGICO PERCEPTIVO

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze the perception of the distribution of Venezuelan geolocal space by speakers from Caracas. Results show the dialectical classification of the country from speakers' subjective perceptions and beliefs. The results are then contrasted with data offered by linguists. These types of studies allow the analysis of how common speakers recognize and value their own dialectical variation and that of others. Likewise, this type of perceptual dialectological study also allows the description and explanation of the dynamics of contact and linguistic change.

Keywords

dialectology, perceptual dialectology, perception, Venezuela

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1. Introducción

Para la delimitación de las zonas dialectales se han tomado en cuenta rasgos fonéticos, morfológicos, léxicos, documentados en investigaciones dialectológicas y recogidos mediante cuestionarios léxicos y entrevistas. Desde otra perspectiva, dicha delimitación puede basarse en las creencias comunes de las personas acerca de los subsistemas dialectales; de acuerdo con Preston, la principal fuente de los estudios dialectales ha sido “la actuación lingüística de los encuestados, especialmente aquellos que saben que su lengua está bajo escrutinio”¹ (Preston 1989: 1) y se ha dejado de lado lo que estos encuestados piensan y sienten sobre su dialecto y el de los otros. Es este, precisamente, el eje de estudio de la llamada *dialectología perceptiva*: la concepción del hablante común sobre su lengua y la de los demás.

La presente investigación, basada en el enfoque de la dialectología perceptiva, tiene como fin describir y analizar cómo se perciben los rasgos lingüísticos y el espacio geolocal de Venezuela; para ello se estudió el conjunto de valoraciones de cuarenta caraqueños acerca de las subvariedades dialectales del país. Los resultados muestran que, mientras los lingüistas reconocen entre dos y siete zonas dialectales, los miembros de la comunidad caraqueña reconocen de tres a diez zonas. La edad, el sexo y el grado de instrucción de los informantes influyen, asimismo, en las percepciones. El objetivo final de la presente investigación es exponer la división del español venezolano desde la perspectiva perceptiva.

Este artículo está estructurado en cinco secciones. En la primera se presentan las bases teóricas que sustentan la investigación, se expone la importancia de los estudios dialectales perceptivos y se plantea el panorama de las clasificaciones dialectales venezolanas. En la segunda, se describen las investigaciones que otros autores han realizado desde la perspectiva de la dialectología perceptiva y que sirven de referencia para el presente trabajo. En la tercera sección se describen las fases metodológicas que se llevaron a cabo. En la cuarta, se analizan los resultados obtenidos y finalmente, en las conclusiones, se evalúan los objetivos propuestos y se contrastan las percepciones y creencias de los entrevistados con las aseveraciones de los lingüistas.

¹ “The primary source for this discovery has always been the linguistic performance of respondents, preferably those who are unaware that their language is under scrutiny” (Preston 1989: 1).

2. Marco teórico

2.1. Dialectología perceptiva

La dialectología perceptiva se centra (cf. Preston 1988) en las creencias y percepciones de los no lingüistas, es decir, de aquellos que no tienen formación lingüística formal sobre: a) las similitudes y diferencias de su dialecto con otros dialectos; b) la delimitación de las zonas dialectales; y c) las características de las hablas regionales. Se trata de una disciplina que investiga: i) dónde creen los hablantes que existen áreas dialectales; ii) hasta dónde se extienden estas áreas; y iii) cómo reaccionan los hablantes hacia las variedades que reconocen. Los estudios dialectales tradicionales solo han analizado los datos que involucran la producción de habla, mientras que los estudios perceptivos resaltan la importancia de conocer no solo cómo usan las personas su lengua, sino también por qué la utilizan de la manera en que lo hacen y qué sienten hacia ella.

La dialectología perceptiva se basa en las técnicas usadas en la geografía perceptiva y cultural. Preston (1988) propuso utilizar los mapas hechos a mano por los informantes, recalando que el valor de estos no es individual, sino que la información que recogen permite generalizar los hallazgos de muchos mapas en uno solo y de esta manera trazar isoglosas perceptivas. En 1999, este autor profundizó sobre los cinco puntos metodológicos esenciales de esta disciplina, a saber:

- i) Dibujo del mapa: solicitar a los informantes que tracen los límites (mínimamente detallados) de las zonas en las que consideran que existen “hablas regionales”.
- ii) Grados de diferencia: solicitar a los informantes que coloquen un número, en una escala del 1 al 4, en las zonas reconocidas (1 = “misma variedad que la mía”; 2 = “un poco diferente”; 3 = “diferente”; 4 = “ininteligible”) para estudiar el grado de percepción de las diferencias dialectales con respecto a la zona de origen.
- iii) Valoración “correcta” y “agradable”: solicitar a los informantes que clasifiquen las regiones cuya variedad consideren más “correcta” y “agradable”.
- iv) Identificación dialectal: los informantes escuchan voces de forma desordenada y luego deben asignarlas a una zona dialectal.

v) Datos cualitativos: en este paso los informantes argumentan sus respuestas y conversan abiertamente sobre el lenguaje (Preston 1999: xxxiv).

El procedimiento consiste en solicitar al informante que dibuje un mapa del país cuyas variedades se pretenden estudiar, con los límites dialectales que él percibe. El beneficio de esta técnica es la de generalizar los resultados en un solo mapa sobre el que se trazan las isoglosas perceptivas. Luego, se le solicita a las personas que caractericen las variedades marcadas de acuerdo con una escala de simpatía y corrección; de esta manera se puede analizar qué variedad goza de mayor o de menor prestigio dentro de la comunidad de habla.

Preston justifica los estudios perceptivos explicando que “las creencias son parte del folclore, la etnografía y la antropología cultural de los grupos”² (Preston 1999: xxiv). Asimismo, la producción de habla puede verse afectada por las creencias que el hablante tenga sobre su lengua, sobre el estado de una lengua, la cultura o los hablantes de un idioma; por ejemplo, un hablante puede escoger sustituir su variedad por otra que considere más prestigiosa en una entrevista de trabajo en sus conversaciones diarias. Cabe agregar acá el planteamiento de Hernández Campoy & Almeida al respecto:

Crucial resulta, pues, para Preston, la comparación y contrastación de las caracterizaciones científicas del lingüista y las inexpertas de la gente sobre las variedades sociolectales y/o geolocales y las áreas. Este enfoque permite construir una descripción más completa y precisa del comportamiento (socio-) lingüístico del hablante, en el contexto de su compleja psicología, a la vez que de la mejor consideración de las variedades y usos lingüísticos dentro de la comunidad de habla” (Hernández Campoy & Almeida 2005: 106).

2.2. Percepción lingüística

Caravedo (2009) ha destacado la importancia de considerar la percepción en los estudios sociolingüísticos que se ocupan de describir y explicar la dinámica del contacto y cambio lingüístico; en este sentido dice esta sociolingüista:

² “beliefs are a part of the folklore, ethnography, and cultural anthropology of groups” (Preston 1999: xxiv).

(...) los estudios sobre variación y contacto se han concentrado —debo decir, de modo legítimo— por lo general en el análisis de la producción, sobre todo en lo que tiene que ver con la influencia de una sistema sobre otro (interferencia/transferencia, convergencia, divergencia) y en el poder que tienen los factores internos (estructurales) o los sociales (incluyendo aquí los pragmáticos) para impulsar el cambio en las lenguas involucradas (cf. por ejemplo, las recientes discusiones sobre estos puntos en Silva-Corvalán (2008) y Thomason (2008), pues la producción ofrece datos concretos que se extraen directamente de las emisiones de los hablantes. Comparativamente, menor atención ha concitado el estudio de la percepción, quizás porque no es directamente observable, si bien ya son numerosos los trabajos que se han detenido a considerar algunos aspectos que entran en este ámbito, como las valoraciones, las actitudes lingüísticas, las acomodaciones pragmáticas (Caravedo 2009: 23).

Uno de los aspectos más interesantes del enfoque perceptivo es que muestra la constitución del espacio geolocal desde el imaginario sociolingüístico, lo que contribuye a develar las construcciones simbólicas hacia la lengua propia, sus variedades y otras lenguas, aspectos que —como bien señala Caravedo— no han sido suficientemente estudiados.

El imaginario sociolingüístico se forma de creencias, percepciones, conocimientos y cosmovisiones acerca de las diferencias sociales relacionadas con el uso lingüístico de los demás y el uso propio, acerca de cómo se habla y quiénes son los que hablan de un modo o de otro en un determinado espacio. La percepción es, así, un mecanismo cognoscitivo base para la constitución de los imaginarios sociales, y posee un carácter

biocultural porque, por un lado, depende de los estímulos físicos y sensaciones involucrados y, por otro lado, de la selección y organización de dichos estímulos y sensaciones. Las experiencias sensoriales se interpretan y adquieren significado moldeadas por pautas culturales e ideológicas específicas aprendidas desde la infancia. La selección y la organización de las sensaciones están orientadas a satisfacer las necesidades tanto individuales como colectivas de los seres humanos, mediante la búsqueda de estímulos útiles y de la exclusión de estímulos

indeseables en función de la supervivencia y la convivencia social, a través de la capacidad para la producción del pensamiento simbólico, que se conforma a partir de estructuras culturales, ideológicas, sociales e históricas que orientan la manera como los grupos sociales se apropián del entorno (Vargas 1994: 47).

Un aspecto importante que destaca Vargas es el carácter dinámico de los procesos perceptivos, enclavados en contextos espacio-temporales y culturales; los elementos percibidos se organizan de acuerdo con elementos del tipo la clase social, las creencias religiosas, las características étnicas (Vargas 1994).

Caravedo plantea que desde edades muy tempranas ocurre la percepción del sistema lingüístico del contexto familiar, es decir, de la lengua materna, como modelo y vehículo de comunicación con los seres más cercanos: “El niño va adquiriendo gradualmente un sistema de variación sociolingüística concreto, el de su contexto social primario (no el de la lengua en general), que naturalmente implica -como bien se sabe- no solo el conocimiento de unas reglas de funcionamiento gramatical. Antes bien, un modo de expresión y de comunicación, y un tipo de comportamiento lingüístico-social” (Caravedo 2009: 24).

La dialectología perceptiva, en esta línea, aporta datos acerca de cómo se constituyen los imaginarios sociolingüísticos, particularmente cómo es percibido y reconocido el espacio geolectal: dónde se habla parecido o distinto en relación con el hablante. Muestra, asimismo, que las fronteras dialectales son tan subjetivas —no arbitrarias— como cualquier otro elemento que requiere de un constructo cultural para ser aprehendido.

2.3. Clasificación dialectal de Venezuela

En la clasificación macrodialectal, el español venezolano pertenece a dos zonas: al español caribeño y el español andino. Con el primero, compartimos rasgos comunes con las hablas de Cuba, Puerto Rico y República Dominicana. Con el segundo, compartimos características fonéticas y morfosintácticas con las zonas andinas del continente. Esto es lo que afirma Mora:

Los estudios hechos para delimitar las áreas dialectales del español de América —dentro de los cuales ninguno toma en cuenta la prosodia— coinciden cuando señalan que Venezuela pertenece a dos zonas diferentes: la región de Los Andes y la región del Caribe. Se ha considerado que los estados de la Cordillera de Los Andes presentan rasgos comunes con las otras regiones de Los Andes de América, particularmente con Colombia y que en el resto del país se utiliza un español parecido a aquel de los otros países hispanos de la región del Caribe (Mora 1997: 94).

En esta línea, hay diversas clasificaciones geolocales que se han hecho del español venezolano. Henríquez Ureña (1921) y Rosenblat (1989) plantearon que Venezuela se divide en tierras altas y tierras bajas, en correspondencia al español andino, las primeras, y al español caribeño, las segundas. Las tierras altas están conformadas por los subdialectos conservadores, caracterizados por una pronunciación cuidada de las consonantes en posición final de sílaba y de palabra. Las tierras bajas corresponden a los subdialectos radicales en los que se realiza una pronunciación relajada de las consonantes en posición implosiva. Zamora & Guitart (1982), basados también en rasgos fonéticos, confirman la doble división: tierras altas y bajas. Las primeras, de consonantismo fuerte, y las segundas, de consonantismo débil.

Obediente (1998), asimismo, pertenece al grupo de los que distinguen dos zonas dialectales: la andina y la comprendida por el resto del país. Con respecto a los rasgos que caracterizan a la zona andina, este autor hace referencia a la no-velarización de la /-n/ en posición posnuclear, la no confusión de los sonidos /-l/ y /-r/ implosivas, la realización de una /s/ apical y una /r/ asibilada (mientras que la región oriental y algunas zonas de los Llanos se caracterizan por la confusión entre /-R/ y /-l/). Para Obediente, el uso de las formas de tratamiento de la segunda persona, *tú*, *usted* y el empleo de *vos* constituyen un elemento importante de diferenciación regional.

Entre los que proponen más de dos subzonas dialectales se encuentra, en primer lugar, Lisandro Alvarado (1929), quien en su *Glosario del bajo español en Venezuela*, dio un valor preponderante al léxico como factor distintivo de las variedades lingüísticas y propuso cuatro zonas dialectales: Oriente, Occidente, Cordillera y Llanos. En segundo lugar, Páez Urdaneta (1981) planteó la existencia de siete subsistemas dialectales: 1)

subsistema central (donde se ubica el supradialecto nacional, representado por la norma culta hablada en Caracas); 2) subsistema centro-occidental; 3) subsistema andino; 4) subsistema zuliano; 5) subsistema nororiental; 6) subsistema de los Llanos; 7) subsistema de Guayana.

En tercer lugar, Obregón (1981a: 44, ap. Mora 1997: 95) propone “una hipótesis inicial de trabajo de cinco zonas dialectales en el país, diferenciables a partir de fenómenos fonético-entonativos”. Esas zonas son: a) Mérida y Táchira (Sur-occidente); b) Maracaibo (Noroccidental); c) Nueva Esparta y Sucre (Oriente); d) Apure y Guárico (Sur).

Como se desprende de lo anterior, estas clasificaciones han partido de patrones en los que se toma en cuenta la producción del habla; ciertamente, los estudios dialectológicos en Venezuela no han avanzado en las últimas décadas, menos desde la perspectiva que tiene como eje la concepción del hablante común sobre su propia lengua y su dialecto.

3. Antecedentes³

En la investigación *¿Cuántos dialectos del español existen en México? Un ensayo de dialectología perceptual*, Serrano Morales (2002)⁴ aborda el tema de la percepción de las variedades dialectales por parte de hablantes mexicanos. Su objetivo central fue delimitar de zonas dialectales según lo que los hablantes creen.

La muestra estuvo formada por sesenta entrevistas hechas a mexicanos. Cincuenta encuestas fueron realizadas en la Dirección General de Educación Indígena y

³ Quesada Pacheco (2014) expuso los resultados parciales del proyecto *Identidad y actitudes lingüísticas hacia el español (LIAS)*, del que es codirector. Se trata de una investigación realizada entre 2009 y 2012 y llevada a cabo para conocer y analizar las actitudes lingüísticas y las percepciones de los hispanohablantes hacia sus propias variedades y hacia el resto de las variedades del español. Se realizaron 400 encuestas en todas las capitales de los países que tienen el español como lengua oficial; la muestra seleccionada en cada ciudad se estratificó según los factores sexo, edad y grado de instrucción. La investigación de Sobrino Triana (2013), perteneciente al proyecto *LIAS, El español en Cuba según sus hablantes: Un acercamiento desde la dialectología perceptiva* analiza los datos relacionados con la percepción de esta variedad dialectal por parte de los habitantes de La Habana. Su publicación es posterior a la realización de esta investigación.

⁴ De este mismo autor, cf. “Dos mil kilómetros de por medio: dialectología perceptual contrastiva del español mexicano” (Morúa & Serrano 2004); otra investigación sobre el habla de México pertenece a Erdösová (2011), “El español de México en los ojos de sus hablantes. Un estudio desde la dialectología perceptiva”.

diez, en otras instituciones.⁵ Serrano Morales consideró tres variables socio-demográficas: i) sexo; ii) procedencia, a saber: los nativos (personas nacidas en el D.F.); los inmigrantes cercanos (estados como Puebla y Morelos); y los inmigrantes lejanos (Yucatán), y; iii) tipo de ocupación: grupo A (técnicos docentes, es decir, aquellos que desempeñan labores académicas y que poseen una licenciatura culminada) y grupo B (empleados que desempeñan labores técnicas y administrativas, como secretarias, obreros, etc., cuyo nivel educativo es menor al del grupo A).

Se le entregó a los informantes un *mapa mudo* de México (un mapa que contiene delimitados los estados del país sin el nombre de los mismos) y se les preguntó “¿Cuántas formas distintas de hablar español existen en México?; además se le solicitó: “Por favor, encierre en un círculo las zonas o estados del país donde usted identifique diferentes modos de hablar español y anote sus nombres” (Serrano Morales 2002: 6). Al momento de la entrega del mapa, se les preguntó a los informantes: “¿cuál te parece que es la [variedad] más correcta y cuál la más incorrecta?” Los resultados fueron los siguientes:

- 1) Los hablantes mexicanos reconocieron un total de ocho (8) zonas dialectales, aunque los lingüistas reconocen alrededor de diecisiete (17).
- 2) Cada informante reconoció un promedio de 7,2 variedades.
- 3) No se encontraron diferencias importantes entre la percepción de los hombres y la de las mujeres, ni entre los hablantes del grupo ocupacional A y B, ni entre los entrevistados nativos y los inmigrantes.
- 4) Las variedades más etiquetadas con nombres estereotípicos fueron: 1) la norteña; 2) la costeña; 3) la central; 4) la peninsular.
- 5) El 63% de los informantes señaló su variedad como la más correcta, es decir, la del D.F. La variedad *Norte* obtuvo un 7% y tanto *Chiapas* como *Península* fueron señaladas solo por un 5% de los informantes. La variedad considerada como “más incorrecta” fue la norteña, reconocida por el 21% de los informantes.

⁵ La escogencia del lugar no fue azarosa ya que gran parte de los empleados de esta institución han viajado por el país y además trabajan por el respeto a la diversidad multicultural (se esperaba que este conocimiento se reflejara en sus respuestas).

Otro antecedente es el de Moreno Fernández & Moreno Fernández (2004), quienes desarrollan el enfoque de la dialectología perceptiva en un estudio del español en España. En *Percepción de las variedades lingüísticas de España por parte de hablantes de Madrid*, los autores resaltan la importancia de estudiar las actitudes lingüísticas hacia el español, dada la coexistencia de distintas lenguas en la Península. En la primera parte del trabajo estudian las percepciones de las diversas lenguas que conviven en España y en la segunda parte describen la percepción de las variedades geolocales del español peninsular.

La muestra estuvo formada por noventa hablantes madrileños, de los cuales el 50% era de padres madrileños y el otro 50% era de padres de diferentes regiones. Los factores socioeconómicos tomados en cuenta fueron: el sexo, 50% hombres y 50% mujeres; la edad, entre 18 y 35 años (33%), entre 36 y 55 años (33%) y más de 55 años (33%); y el nivel educativo, estudios universitarios completos (33%), estudios secundarios completos (33%), estudios secundarios no completos (33%).

El procedimiento sigue la metodología desarrollada por Preston (1999); los investigadores emplearon como instrumento un *mapa mudo* de España con un cuestionario de distancia social. La instrucción fue la siguiente: “en una escala del 1 al 4, determine cuál de estas áreas habla como usted: 1) Hablan exactamente como yo; 2) Hablan de una forma un poco diferente a la mía; 3) Hablan de una forma muy diferente a la mía; 4) Me resulta difícil de entender” (Preston 2004: 6). De acuerdo con esta escala, los autores consideraron *muy cercanas* a la variedad de Madrid aquellas variedades identificadas con el número 1; *menos cercanas* a las identificadas con el número 2; *alejadas* a las identificadas con el número 3, y *muy alejadas* a las identificadas con el número 4. La percepción geolocal se distribuyó del siguiente modo:

- 1) Las variedades percibidas como *más cercanas* a la variedad madrileña fueron las de Castilla-La Mancha y Castilla-León.
- 2) Las variedades de Andalucía, Canarias, Extremadura, Aragón y Murcia fueron reconocidas como *menos cercanas*.
- 3) Las zonas en las que se hablan otras lenguas fueron reconocidas como *muy alejadas* (Cataluña, Galicia, País Vasco, Valencia y Baleares).

4) La percepción de los madrileños varió de acuerdo al sexo, edad y nivel de instrucción. Los hombres identificaron las comunidades bilingües como *muy alejadas* de la variedad madrileña, y reconocieron como *alejadas* las comunidades de Canarias, Andalucía y Extremadura. Las mujeres, por el contrario, perciben *alejadas* las variedades de Murcia, Extremadura, Canarias y como *cercanas*, a las de las comunidades de Cataluña, Galicia, Aragón y Asturias.

Los hablantes más jóvenes identifican un grupo de comunidades dispersas en una sola zona en el centro del mapa español y como zonas *muy alejadas* a la suya mencionan a Extremadura, Canarias, Cataluña, Valencia y Galicia. La segunda generación agrupa como comunidades *más alejadas* las que hacen uso del gallego, el vasco y el catalán; luego, reúne a las comunidades que están más próximas lingüísticamente a Madrid. Asimismo, los informantes con estudios universitarios reconocieron tres grupos dialectales muy marcados, el primero formado por las comunidades bilingües; el segundo, por las comunidades de variedades geolocales innovadoras y el tercero, por las comunidades de hablas *cercanas* a Madrid. Los entrevistados con estudios secundarios percibieron con claridad las comunidades de Cataluña, Valencia y País Vasco. El grupo formado por madrileños sin estudios secundarios percibe a Madrid y la Rioja como zonas dialectales *alejadas* de las demás y la agrupación de comunidades es menos compacta que en las percepciones de los grupos mencionados con anterioridad.

En lo que se refiere al español de Venezuela,⁶ se cuenta con el estudio perceptivo llevado a cabo por Mora (1997) cuyo fin fue corroborar las distintas propuestas dialectales del español hablado en el país tomando como punto la melodía. Para ello, conformó un corpus de 23 grabaciones radiofónicas de todos los estados del país, de uno a dos minutos de duración cada una. La investigadora seleccionó a 104 jóvenes, con estudios universitarios incompletos, a los que pidió identificar la región de cada locutor. Los resultados se muestran en la Tabla 1 a continuación:

⁶ Puede verse también la investigación de Nicotra (2008), aunque no corresponde a un estudio de dialectología perceptiva con la metodología propuesta por Preston (1999).

	N	%
Los Andes, Región Central, Los Llanos, Zulia, Región Oriental (esta última comprende igualmente la región de Guayana)	88	77
Los Andes, Región Central, Los Llanos, Zulia, Región Oriental y Guayana	6	5
Los Andes, la Capital, Región Central, Los Llanos, Zulia, Región Oriental (esta última comprende igualmente la región de Guayana)	12	11
Los Andes, Región Central (esta última comprende igualmente la región de Los Llanos), Zulia, Región Oriental (esta última comprende igualmente la Región de Guayana)	8	7
Total	114	100

Tabla 1. Resultados del estudio perceptivo (Mora 1997: 96)

Mora destaca los resultados obtenidos en cuanto al reconocimiento de rasgos melódicos de tres regiones, a saber: 1) Guayana es considerada como parte integrante de la región oriental según el 94%; 2) La capital es considerada una única región solo por el 5%; 3) Los Llanos es considerada parte de la región central. Luego de con el χ^2 y confirmar que los resultados no se debían al azar, la clasificación dialectal perceptiva quedó dividida en cinco regiones; algunas formadas por un solo estado, y otras formadas por más de tres y hasta siete. Como afirma la autora: "Estamos de acuerdo en que cada área dialectal aquí señalada está constituida por sub-áreas cuya identificación presenta uno o varios rasgos más o menos marcado(s) de aquellos que caracterizan el área dialectal en cuestión" (1997: 99). Las regiones fueron las siguientes: i) Región central: Distrito Capital, Miranda, Carabobo, Aragua, Lara, Yaracuy y Falcón. ii) Región de los Llanos: Portuguesa, Guárico, Cojedes, Apure y Barinas. iii) Región zuliana: Zulia. iv) Región de los Andes: Táchira, Mérida, Trujillo. v) Región sub-oriental: Sucre, Nueva Esparta, Monagas, Anzoátegui, Delta Amacuro, Bolívar y Amazonas.

Todas las investigaciones descritas han mostrado la diversidad de pensamientos, creencias y sentimientos que los hablantes pueden manifestar hacia su propia variedad dialectal y hacia la de los otros; esta variedad de juicios y percepciones debe ser incorporada a los estudios dialectológicos actuales.

4. Metodología

Se entrevistaron cuarenta hablantes caraqueños. Se consideraron así a aquellas personas nacidas en Caracas y a los que tuvieran para el momento de la entrevista más de 20 años viviendo en la ciudad. En vista de que uno de los objetivos era analizar la relación entre la dimensión social y la percepción geolectal, la muestra se seleccionó de acuerdo con el sexo, la edad y el nivel de instrucción (Tabla 2), rasgos que permiten estratificar la comunidad de habla caraqueña cubriendo sus características sociales esenciales (y que se consideran variables propias de los estudios sociolingüísticos).

Edad	Grupo 1 (30-54 años)		Grupo 2 (55 años o más)		Total
Sexo	H	M	H	M	
<i>Instrucción</i>					
Primaria	5	5	5	5	20
Universitaria	5	5	5	5	20
Total	10	10	10	10	40

Tabla 2. Distribución por cuotas de los hablantes

Se entregó a cada informante un *mapa mudo* de Venezuela,⁷ es decir, un mapa con la división geopolítica del país pero sin el nombre de los estados; dicho mapa tuvo en la parte superior la siguiente instrucción: “Por favor encierre en un círculo las zonas del país donde usted identifica diferentes formas de hablar español y anote sus nombres”. Cabe destacar que se prefirió emplear la palabra *zonas* y no *estados* para no inducir respuestas basadas en el mapa político-territorial del país.⁸

⁷ Cada mapa fue identificado con un código alfanumérico que debe leerse de izquierda a derecha de la siguiente forma: i) C=Caracas; ii) Grupo etáreo: 1= de 30 a 49 años, 2= de 50 años en adelante; iii) Sexo: H= hombre, M= mujer; iv) Grado de instrucción: 1= educación básica, 2= educación universitaria; v) Ubicación del hablante en el repertorio de cuestionarios.

⁸ Seguidamente, se le hicieron tres preguntas abiertas: (1) ¿En qué cree usted que se diferencian esas zonas?; (2) ¿Cuál de las variedades señaladas considera usted que es la más correcta y por qué?; y (3) ¿Cuál de las variedades señaladas considera la menos correcta y por qué? Para los fines de este artículo solo se discuten los resultados en relación con las zonas dialectales y los nombres que las identifican, datos provenientes de la instrucción general. En Castro (en prensa) se desarrolla la otra parte de la investigación.

Para describir y comparar las respuestas obtenidas —tanto los nombres (o etiquetas) como el trazado sobre el *mapa mudo*—, se tomaron distintas decisiones metodológicas. Para aceptar si una variedad lingüística fue reconocida por el entrevistado se tomó en cuenta: i) si fue marcada en el mapa; ii) si fue mencionada en las respuestas, aunque no fuera marcada en el mapa.

En primer lugar, se anotó cada región marcada y se listaron los nombres propuestos. Una vez contabilizadas todas las respuestas, se decidieron tres grados de percepción sobre el espacio geolocal: ⁹ 1) *zonas muy percibidas*: aquellas mencionadas/marcadas por el 60% o más de la muestra; 2) *zonas percibidas*: aquellas mencionadas/marcadas del 35 al 59%; 3) *zonas poco percibidas*: aquellas mencionadas/marcadas por menos del 35%. Esta cuantificación intentó organizar las respuestas de modo de sistematizar suficientemente las percepciones para construir el mapa dialectológico perceptual considerando que los tres grados dan cuenta de la similitud y diversidad de las marcas y comentarios de los informantes (por lo que en realidad hay que tomar estos grados como un continuum de percepción).

En segundo lugar, se procedió a analizar las semejanzas y diferencias que presentaron las percepciones de los hombres y la de las mujeres, las diferencias y similitudes que presentaron las percepciones de los informantes de los dos grupos etarios, así como las semejanzas y diferencias entre las percepciones de los informantes que solo tenían estudios de primaria y los que tenían título de educación universitaria

5. Análisis y discusión

5.1. Mapas mudos

En cuanto al reconocimiento de las zonas dialectales, hubo encuestados que reconocieron un solo estado y también hubo quienes agruparon varios estados con un mismo trazo en el mapa. Es importante resaltar que todos los entrevistados le dieron nombre a las zonas que encerraron con un círculo/marca; ningún círculo/marca dejó de

⁹ Se decidió esta escala una vez que se contaron y listaron las respuestas.

ser identificada. En la Figura 1 se aprecia el mapa de una mujer de 57 años, con estudios universitarios, en el que reconoció 10 zonas dialectales, delimitadas e identificadas; mientras que la Figura 2 corresponde a un mapa con pocos trazos, perteneciente a un hombre de 58 años, también con estudios universitarios en el que este reconoce solo 3 zonas dialectales.

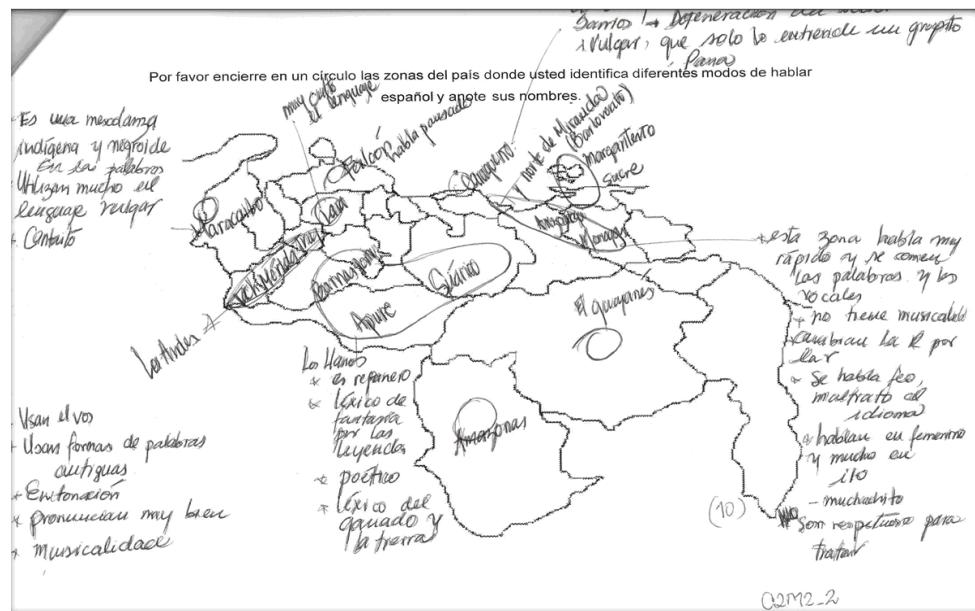


Figura 1. Mapa en el que se muestran los trazos y menciones de muchas zonas dialectales

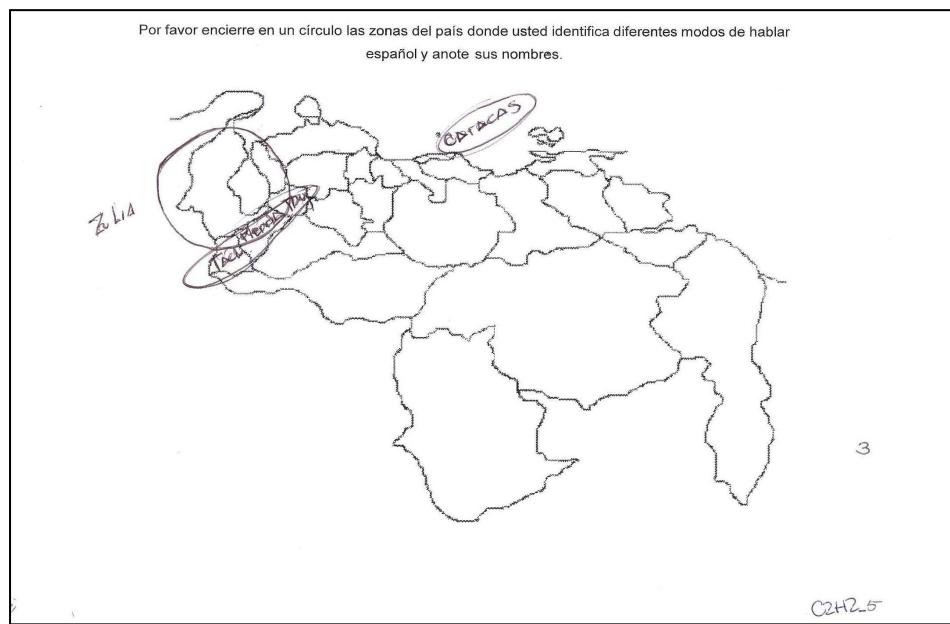


Figura 2. Mapa en el que se muestran los trazos y menciones de pocas zonas dialectales

5.2. Nombres o etiquetas

Los nombres dados por los informantes fueron geográficos y estereotípicos (por ejemplo, *gocho*, adjetivo con el que se identifica el habla andina y también a los habitantes de estas regiones occidentales). Las etiquetas se muestran en la Tabla 3 a continuación. Estas respuestas fueron transcritas y se listaron según la zona a la que refieren,¹⁰ de manera de mostrar la diversidad y las coincidencias de las doscientas ochenta y siete (287) respuestas obtenidas.

Zulia	13	Región andina	1	Anzoátegui	8
Maracucho	12	Trujillo/Gocho	1	Margarita	6
Maracaibo	7	Trujillo/Los Andes	1	Sucre	6
Maracaibo/Maracucho	2	Trujillo/Andino	1	Monagas	6
Zulia/Maracucho	2	Barinas	7	Oriente	6
Zulia/Falcón	1	Guárico	7	Margariteño	3
Zuliano	1	Llanero	5	Margarita/Oriental	2
Zulia/Maracaibo	1	Llanos	3	Margarita/Oriente	2
Goajira	2	Apure	2	Porlamar	2
Falcón	7	Apure/Llanero	2	Sucre/Oriente	2
Coro	1	Apure/Llanos	1	Sucre/Oriental	2
Falcón/Paraguaná	1	Barinas/Llanero	1	Anzoátegui/Oriental	2
Lara	9	Barinas/Llanos	1	Monagas/Oriente	2
Barquisimeto	7	Guárico/Llanos	1	Delta Amacuro	2
Guaro	3	Guárico/Llanero	1	Región insular	1
Lara/Guaro	1	Región de los Llanos	1	Nueva Esparta	1
Yaracuy	2	San Fernando	1	Nueva Esparta/Oriental	1
Táchira	13	Portuguesa	1	Región oriental	1
Mérida	11	Guanare	1	Cumaná/Oriental	1
Los Andes	7	Portuguesa/Llanos	1	Barcelona	1
Trujillo	6	Llanos y Zona central	1	Barcelona/Oriental	1
Andino	3	Caracas	13	Anzoátegui/Oriente	1
Gocho	2	Caracas/Centro	2	Maturín	1
Gocho/Andino	2	Distrito Capital	2	Oriental y Guayanés	1
Mérida/Gocho	3	Centro	2	Amazonas	7
San Cristóbal	1	Caraqueño	2	Etnias indígenas	1
San Cristóbal/Gocho	1	Región central	2	Bolívar	3
Táchira/San Cristóbal	1	Malandro	1	Ciudad Bolívar	2
Táchira/Gocho	1	Caracas y Vargas	1	Ciudad Guayana	2

¹⁰ Los números señalan la cantidad de veces que fue escrita la misma etiqueta en los mapas.

Edos. Andinos	1	Miranda	3	Guayanés	1
Táchira/Andino	1	Barlovento	1	Guayana	1
Táchira/Los Andes	1	Norte de Miranda/Barlovento	2		
Mérida/Los Andes	1	Los Teques	1		
Mérida/Andino	1	Oriental	8		

Tabla 3. Etiquetas usadas por los informantes para identificar las diferentes formas de hablar español que hay en el país.

Es notorio que las etiquetas *Zulia*, *Táchira* y *Caracas* son las más nombradas, al aparecer trece veces, seguidas de *Mérida* (once veces) y *Lara* (nueve veces). Las etiquetas *Falcón* y *Anzoátegui* aparecieron ocho veces cada una; *Maracaibo*, *Los Andes*, *Barquisimeto*, *Barinas*, *Guárico* y *Amazonas* se encontraron en siete oportunidades y *Margarita*, *Sucre*, *Monagas* y *Oriente* aparecieron seis veces cada una. El resto de las etiquetas se registra en una cantidad mucho menor. En el caso de las etiquetas formadas por adjetivos, llamadas también estereotípicas, tenemos que *maracucho* fue la más empleada, doce veces; seguida de *oriental*, ocho veces.

5.3. Percepción geolectal ¹¹

Entre las zonas *muy percibidas*, se encuentra la región zuliana. De los cuarenta entrevistados, treintainueve la reconocieron como zona dialectal (fue agrupada con Falcón en una sola oportunidad; en las treinta y ocho restantes, los hablantes la marcaron sola, es decir, sin incluirla dentro del círculo con otro estado o región).

Región zuliana	
Sí	39
No	1
Total	40

Tabla 4. Percepción de la región zuliana

¹¹ Para identificar las zonas y elaborar el mapa perceptivo, en primer lugar, empleamos la nomenclatura de Mora (*supra*); en segundo lugar, se tomó en cuenta el trazo marcado por los informantes. Así, cuando los encuestados encerraron los estados Táchira, Mérida y Trujillo con un mismo círculo, los 3 estados fueron reunidos en una misma área; si los entrevistados reconocieron la variedad de un estado como independiente de las demás habladas en el territorio, se tomó al estado como una zona, identificada con su respectivo nombre geográfico: estado Lara, por ejemplo.

Las etiquetas más empleadas para identificar esta región fueron *Zulia* y *maracucho*. También fueron registradas *Maracaibo*, *Maracaibo/maracucho*, *Zulia/maracucho*, *Zulia/Falcón*, *zuliano* y *Zulia/Maracaibo*.

La región percibida de forma más homogénea es la de los Andes, lo que la hace clasificar como *muy percibida*. La región está formada por Táchira, Mérida y Trujillo (Tabla 5); la mayoría de los entrevistados agrupó los tres estados con un mismo círculo, lo que equivale a decir que estos consideraron que comparten la misma variedad lingüística, pues el habla de los tres estados presenta considerables similitudes.

Región de los Andes	Táchira	Mérida	Trujillo
Sí	34	30	21
No	6	10	19
Total	40	40	40

Tabla 5. Percepción de la región de los Andes

Para identificar la región o a los estados que la componen, los informantes usaron un total de veintiún etiquetas, entre las que destacan: *Táchira*, *Mérida*, *Los Andes*, *Trujillo*, *andino*, *gocho*, *Mérida/gocho* y *gocho/andino*.

Seguidamente, la *región oriental*, formada por Margarita,¹² Sucre, Anzoátegui, Monagas resultó **MUY PERCIBIDA**. Como se muestra en la Tabla 6, Margarita fue el lugar más señalado, treinta y tres informantes reconocieron en la isla una variedad particular.

Región oriental	Margarita	Sucre	Anzoátegui	Monagas	Delta Amacuro
Sí	33	27	22	21	4
No	7	13	18	19	36
Total	40	40	40	40	40

Tabla 6. Percepción de la región oriental

Para identificar a la región se emplearon veinticinco etiquetas diferentes, el número más alto de todas las zonas marcadas o mencionadas; las más recurrentes fueron: *oriental*, *Anzoátegui*, *Margarita*, *Sucre*, *Monagas*, *oriente*, *margariteño*, *Margarita/oriental*.

¹² Nombre comúnmente dado al Estado Nueva Esparta.

Se presentan a continuación los resultados de las zonas consideradas como *percibidas*. En el caso de los estados de la *región central*, tenemos que Caracas fue el área más marcada/nombrada; de los cuarenta hablantes de la muestra, veintiséis personas la identifican: 18, sola y 8 la agrupan con los estados Aragua, Carabobo y Miranda, 14 hablantes no la identificaron como zona dialectal.

La Tabla 7 permite apreciar que Miranda fue reconocida solo por quince de los cuarenta 40 encuestados; de estos 15, siete de ellos consideran que se diferencia de la variedad caraqueña, mientras que ocho informantes consideran que esta variedad es compartida por un conjunto de estados que conforman lo que llamaron *centro, región central*.

Región Central	Caracas	Miranda	Centro (Aragua, Carabobo, Caracas y Miranda)	Vargas
Sí	18	7	8	1
No	14	25	32	39
Total	40	40	40	40

Tabla 7. Percepción de la región central

Con las etiquetas *centro* o *región central*, ocho de los informantes incluyen a los estados Carabobo y Aragua, además de Caracas y Miranda. Para identificar la región y los estados que la componen, los encuestados usaron doce tipo de etiquetas: *Caracas, Caracas/centro, Distrito Capital, caraqueño, región central, Miranda, norte de Miranda/Barlovento y malandro*.¹³

El número de ocasiones en los que los informantes consideraron que la *región central* del país posee una variedad lingüística característica fue menor al número de ocasiones en la que no fue reconocida. Esto puede deberse a que los informantes consideran su propia variedad como una variedad neutra (desprovista de rasgos regionales) y a partir de esta visión, son los dialectos de *los otros* los que presentan rasgos distintivos.

¹³ De acuerdo con el *Diccionario de venezolanismos* (Tejera 1993), *malandro* tiene las siguientes acepciones: “1. Delincuente. 2. Joven perverso de hábitos o costumbres reprobables o irregulares”. Por lo tanto, el informante se refiere al habla de este grupo social.

En cuanto al estado Lara, puede afirmarse que se trata de una región *percibida*, pues la mitad de los informantes lo distinguieron como variedad dialectal diferente del resto del país (y la otra mitad de los informantes no). Llama la atención que, aunque el estado Lara es muy popular por sus tradiciones (música, comida y religiosidad), la mitad de los caraqueños no reconoce su variedad lingüística.

Otra zona que califica como *percibida* es la región de los Llanos; así, los entrevistados perciben los estados Apure, Barinas, Guárico, Portuguesa y Cojedes como parte de una misma zona dialectal. Vale la pena destacar que la proporción de informantes que sí reconocen en la región llanera una variedad particular es más o menos similar a la de quienes no la reconocen: 16 personas reconocen Apure; 19, Barinas; 18, Guárico y 13, Portuguesa. Esto se desprende del hecho de que la mayoría de los encuestados la marcó, en el mapa, en un gran conjunto denominado *llanero* o *Llanos*; la primera etiqueta es cultural y la segunda, geográfica.

Entre las zonas *menos percibidas*, aquellas que parecen constituir zonas dialectales borrosas para los entrevistados, tenemos los estados Bolívar y Amazonas. Bolívar fue mencionado solo por trece encuestados (Tabla 8) y Amazonas solo por nueve.

	Sí	No
Bolívar	13	27
Amazonas	9	31

Tabla 8. Percepción de Bolívar y Amazonas

Con respecto a la percepción de los estados Falcón, hay que resaltar que solo diez informantes consideran que sus habitantes hablan una variedad lingüística diferenciada de las del resto del país; nueve de los diez lo marcan solo y con nombres geográficos (*Falcón*, *Falcón/Paraguaná* y *Coro*); y un encuestado lo reconoció junto al estado Zulia. Se trata de variedades dialectales bastante diferenciadas, es posible que la cercanía geográfica de ambos estados explique que este informante los agrupe en una misma zona dialectal. Por último, tan solo dos informantes identifican al estado Yaracuy como zona dialectal, mientras que los treinta y ocho restantes no lo perciben. Esto hace que sea la zona menos percibida, como estado, por los encuestados. La zona de la Goajira

fue reconocida por 2 informantes. Sin embargo, esta zona no podría ser considerada como un área dialectal porque en ella se habla la lengua wayuu.

Para finalizar, hemos elaborado el mapa dialectal perceptivo del español de Venezuela. En él se muestra el continuo de percepciones mediante la gradación de la intensidad de los colores. El color azul oscuro nos señala que las zonas más percibidas se ubican al noreste y noroeste del país, esto es, la región zuliana, la región andina y la región oriental. Un azul menos intenso delimita la región central y el azul claro identifica la región de los Llanos. Finalmente, las zonas muy poco percibidas son representadas con un azul bastante claro: Lara, Falcón, Yaracuy, Bolívar y Amazonas.



Figura 3. Mapa dialectal perceptivo del español de Venezuela

5.4. Percepción y factores sociales

Los hombres reconocieron un total de 114 variedades y las mujeres, un total de 115;¹⁴ en el caso de los hombres, se determinó que percibieron un promedio de 5,70 variedades; mientras que las mujeres percibieron un promedio de 5,75. La moda de las mujeres es <5>, encontrada en 7 ocasiones, mientras que la moda de los hombres es

¹⁴ Para obtener las percepciones promedio se dividió cada suma entre 20 (el número de personas que conforma el grupo).

<4>, encontrada en 5 oportunidades. Podemos afirmar entonces que la cantidad de zonas dialectales reconocidas por los hombres y las mujeres fue muy similar.

Con respecto a la edad, tenemos que los encuestados del primer grupo etario (30 a 49 años) percibieron un total de 120 variedades, que divididas entre el total de informantes del grupo, arroja un promedio de 6 variedades por persona. Los que pertenecen al segundo grupo (50 años en adelante) percibieron un total de 109 variedades, y según el procedimiento anterior, un promedio de 5,45 variedades distintas. El grupo uno tuvo una moda de <5>, indicada en 6 oportunidades y el grupo 2, un moda de <4> encontrada en 6 de los casos. Ambos grupos etarios reconocieron una cantidad muy parecida de zonas dialectales, por lo que podemos afirmar que, en este estudio, la edad de los encuestados no influye en su percepción.

Respecto al grado de instrucción, vemos una diferencia un poco mayor. Los entrevistados con estudios de educación primaria reconocieron un total de 106 variedades (un promedio por informante de 5,3); mientras que los encuestados con estudios universitarios reconocieron un total de 123 variedades (un promedio de 6,15 por encuestado). La moda del grupo con estudios primarios fue de <4> encontrada en 7 ocasiones y la de grupo con estudios universitarios fue de <5> reportada en 6 oportunidades. Estos datos indican que la educación formal repercute en el conocimiento metalingüístico y en la percepción dialectal.

6. Conclusiones

Se puede concluir que hay diez zonas reconocidas: región zuliana, región de los Andes, región oriental, región central, región llanera; los estados Lara, Falcón, Bolívar, Amazonas y Yaracuy. Los informantes reconocen de tres a diez zonas dialectales, mientras que los lingüistas plantean que existen entre 2 y siete zonas.

El hecho de que la región zuliana y la región de los Andes sean las zonas más percibidas se explica, en nuestra opinión, porque son zonas que poseen rasgos muy diferenciados respecto del habla caraqueña; además de este factor lingüístico, hay que hacer notar que la región andina es extensa; por su parte, la región zuliana destaca

desde el punto de vista económico, geográfico y cultural. Ambas regiones manifiestan uno de los rasgos más caracterizadores del español venezolano: el voseo. Los hallazgos de Mora (1977) coinciden con los nuestros: Los Andes y el Zulia fueron nombrados en la mayoría de las respuestas (las diferencias se refieren a su agrupación en zonas).

Un elemento que puede influir en la percepción del espacio dialectal es la movilidad territorial, aspecto que no tomamos en cuenta en la presente investigación, y que puede contribuir a explicar la percepción tan débil de las regiones del sur del país. Por otra parte, la autopercepción de la variedad caraqueña fue relativamente débil, pues es claro que se percibe más claramente *lo otro* y *a los otros*. Ni el sexo ni la edad ni el grado de instrucción imprimieron tendencia alguna en el número de variedades reconocidas.

Estos resultados se suman a la descripción de las percepciones dialectales, consideradas como un conjunto heterogéneo y dinámico de saberes, creencias, opiniones, producto, algunas, de fuentes formales de formación y/o conocimiento y otras, quizá la mayoría, no. Los lingüistas pueden analizar las peculiaridades como realizaciones de un modelo abstracto y apuntan a la descripción del modelo; las personas reconocen esas peculiaridades como un todo compartido en distintos espacios.

Con este estudio confirmamos que el continuum dialectal es percibido desde la subjetividad; el espacio es físico y mental, de naturaleza simbólica (Caravedo 2009). Esta investigación da pie a otras investigaciones acerca del español de Venezuela desde la dialectología perceptual (en general) y, en vista de los resultados, acerca del dialecto caraqueño u otros dialectos del país (en particular) [con informantes de otros estados].

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EGYPTIAN AND KUWAITI ARABIC IN CONTACT: THE CASE OF KUWAITI /k, tʃ/ AND /θ/

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Abstract

Studies of dialect have recently attracted the interest of sociolinguists who are trying to seek answers as to how and why mutually intelligible linguistic varieties may influence one another when they come into contact, and more importantly the linguistic outcomes of such contact. These studies show that it is very unlikely that adult immigrants can fully and accurately acquire a non-native variety.

Chambers (1992) argues that the acquisition of a second dialect is governed by a number of linguistic rules. In a previous study (Dashti 1997), the author examined the acquisition of three phonological variables, namely, (q) (dʒ) and (ð) of Kuwaiti Arabic together with their variants by Egyptian Arabs whose native Arabic variety is Egyptian Arabic. It was suggested then, that the acquisition of both the variable (k) and the variable (θ) in the speech of Egyptian Arabs are also worth investigating in future research. This study aimed at investigating the acquisition of the Kuwaiti variables (k) and (θ) and their variants by Egyptian acquirers in the light of Chambers' principles. 40 subjects were interviewed and 40 hours of tape-recorded conversation were collected, phonetically transcribed and then statistically analysed. Analysis showed that both variables were complex and difficult to acquire by Egyptians. On the other hand, marriage, gender, and length of stay were insignificant.

Keywords

language contact, phonological acquisition, language variation

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**EGYPTIAN AND KUWAITI ARABIC IN CONTACT:
THE CASE OF KUWAITI /k, tʃ/ AND /θ/**

Resumen

Los estudios sobre los dialectos han atraído recientemente el interés de los sociolingüistas que están tratando de buscar respuestas a cómo y por qué variedades lingüísticas mutuamente inteligibles pueden influir entre sí al entrar en contacto, y más importante aún a los resultados lingüísticos de tal contacto. Estos estudios muestran que es muy poco probable que los inmigrantes adultos puedan adquirir completamente una variedad no nativa.

Chambers (1992) sostiene que la adquisición de un segundo dialecto se rige por una serie de reglas lingüísticas. En un estudio anterior (Dashti 1997), el autor examina la adquisición de tres variables fonológicas, a saber, (q) (dʒ) y (d) del árabe kuwaití árabe, junto con sus variantes, por parte de árabes egipcios cuya variedad nativa árabe es el árabe egipcio. Se sugirió entonces que la adquisición tanto de la variable (k) como de la variable (θ) en el habla de los árabes de Egipto podían ser objeto de estudio en futuras investigaciones. Este trabajo tiene el objetivo de investigar la adquisición de las variables kuwaitíes (k) y (θ) y sus variantes por los hablantes de Egipto a la luz de los principios de Chambers. 40 sujetos fueron entrevistados y se recogieron 40 horas de conversación grabada, que fueron fonéticamente transcritas y luego analizadas estadísticamente. El análisis mostró que ambas variables eran complejas y difíciles de adquirir por los egipcios. Por otro lado, el matrimonio, el sexo, y la duración de la estancia eran consideradas insignificantes.

Palabras clave

contacto de lenguas, adquisición fonológica, variación lingüística

1. Introduction

It is reasonable to assume that the migration of people is a leading cause of contact-induced change; in other words, migration is a key extralinguistic factor leading to externally-motivated change. In every case of migration, except where a homogeneous group of people moves to an isolated location, language or dialect contact ensues (Trudgill 1986). This paper is mainly an investigation within the framework of second dialect acquisition where two mutually intelligible dialects (Egyptian and Kuwaiti dialects) come into contact. However, the term Egyptian Arabic throughout the study refers to Cairene Egyptian Arabic. It is not an investigation within the framework of long-term accommodation. It is worthwhile distinguishing, though,

between accommodation and acquisition. Despite the fact that they may sometimes overlap, the former is a linguistic behavior by which a speaker modifies his/her accent or dialect to that of a particular interlocutor in a particular setting. Chambers (1992) claims that acquisition, on the other hand, refers to those linguistic processes by which an individual more permanently adopts features of another variety, which are mutually intelligible with his/her own in the longer terms. Trudgill (1986: 4) notes that “if accommodation, through the adoption of a feature from an alien linguistic variety, is frequent enough, then that feature may become a permanent part of a speaker’s accent or dialect, even replacing original features”.

Migration movements in the Arab world have been one of the most significant social phenomena since the twentieth century onward. From a sociolinguistic perspective the greatest effect of these migrations has been an increased contact between various Arabic vernaculars particularly in the cities (Vicente 2007). Studies of dialect contact (e.g. Al-wer 2003a, 2003b, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Rys & Bonte 2005; Dashti, 1997; Chambers & Trudgill 1999; Trudgill 1986; Britain, 2006, 2009; Britain & Vandekerckhove 2009) and second dialect acquisition (Berthele 2002; Watts 2000; Wells 1973; Payne 1976, 1980; Vousten & Bongaerts 1995; Chambers 1992; Britain 1998) and accommodation through language (Giles 1973) have recently attracted the interest of sociolinguists who are trying to seek answers as to how and why mutually intelligible linguistic varieties may influence one another when they come into contact, and more importantly the linguistic outcomes of such contact. These studies show that it is very unlikely that adult immigrants can fully and accurately acquire a second dialect.

Chambers (1992) argues that the acquisition of a second dialect is governed by a number of linguistic rules. In a previous study, Dashti (1997), examined the acquisition of three phonological variables namely, (q) (dʒ) and (ð) of Kuwaiti Arabic together with their variants by Egyptian Arabs whose native Arabic variety is Egyptian Arabic. It was suggested then, that the acquisition of both the variable (k) and the variable (θ) in the speech of Egyptian Arabs are also worth investigating in future research. This study aims at investigating the acquisition of the Kuwaiti variables (k) and (θ) and their

variants by Egyptian acquirers in the light of Chambers' principles. Both linguistic and social analysis would be sought.

2. Theoretical assumption and literature review

2.1. Background

Dialect contact is characteristic of expansion diffusion within a dialect area (L. Milroy 2002). It is also characteristic of relocation diffusion when the migrants move to a place where the majority language varieties are mutually intelligible with their own (Kerswill 2006). Here, one of the processes involved among others is second-dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996).

Lewis (1982: 9-19) and Boyle *et al.* (1998: 34-38) refer to a number of parameters that must be examined in describing and categorizing cases of migration. These include: time, motivation and socio-cultural factors. As to time, "Migration" implies a degree of permanence in the move; migrant groups tend to be "committed to the project of living in other people's countries", despite in many cases retaining "diasporic yearnings" for a return to the homeland. Milroy (2002) claims that on the basis of evidence from language attitude research, sociolinguists commonly assume that an ideological motivation underlies the long term maintenance of distinctive local norms in the face of pressures from numerically and socially more powerful speech communities. Learner motivation is thought to be amongst the most influential factors in the successful acquisition of a second or foreign language and in second dialect acquisition scenarios as well. This may be because, as Skehan (1998: 49) observes, "It [motivation] can overcome unfavourable circumstances in other aspects of language learning". The role of motivation and attitude was also addressed in Vousten & Bongaerts (1995) study on second dialect acquisition. They examine the acquisition of a Limburg dialect (viz. that of Venray) as a second language by children who were raised in Standard Dutch. A large part of his study reports on an attitude and motivation test in which he made use of the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) of Gardner (Gardner 1985), of Spolsky's

identity scales (Spolsky 1969) and of a matched-guise experiment (cf. Lambert *et al.* 1960). Vousten & Bongaerts (1995) further examined the effect of the attitude and motivation on the degree of success in dialect acquisition in 38 children who were selected from the group of dialect learners (i.e. children who reported that they spoke the local dialect) and in a control group of native dialect speakers. He did not, however, find any significant relationship between the affective factors (i.e. attitude and motivation) and the degree of dialect proficiency of children (see Vousten & Bongaerts 1995: 1).

Social network, too, is an important sociolinguistic parameter in second dialect acquisition scenarios. Baker (2006) offers three examples of how a small number of speakers can continue to maintain language networks when located within a dominant majority language environment. First, language maintenance can occur when there are strong religious beliefs associated with the minority language group. Second, when speakers can travel relatively easily between their homeland and their place of residence language maintenance can occur. Third, whenever speakers within a large city or border areas are socially and culturally active in their minority language, maintenance may occur. L. Milroy (1980) states that the social network concept investigates the kind of density of relationship which an individual has within the community. A link between two individuals, for example, will be uniplex if they are related in one capacity, such as doctor/patient. On the other hand, the link is multiplex if the ties are in more than one capacity, e.g. friends, neighbors. Density refers to the actual number of links that could exist between all the members of an individual's social network.

Most sociolinguistic studies of dialect contact have investigated speech only of those who were born and bred in a community and deliberately excluded newcomers since they were not thought to be classifiable as 'native' of, for example, New York, Norwich etc. Furthermore, most sociolinguistic studies on speech variation have mainly dealt with relatively stable non-immigrant speech communities such as Labov (1966, 1972), and Trudgill (1974). On the other hand, only a few studies have dealt with immigrant speech. Among these studies are Wells (1973), Payne (1976, 1980), Kerswill (1985, 1995), Vousten & Bongaerts (1995), Chambers (1992) and Jassem (1993).

2.2. Chambers' study

Chambers' pioneering work (1992), on second dialect acquisition gathered together the result of the rather sparse previous research, conducted further empirical work himself, and took on board Trudgill's appeal to use variationist method in investigating the extent to which the limits on our abilities to fully acquire a second dialect can be accounted for by linguistic factors alone. He carried out a developmental study with six Canadian youngsters in two families that moved to southern England in 1983 and 1984. His eight principles represent, to put in his words 'generalization extrapolated from the behavior of my six subjects as they went about eliminating features of their native Canadian English dialects and acquiring features of the Southern England English dialects of their new home region' (Chambers 1992: 675).

This study will focus on four of Chambers' (1992) principles.

2.2.1. Simple phonological rules progress faster than complex ones

Chambers (1992) claims that in second dialect acquisition scenarios, 'simple phonological rules progress faster than complex ones. He claims that simple rules are automatic processes that admit no exceptions; complex rules have opaque outputs, that is, they have exceptions or variant forms, or a type of complexity that comes up especially in dialect acquisition-they have in their output a new or additional phoneme. Examples of simple and complex rules such as T-voicing (T-voicing involves the realisation of intervocalic /t/ as a voiced tap), fronting of the onset of /uw/ and /ow/, a change from [ei] in the old accent to [i] in the Venray accent, the Jamaican Creole insertion of /j/ following velars and preceding low vowels and Canadian Raising are found in (Chambers 1992; Payne 1980; Vousten & Bongaerts 1995; Britain 1998) respectively. Examples of complex rules such as 'Vowel backing", the 'short-a', the emerging of Jamaican Creole /ie/ or Jamaican English /e:/ before tautosyllabic /r/, and the complexity of $\sigma\text{-}^\wedge$ split are found in (Chambers 1992; Payne 1980; Britain 1998) respectively.

2.2.2. The acquisition of complex rules and new phonemes splits the population into early acquirers and later acquirers

This principle claims that the acquisition of complex rules and new phonemes splits the population into early acquirers and later acquirers. His study (1992) showed that of those who acquired the complex rule (Vowel Backing) and some other rules, the younger subjects were able to acquire the rule earlier than the others. This might indicate that age is as crucial in second dialect acquisition as it has often been claimed to be in second language acquisition. Payne (1980) found similar results as well.

2.2.3. In the earliest stages of acquisition, both categorical rules and variable rules of the new dialect result in variability in the acquirers

Chambers (1992) claims that it is obvious that we would not expect the Canadian children to instantaneously acquire the British dialect completely. It is likely to be a gradual process related to many other individual and social factors. One of the examples that Chambers provides as a categorical rule of southern England English is R-lessness, which refers to the exclusion of non-prevocalic /r/ in words like *summer*, *plaster*, *water*, *north*, *urban*, and *birthday*. His study of the six Canadian children claimed that his subjects had made very ineffectual progress in acquiring R-lessness, in addition to the fact that their acquired usage of it is not categorical.

2.2.4. The elimination of old rules occurs more rapidly than acquiring new ones

Chambers argues that the process of dialect acquisition involves not only coming to sound more like the people in the new region but also coming to sound less like the people in the old region. So, for example, T-voicing is a rule of Canadian English, and intrinsically must be removed from the speakers' phonologies. R-lessness, on the other hand, is a rule of southern England English, and must be acquired in the speaker's phonologies. His findings suggest that eliminating a rule like, T-devoicing occurs more rapidly than acquiring R-lessness.

2.3. Other studies

Boyanayyah (2011) investigated variation and change in the dialect of Al-Huffuf, Sudi Arabia. He examined, quantitatively, the speech of 18 female and male speakers who were born there or moved later on. The study sample was divided into two age groups: older speakers (over 55) and younger speakers (19-35) and analysed three linguistic variables in correlation to the social variables of age and sex. Phonologically, the study examined the linguistic variation in the affrication of the velar stop (k) in the stem of words. At the morphophonemic level, two variables were investigated: the second person singular feminine suffix (-k), and the first person possessive or object singular suffix (-j). Data analysis revealed that both age and sex affect linguistic variation. However, age has more significant effect than sex.

Tagliamonte & Molfenter (2007) present a case study of second dialect acquisition where three children over six years old shift from Canadian to British English. Their analysis focused on a frequent and socially embedded linguistic feature, T-voicing (e.g., *pudding* versus *putting*). Their data showed that despite the fact that all of the children eventually sounded local, the acquisition process was complex. Frequency of British variants rose incrementally, lagging behind the acquisition of variable constraints, which were in turn ordered by type. Internal patterns were acquired early, while social correlates lagged behind. Acceleration of second dialect variants occurred at well-defined sociocultural milestones, particularly entering the school system. Successful second dialect acquisition was a direct consequence of sustained access to and integration with the local speech community.

Straw & Patrick (2007) conducted a research on dialect contact and second-dialect acquisition by adult and child Barbadian English speakers converging towards an East Anglian variety of English. They examined glottal variation in word-final /t/, comparing the local dialect of Anglo ('white') speakers in Ipswich to that of Barbados-born speakers living there, and to British English varieties more generally. Both Afro-Caribbeans and Anglos in our study maintain dense and multiplex local networks focused on their respective ethnic communities. All their subjects have extended family members living in Ipswich. First-generation Barbadians came directly to Ipswich, rather

than taking the usual route of arriving in larger cities and later moving to smaller towns. They came to take up specific job opportunities, or by invitation from family members already settled in the area. They analyzed the interview speech of four Anglos and four Barbadians. The sample covers both sexes and two age-groups: 68-74 (retired) and 40-50 (middle aged). The retired Barbadians came to Ipswich in the late 1950s as adults, while the middle-aged Barbadians came in the 1970s as children. They found out that the use of the (t) variable by Ipswich Anglo urban speakers does not suggest diffusion from the London area – not, at any rate, as supported by the literature to date – while the partial resemblance between Barbadian immigrant and Anglo speakers argues for dialect acquisition.

Berthle (2002) examined the influence of social network on second dialect acquisition. He examined 14 German children acquiring Swiss German dialect in Fribourg, a Swiss town. He found out that his subjects were trying to show their solidarity with the peer group. His subjects' linguistic choices are "acts of identity in a small group of peers (Berthele 2002: 328). Berthele (2002) performed sociological research which aims at revealing the social network within the class of school children. He concluded that "the degree of social integration" is generally reflected in "the degree of linguistic conformity".

Dashti (1997) investigated the acquisition of the Kuwaiti variant [j] of the variable (dʒ), the Kuwaiti variants [g] [dʒ] [q] of the variable (q), and the Kuwaiti variant [ð] of the variable (ð) as acquired by Egyptian informants.

Examples of the Kuwaiti variant [j] are as follows:

- (1) ja:hil/ for /dʒa:hil/ 'child' /jidi:d/ for /dʒidi:d/ 'new'
/diya:y/ for /diðʒa:dʒ/ 'chicken' /wa:jid/ for /wa:dʒid/ 'a lot'.

Examples of the variants [g] [dʒ] [q] are as follows:

- (2) /gUmar/ for /qamar/ 'a moon' /fo:g/ for /fawq/ 'above'
/ħari:dʒə/ for /ħari:q/ 'fire' /dʒidir/ for /qidr/ 'cooking pot'

His quantitative analysis showed that Egyptians were able to acquire the Kuwaiti variants [j] and [g] of the variable (δ_3) and (q) faster than the Kuwaiti variant [ð] of the variable (ð). Moreover, some variants of the first two variables are acquired faster than other variants of the same variables. First, this may imply that the rules for (δ_3) and (q) are simpler to acquire by Egyptians than the rule for [ð], and the degree of acquisition varies according to different variants of a given variable. Second, the data showed that all rules in his data are complex to acquire than the other due to different linguistic constraints. In other words, the [j], [g] and [ð] can all be considered as complex to acquire by Egyptians but that [j] and [g] are relatively less complex to acquire than [ð].

Drews (1997) investigated the acquisition of nine phonological variables of Scottish Standard English among a British family of four who lived in America for eight years and then returned back to live in Scotland. Three of them are past the critical age for phonology when they moved back to Scotland. However, they all have acquired certain phonological aspects of Scottish Standard English. With regards to the critical age, the youngest informant demonstrated the most use of Standard Scottish English phonology, but he didn't demonstrate complete use of some features, particularly the acquisition of a new phoneme /t̪/. This could be due to the fact that he was just slightly beyond the critical age when he was exposed to Scottish Standard English. At the opposite extreme, Chris who demonstrated very little use of Scottish Standard English because he was exposed to the variety after critical age. Despite being the oldest, Elizabeth partially acquired the most difficult feature, namely, rhoticity because she was exposed to Standard British English before permanently moving to Scotland. Critical age is most pertinent to the acquisition of phonemic differences. Those features which can be acquired in the later stages of the critical period are simpler and probably acquired first by all dialect learners. Complex features which seemed to be acquired later, have an earlier critical age. Moreover, realisational differences are acquired early in the acquisition process. Acquisition of these realisational differences seems to be the first step in acquiring phonological rules.

3. Methodology

The acquisition of the Kuwaiti variables (*k*) and (*θ*) respectively by Egyptian informants will be examined across the following parameters:

1. Gender
2. Length of stay
3. Motivation and attitudes towards the Kuwaiti dialect
4. Level of education
5. Social network

Both quantitative and qualitative analysis will be fused. Percentages of the occurrence of both variables and their variants in the speech of our informants will be quantified. All tokens will be analyzed quantitatively by calculating the frequency index of the different variants for the variable under investigation.

3.1. Identifying the subjects

One immigrant group in the population of Kuwait that we may identify as potential subjects for this study are Egyptians. The reason why Egyptians were chosen rather than other Arabs is due to the fact that the Egyptians form the largest Arab non-native group living in Kuwait (500.000 Egyptians according to the latest statistics, 2011). To test the above parameters, ten Egyptian females and ten Egyptian males were sought to be interviewed. For the sake of consistency, the researchers made sure that all their informants' native dialect is Cairene Arabic as Egyptian Arabic is extremely variable. All 20 subjects are married to Kuwaitis. Five of the women have been living in Kuwait for more than 10 years (informants 1-5) while the other five arrived to Kuwait sometime during 2011 (informants 6-10). The situation with the Egyptian men is slightly different as six of them have been living in Kuwait for more than 10 years but they got married to Kuwaitis later on and they frequently go to Egypt on visits (informants 1-6). The other four have been in Kuwait for almost a year (informants 7-10). Almost all the informants hold at least a college degree which indicates that they are well educated.

The researcher was hoping to find Egyptians with lower educational degrees to see how different levels of education may influence the acquisition of Kuwaiti variables, yet it was very difficult to trace such informants (especially males) married to Kuwaitis. Table 1 and 2 below show the subjects' distribution.

Subject	Age	Age on arrival in Kuwait	Level of education
1	36	25	College degree
2	42	27	College degree
3	35	23	College degree
4	35	22	University degree
5	38	22	College degree
6	25	24	University degree
7	23	22	University degree
8	26	25	University degree
9	23	22	College degree
10	35	34	University degree

Table 1. Distribution of female subjects

Subject	Age	Age on arrival to Kuwait	Level of education
1	33	22	University degree
2	45	26	PhD. Degree
3	36	24	University degree
4	39	23	University degree
5	41	27	PhD. Degree
6	38	29	College degree
7	33	32	University degree
8	29	28	Masters degree
9	26	25	Masters degree
10	30	29	University degree

Table 2. Distribution of male subjects

3.2. Tools

3.2.1. Recorded conversation

Recorded conversations were used as a technique to obtain spontaneous conversational speech from the informants. In these conversations the researchers

specified the topics without fixing any order of the questions to be asked. In other words, the recordings did not take the form of a formal structured interview; rather, it was a general discussion focused on social matters, for example, their attitudes towards living away from their homeland and their social network and social activities. The overall strategy during the conversations was to ask about broad issues and give the lead as much as possible to the target subject to freely discuss some of these issues. All interviews were held at the participants' homes, and lasted for about an hour. A total of 40 hours of tape-recorded interviews were collected.

3.2.2. The variables under investigation: the linguistic variable (k)

The phonological inventory of Kuwaiti Arabic, hereafter (KA), has both the standard Arabic variant [k] — a voiceless velar stop — and [tʃ] a variant popular in eastern Arabian dialects identified as a voiceless alveolar affricate- as variants of the variable (k). It is reasonable to mention that in KA, as in all Peninsula dialects that descend from the 'Najdi' type, /k/ is affricated conditionally-mainly in front high and sometimes back high vowel environment. Affrication in KA is also subject to morphophonemic rules: /k/ in the feminine suffix -ik is always affricated but not the /k/ in the masculine pronominal suffix -k; thus, ma:l-ətʃ yours (fem) but ma:l-ək yours (masc). So there are two variables here: /k/ in the stem, which is affricated in front vowel environment generally, and /k/ in the pronominal suffix; affrication in the suffix carries "gender" information (has grammatical function) (Ingham 1994; Holes 2007). This entails the fact that tokens of the affricated variant in the pronominal suffix will occur only if the addressee is female. On the other hand, the variable (k) in the phonological inventory of Egyptian Arabic, hereafter (EA) is invariant. Here are a few examples of the Kuwaiti variant [tʃ] replacing the variable (k):

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (3) tʃalb 'dog' | ba:tʃir 'tomorrow' | tʃam 'how much' | |
| tʃəbri:t 'sulfer' | ħatʃi 'talk' | fitʃʃa 'open it' | satʃʃin 'knife' |

3.2.3. The linguistic variable (θ)

This variable identified as a voiceless interdental fricative is invariant in Classical Arabic and in KA. Cairene Arabic, on the other hand, does not have interdentals at all. Traditionally the interdental consonants /θ ð ðˤ/ corresponded to the /t s zˤ/. This is a feature common to some North African Arabic varieties, and is attested in *pre-modern* words. Examples where /θ/ in EA are as follows:

- (4) /taʃlab/, 'fox', from */θaʃlab/ شُلْب (and never /saʃlab/).

Likewise: /talɣ/, 'ice', from */θalɣ/ ثَلْج; /taman/, 'price', from */θaman/ شَمْن

/tala:ta/, 'three', from */θala:θa/ ثَلَاثَة; /miħra:t/, 'plough', from */miħra:θ/ مَحْرَاث.

Unlike other North African varieties, Egyptian Arabic also shows another feature where interdentals /θ ð ðˤ/ correspond to sibilant consonants /s z zˤ/, for example, (/sawra/, 'revolution', as opposed to /θawra/ ثُورَة). Historically speaking, though, [t] is the normal outcome of (θ) in Cairene Arabic; [s] replaces (θ) in loans from Standard Arabic in corporate in the colloquial. Now, [t,s] can hark back to (θ), but there are far more [t] and [s] which go back to (t), or (s) respectively, which will probably pose no problem at all for the acquirer because they correspond simply to (t) and (s) variables in Kuwaiti Arabic. From an empirical perspective regarding the Egyptians variant [t] and [s] of the variable (θ), it seems that no difference is made between the EA dialect and Standard Arabic vocabulary as pronounced by Egyptians. Moreover, /t,s/ as outcomes of (θ) have identical distribution in Egyptian colloquial as to their position in the syllable and may occur in any position, initial, medial, or final. To give a few examples:

- (5) /sawra/ "revolution" [θawra], /sanawi/ 'secondary' [θanawi:].

For [θa:bit] "stable, fixed" both variants exist: /sabit/ and /tabit/.

Medial and final [t]: /ħarat/ 'to plough' [ħaraθ], /gitta/ 'corpse' [dʒuθθa].

4. Quantitative analysis

4.1. The variable (k)

		[k]	[tʃ]
Early immigrants	Males	% 25.7	% 4.5
	Females	% 48.7	% 20.9
Recent immigrants	Males	% 45.6	% 4.8
	Females	% 46.9	% 2.1

Table 3. The realization of the (k) and its variants in the speech of male and female early immigrants (number of tokens 945) and recent male immigrants to the recent female immigrants (number of tokens 605)

We must state that a very few occurrences of the variant [ʃ] of the variable (k) were traced (only five incidences), and therefore were discarded.

4.2. The variable (θ)

		[θ]	[s]	[t]
Early immigrants	Male	% 3.4	% 28.5	% 20.1
	Females	% 5.0	% 26.1	% 16.6
Recent immigrants	Males	% 0	% 32.1	% 21.9
	Females	% 0	% 27.2	% 18.5

Table 4. The realization of the (θ) and its variants in the speech of male and female early immigrants: (number of tokens 378) and of recent male immigrants to the recent female immigrants (number of tokens 382)

5. Discussion

5.1. Linguistic explanation

The statistical analysis above clearly shows that when two mutually intelligible dialects are in contact linguistic change will affect phonological features. Our findings here do confine with earlier findings (Dashti 1997) that some variables are acquired

faster than others. Our subjects seem to be slower in acquiring the two variables under investigation compared to other variable. For example, in contrast to earlier research (Dashti 1997) where variants such as [g] of the variable (q) and the variant [j] of the variable (dʒ) are easy to acquire, this paper shows that similar to the variable (ð), the variant [tʃ] of the variable [k] and the variant [θ] of the variable (θ) are more complex to acquire than the rule of other variables and their variants simply because they don't exist in their phonetic inventory. Dashti (1997) also argued that all rules in his data are 'complex' in Chambers' sense, yet one is more complex to acquire than the other due to different linguistic constraints. It is believed that [tʃ] and [θ] can all be considered as complex for Egyptian immigrants to acquire but that they are more complex to acquire than for example [j] and [dʒ] investigated in earlier research.

To find explanations for the different degrees of complexity, we need to look at the phonetic inventories of EA and that of KA. These phonetic inventories inform us that neither [tʃ] nor [θ] exists in EA as variants of the variables (k) and (θ) respectively. Also they do not exist as separate phonemes. As to the variable (θ) EA inventory has both [t] and [s] as variants of [θ] whereas KA has only the variant [θ] for the variable [θ] despite the fact that /t/ and /s/ do exist in KA inventory as separate phonemes. It is worthwhile mentioning that /θ/ has disappeared in EA, merging with the stop /t/ and the sibilant /s/ as shown in the following examples:

(6)	EA	KA	CA	Meaning
	/masal/	/miθa:l/	/mi θa:l/	'example'
	/s:abit/	/θa:błt/	/θa:bit/	'steady'
	/tɔ:r/	/θɔ:r/	/θɔ:r/	'bull'

To reverse the formulae, it seems to be easier for Kuwaitis to acquire the Egyptian variants of (θ) since [t] and [s] do exist as separate phonemes in KA, than Egyptians to acquire the variant [θ] of the variable (θ) since [θ] does not exist in the phonological inventory of EA. Egyptians, here, are then required to eliminate the existing variants [t] and [s] before fully and accurately acquire the Kuwaiti form [θ]. In addition, they not only need to eliminate an old rule but also in Chambers (1992: 672) sense, 'add to their output a new or additional phoneme'. So when using KA, Egyptian immigrants need to

eliminate [t] and [s] in words like /masal/ 'example' and /tɔ:r/ 'a bull' to get /mI θa:l/ and /θɔ:r/ respectively.

But looking at such complexity from an empirical perspective we see that regarding the variants [t] and [s] of the variable (θ), it seems that no difference is made between the Egyptian Arabic dialect and Standard Arabic vocabulary as pronounced by Egyptians and /t,s/ as outcomes of (θ) have identical distribution in Egyptian colloquial as to their position in the syllable and may occur in any position, initial, medial, or final. To give a few examples:

(6)	Variant	EA	CA	Meaning
Initial [s]	sawra	[θawra]		'revolution'
	sanawi	[θa:nawi:]		'secondary"
	sabit/tabit	[θa:bit]		"steady"
medial and final [t]	ħarat	[ħaraθ]		"to plough"
	gitta	[dʒuθθa]		"corpse"

We could say, then, that the Egyptian acquirer, who normally has no idea of these linguistic coherences, is confronted with the fact that his/her /s/ sometimes corresponds to [s] in KA, and another time to [θ]. And in the same vein, /t/ corresponds sometimes to [t] in KA, and another time to [θ] and this happens in different roots and words and not conditioned by any surrounding phonemes or different positions. So, we might conclude that a straightforward transfer rule cannot be formulated easily, which makes it complex.

Compared to classical Arabic (CA), it merits mentioning here that KA speakers mostly change the vowel of the first syllable /a/ to /i/ no matter the (K) variable is pronounced as [k] or [tʃ] variant. This feature is a typical feature of Kuwaiti morphology that is conditioned by syllable structure, i.e. it does not apply to all verbs. This kind of vowel change is popular with past tense verbs in KA, e.g.:

(7)	CA	KA	Meaning
	/baka/	/bltʃa/	he cried
	/masaka/	/misak/	he held (something)

But we don't get the raising from /a/ to /i/ in */ħimal/ "he held". We know from literature that dialects that descend from the Najdi norm have a morphophonemic rule that raises the vowel in the first syllable of the perfective verb form in certain environments (Holes 2007; Ingham (1994). What is interesting, here, though, is the fact that whenever EA speakers (though very few as our data show) acquire the Kuwaiti Arabic variant [tʃ], they don't seem to acquire as well the vowel change. So, it is more likely to hear the following:

(8)	/batʃa/ but not /bitʃa/	he cried
	/samatʃ/ but not /simatʃ/	fish

It is worth investigating, though in future research, why is this happening. One could probably, investigate phonetic/ phonemic environments or even morphological conditioning.

It is also worth mentioning that EA speakers are mostly successful to use either the Kuwaiti variants /tʃ/ instead of [k] when (k) is word initially e.g.,

(9)	EA	KA	Meaning
	/tʃinna/	/tʃinna/	it seems
	/tʃam/	/tʃam/	how much
	/tʃu:la/	/tʃu:la/	stove
	/tʃabr:t/	/tʃabr:t/	lighter

But not when (k) comes word final or in intervocalic position e.g.,

(10)	EA	KA	Meaning
	/Mufkaka/	/miftʃa:tʃa/	can opener
	/Siki:n/	/Satʃi:n/	knife
	/wirk/	/wirʃ/	hip

5.2. Social explanation

Although it appears that there may be certain linguistic factors governing the acquisition of certain phonological variables by our Egyptian subjects, it is also likely to be related to highly individual factors. We also need to confess that comparing inventories is not enough in order to explain learning problems. Extra-linguistic factors are as significant as linguistic factors in second dialect acquisition scenarios. Yet, despite the fact that the percentages shown in Tables (3) and (4) do not show any significant difference regarding gender, and length of stay as sociolinguistic parameters, the analysis shows that other social parameters are significant such as motivation, Education, and social network.

5.2.1. Motivation

In the case of Egyptian residents in Kuwait, motivation plays an important role, since Egyptians in general are used to the fact that their dialect is widely understood, and to some extent even spoken by other Arabs. Egyptian movies and episodes are extensively shown on all Arabic TV channels which gives Arab viewers an opportunity to be exposed all year round to the Egyptian dialect and hence, easy to comprehend by all Arabic speaking communities. Let alone the fact that quite a large number of expatriate teachers from Egypt are sent all over the Arab world. Our informants do know that their dialect is understood by all Kuwaitis, which makes them at ease when using Egyptian phonological forms rather than their Kuwaiti phonological equivalents. This feeling was so apparent during recorded conversation and while discussing social issues. For example, when informants were asked if they find any difficulty coping with KA some of the responses were as follows: 'oh no, not at all.... actually, most Kuwaitis converge to a mixture of KA and EA when we converse with each other. They like using EA. I know that EA can be perceived by most Kuwaitis' (male informant 2); 'I love KA, but sometimes I feel I sound funny. Besides I feel all Kuwaitis understand EA very well' (male informant 6); 'my Algerian friend usually uses English with Kuwaitis. I am glad I

am not Algerian. Everyone in Kuwait understands my EA when I sometimes fail to express a point in Kuwaiti Arabic' (male informant 4); 'when I go to Cairo for a short visit, I sometimes use KA with my family...they laugh and make jokes. When I ask why do they laugh, they say it's weird... EA is better than all Arabic varieties... stop taking like this' (male informant 1); 'when I first got married and started to talk in KA, my husband said I like you more when you use your EA' (female informant 4); 'although I speak very good KA, when I travel during our vacations to Arab countries, I usually use my EA... I feel it is more prestigious... even my children do not show any objection' (female informant 1). Our findings correspond with Milroy's (2002) claim that an ideological motivation underlies the long term maintenance of distinctive local norms in the face of pressures from numerically and socially more powerful speech communities.

5.2.2. Education

Education is another sociolinguistic parameter which influenced the use of Egyptian phonological forms by our Egyptian informants rather than their Kuwaiti phonological equivalents. Tables 1 and 2, clearly show that most of our informants are well educated since most of them have got BA degrees. It is well known that educated Egyptians know from their knowledge of the orthography of SA when to write ظ, which gives them a reliable hint when to pronounce [θ] instead of [t.s]. But, surprisingly, our informants seem to refrain from using the Classical Arabic [θ] and maintain using the Egyptian forms. This is due to the fact that most literate Egyptians, even those highly educated, usually use Egyptian forms not only in informal settings but also in formal settings as well, for example, when on TV, or when presenting a public talk. This gives Egyptian residents in Kuwait a feeling of pride that their variants do carry prestige all over the Arab world. Having said that, does not imply that Egyptian residents do not favor the Kuwait dialect. The feedback the researcher got out of the interviews clearly suggests that Egyptians do favor all dialects spoken in the Gulf region, yet they believe that the Cairene variety carries prestige not only through Egypt but also through the Arab world. Versteegh (1997) states that with the growing influence of the mass media, Cairene speech has spread all over Egypt. Egyptians themselves usually call all southern

varieties of Egyptian Sa'idi, in contrast with the prestige dialect of Cairo. Egyptian Arabic is arguably the most practical dialect to learn for a number of reasons: geographically and historically Egypt lies at the heart of the Arab world. Its population (49 million) by far exceeds that of any other Arab country (Gary & Gamal-Eldin 1982). Practically everyone in the Arab world is exposed, directly or indirectly, to Egyptian Arabic. Films, cassettes of popular songs and television soap operas are exported on a massive scale to other Arab countries. It is generally held to be the most prestigious spoken variety and whichever country you visit you will find people can understand and adapt to Egyptian Arabic.

One limitation here, unfortunately, is that we do not know how the less educated Egyptians would have coped in similar circumstances. We will see in the next section how education is closely related to the notion of social network.

5.2.3. Social network

The concept of social network 'can be used to account for variability in individual linguistic behaviour' (L. Milroy 1980: 21). The social network concept investigates the kind and density of relationship which an individual has within the community. A link between two individuals could be uniplex, multiplex, or dense. Social network was investigated during the interviews. It was found that all informants' relationships with Kuwaitis are characterized as 'uniplex' and of 'low density' whereas those with Egyptians are 'multiplex' and of 'high density'. Both our male and female informants seem to associate with Kuwaitis in a single capacity only, namely, as co-employees. It is worthwhile mentioning that one gathering place where people of Kuwait usually get together is cafe's, either modern ones such as, Starbucks, etc., or those traditional ones that offer 'shisha'. Both types of café's were once male domains but are currently, frequented by females too. The researchers have noticed (from their observations) that Egyptians usually visit such café's only with other Egyptians. It is very unlikely and very rare to see a group of mixed nationalities. So it is through the Egyptians' strong ties with their own ethnic group members that acquiring KA variants is prevented or impeded. Their 'close-knit' network structure functions as a conservative force, resisting pressure

for change originating from outside the network (J. Milroy 1992: 177). In an early research by Dashti (1997), the Egyptian subjects under investigation, then, were of low educational background. Hence they seemed to have strong social ties with their Kuwaiti family members (husband's kin and other close Kuwait kin) which is a significant norm enforcement mechanism. I would suggest here that there is a close connection between level of education, social network and people's attitudes towards cross-nationality marriage. First of all, it is still unacceptable from a social view to see a Kuwaiti woman married to a non-Kuwaiti. However it is more acceptable to see Kuwaiti men married to non-Kuwaitis women. Socially speaking, Kuwait is still considered as a "masculine" dominated society, that is, Kuwaiti men have much more power than Kuwaiti women. Kuwaiti parents and male Kuwaiti male members still wouldn't favour the idea that a female member of the family would get married to a non-Kuwaiti. Until recently, most Kuwaiti women who got married to non-Kuwaitis are those who got high educational degrees and who according to Kuwaiti marriage norms, are viewed as too old to get married. The social scene has just undergone a slight change. Young female Kuwaitis, (though extremely rarely), especially those who get undergraduate or graduate degrees from educational institutions abroad, are seen to show courage in persuading their families of their intention to get married to non-Kuwaitis. If they succeed, they are not likely to be welcomed in Kuwaiti social gatherings. Hence their network with Kuwaitis would be characterized as 'uniplex' and of 'low density' whereas those with Egyptians are 'multiplex' and of 'high density'.

6. Conclusion

This paper was an attempt to investigate dialect contact and second dialect acquisition by examining phonological variables as they occur in the speech of Egyptian immigrants to Kuwait. It was an attempt to apply Chambers' principles in an Arabic context. It is apparent from this investigation that linguistic factors cannot alone account for differences in second dialect acquisition, though our conclusions are consistent with Chambers (1992) principles as far as complexity is concerned. However,

our data have shown that the degree of complexity must also be considered in second dialect acquisition. We have seen that some phonological variants such as [tʃ] and [θ] of the Kuwaiti variables (K) and (θ) respectively are more complex than other phonological variants (e.g., [j] and [g]) of the Kuwaiti phonological variables (dʒ) and (q) studied in earlier research (see Dashti 1998) due to both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. As to social factors, the data showed that motivation, level of education and social network had a great impact on determining the nature and the extent to which a second dialect acquisition may take place.

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THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION OF PALATALIZATION: THE CASE OF GERNIKA-LUMO¹

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Abstract

It is a long time since dialectal researches have taken a new course, focused on urban spoken varieties more than on rural varieties. Moreover, they focus on the interaction between independent variables and linguistic variables. Nevertheless, this is not the case of the Basque language, as there have been few researches from this point of view.

The aim of this contribution is to show that Basque is not an isolated case; as a living language it has changed through time and it is, indeed, changing nowadays. The focus of the research is the variant of the basque spoken in Gernika, and it is based in 5 linguistic variables which present a sociolinguistic variation of palatalization: variable (is), variable (it), variable (il), variables (ind) and (ild) and variable (i_V). The realizations of these variables have been studied taking into account some independent variables such as age, genre, parent's origin and school.

Keywords

language change, sociolinguistic variation, variationist sociolinguistic, palatalization, Basque

VARIACIÓN SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA DE LA PALATALIZACIÓN: EL CASO DE GUERNICA Y LUNO

Resumen

Hace tiempo que las investigaciones dialectales tomaron una nueva dirección, focalizándose más en las variedades habladas en zonas urbanas que en las rurales. En este nuevo rumbo, las nuevas

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investigaciones dialectales se centran en la interacción que hay entre las variables independientes y las variables lingüísticas. Aun así, esto no ocurre con el vasco, ya que han sido escasas las investigaciones realizadas desde esta perspectiva.

Por lo tanto, la finalidad de esta contribución es exponer que el vasco no es un caso excepcional ya que como lengua viva ha ido cambiando durante el tiempo y, de la misma forma, continúa cambiando en la actualidad. El foco de la investigación es la variedad del vasco hablado en la localidad de Guernica y Luno, y está basado en 5 variables lingüísticas que presentan variación sociolingüística de la palatalización: variable (is), variable (it), variable (il), variables (ind) y (ild) y variable (i_V). La realización de estas variables ha sido estudiada teniendo en cuenta las variables independientes de edad, genero, origen de los padres y escuela en la que han estudiado.

Palabras clave

cambio lingüístico, variación sociolingüística, sociolingüística variacionista, palatalización, vasco

*Changes typically begin with variation,
with alternative ways of saying the same thing
entering the language.*

Campbell ([1998] 2004: 219)

1. Introduction

“One of the fundamental things you need to understand about languages is that they are always changing” wrote Trask & Millar in 2007: 1) and nowadays it is a universally accepted axiom. Furthermore, it is said that language change is not due to its decay, but to sate its daily needs. That is why it is so interesting and important to study languages in their day to day variation. Nevertheless, it seems that some Basque linguists have forgotten that language and their dialects or variants, are not static and eternal, but they are in constant and uninterrupted change. Or, in other cases, language change is only seen as a historical event so only the differentiation between two historical stages is researched. Fortunately, it is not the case of, for example, the EUDIA dialectal researcher group, which constantly has been studying the variation happening on the whole geographical area of Basque and the sociolinguistic variation between two generations (Aurrekoetxea 2008; Ormaetxea 2011; Santazilia 2010; Unamuno 2010; etc. But there have been other researchers too: Garmendia 2008; Gaminde 2003, 2009,

2010a, 2010b; Gaminde & Zubillaga 2010; Gaminde & Romero 2011; Gaminde *et al.* 2012; Amorrotu 2003; Ezenarro 2008; Lujanbio 2011; Ensanza 2014; etc.).

On the other hand, it has been a long time since the international dialectal researches took a new course focused on urban spoken varieties more than on rural varieties. Moreover, it is focused on the interaction between independent variables and linguistic variables. Nonetheless, this is not either the case of the Basque language, since there have been few researches made from this point of view.

Nonetheless, nowadays there is no doubt that dialects and variants are result of previous stages, that's it, one language stage is the consequence of a previous language stage (Mitxelena 1981: 518). So it is crucial to research where does the Basque spoken in Gernika have its background and in which direction is changing. But that is a task for the future, because if a typology of diachronic change wants to be done, we ought to have a previous knowledge of the typology of synchronic change due to the fact that every diachronic change starts as a synchronic variation.

The aim of this contribution is to show that Basque is not an isolated case in the world; as a living language it has changed through time and it is, indeed, changing nowadays. As Tagliamonte (2012: 2) said:

Variation in language can be observed just about everywhere from a conversation you overhear on the street to a story you read in the newspaper. Sociolinguists notice such variations too. In undertaking sustained analysis, what they discover is that people will use one form and then another for more or less the same meaning all the time the language varies. The harder part is to find the order, or the system, in the variation chaos.

Moreover, everybody notices that in one's hometown not everybody speaks in the same way, adults use forms, pronunciations, words or expressions that young generations do not, and *vice versa*. In fact, the speaker of a community is the one who realizes that young and adults do not speak exactly the same. The key is to find which the logic of such variation is. So, what causes the variation? Do changes occur in a specific group or are they sporadic? Do the speakers make changes consciously or

unconsciously? But as Trask & Millar (2007: 14) pointed out, there is not a simple answer to explain the variation because the reasons for change are many and varied and, nowadays, only few of them are well known, such as fashion. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the only and unique reason for variation is fashion, since at least after Labov's multiple works (1963, 1966, 1972a, 1972b, 1981, 1994, 2001, 2010, etc.), it is common knowledge that there are both internal factors and external factors that cause language variation.

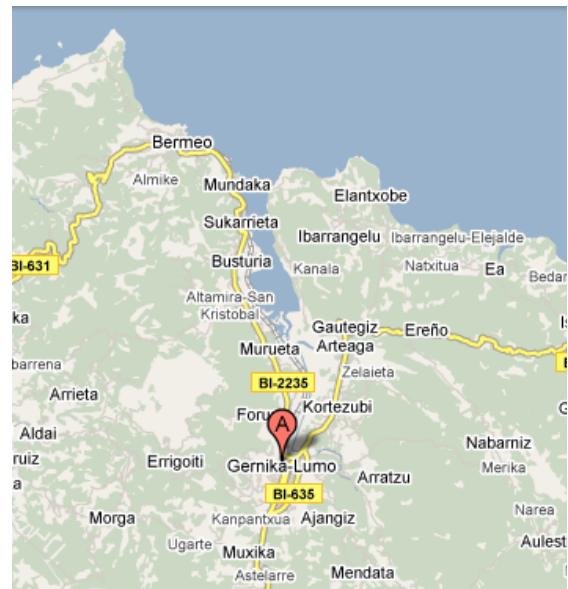
That variation can be studied in three ways: diatopically (according to the geography), diastratically (by social factors) and diafasically (in accordance with the register). In the case of Basque, in the last years there have been many researches that studied geographical variation, so they have analyzed de linguistic differentiation from town to town more than the variation that can be in each locality (Aurrekoetxea 1995; Gaminde 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 2003; Zuazo 1998, 2003, 2008; Camino 2003; Zelaieta 2008). On the other hand, the studies that have been done in a certain locality have continued the way of the traditional dialectology, so they have analyzed the Basque of the most adult generations (Ormaetxea 2002; Makazaga 2010). Moreover, most of the researches that have analyzed the variation of Basque have described the variants of each locality as if the whole community would speak in the same way, that's it, the most common then when describing a local variant was to give one and just one form. That is why we do know so little about the variation of the local variants of Basque, while in other languages (mainly in English) it is a while since special progress was made in this field. The aim of this contribution is not, in any case, to rest importance to those researches, but bring some soil to fill the hole.

Therefore, we have researched the variant of the Basque spoken in the locality of Gernika focusing on some linguistic variables, all of them phonetic, which nowadays are fluctuating. Those linguistic variables have been analyzed taking into account some social factors such as age, genre, parent's origin and the school where they have studied. As this kind of sociolinguistic researches claim, language is inevitably associated with a speaker and as that speaker is part of the community, language can not be separated from its sociolinguistic context. That's why before going any further, we have

consider crucial to point out some characteristics about Gernika, so that we can understand better the community in which our research is based on.

2. Locating Gernika

As the following maps shows, geographically Gernika is located in the north-central part of Bizkaia, very close to our capital Bilbao. It is set in the region called Busturialdea and in the end of the biosphere of Urdaibai. The river Oka runs through it dividing Busturialdea in two: those towns which stand in the left bank of the river and those which stand in the right bank:



Map 1: Location of Gernika in Bizkaia and Busturialdea. Map 2. Location of Gernika in the biosphere.

Nowadays Gernika is one of the biggest towns in the area and it has 16,500 inhabitants more or less. Unfortunately, only the 69.3% of the inhabitants know Basque and many of them only know the standard variant so it is not as easy as it seems to find appropriate informants. Nevertheless, Gernika has a strong Basque speaker community and those who come to Gernika also speak Basque when they interact with people from there.

By the way, it is important to point out the devastating bombing it suffered in 1937 because it made the population decrease drastically. The town was reconstructed

from the ashes of the bombing but the survivors had to live for at least 4 years on the nearby towns. Afterwards not only did the previous inhabitants come to Gernika but also the inhabitants of those towns nearby, so there is no doubt that in those years different spoken Basque variants were in contact and interaction.

Moreover, as it can be expected, the standardization of Basque has influenced its spoken variants. We strongly believe that Standard Basque (promoted by Euskaltzaindia, the Academy of Basque in 1968), has a noticeable effect on the spoken language of the youngest generations, as it is widely present in the school system and the media.

3. Theoretical framework

Overall, in this research we have followed Labov's large investigations ([1994] 2010, [2001] 2010, 2010) and his disciples' conception and thinking (Peter Trudgill 1983; Ralph Fasold 1969; Lesley Milroy 1980, 1999; James Milroy 1992; Sali A. Tagliamonte 2012; Penelope Eckert 2000). According to these authors, language change cannot be understood out of its social context, as social pressure is always affecting to language. That social pressure generates linguistic differences in the community that show differentiation in social-factors.

Nowadays, it is universally accepted that internal-factors generate changes in the linguistic system but there are changes generated by external-factors too. *Variationist Sociolinguistics* investigates the variation that is systematic and intrinsic to language, both in the diachronic and the synchronic aspects, as the objective is to know how does the mechanism that links internal factors and external factors works (Sankoff 1988: 157).

On the other hand, neogramarian linguists (Mitxelena 1963) have defended the regularity of change: a phonic change happens in all contexts that it is possible, so change affects to all the words that content that sound or, at least, that sound in a specific context. At any rate, the solid bases of geographic dialectology have shown by the lexical isoglosses that the regularity of change is more complex than what it seems to be (*apud* Chambers & Trudgill 1994: 62). In fact, changes are not given uniformly in

language, so to achieve the regularity that neogramarians want language has to go through a fluctuating state previously.

Moreover, Sturtevant (1947: chap 8) divided 3 stages into the process of language change: initial stage, expansion stage and final stage. In the initial stage of the change, some different variants appear just in a reduced social group. In the expansion stage, the new variant spreads to a bigger group and due to the social interaction starts to battle with the initial variant. In the final stage, the weakest variant loses and the change achieves regularity. So, regularity of changes is just the last stage of an imbalance period. Elsewhere, before Labov's investigations, it was not taken into account the social aspect of languages and linguistic variables due to the fact that it was thought that feelings and thoughts about language were unreachable and extra-linguistic (Bloch & Trager 1942). But Labov proved that there are phonetic changes linked with social factors like age, social class, genre and ethnicity (Labov 1963: 74).

The patterns that have emerged from these undertakings have demonstrated that linguistic change is not only the result of universal principles but is also shaped by the social context in which it occurs.

However, heterogeneity is essential for the sociolinguistic view of the community, but that heterogeneity is *orderly* and that is not far from the view of the neogramarians. In fact, as Milroy & Gordon (2003: 7) defend:

For variationists, not only is variation essential and intrinsic to human language, but the detail of systematic, socially embedded variable behavior is the key to an understanding of dynamics of language change.

Nowadays, it is thought that the data come from the recurrent choices speakers make in the course of production. In this way, each choice is viewed not simply as an instance or token of use, but as a choice made within the context of the grammar from which it comes. When a large body of repeating tokens is part of the analysis, the choices can be assessed statistically so as to uncover the meaningful patterns of use (Cedergren & Sankoff 1974; Labov 1969; Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001: 89). The choices

are taken to represent the (underlying) variable grammar of the speaker as well as the grammar of the speech community to which she belongs (Tagliamonte 2012: 9):

Thus, this research is made from the sociolinguistic point of view, so instead of analyzing language generally, we have looked at some linguistic variables that show variation in a certain period of time and try to specify which is the social factor that generates the change.

4. Methodology and corpus

In order to study the interaction between linguistic variables and social factors and the influence that Standard Basque has in the spoken variant of Gernika, data for our research was collected with a questionnaire of 100 sentences to translate from Spanish into vernacular Basque. In all, our corpus consists of 63 people that have translated those 100 sentences. It is true that these kinds of questionnaires increase the risk of gathering formal styles but, on the other hand, the data obtained is very productive because, due to its accuracy, they are easy to compare.

All the recordings were made in a calm place and a relaxed atmosphere and with an Olympus VN-2.100 PC digital voice-recorder. Afterwards, the audio was analyzed with the Praat program. All the answers were transcribed with the IPA alphabet and introduced in a database in order to make graphics and interpret them. Those informants haven't been selected in a stratified way but randomly. At any rate, informants have been selected according to some profiles or social factors:

4.1. Social factors

In this research, we have studied the realizations of some linguistic variables taking into account these social factors such as age, genre, parent's origin and the school where they have studied.

The independent variable of age has been divided into 5 main groups: 1) <1950, 2) 1951-1964, 3) 1965-1980, 4) 1981-1990 and 5) 1991-2000. *People from group 1)* at school have only been educated in Spanish because of the Spanish Civil War (1919-1936) and the following Franco's dictatorship (1936-1972). Moreover, Basque was not standardized until 1968, so its influence did not reach this generation and they have only heard it on the media. *People from group 2)* had only Spanish education too at school, but most of them need to familiarize with Standard Basque later so as to suit their jobs. *People from group 3)* are the first ones that received education totally in Standard Basque at school, so they have been in contact with it since they started going to school and they are familiarized with it from the very early ages of childhood. *People from group 4)* had also received education in Standard Basque but we have considered important to separate this age-group due to the relationship with new technologies, that's it, people from this group not only are those who are in the way between teenagers and adults but they are also the ones who have suffered the change from a traditional society to a technological society. Finally, *people from group 5)* are teenagers and, as it is thought, this is the first stage of variation, when the child starts to reach maturity and so they distance themselves from their parents.

Since we thought it was important for our conclusions, we divided those from groups 4 and 5 also taking into account the school where they have studied. In fact, in Gernika we have one state school called Allende Salazar and three public schools called Seber Altube, San Fidel and Mertzede. This last one is the only one that offers education in Spanish so it is the school where most of the immigrants go to.

Apart from that, the variable of genre is divided into the two logical groups: males and females; and finally, as it is not as easy as it seems to find people who have both parents from Gernika, the variable of the parent's hometown has been divided into 3 groups: 1) those who have at least one parent from Gernika, 2) those who have both parents from towns near Gernika and 3) those who have not Basque parents.

On the other hand, as we have previously said, we have analyzed how some linguistic variables happen in each social factor, so we have researched the variants of the linguistic variables in each social factor.

4.2. Linguistic variables

In this contribution, we analyze 5 linguistic variables which present an ongoing despalatalization: variable (is), variable (it), variable (il), variable (ind) and (ild) and variable (i_V). All the variables have been studied in all contexts, that is, between different consonants, between vowels and in coda.

(is) variable: it is known that in local dialect we do not differentiate between the apical sibilant [s] (<s>) and [ʂ] (<z>) laminal sibilant due to an ancient neutralization that took place in favor of the apical sibilant [s]. On the other hand, when in a word the sibilant is preceded by the back close vowel [i] or a palatal approximant [j], the sibilant is palatalized to [ʃ] (<x>), but this palatal variant is not accepted for Standard Basque:

- . bisi > bixi ‘life, to live’
- . gison> gixon ‘man’
- . isen > ixen ‘name’
- . aise > axe ‘wind’
- . eleisa> elexa ‘church’
- ...

(it) variable: when the back close vowel [i] or the palatal approximant [j] precedes a voiceless alveolar stop [t], in western varieties of Basque the stop is palatalized to different consonants: to a voiceless palatal plosive [c] (<tt>) or to a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ] (<tx>). In Standard Basque, the palatalized variable is not accepted:

- . aitita> aittitte, aitxitxe ‘grandfather’
- . ito> itto, itxo ‘drown, choke’
- . polita> politte, politxe ‘nice’
- . badakit> badakitt, badakitx ‘I know it’
- ...

On the other hand, young use the [tʂ] <tz> voiceless laminal affricate variant and the [ts] <ts> voiceless apical affricate variant too.

(il) variable: When the back close vowel [i] or the palatal approximant [j] precedes an alveolar lateral approximant [l] the consonant is palatalized to the palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] (<ll>) or to the palatal approximant [ʃ] (<y>), but this last palatal variant

is not accepted in Standard Basque. It is important to point out that in Spanish has happened the same change:

- . pila> [piʎo], [piʎo], 'a lot'
- . ilun> [iʎun], [iʎun], 'dark'
- . hilabete> [iʎie], [iʎie], 'month'
- . mailu> [maʎu], [maʎu], 'hammer'
- ...

(ind) and (ild) variables: When the back close vowel [i] or the palatal approximant [j] precedes a dental nasal [nd] or a dental lateral [ld] not only the following consonant is palatalized but also the voiced dental stop, so we will have sounds as [iʃilʎu] and [eʃinʎot], but this palatal variants are not accepted for Standard Basque:

- . hilda> [iʎe], 'died'
- . isildu> [iʃilʎu], 'shut up'
- . indar> [inʎer], 'strength'
- . eginda> [ejnʎe], 'done'
- . ezin dut> [eʃinʎot], 'I can not'

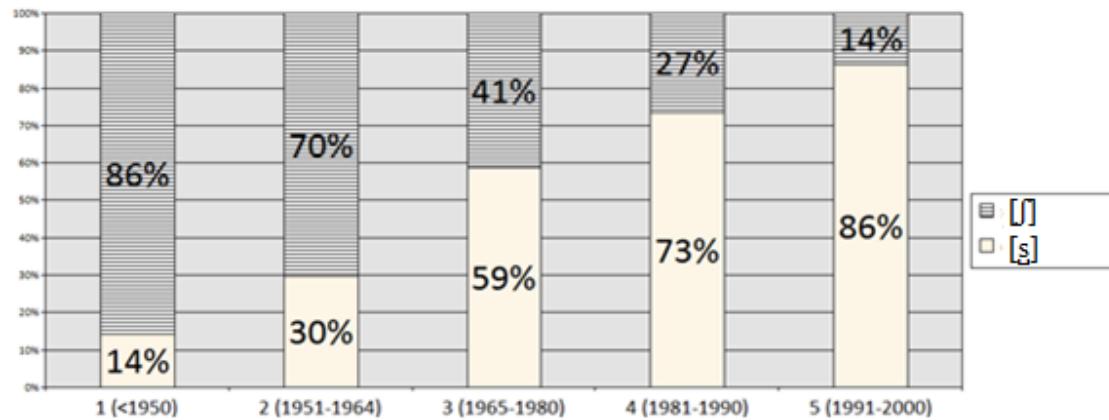
(i_V) variable: On the other hand, when in central varieties and Standard Basque we have a hiatus formed by a back close vowel [i] and any other vowel, in western varieties a sibilant consonant epenthesis is embedded between the two vowels. In most of the cases, that epenthesis is voiced [ʒ] (<x>) but it can be voiceless too [ʂ] (<s>). In any case, Standard Basque doesn't have any epenthetic consonant in this case:

- . bihotz> [biʒotʂ], [biʃotʂ], 'heart'
- . indiaba> [inʎiʒaβa], [indiʒaβa], 'bean'
- . ogia> [oʒiße], [oʒiße], 'bread'
- . merienda> [meriʒendie], [meriʒendie],
- . armarioa> [armariʒoa], [armariʒoa]

5. Analysis

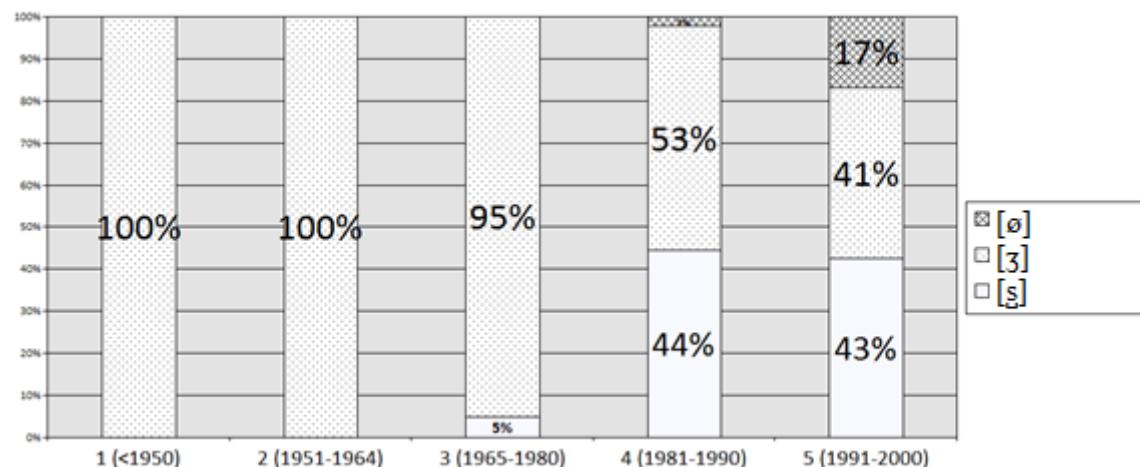
On the one hand, our data shows that, as we had expected, the most significant social-factor for variation is age since all linguistic variables show age leveling.

Regarding (is) variable, the youngest generation's data show that the palatal variant that is dominant in adult generations (in lines) is fading away and the apical sibilant (in white) has taken its place:



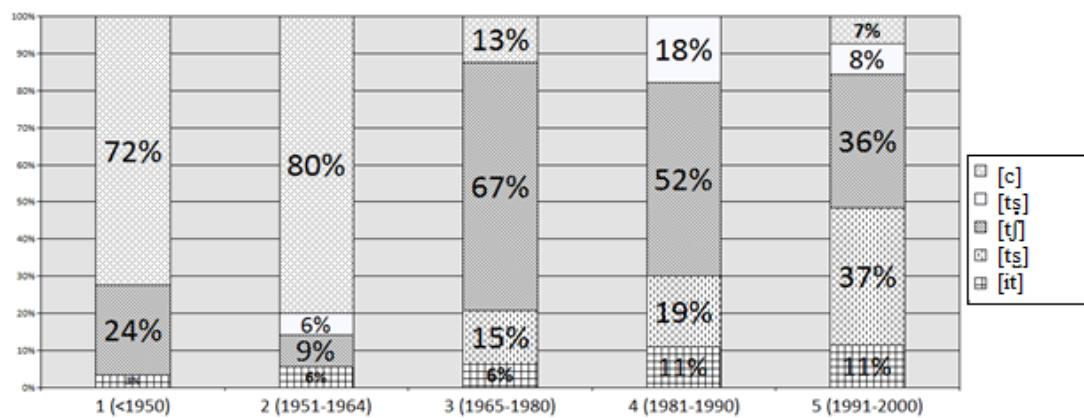
Graphic 1. (is) variable according to age groups.

According to the epenthesis between vowels, in the two oldest age-groups the only sound used is the voiced palate-alveolar fricative (grey dots), whereas in the youngest age-group the most used one is the voiceless apical sibilant (white). On the other hand, in the second youngest age-group it can be seen that Standard Basque has started to influence, as there are appearing forms without any epenthesis (rhombuses); forms that increase in the youngest age-group indeed:



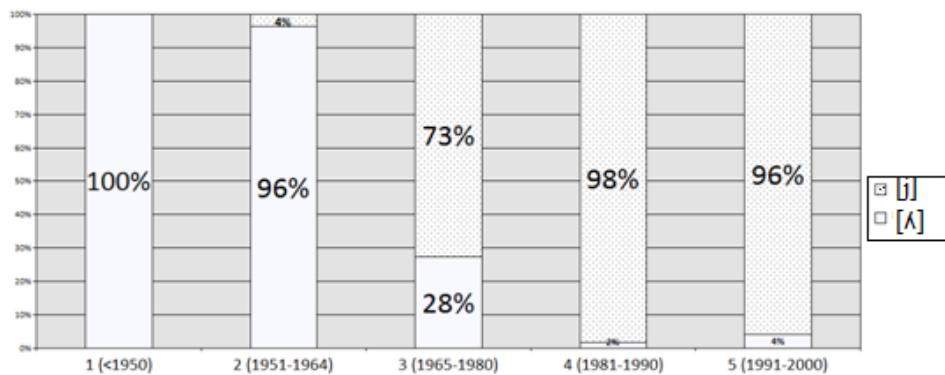
Graphic 2. (i_V) variable according to age groups.

In the case of (it) variable, the dominant variant in the oldest age-groups is voiceless palatal plosive (grey rhombuses), which in the youngest generations is about to disappear. In the youngest generations other variants have taken its place, which sometimes is the palate-alveolar affricate (dark grey), other times the palato-laminal affricate (white), and other times the palate-apical affricate (dots). As we can see in the graphic, the non-palatalized variable is spreading as age decreases, most probably due to the fact that in Standard Basque the palatalized forms are not accepted:



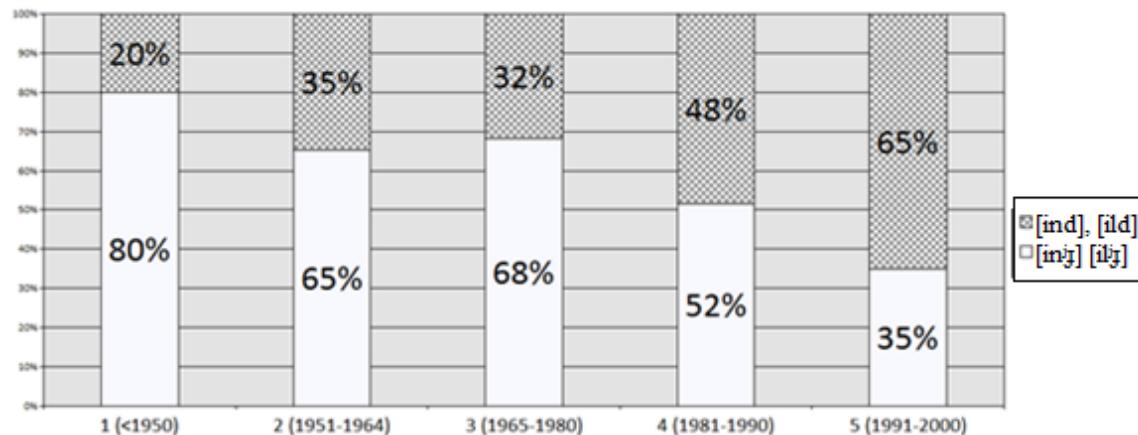
Graphic 3. (it) variable according to age groups.

In the case of the (il) variable we can also see that whereas in the oldest age-group the only variant is the palatal lateral approximant (white) and the dominant one in the 2nd age-group, in the next age-groups the dominant variant is the palatal approximant (dots) and in the youngest age-groups the palatal lateral approximant variant is about to disappear. It can be highlighted that in many languages in contact, such as Spanish, the same change has occurred so the change in our speech can be due to the influence of Spanish:



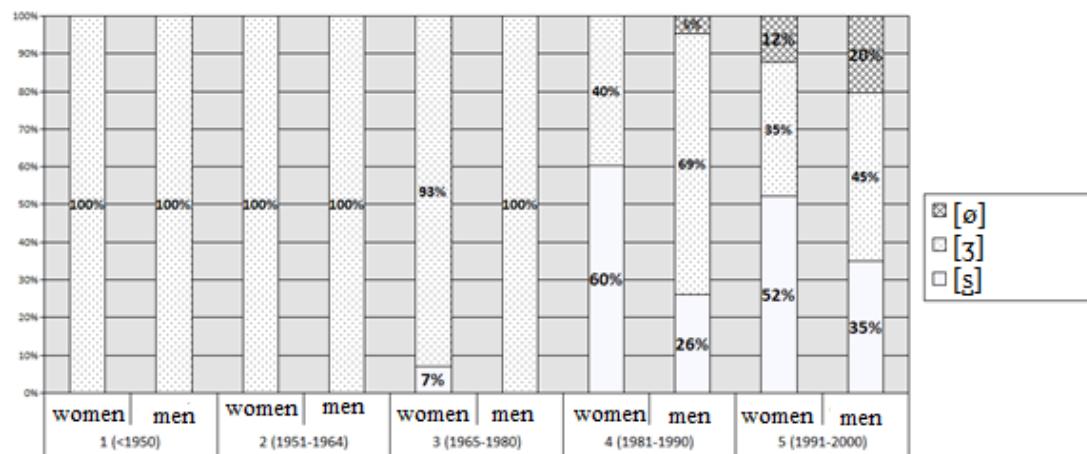
Graphic 4. (il) variable according to age groups.

Finally, (ind) and (ild) variables are generally palatalized (white) in the oldest age-groups but in youngest generations the habit to palatalize them is decreasing, surely, due to the fact that in Standard Basque the palatalized form is not accepted:



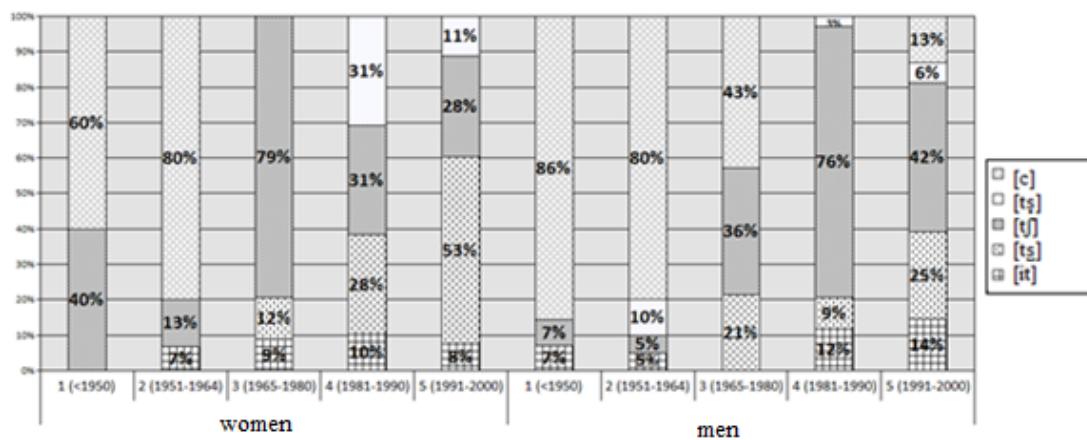
Graphic 5. (ind) and (ild) variable according to age groups.

On the other hand, data gathered in this research show that genre is also an important social-factor for variation. In fact, in all linguistic variables men seem to be more conservative than women: women from the 3rd age-group seem to be the engine of the change as the voiceless variable appears here firstly (white). In the 4th and 5th age-groups men seem to have conserved better the voiced variable of the epenthesis (dots):



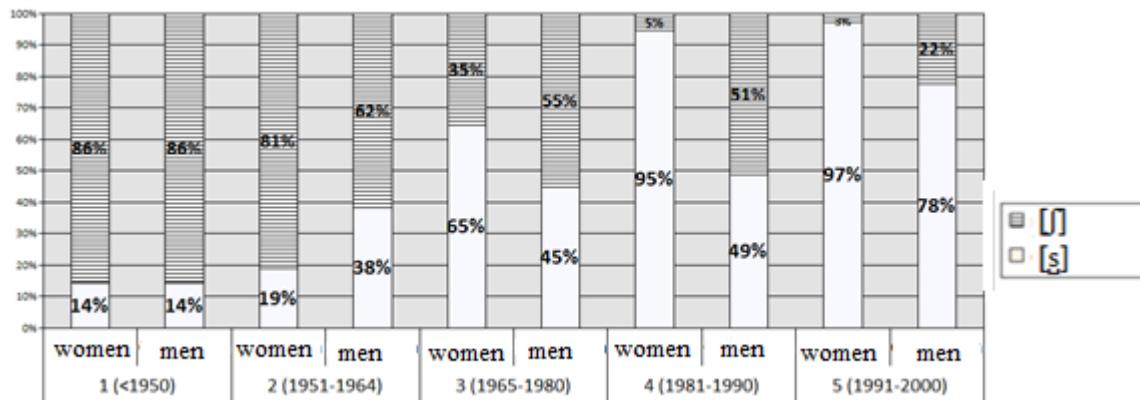
Graphic 6. (i_V) variable according to genre and age groups.

In (it) variable it can also be seen that men have conserved better the voiceless palatal plosive variant (rhombuses) since in the 3rd age-group of women that variant is already lost:



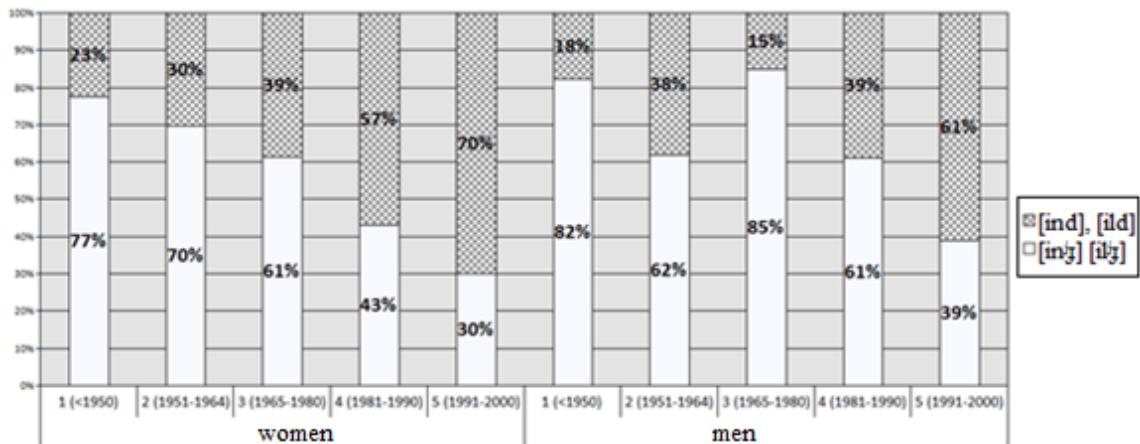
Graphic 7. (it) variable according to genre and age groups.

In (is) variable we can see the same too: men have conserved better than women the palatal sibilant approximant variant of (is) variable (lines):



Graphic 8. (iz) variable according to genre and age group.

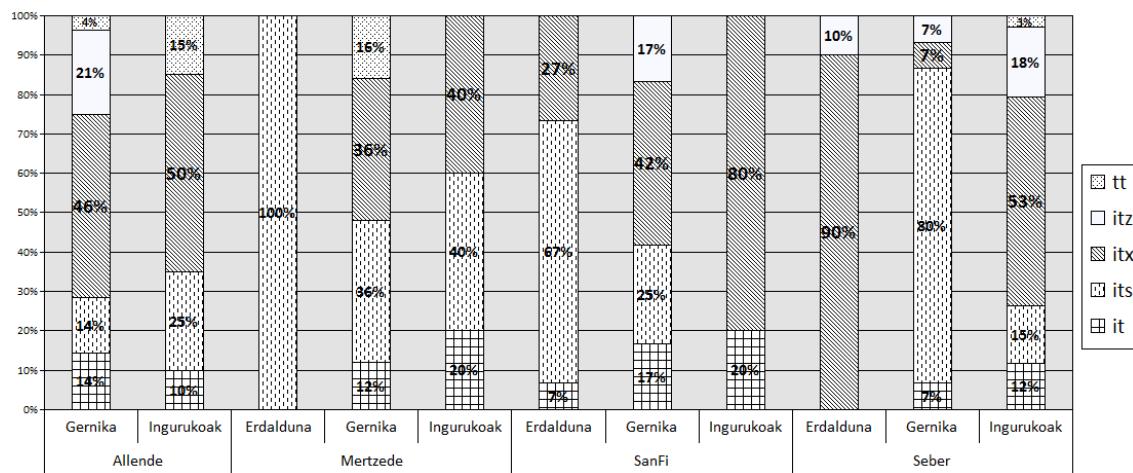
And in variable (ind), (ild) we can see that women have an ongoing tendency to not palatalize (rhombuses) the consonants after vowel *i*:



Graphic 9. (ind) and (ild) variable according to genre and age group.

In addition, our data show that differentiation between schools is important too, but there is not any school that it is totally innovative or totally conservative in all linguistic variables. In fact, some schools seem to be conservative in some linguistic variables but innovative in others, and *vice versa*. That's why we are not going into that today.

Finally, parent's language model seems to have importance too in some linguistic variables. For example, in (it) variable those who have Spanish parents do not use the voiceless palatal plosive variant (light rhombuses).



Graphic 10. (it) variable according to schools and parent's language.

6. Conclusions

The major conclusion to be drawn is that both fricative and affricate sibilants are undergoing a despalatalization in the vernacular Basque of Gernika because while adults use palatal variants, young use non-palatal ones. That's why, it can be concluded that the vowel [i] or the palatal approximant [j] are losing their capacity to palatalize the following consonants. As we had expected, this has to see with the variants that are not accepted in Standard Basque, as children pick samples from their environment and, if in school the palatalized forms are rejected, children do reject them from their day to day speech too.

On the other hand, (it) variable's variants show that in Gernika the affricate consonants have been neutralized by the young generations, because whereas adults use the palatal plosive variant, young use the palate-alveolar affricate, the palato-laminal or the palate-apical variable alternatively. Thus, whereas adults make difference between *kortxo*, *atzo* and *aittitte*, young pronounce them with the same sound. Therefore, it can be said that the phonological inventory of adults and the young is not the same. However, it seems that the change is progressive, as the palatal plosive pronounced by adults in Gernika has more noise than in other Basque vernacular varieties, so the variant of Gernika is closer to the features of an affricate.

Fricatives have also undergone a desphonologization, as youngest generations do not make any distinction between palatal and apical. Additionally, also (il) variable has undergone a desphonologization, as youngest generations have lost the palatal lateral approximant variant. Thus, whereas adults make difference between [iʎie] ‘hile’, [oʎe] ‘ohe’ eta [ʒat] ‘zait’ youngest generations don’t: [iʎie] ‘hile’, [oʎe] ‘ohe’ eta [ʒat] ‘zait’.

On the other hand, data gathered in this research show that genre is also an important social-factor for variation. In fact, in all linguistic variables men seem to be more conservative than women and, moreover, women from the 3rd age-group seem to be the engine of linguistic changes.

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EL NIVEL SOCIAL COMO INDICADOR DE LA VARIACIÓN DE -/s/ EN EL HABLA DE MÉRIDA (BADAJOZ)

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Resumen

En esta investigación realizamos un análisis sobre las diferentes realizaciones del sonido -/s/ en posición implosiva en la localidad extremeña de Mérida. Para ello, utilizaremos los datos obtenidos de las encuestas y entrevistas realizados en el municipio para comprobar, primero, si los factores lingüísticos (distribucionales y contextuales) influyen en el uso de las diferentes realizaciones de -/s/ en Mérida pero, sobre todo, para advertir si el nivel social, teniendo en cuenta el nivel de instrucción de los informantes, incide en la selección de las diferentes variantes fonéticas seleccionadas en el municipio.

Palabras clave

fonética, fricativa -/s/, variación, Mérida, extremeño

THE SOCIAL STATUS AS AN INDICATOR OF THE VARIATION OF - /s/ IN SPEECH OF MERIDA (BADAJOZ)

Abstract

In this paper we present an analysis of different variants of sound -/s/ in implosive position in the town of Mérida (Badajoz). To do this, we use data from surveys and interviews conducted in the town to see if linguistic factors (distributional and contextual) are influential in the selection of variants of -/s/; also, specially, we will use this information to observe if the social status (depending on the level of education of the speakers) affects the selection of the different phonetic variants selected in the township.

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Keywords

phonetic, fricative -/s/, variation, Mérida, extremenian

1. Introducción

La variación del fonema sibilante, fricativo, sordo /s/ en posición implosiva ha sido un fenómeno analizado en diversos estudios de sociolingüística y dialectología hispánica tanto de España (Moya 1979; Samper 1999; Calero 1993; Blanco 1997; Molina 1998; Vida 2003) como de Hispanoamérica (Cedergren 1983; Terrell 1978; López Morales 1983). Como bien afirma Samper Padilla (2001), el sonido cumple las características que debe tener un fenómeno para ser objeto de estudio: por una parte, es un elemento de elevada frecuencia en el discurso que está muy integrado en el sistema pero, además, tiene una estratificación asimétrica que permite que el individuo, al usarlo en diferentes contextos, no sea consciente de su pronunciación.

Si consideramos, con Dámaso Alonso, que la -/s/ implosiva “es lo mismo que hablar del grupo s+ consonante, porque tal grupo existe: a) en posición interior de palabra, b) cuando la -s final de palabra sigue, sin pausa, otra voz que comienza por consonante” (Alonso 1973: 75) y comprobamos los resultados de las investigaciones realizadas hasta la actualidad, podemos advertir que este sonido ha sufrido, en amplias zonas del dominio hispánico, un proceso de debilitamiento que comienza con la aspiración de -/s/ y que, en algunos casos, concluye con la elisión total del segmento. No obstante, también existen ciertos factores lingüísticos, sociales y geográficos que, como veremos, influyen en sus diversas realizaciones.

Con esta investigación pretendemos contribuir al estudio de la variación de -/s/ en España pero, también, ampliar las monografías sobre la variación lingüística de un área concreta del país, Extremadura, analizando el habla de Mérida, localidad que forma parte de la provincia de Badajoz y que, desde el año 1983, es capital autonómica de la región. Aunque en este análisis únicamente se estudiará un rasgo fonético concreto, es necesario advertir que este forma parte de una investigación mucho más amplia, el estudio sobre *El habla de Mérida*, que nació como actualización de la obra realizada por don Alonso Zamora Vicente sobre *El habla de Mérida y sus cercanías* (Zamora Vicente 1943) y en la que se representan los cambios lingüísticos que ha

sufrido la actual capital de Extremadura desde los años cuarenta del siglo pasado hasta las primeras décadas del siglo XXI.

Para este estudio tendremos en cuenta algunos factores lingüísticos como el lugar que ocupa el sonido en la palabra o el contexto en el que está situado; no obstante indicaremos, de igual forma, la influencia de los factores sociales atendiendo, fundamentalmente, al nivel de instrucción de los hablantes de la localidad y será preciso, además, recurrir a la situación geográfica en la que se encuentra el municipio estudiado para la selección de las variantes de la fricativa. Todas estas consideraciones podrán advertirse en apartados posteriores.

2. La distribución de -/s/ en el mundo hispánico. Delimitación geográfica y factores del cambio

Como afirma Martín Butragueño (1995: 7), el estudio de la -/s/ ha permitido delimitar la segmentación geolingüística del español centro-septentrional y meridional de la Península.¹ Tradicionalmente, se ha asegurado que la aspiración y la elisión de la fricativa eran realizaciones circunscritas a las hablas andaluzas (sobre todo, en la zona centro-occidental de la región) aunque, tal como han demostrado investigaciones posteriores, estas afirmaciones son discutibles. Primeramente, según los datos que ofrece el *ALPI*, la aspiración sobrepasa la región andaluza y aparece en Extremadura, Murcia, Albacete y Toledo y rebasa la zona meridional de Salamanca, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Ávila, Toledo y Madrid (Alonso 1973: 76; Zamora Vicente 1979: 71; Fernández Sevilla 1980: 475).² Incluso en fechas recientes, autores como García Mouton & Moreno Fernández (1994: 127) han comprobado que la aspiración de -/s/ aparece más al norte de lo que representó el *ALPI*, en zonas como Santander.

¹ Martín Butragueño (1995: 7) afirma, incluso, que ambas realizaciones representan dos zonas peninsulares: las zonas de tendencia conservadora, en las que se mantiene el sonido fricativo y que representan el llamado español atlántico y las zonas de tendencia evolutiva, donde se advierten las variantes aspiradas y elididas del sonido.

² Las diferentes variantes de -/s/ se han podido comprobar en los mapas 17 (“árboles”), 19 (“avispa”), 65 (“desbocado”), 66 (“desnudo”) y 72 (“los domingos”).

Tal como hemos advertido en líneas anteriores, en este estudio comprobaremos las diferentes variantes de *-s/* en el habla de Mérida, localidad situada en Extremadura. Si tenemos en cuenta las afirmaciones que realizó Zamora Vicente en el estudio de la localidad en los años cuarenta del siglo pasado, la aspiración de *-s/* se advertía, como variante sistemática, tanto en posición final de grupo como de sílaba aunque, como precisó el autor, su articulación estaba motivada por los sonidos cercanos. No obstante, don Alonso afirmó que, en posición final absoluta, la *-s/* “se pierde casi totalmente. Desde luego, el efecto acústico no existe” (Zamora Vicente 1943: 23).

Además, para observar cuál es la situación lingüística de este sonido en la región tendremos en cuenta los datos que González Salgado ofrece en la *Cartografía Lingüística de Extremadura* (González Salgado 2003a);³ según los resultados obtenidos en su investigación, el autor afirma que la aspiración de *-s/* aparece en las 74 localidades estudiadas excepto en Eljas, Cedillo y Olivenza zonas influidas, notablemente, por el portugués (González Salgado 2003b: 599). Al igual que Zamora Vicente, González Salgado observa que, en la región, el sonido se mantiene cuando aparece seguido de vocal aunque, incluso en este contexto, se pueden encontrar casos de aspiración⁴.

La extensión geográfica de las variantes aspiradas y elididas de *-s/* que, tal como se ha podido comprobar en párrafos anteriores, es común en una zona amplísima de la Península, representa la evolución de un proceso de debilitamiento que, aunque como afirmó Fernández Sevilla (1980), ha intentado suavizarse desde las últimas décadas por factores como la presión cultista, en la actualidad se mantiene en un estado latente (Fernández Sevilla 1980: 487)⁵.

³ Ante la esperada llegada del *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Extremadura*, estos materiales permiten, en los estudios sobre las hablas extremeñas, comprobar los resultados lingüísticos de la región y tener una perspectiva amplia de rasgos fonéticos, morfosintácticos y léxicos de 74 localidades, 35 de Cáceres y 36 de Badajoz e, incluso, 3 del norte de Andalucía occidental.

⁴ Otros estudios sobre el habla en Extremadura como los realizados por Cummins (1974) sobre el habla de Coria o Montero Curiel (1997) sobre Madroñera advierten que, aunque la aspiración es general en ambas localidades, en el contexto *-s+vocal* la fricativa suele mantenerse.

⁵ Navarro Tomás consideró vulgarismo “la pronunciación de la *s* final como una simple aspiración, y asimismo su eliminación total en determinadas circunstancias [y] hechos corrientes (Navarro Tomás 2004: 110).

Este proceso de relajación del sonido al que nos referimos está producido, entre otras cosas, como consecuencia del modo de hablar natural, rápido y descuidado (Widdison 1993) y, aunque es evidente que la procedencia geográfica del hablante es un componente esencial, para comprobar la extensión del debilitamiento de -/s/ existen, de igual forma, factores lingüísticos que influyen en el cambio de articulación de la fricativa en según qué contextos.

Por una parte, en su estudio sobre la -/s/ en el español Cubano, Terrell (1979) propuso que el proceso está motivado por la *posición* de la fricativa en la palabra; de esta forma, según el autor, el proceso debió iniciarse en interior de palabra y, en un segundo momento, pasó a la posición final, ante consonante.⁶ Méndez Dosuna (1987), en cambio, afirmaba que la variación de -/s/ estaba influida por el *contacto de sílabas*; según el principio de silabación preferida, en español sería inaceptable el uso de s ante semiconsonantes, líquidas, nasales o fricativas sonoras por lo que, en este caso, la /s/ ocuparía un grado mayor de fuerza de la consonante inicial y provocaría reajustes fonéticos como la aspiración de la implosiva.⁷

Todos estos factores, lingüísticos y geográficos, influyen de forma evidente en el mantenimiento o no de la variante estándar, fricativa y sorda -/s/. En esta investigación tendremos en cuenta, como bien se expuso en el apartado introductorio de este trabajo estos factores pero, además, estudiaremos si existen causas sociales que determinan el uso de las variantes del sonido.

⁶ Terrell advirtió que, ante vocal, el fenómeno se produce por la generalización formal de contextos en un orden de simplificación decreciente que aparece, primero, ante consonante, después ante consonante y vocal y, finalmente, ante consonante, vocal y pausa.

⁷ Además de los factores fonéticos, la presencia de diferentes variantes de -/s/ producida por la función gramatical de la fricativa, bien como marca de plural o bien como segunda persona del singular del verbo, ha sido objeto de estudio en diversas investigaciones sobre el español de España y de América. Según la hipótesis funcional de Kiparsky (1983), en aquellos casos en los que la -/s/ es indispensable para no entorpecer la llegada del mensaje comunicativo, desde el punto de vista gramatical, los hablantes mantienen el sonido como marca no redundante. Autores como Labov (1972) o Herasimchuk (1972), entre otros, pudieron confirmar esta propuesta aunque, tal como se ha podido comprobar en los últimos años, el factor funcional no parece ser relevante para conocer la realidad del fenómeno (Alvar 1972; Almeida 1989; Molina Martos 1991; Samper 1999).

3. Metodología para la obtención de resultados

Para esta investigación sobre la variación de -/s/ en el habla de Mérida se utilizaron los mismos procedimientos empleados para el estudio del habla de la localidad. Por ello, a continuación se presentarán, de la forma más exhaustiva posible, las pautas que se siguieron para la obtención de la muestra de la población, la selección de variables sociales y la elección de variantes lingüísticas.

3.1. Selección de variables extralingüísticas: el nivel social

En este estudio se tendrá en consideración, únicamente, el nivel social de los informantes para advertir, en los análisis propuestos, cómo este factor influye en el uso de cada una de las variantes lingüísticas propuestas para el estudio de -/s/ en posición implosiva.

En esta investigación se usó un único indicador perteneciente al modelo de estratificación social:⁸ el nivel de instrucción.⁹ En Mérida se distinguieron tres niveles sociales atendiendo al tiempo de formación del individuo: en el nivel bajo, por una parte, se incluyeron aquellos habitantes que no saben leer ni escribir o que, únicamente, han cursado los estudios primarios, los obligatorios (Bachiller Elemental, Educación Secundaria Obligatoria) o los de Formación Profesional de Grado Medio. Por otra parte, el nivel medio estuvo compuesto por aquellos individuos que han superado la formación de segundo ciclo (Bachiller Superior, COU y Bachillerato) y por aquellos que han realizado un ciclo de Formación Profesional de Grado Superior. Por último, el nivel alto estuvo integrado por los informantes que han superado los estudios universitarios y por aquellos que, además, poseen el título de doctor.

⁸ Este tipo de modelo procede de la sociología y define a un tipo de sociedad ordenada por capas o estratos; los individuos de los niveles más altos de la sociedad tienen más poder y riqueza frente a los de las capas o estratos inferiores (Trudgill & Hernández Campoy 2007: 141).

⁹ No obstante, la formación académica de los individuos está directamente relacionada con otro nivel, en este caso, el profesional. Evidentemente, el nivel de educación de un individuo influye en la profesión que tiene o puede tener tras su etapa de formación. Por esta razón, aunque en los párrafos posteriores no serán detallados los niveles profesionales que se distinguieron para el estudio del habla de Mérida, hay que advertir que, en el estudio previo, sí se utilizaron tres grupos que se relacionan, directamente, con los tres niveles sociales utilizados para esta investigación.

3.2. La muestra

La selección de habitantes para el estudio lingüístico de una población ha sido un problema muy discutido por la sociolingüística; la muestra es una proporción que se presupone representativa de la población y que define la parte del universo que se estima oportuna para el estudio del habla una comunidad. No obstante, y como afirma Moreno Fernández (1990: 69)¹⁰, “la cantidad ha de responder a los intereses y objetivos del estudio”.

El municipio de Mérida estaba compuesto, en el año 2010, por un total de 57.127 habitantes, según los datos del padrón municipal que ofrece el Instituto Nacional de Estadística en su plataforma electrónica. Sin embargo, para realizar el estudio de la localidad se excluyeron, primeramente, los individuos menores de veinte años que componían, en estas fechas, el 23,10% de la ciudad y el tamaño de la población se redujo a 43.926 habitantes. Además, para limitar de nuevo la extensión de los habitantes de Mérida, únicamente fueron seleccionados aquellos que habían nacido y residían en el municipio pues, de esta forma, podríamos obtener el habla vernácula de la localidad eliminando, de este modo, aquellos habitantes que habían trasladado su lugar de residencia en fechas recientes al municipio y que, por tanto, no representaban sus características lingüísticas. Según estos datos, la población seleccionada estuvo compuesta por un total de 24.887 habitantes.

Teniendo en cuenta estos datos y según el objetivo de esta investigación, para realizar un estudio sobre cómo el nivel social influye en el uso de las diferentes variantes de -/s/ en el habla de la localidad presentaremos, a continuación, los datos demográficos del municipio atendiendo a los tres niveles anteriormente indicados: bajo, medio y alto, seleccionados según el nivel de instrucción de los habitantes de la localidad.

¹⁰ Cuando Labov realizó su estudio sobre el habla de Nueva York (1967) propuso, para la obtención de la muestra de la población, una proporción de hablantes que representara el 1:2500 partes del universo estudiado teniendo en cuenta que, con esta selección, se cumplía el concepto de *homogeneidad de la conducta lingüística* según el cual, la conducta de un individuo es suficientemente homogénea como para representar, con sus rasgos lingüísticos, un grupo social.

	N	%
Bajo	8835	35,50
Medio	11993	40,19
Alto	4059	16,30

Tabla 1. Distribución demográfica de los habitantes de Mérida según su nivel social.

Una vez obtenidos los datos demográficos de este grupo de la localidad, procedimos a la selección de la muestra sociolingüística para conocer cuántos habitantes eran necesarios para obtener resultados significativos en nuestro estudio. Para ello, utilizamos un tipo de muestreo selectivo por cuotas de afijación proporcional que nos permitió, en este caso, seleccionar el número de individuos que componía cada celda según el peso real que estos tenían en la sociedad.¹¹ Por esta razón, se aplicó la fórmula para la obtención de la muestra de poblaciones finitas en las que, *a priori*, conocemos el número de habitantes objeto de estudio ($n = N \cdot Z^2 \cdot p \cdot q / e^2 - (N-1) + Z^2 \cdot p \cdot q$); teniendo en cuenta los datos demográficos anteriormente indicados y según el resultado obtenido de aplicar la fórmula propuesta, el número total de individuos seleccionados en la localidad extremeña fue de 150 habitantes. Según el nivel social de los integrantes de nuestra muestra, el número de informantes por cada celda para el estudio sobre el habla de Mérida es el siguiente:

	N
Bajo	52
Medio	73
Alto	25

Tabla 2. Número de habitantes por celda según el nivel social de los habitantes de Mérida.

Evidentemente, los resultados de la Tabla 2 representan los porcentajes de la Tabla 1: en el habla de la localidad serán estudiados más individuos del nivel medio

¹¹ Aunque es cierto que este tipo de muestreo no es habitual en los estudios de sociolingüística actual, es necesario advertir que, evidentemente, cuantos más habitantes sean utilizados para el estudio lingüístico de una comunidad, existe una mayor probabilidad de que los datos obtenidos sean representativos de la misma. No obstante, hasta hoy, el método más utilizado para realizar el muestreo sociolingüístico es el de tipo selectivo cualificado o por cuotas de afijación homogénea, empleado, por ejemplo, para los estudios del grupo PRESEA en el que cada grupo sociodemográfico aparece representado por el mismo número de individuos.

(73), que componen el 40,19% del municipio, que de los niveles bajo (53) y alto (25), que representan el 35,50% y el 16,30% de la población respectivamente.

3.3. *Métodos de campo*

Los resultados de esta investigación proceden de las entrevistas realizadas a los 150 individuos de la localidad pero, además, de la aplicación de un cuestionario integrado por más de mil preguntas y elaborado (y reelaborado) tomando como modelo el *Cuestionario para el Estudio Coordinado para el Estudio de la Norma Culta de España e Hispanoamérica* (PILEI 1971).¹² Por una parte, las entrevistas fueron elaboradas atendiendo al tipo de informantes a las que iban a ser dirigidas; de esta forma, aunque en el inicio de las mismas se propusieron las mismas cuestiones a todos los individuos (datos personales y familiares), posteriormente se trató de complementar la información lingüística que necesitábamos con preguntas sobre los modos de vida o los gustos e intereses de los informantes. El cuestionario, igualmente, se presentó a partir de preguntas dirigidas; estuvo compuesto por doce campos semánticos a partir de los cuales se pudo recopilar el léxico de la localidad pero, además, obtener resultados fonéticos y morfosintácticos.

Los análisis realizados posteriormente para la obtención de las diferentes realizaciones de la -/s/ en posición implosiva fueron posibles gracias a la grabación de los materiales durante la consecución de la recopilación de datos. Fue indispensable tener, como mínimo, media hora de grabación por cada informante seleccionado.

3.4. *Selección de variantes*

Para realizar el estudio de las diferentes realizaciones de la fricativa /s/ en posición implosiva se tendrán en cuenta tres variantes del sonido que serán utilizadas, además, para poder realizar, en análisis posteriores, una comparación con las

¹² Solo 95 informantes realizaron el cuestionario completo. No obstante, las entrevistas sí fueron aplicadas a todos los individuos de la localidad.

investigaciones realizadas en las últimas décadas sobre la extensión de las variantes de -/s/ en España e Hispanoamérica¹³.

S2	[s]	sibilante
S1	[h]	aspirada
S0	[Ø]	elidida

La variante S2 representa las realizaciones plenas del sonido, independientemente de su punto de articulación (apical, predorsal, coronal) o el grado de fricción producido por los informantes; por otra parte, en la variante S2 se incluirán aquellos sonidos en los que se ha percibido una aspiración, sorda o sonora. Finalmente, la variante S0 representa la ausencia total del fonación en la palabra.

4. Hipótesis de investigación

Teniendo en cuenta los datos propuestos en apartados anteriores y atendiendo a las características geográficas y sociolingüísticas que determinan el desarrollo de esta investigación se podría afirmar que, en el habla de Mérida, integrada en las hablas extremeñas, sería habitual encontrar variantes de -/s/ propias de las hablas meridionales tales como la aspiración o la elisión del sonido.

No obstante, las variantes alternativas al mantenimiento de -/s/ aparecen, sobre todo, en el habla familiar y en las conversaciones relajadas pero, además, es necesario advertir que su uso implica una desviación de la norma estándar; por esta razón, si tenemos en cuenta los tres niveles sociales seleccionados deberíamos afirmar, en un primer momento, que las realizaciones aspiradas y elididas se encontrarán, de forma más habitual, en los individuos de los niveles sociales bajo y medio y, por último, en los informantes del nivel alto.

¹³ El uso de estas tres variantes para el estudio del habla de la localidad coincide con el método utilizado por López Morales (1983) para su estudio sobre Puerto Rico así como por Molina Martos (1991) y Calero (1993) sobre Toledo o Samper Padilla (1999) para Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. No obstante, en nuestros análisis no será objeto de estudio la variante asimilada [s] porque, aunque se han encontrado resultados aislados, su uso no es representativo en el habla de la localidad.

Finalmente, es importante señalar que existen factores lingüísticos que influyen en el retenimiento o en la selección de variantes lingüísticas alternativas de -/s/. De esta forma, según los resultados propuestos en diversas investigaciones, en posición final es más frecuente el mantenimiento de la sibilante y la elisión del sonido (Samper 2001); también es cierto que la /s/ en posición final de palabra se conserva mejor ante vocal que ante consonante (Torreblanca 1989: 296) y que fenómenos como la acentuación favorecen el mantenimiento de la variante estándar (S2) (López Morales 1983; Lipski 1983).

Toda estas consideraciones serán tratadas en esta investigación y serán analizadas para comprobar si estas primeras hipótesis pueden ser confirmadas o si, en cambio, los resultados lingüísticos no siguen las tendencias aquí propuestas.

5. Análisis

5.1. Distribución de variantes en Mérida

Durante la recopilación de datos para el estudio del habla de Mérida se obtuvieron un total de 14525 realizaciones que aparecen distribuidas según las variantes seleccionadas para este análisis de la siguiente forma:

%	
S2	8,83
S1	69,67
S0	21,40

Tabla 3. Distribución de variantes en Mérida.

Como se puede observar en la Tabla 3, la variante habitual en el habla de la localidad es la aspiración, presente en el 69,67% de las contestaciones de los informantes. También aparece como sonido alternativo la elisión, aunque en un

número menor de respuestas (21,40%) y, por último, se advierten resultados sobre el mantenimiento de la sibilante pero con una frecuencia de uso muy limitada (8,83%).

Teniendo en cuenta los datos propuestos veamos, a continuación, cómo se distribuyen las diferentes variantes utilizadas para estos análisis según el nivel social de los individuos. De las realizaciones totales del habla de la comunidad, 4678 corresponden al nivel bajo, 6867 al nivel medio y, finalmente, 2867 al nivel alto.

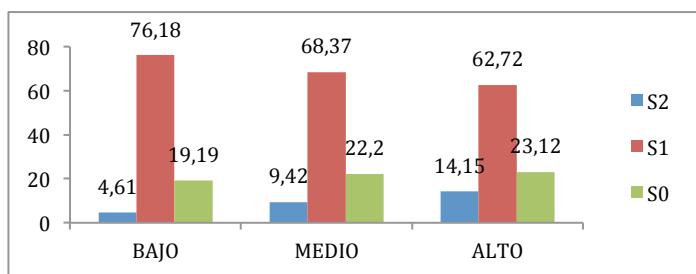


Gráfico 1. Distribución de variantes según el nivel social en Mérida.

Los datos que se presentan en el Gráfico 1 arrojan los resultados obtenidos en los diferentes niveles sociales del habla de Mérida. Como se puede comprobar, el mantenimiento de la variante es mayor cuanto más elevado es el nivel social de los individuos; así, frente al 14,15% de resultados de S2 en el nivel alto, el uso desciende de forma significativa en el nivel medio, donde se recopilaron únicamente un 9,42% de resultados del sonido estándar y, finalmente, en el nivel bajo, donde la -/s/ se mantuvo en un 4,61% de las contestaciones.

Por otra parte, aunque como advertimos en la Tabla 3, la variante aspirada es la más habitual en la localidad, el nivel social incide, de nuevo, en la selección de este sonido. De esta forma, a diferencia de los resultados anteriores, cuanto mayor es el nivel social del hablante, menor uso hace de la aspirada; así, frente al 76,18% de resultados de S2 en las respuestas del nivel bajo, cuanto mayor es el nivel social, menor es el porcentaje de resultados tanto en el nivel medio (68,37%) como en el nivel alto (62,72%).

Finalmente, aun teniendo en cuenta los datos en los corroborábamos las hipótesis propuestas en esta investigación, en el empleo de la variante S0 comprobamos que el uso la elisión es más común cuanto mayor es el nivel social de los

individuos; así se ha podido observar en las respuestas del nivel alto (23,12%), el nivel medio (22,2%) y, por último, el nivel bajo (19,19%), donde existe una menor probabilidad de aparición. En este caso, la selección de la variante elidida frente al a estándar o la aspirada se debe, suponemos, a ciertos factores lingüísticos que influyen en la presencia o a la ausencia del sonido y que podremos comprobar, no obstante, en análisis posteriores.

5.2. Los factores lingüísticos y los factores sociales

En esta sección comprobaremos si la posición del sonido en la palabra (interior o final) y el contexto en el que este se encuentra (prevocálico y preconsonántico) influyen en el uso de las variantes propuestas para el estudio de la localidad teniendo en cuenta los resultados obtenidos de los niveles sociales seleccionados.

5.2.1. El factor distribucional y el nivel social

Como se precisó en apartados anteriores, habitualmente se ha afirmado que la posición interior favorece la aspiración de la -/s/ en posición implosiva (en aquellas zonas en las que aparece la variante) y que el mantenimiento y la elisión del sonido es más común en posición final (Samper 2001).

	Interior	Final
S2	5,66	13,46
S1	94,31	31,49
S0	0,02	54,79

Tabla 4. Distribución de las variantes de -/s/ según su posición.

Según los datos de la Tabla 4, parece que el factor distribucional sí es relevante para conocer la extensión de la variación de -/s/ en la localidad. Si recordamos los resultados de la Tabla 3, en Mérida la aspiración es la solución general pero su uso únicamente es sistemático en posición interior (94,31%). En cambio, parece que las

hipótesis planteadas por Samper se cumplen en el municipio: en posición final, la elisión del sonido suele ser habitual (54,79%); aunque con menor frecuencia, lo es también la retención del segmento (13,46%) frente a la aspiración que, en este caso, parece no ser una variante constante en las respuestas de los informantes (31,49%).¹⁴

A partir de estos datos, a continuación comprobaremos si el nivel de los informantes influye en la selección de unas variantes u otras.

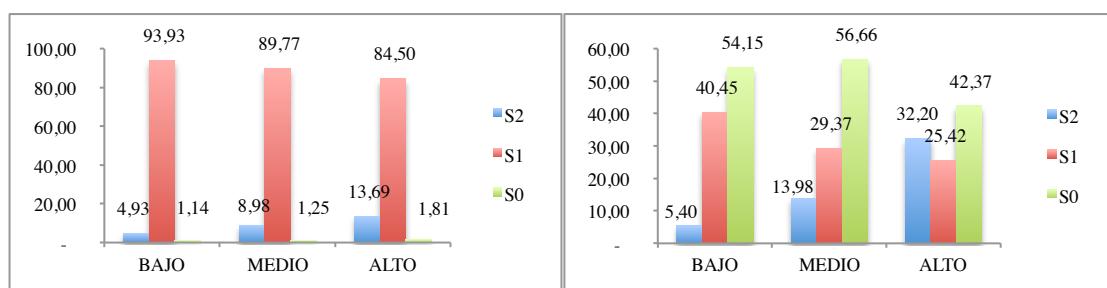


Gráfico 2. Uso de -/s/ en posición interior según el nivel social en Mérida.

Gráfico 3. Uso de -/s/ en posición final según el nivel social en Mérida.

Como se puede observar en el Gráfico 2, la aspiración es la variante habitual en todos los niveles sociales pero, si observamos concretamente los resultados del mantenimiento del sonido (S2), podemos advertir que este aparece, con una mayor frecuencia, en el nivel alto (13,69%) y que su uso va descendiendo, progresivamente, cuanto menor es el nivel del individuo.

Si los datos obtenidos en posición interior eran representativos del uso de las variantes teniendo en cuenta el factor extralingüístico, en situación final son aún más significativos. Como se puede apreciar en el Gráfico 3, la única variante con un empleo homogéneo es la elisión; en cambio, el uso de S2 y S1 depende del nivel social de los informantes: el mantenimiento de -/s/ es, por una parte, considerablemente más elevado en el nivel alto (32,20%) frente al nivel medio (13,97%) y el bajo (5,40%),

¹⁴ Los resultados obtenidos en Mérida pueden equipararse a los hallados en otros estudios sobre el segmento -/s/ de España y América. Por una parte, la extensión del uso de la aspiración en posición interior frente a las demás variantes (en este caso, S2 y S0) se advierte en los resultados obtenidos en Alcalá de Henares (Blanco 1997), Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Samper 1999), Málaga (Vida 2003) o San Juan de Puerto Rico (López Morales 1983) y Buenos Aires (Terrell 1978). En cambio, la preferencia por la elisión del sonido en posición final únicamente se ha encontrado en los estudios sobre Las Palmas (Samper 1999), Málaga (Vida 2003) y Santiago de Los Caballeros (Alba 1982).

donde el porcentaje de uso es muy escaso; en esta posición, los informantes del nivel bajo prefirieron usar la aspiración (40,45 %) en un mayor número de realizaciones.

Como se ha podido observar en estos análisis, ambos factores, tanto los lingüísticos como los extralingüísticos, son fundamentales para conocer la extensión de uso de las variantes de la localidad.

5.2.2. El factor contextual y el nivel social

Teniendo en cuenta que, en posición final, la -/s/ puede aparecer ante vocal, consonante o pausa, en los estudios realizados hasta la actualidad sobre la variación de -/s/ en el mundo hispánico se ha podido comprobar que el sonido suele mantenerse con una mayor frecuencia en el contexto prevocálico frente los segmentos en los que -/s/ se sitúa ante consonante o pausa.

	— V	— C	— //
S3	19,06	3,03	13,46
S2	78,46	95,84	31,49
S1	—	—	0,24
S0	2,56	1,12	54,79

Tabla 5. Distribución de las variantes de -/s/ final de palabra según el contexto fónico.

Estas consideraciones pueden corroborarse en el habla de la localidad; tal como se advierte en los resultados de la Tabla 5, en el contexto prevocálico la -/s/ se mantiene en el 19,06% de las realizaciones frente en el preconsonántico donde, en cambio, la solución más frecuente es la aspiración (95,84%) y, por último, el contexto prepausal en el que la elisión del sonido es la variante más habitual (54,79%).¹⁵

¹⁵ Estos datos corroboran, además, la hipótesis sobre la generalización de contextos que propuso Terrell (1979) en su estudio sobre el español de Cuba; según los datos obtenidos en su investigación, el autor afirmó que, siguiendo un orden intrínseco de las reglas de aspiración y elisión según el contexto en el que se pronuncia el sonido, se puede advertir una correlación sistemática con los contextos fonéticos que se ordenan, inversamente, en dos reglas. De esta forma, si los condicionantes de la aspiración, tal como se ha podido advertir en el habla de Mérida, se dan primero en los contextos preconsonánticos, prevocálicos y prepausales, la regla de elisión debería aparecer (y aparece), primero, ante pausa, después ante vocal y, finalmente, ante consonante. Este esquema pudo confirmarse, de igual forma, en el estudio de López Morales sobre San Juan de Puerto Rico (1983) y en realizado por Cedergren para Panamá (1983).

Hemos comprobado, por tanto, que el factor contextual es, al igual que el distribucional, fundamental para conocer en qué situaciones los informantes de Mérida usan cada una de las variantes. Ahora bien, ¿influye, también, el factor social en esta selección?

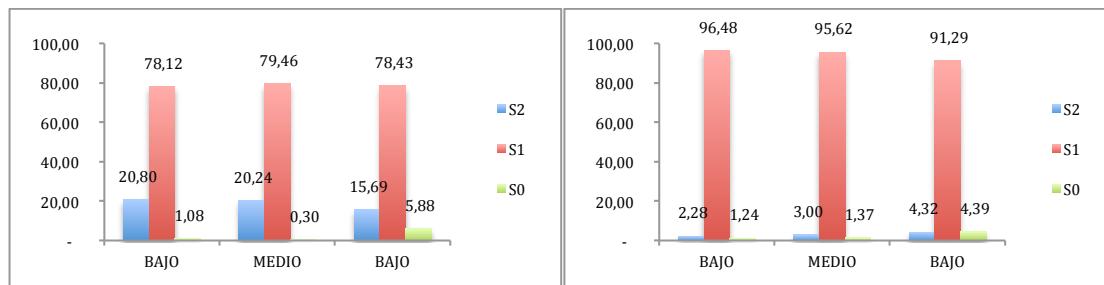


Gráfico 4. Uso de -/s/ en el contexto prevocálico según el nivel social.

Gráfico 5. Uso de -/s/ en el contexto preconsonántico según el nivel social.

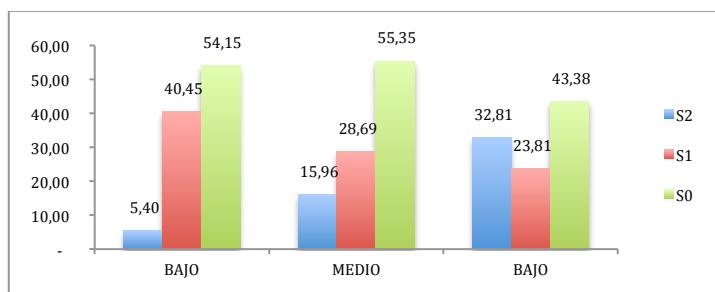


Gráfico 6. Uso de -/s/ en el contexto prepausal según el nivel social.

En este caso, únicamente nos centraremos en los resultados del Gráfico 6 donde se observa que, en el contexto prepausal (en el que predominaba la elisión del sonido), los informantes del nivel alto usaron, con una frecuencia elevada (32,81%), la variante S2, frente a los individuos del nivel medio, que la seleccionaron en la mitad de las realizaciones (15,96%) y los del nivel bajo, en los que únicamente se percibió la variante estándar en un 5,40% de las respuestas. En cambio, en este grupo sí predominó la aspiración (40,45%) que fue la variante alternativa a la elisión.

Por tanto, en el contexto prepausal, el uso de las variantes tiene que ver con el contexto del segmento pero, también, con el nivel social del individuo.

a) El contexto prevocálico

Aunque, como se ha comprobado en la sección anterior, el contexto prevocálico favorece la retención del sonido, algunos autores (López Morales 1983; Lipski 1983; Samper Padilla 1999) han afirmado que la acentuación de la vocal puede ser, de igual forma, influyente en la retención de -/s/.

	— V	— Ñ
S3	4,70%	44,20%
S2	92,06%	53,36%
S0	3,23%	1,42%

Tabla 6. Distribución de las variantes de -/s/ según el contexto prevocálico

De esta forma, si observamos los datos obtenidos en Mérida en la Tabla 6 podemos comprobar que, evidentemente, la variante S2 se mantiene con una frecuencia elevada cuando esta aparece ante vocal tónica (44,20%) alternando, de este modo, con la variante local (S2), que aparece en un 53,36% de las contestaciones. En cambio, cuando la vocal siguiente es átona, los informantes usan la aspiración de forma general.

Por otra parte, si comparamos ahora los datos obtenidos en el habla de la localidad con la variación del sonido según el nivel social de los informantes, podremos advertir resultados reveladores:

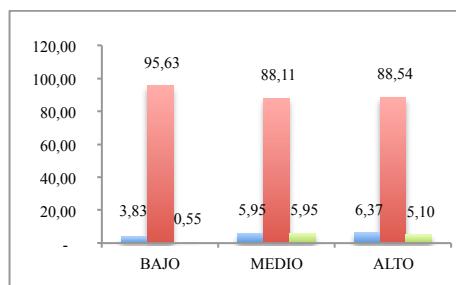


Gráfico 7. Uso de -/s/ en el contexto prevocálico átono según el nivel social.

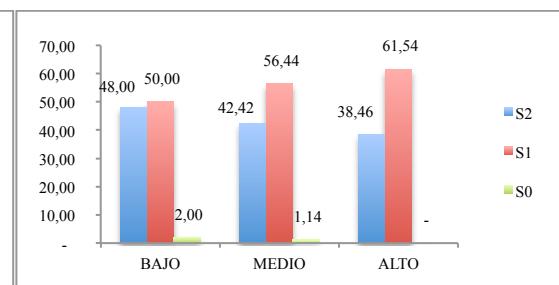


Gráfico 8. Uso de -/s/ en el contexto prevocálico tónico según el nivel social.

Como se observa en el Gráfico 7, en el contexto prevocálico átono la aspiración es la variante habitual (tal como se mencionó en líneas anteriores); no obstante, la

retención de la sibilante es mayor, de nuevo, cuanto mayor es el nivel social de los individuos.

En cambio, si reparamos en los datos del Gráfico 8 podemos comprobar que, en este caso, el retenimiento del sonido es mayor cuanto menor es el nivel social de los informantes. No obstante, aunque podríamos hablar de un aumento de la conciencia del nivel de prestigio del sonido en los individuos de niveles sociales más bajos, esta tendencia revela, verdaderamente, una acomodación lingüística del hablante cuando une un segmento consonántico, en este caso, fricativo, a la vocal siguiente.

b) El contexto preconsonántico

En la mayor parte de los estudios realizados sobre el habla en Extremadura (Cummins 1974; Zamora Vicente 1979; Salvador Plans 1987; García Mouton 1994; Montero Curiel 1997; González Salgado 2003b) se ha afirmado que, ante consonante, la solución aspirada es la más habitual.¹⁶

En el habla de Mérida, estas tendencias pueden corroborarse en los siguientes resultados:

	/ptk/	/bdyg/	/fsh/	/mn/	/ɾ/	/l/
Interior						
S3	3,81%	—	4,71%	—	—	11,90%
S2	96,05%	100%	95,28%	100%	—	88,09%
S0	0,12%	—	—	—	—	—
Final						
S3	1,4%	0,59%	2,46%	0,7%	—	2,2%
S2	97,32%	97,38%	96,55%	98,76%	100%	96,68%
S0	1,26%	1,82%	1,25%	0,52%	—	1,1%

Tabla 7. Distribución de las variantes de -/s/ según el contexto preconsonántico.

Como se observa en la Tabla 7, en posición interior el sonido suele aspirarse de forma habitual, sobre todo ante oclusivas sonoras /bdgy/; las elisiones de -/s/ son poco frecuentes y el mantenimiento de la sibilante aparece, de forma significativa, cuando

¹⁶ Navarro Tomás advertía este uso relacionándolo con un cambio que finaliza en la aspiración del sonido y presentándolo como habitual en las hablas meridionales. El autor lo condenaba con las siguientes palabras: “la pronunciación correcta española, aun en su forma menos culta, rechaza esta transformación” (Navarro Tomás 2004: 107).

el segmento se pronuncia ante líquidas (11,90%), fricativas /fsh/ (4,71%) y, finalmente, cuando precede a las oclusivas sordas /ptk/ (3,81%). No obstante, estos resultados y los correspondientes a la realización de -/s/ en posición preconsonántica, interior y final, revelan que el resultado más común es la aspiración y que, por ello, las variantes utilizadas aparecen con una frecuencia de uso muy escasa.

Si observamos cómo se presentan estas afirmaciones atendiendo al nivel social de los informantes seleccionados para esta investigación, podemos advertir los siguientes resultados:

	ptck			bdyg	fsh			mn	I		
	BAJO	MEDIO	ALTO	BAJO-MEDIO-ALTO	BAJO	MEDIO	ALTO	BAJO-MEDIO-ALTO	BAJO	MEDIO	ALTO
s3	1,23	4,28	5,29			3,85	16,67		8,33	21,05	
s2	98,69	95,55	94,43	100	100	96,15	77,78	100	91,6 7	78,95	100
s0	0,08	0,16	0,28			-	5,56		-	-	

Tabla 8. Distribución de las variantes de -/s/ según el contexto preconsonántico interior y el nivel social.

Por una parte, si atendemos a los resultados propuestos en el Tabla 8, comprobamos que las diferencias encontradas entre el nivel social y el factor lingüístico se observan en los mismos contextos, esto es, cuando la -/s/ precede a las oclusivas sordas o las fricativas y las líquidas. En esta situación, el uso de la variante estándar siguió las tendencias que se han podido observar hasta ahora en nuestra investigación: cuanto mayor es el nivel social del individuo, mayor es también el uso de S3. Sin embargo, estas afirmaciones únicamente se pueden confirmar en los dos primeros contextos (occlusivas sordas y fricativas); ante líquidas, en cambio, los informantes del nivel medio prefirieron, en un mayor número de realizaciones, usar el sonido estándar (21,05%) y, aunque con una menor frecuencia, los del nivel bajo (8,3%).

	ptck			bdyg			fsh			mn			I		
	BAJO	MEDIO	ALTO												
s3	0,77	0,58	5,02	0,64	0,47	4,10	2,78	1,85	4,55	-	0,38	3,23	2,08	1,11	5,88
s2	98,08	95,78	83,01	97,76	96,70	90,16	95,83	86,11	68,18	98,96	96,54	93,55	97,92	96,67	94,12
s0	1,15	3,64	11,96	1,60	2,83	5,74	1,39	12,04	27,27	1,04	3,08	3,23	-	2,22	-

Tabla 9. Distribución de las variantes de -/s/ según el contexto preconsonántico final y el nivel social.

En posición final, en cambio, los resultados son ciertamente diferentes; de nuevo, la aspiración es la variante habitual pero, según el punto de articulación de la consonante siguiente, los informantes seleccionaron los sonidos S2 o S0. Como muestra el Tabla 9, aunque el retenimiento de -/s/ se observa en escasas realizaciones, es en el nivel alto donde existe un mayor índice de uso, sobre todo ante líquidas (5,88%) y oclusivas sordas (5,01%) y, posteriormente, ante fricativas (4,54%), oclusivas sonoras (4,09%) y nasales (3,22%). En cambio, la elisión del sonido es la variante seleccionada en ciertos contextos, fundamentalmente ante oclusivas sordas y fricativas.

En estos casos se advierte que los individuos del nivel alto prefieren esta variante en un 11,96% de las realizaciones cuando -/s/ está delante de las oclusivas sordas; en el contexto preconsonántico fricativo, en cambio, los informantes del nivel medio (12,03%) y el nivel alto (27,7%) utilizaron S0 en sus contestaciones.

6. Conclusiones

En este trabajo se ha podido comprobar que, en Mérida, es común encontrar variantes de -/s/ que han sido consideradas, tradicionalmente, propias de la zona meridional de la Península esto es, la aspiración y la elisión siendo la primera, no obstante, la más habitual en la localidad. Por tanto, hemos de corroborar que, en este caso, la situación geolingüística del municipio fomenta el uso este tipo de fenómenos. Sin embargo, a lo largo de esta investigación hemos podido advertir que, de igual forma, existen factores lingüísticos y extralingüísticos que influyen, bien en el mantenimiento de la variante estándar o bien en el empleo de realizaciones locales.

Por una parte comprobamos que, cuando la -/s/ está en posición interior de palabra, la aspiración es la variante habitual pero, en cambio, cuando esta se encuentra en situación final, la elisión es la más utilizada y el mantenimiento del sonido se emplea, además, con una mayor frecuencia. Igualmente, en este análisis hemos verificado que existe una relación significativa entre el nivel social de los individuos y el uso del sonido; así, tanto en posición interior como en final de palabra, cuanto mayor es el nivel social, mayor probabilidad existe de encontrar la variante S2 y menor, por tanto, del uso de la aspiración y la elisión.

También hemos podido advertir que el factor contextual y el social influyen en el uso de las diferentes variantes de -/s/; de esta forma, hemos observado, por una parte, que el contexto prevocálico favorece la retención de la sibilante, principalmente cuando el sonido está situado en posición final de palabra y ante vocal tónica. En este caso, y a diferencia de los resultados anteriores, el mantenimiento de -/s/ desciende a medida que aumenta el nivel social de los individuos. Ante consonante, de igual forma, hemos observado que, aunque la aspiración sigue siendo el sonido común entre los emeritenses, el lugar que ocupa la -/s/ en la palabra y el tipo de consonante siguiente influyen en la selección de los tipos de -/s/, fundamentalmente ante los sonidos oclusivos sordos, fricativos y líquidos. Así, en posición interior la -/s/ se mantiene ante estos sonidos, sobre todo en los informantes del nivel alto. No obstante, esta norma no sigue la misma tendencia cuando -/s/ aparece ante las consonantes líquidas, donde fueron los individuos del nivel medio quienes presentaron un mayor número de realizaciones.

Por tanto, los tres factores que hemos utilizado como punto de partida para conocer la extensión del fenómeno en el habla Mérida, geográficos, lingüísticos y sociales, han demostrado ser fundamentales para comprobar el empleo de las variantes estudiadas y, sobre todo, para observar las peculiaridades del sonido -/s/ en la localidad.

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BIDIRECTIONAL LINGUISTIC CHANGE IN RURAL CHILD AND ADOLESCENT LANGUAGE IN SYRIA

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Abstract

Investigating the spread of the urban feature the glottal stop [?] in place of the rural voiceless uvular stop [q] in the speech of rural children and adolescents in the Syrian village, Oyoun Al-Wadi, a bidirectional linguistic change is observed. Girls retain their mothers' urban feature in preadolescence and adolescence; boys who initially acquire the urban feature start switching to the rural feature around age eight and increase their use of this feature with age. Thus, the observed variation and changes are gender- and age-related and result from different meanings associated with urban and rural sounds. Preadolescence emerges as the period in which kids are emotionally involved in building a social identity, indicating early development of sociolinguistic competence.

Keywords

rural vs. urban, Syrian Arabic, variation and change, children and adolescents, gender

CAMBIO LINGÜÍSTICO BIDIRECCIONAL EN EL HABLA RURAL DE NIÑOS Y ADOLESCENTES EN SIRIA

Resumen

Investigando sobre la propagación de la oclusiva glotal [?] urbana en lugar oclusiva uvular [q] rural en el habla rural de niños y adolescentes en la localidad siria de Oyoun Al-Wadi se observa un cambio lingüístico bidireccional. Las jóvenes conservan la realización urbana de sus madres en la preadolescencia y en la adolescencia; los jóvenes, que adquieren inicialmente la realización urbana empiezan a cambiar a la realización rural cuando tienen alrededor de ocho años e incrementan su uso con la edad. Así, la variación observada y cambios están relacionados con el género y la edad y son el resultado de diferentes significados asociados con formas urbanas y rurales. La preadolescencia es el período en el que los niños

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están involucrados emocionalmente en la construcción de una identidad social, lo que muestra el desarrollo temprano de la competencia sociolingüística.

Palabras clave

rural vs. urbano, sirio árabe, variación y cambio, niños y adolescentes, género

1. Introduction

This study investigates the spread of the urban feature the glottal stop [?] (in Arabic *hamza*) in place of the rural voiceless uvular stop [q] (in Arabic *qaf*) in the vernacular Arabic of non-migrant, rural children and adolescents who are residing in the Syrian village of Oyoun Al-Wadi (cf. Ornaghi 2010). The variable (q) is realized in the Arabic variety of Oyoun Al-Wadi and urban varieties such as the ones spoken in Hims and Damascus as shown in Table 1. Children and adolescents are selected for this study for two main reasons. First, they are more likely to adopt incoming urban features and exhibit linguistic change than older speakers in the village. Second, their current linguistic behavior will impact as well as give predictions regarding the future linguistic behavior and trajectory of the village's variety.

Variable	Variants in the speech of speakers from Oyoun Al-Wadi	Variants in urban varieties
(q)	[q] ~ [?] ~ [χ]*	[?]

* The [χ] variant, the voiced uvular fricative, rarely occurs; thus, its tokens are excluded in this study.

Table 1. Realization of the variable (q) in Oyoun Al-Wadi and urban varieties.

The study shows that a bidirectional linguistic change is taking place in the village. Girls continue to use their initially acquired mothers' urban feature in their preadolescent and adolescent years, whereas boys who initially acquired and used their mothers' urban feature start switching to the village's feature around the fourth grade (i.e. age eight or nine) and increase their use of this feature with age. The study also shows that the observed variation and changes result from the different meanings associated with the urban and rural sounds under investigation, and that these variation and changes are not only gender-related but also age-related (Kerswill 1996). The study

also shows that the kids' emotional involvement in building a social identity starts in preadolescence, indicating early linguistic maturity and sociolinguistic competence.

1.1. Examples of the observed variation-[q] vs. [?]

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------|
| (1) | <i>ħarq</i> ~ <i>ħar?</i> | 'burning' |
| (2) | <i>waqt</i> ~ <i>wa?t</i> | 'time' |
| (3) | <i>qabl</i> ~ <i>?abl</i> | 'before' |

1.2. Research questions

In light of the observed variation in the speech of rural children and adolescents in the Syrian village of Oyoun Al-Wadi, the study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the linguistic patterns of use of the variable (q) in the speech of rural, non-migrant children and adolescents in the village of Oyoun Al-Wadi?
2. What social factors influence the use of the variable (q)?
3. What could the linguistic behavior of the children and adolescents in the village of Oyoun Al-Wadi inform us about the sociolinguistic situation in the village?

1.3. Background

Many sociolinguists investigated variation in urban and suburban centers and in the speech of rural migrants to urban centers (e.g. Amara 2005; Gal 1978; Habib 2005, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2010d, 2011a, 2011b; Hachimi 2007; Kerswill 1993; Miller 2005). Very few studies dealt with language variation in a rural setting (Hazen 2002; Ornaghi 2010; Walters 1989, 1992). Regarding Arabic dialects, rarely any sociolinguistic study touched on variation and change in child and adolescent language. Al-Wer (2007: 62), in her study of the formation of a dialect in the city of Amman in Jordan, included 20 participants, some of which are adolescents, in a young age group to compare their linguistic behavior to their parents and grandparents. Although the youngest speaker in

the study, and thus in the young age group, was 12, the age range in this group could be very wide and may include many participants in their twenties. This is assumed because Al-Wer (2007: 63) indicated that six other participants aged 17-20 were added to the sample, indicating that the young age group not only included adolescents but also post-adolescents and adults, all of which are the children and grandchildren of the two older age groups, the parents and the grandparents. The latter has a speaker whose age is 78, indicating that some of the parents could be in their fifties and their children in their late twenties or thirties.

Other studies mainly investigated children's acquisition of certain dialectal phonological patterns when they migrate from their home country or area to a new country or area (e.g. Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996; Kerswill & Williams 2000; Payne 1980; Tagliamonte & Molfenter 2007). These studies indicated that child's acquisition of a second dialect feature depends on the linguistic level, the complexity of the rules involved, and the age of the child (Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996: 199; Payne 1980). Most of these studies indicated that most grammatical rules are acquired by children by the age of 6 or 7 when children start asserting themselves. For example, Payne (1980) found the age of arrival to the Philadelphia suburb, King of Prussia, played a significant role in the children's second dialect acquisition. For her, eight is the cut-off age, i.e. at age eight or after this age, it is hard for children to master a new form especially grammatically complex ones. Similarly, Chambers (1992) found that Canadian children younger than eight were more adaptive to the British forms than older kids were. Kerswill & Williams (2000) presented the case of a child, James, who at age 4 talked like his mother. By age 6, he started talking like his peers, which suggests age-grading linguistic behavior among children (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 109). Thus, previous research has shown that children initially adopt their caregiver's language, and that the influence of other adults and children increases gradually (e.g. Kerswill 1996; Stanford 2008). With time, children's speech becomes more like that of their peers (Kerswill 1996: 192; Kerswill & Williams 2000: 97; Stanford 2008).

In addition, many previous studies emphasized that adolescents use linguistic variation to negotiate meaning, social relationships, and identities, and are significant bearers of language change (e.g. Eckert 1988, 1991; Jørgensen 2003; Kerswill 1996:

198). Kerswill & Williams (2000) indicated that because the identity of migrant adults is more fixed than that of children who are characterized with a developing social identity, children are more motivated than adults to change their speech along their life course, moving away in adolescence from their caregivers' dialect. Very few studies indicated the role of preadolescents as leaders of linguistic change (Turell 2003: 7). However, some studies showed that children are capable of evaluating language and manipulating language from a very young age for various purposes. For example, Nesdale & Rooney (1996) indicated that children evaluate language use from preschool age and these evaluative responses increase with age. Similarly, Bolonyai (2005) presented a case in which preadolescent girls use strategic and meaningful linguistic choices or code-switches between English and Hungarian to achieve distinction, dominance, and power. Stanford (2008) showed children's orientation at a very young age to the variety of their father's clan even when spoken to in their mother's matrilect. The reason for this patrilectal orientation is their early orientation to the identity of their father's clan and being subject to ridicule, admonishment, laughter, and gossip if they use the matrilect variety.

In light of the reviewed literature, the current study aims to fill a major gap in Arabic dialectology studies, i.e. the study of the linguistic behavior of Arab children and adolescents and its expected influence on the general future linguistic behavior of their respective Arab communities. The study also partially attempts to fill a gap that exists in presenting "the emerging social meaning of child variation within the family and peer group interactional setting" (Roberts 2004: 344). It also adds to the meager sociolinguistic variationist studies in rural areas compared to the great number of studies done on urban dialects and urban centers in the Arab world and elsewhere.

2. Location, population, and history of Oyoun Al-Wadi

Oyoun Al-Wadi is a majority Christian village administratively under the city of Hims that is in the mid-west of Syria. It is located in the north west of the Hims Governorate to the west of the city of Hims and on the border of the Tartus

Governorate in the southern part of the Alawite Mountains (Jabour 2010). To the west of it is the small town (originally village) of Mashta Al-Helou; to the east are the villages of Al-Jwaikhat and Trez. The whole area is a tourism area to which visitors from all over the country and from other countries come to enjoy nature and the fresh, cooler air of the mountains in the summer, which makes the village subject to dialect contact. The village's name which means 'The Springs of the Valley' is derived from the numerous running fresh water springs in the village. The population of the village according to the 2005 statistics of the civil registration bureau is 2600 (collected and presented on www.Mshtawy.com by Zakhour Shahem, a recently deceased Mayor of Oyoun Al-Wadi).[†] However, due to internal and external migration, this number is expected to be much lower especially in the winter.

This village constitutes a good focal point for investigation as the village has seen many changes in the past three to four decades due to external immigration and internal migration. External immigration to Western countries, particularly the Americas, started towards the end of the 19th century and the first third of the 20th century. Internal migration to urban centers particularly to Damascus and Hims was rare until 1939. After 1939, it increased slightly. However, in the late sixties and early seventies, internal migration increased tremendously. In recent years, commuting between rural and urban centers has become easier and more frequent. More rural people live in urban centers, and thus one would have more frequent contact with relatives who live in urban centers. In addition, more people are seeking education and jobs in urban centers, which is conducive to contact with urban dialects. Thus, the village is currently in a transformational period, which makes it a very hot spot for investigating language variation and change. It also fits as a model for other language variations and changes that are going on in other rural areas in Syria, the Arab World, and other parts of the world.

In addition, the village has a rich history that is related to the present linguistic behavior of speakers, particularly males. The father of Oyoun Al-Wadi, Sabiq Suleiman Ma'louf from whom most of the village people descend, migrated from the village Kafr 'Oqab now in Lebanon and settled in Oyoun Al-Wadi in Syria in A.D. 1700. Another

[†] www.Mshtawy.com is the website of the neighboring town, Mashta Al-Helou.

family came and settled in the village around A.D. 1810, and after the mid of the 19th century, a few more families came and settled in Oyoun Al-Wadi. When Sabiq Ma'louf arrived to Oyoun Al-Wadi, it was called Oyoun 'Affan 'The Springs of 'Affan' after its Agha's name, 'Affan Agha, by the Turkmens who owned and ruled the area. Turkmens are Turkish tribes that lived in Turkmenistan and neighboring areas in Iran and Afghanistan. They entered Syria with the Ottoman Conquests, settling in some of its areas among which is Oyoun Al-Wadi. Around A.D. 1750, The Turkmens fought among themselves and left the area of Oyoun Al-Wadi, Mashta Al-Helou, Al-Jwaikhat, and Trez under the management of Sabiq Ma'louf who was known for his intelligence, bravery, and strength. He was an agent for the Agha, distributing land on farmers, collecting harvests, and marketing them. The sons and grandchildren of Sabiq Ma'louf were also known for their chivalry, ferocity, and toughness (Ma'louf 1978). These characteristics/values of the father of the village and his sons persist in the mentality of males in the village and continue to play a role in their present time everyday behavior, including their linguistic behavior.

Illiterate people are rare in the village in the present day. The first primary school was opened in the village in 1926. The first secondary school in the whole countryside of Syria was established in the neighboring village Mashta Al-Helou in 1948 by Dr. Hanna Ma'louf who is from the village of Oyoun Al-Wadi (Al-Ma'louf 2008). Before establishing this secondary school, high school education was a dream. Before the mid of the 20th century, electricity and paved roads were limited to cities (Habib 2010b: 69). In Oyoun Al-Wadi, water and electricity were connected to homes in 1963 and 1965 respectively. The spread of private and public secondary schools led to increase in education and more people seeking and obtaining university degrees. This in its turn led to major migration waves to cities to improve one's lifestyle and financial situation through obtaining white-collar jobs instead of working in the farm. In other words, the increase of education led to economic, social, and health development. However, despite the large number of internal migration and external immigration, the people of Oyoun Al-Wadi retain their pride in their beautiful village and their impetuous demeanor, and maintain very strong ties with their roots, families, and relatives in the village. Their sense of belonging to the village is unbeatable.

This strong sense of belonging to their village is also reflected in their behavior towards and relations with neighboring villages. It is worth noting the historical animosity between Mashta Al-Helou and Oyoun Al-Wadi that goes back to A.D. 1879 when a fight broke over the ownership of a land between the two villages (called Al-Qash'at). The fight continued between the two parties until it was resolved by endowing Mashta Al-Helou with the church that belonged to Oyoun Al-Wadi and located on the border of Mashta Al-Helou. This action led to harsh feelings, and fights were repeated at every visit to the church. The fights were sometimes bloody in that once two were killed from each side. Those uneasy feelings between the two villages continue to the present day. This is reflected in the linguistic differences between the two villages. While contact between two varieties over the years often results in similarities between the two, in the case of Oyoun Al-Wadi and Mashta Al-Helou, the two varieties grew apart. The main difference between the two varieties is that the voiceless uvular stop (q) is produced as [q] in Oyoun Al-Wadi and as [?] in Mashta Al-Helou, e.g. *ħalq* vs. *ħal?* 'throat' respectively. This history between Oyoun Al-Wadi and Mashta Al-Helou will explain the present day conflict even among the younger generation of children and adolescents regarding the use of [q] and [?] particularly among boys.

It is also worth noting that in the past, marrying non-local women was rare. When a new woman came to the village, she would be criticized if her dialect did not contain the [q] sound (Al-Ma'louf 2008: 93). In the last twenty to twenty-five years, marriage to non-local women became much more common. It could actually be described as a major trend in the village. According to a knowledgeable person from Oyoun Al-Wadi, Jamil Habib (personal communication, 2010), the number of non-local married women is 435; the number of local married women is about 90. This means that in the present day, the number of out-of-town married women is about five times the number of local married women. This trend of marrying women from outside the village also led women from the village to marry men outside the village. The number of local women married to men outside the village is 377 (Jamil Habib, personal communication, 2010). This increase in marrying women and men from outside the village is not surprising given the increased migration to urban areas in the late sixties and early seventies (Habib 2010b). Seeking higher education and jobs in the city increased contact with urban people and

rural people who came to the city for similar purposes. This increased personal contact led to relationships with people from outside the village, and thus marriage to those people. Hence, the current family situation in the village is much more diverse than it was 25-30 years ago. In the past, village people mainly communicated with each other while working and playing in their farms, shepherding the cattle, or harvesting crops. Thus, they had minor contact with outsiders. Consequently, they fell in love with each other and got married.

3. Methodology and data

3.1. Speech sample and data collection

The speech sample consists of the naturally occurring speech of 50 speakers aged 6-18. Speakers were recorded during spring 2010 in the village of Oyoun Al-Wadi. The author went initially to the village's schools to observe classes to familiarize children and adolescents with her. She also observed whether the teachers' dialects were influential in the classroom. She was able to collect in the classrooms the contact numbers of the students' parents to obtain their permission to interview and record their children. Schools, teachers, and parents were very helpful and showed great willingness to allow their children to participate in the project. Some of the parents and teachers volunteered information themselves and were willing to participate in the project themselves. Some recordings took place at the parents' home. However, it was preferable to carry the interviews in the author's home after experiencing great difficulty and sound clarity problems at the parents' home. It is common in the village's culture for visitors to come unexpectedly and interrupt interviews or talk during the interview, which would make the sound quality very poor. Thus, parents were asked if possible to send their children to the author's home. They were happy and willing to do so.

Data collection was carried out in naturalistic settings to elicit the most natural speech from participants. The interviews, conducted in the presence of family members

or friends, included initially gathering personal information. Information solicited concerned the child; his parents; extended family; linguistic features and varieties used by family members, friends, classmates, teachers and relatives; connection to urban centers and people living in urban centers; degree of contact with speakers that use urban features; and TV programs watched and hours spent watching programs that contain the linguistic features under investigation. The informal interviews lasted between 30-45 minutes with each individual speaker. A high quality digital recorder (marantz Professional Solid State Recorder PMD660) was used with a built-in microphone to record the interviews. The built-in microphone was used to avoid drawing the participants' attention to the recorder, and thus to elicit the most naturalistic speech possible. During the interviews, children and adolescents were asked to tell stories or jokes or talk about some event or story that affected them, their friends, their family, or others or they heard recently in the news or from acquaintances.

The choice of the village Oyoun Al-Wadi was based on a number of reasons (Section 2). In relation to data collection, two reasons play significant roles in obtaining the most naturalistic and suitable data for the study. First, the author is familiar with the village and its culture and acquainted with the variety spoken in the village. Second, she is an in-group member that allowed her to integrate easily into the community, obtain the most naturalistic data, and compile abundant information about the participants, their families, their practices, their likes and dislikes, the societal and cultural changes that are taking place, etc.

3.2. Social factors

The social factors that are taken into consideration in this study are gender, age, mother's origin, and area of residence. Gender is divided equally into 25 males and 25 females. The sample is divided into four age groups that are almost equally divided regarding the number of participants and the number of girls and boy in each group. The youngest age group contains 12 speakers aged six to eight, of which six are girls and six are boys. The second age group contains 13 speakers aged nine to eleven, of which six are girls and seven are boys. The third age group contains 13 speakers aged 12 to 14, of

which seven are girls and six are boys. The oldest age group contains 12 speakers aged 15 to 18, of which six are girls and six are boys. There are 12 mothers from Oyoun Al-Wadi and 38 mothers from outside Oyoun Al-Wadi. This is not surprising given the large difference in the number of married women from Oyoun Al-Wadi and from outside Oyoun Al-Wadi. As for area of residence, 31 speakers come from I-Hara I-Fu[?]/[q]aniyyi ‘the Upper Quarter’; 15 speakers come from I-Hara t-Tiht[a:]/[e:]niyyi ‘the Lower Quarter’; and four speakers come from Harit I-Madraj ‘the Downhill Quarter’. Table 2 shows the social distribution of the study participants.

It is worth noting that there is also a kind of challenge between the Lower Quarter and Upper Quarter. The people from the Lower Quarter think that they are more sophisticated than the people of the Upper Quarter even in their speech, i.e. they are more urbanized and use more urban features in their speech. They even call the Upper Quarter *I-rif* ‘the countryside/the village’ and they call the Lower Quarter *I-madini* ‘the city’. In reality, no major difference is observed between the two quarters, as the quantitative results will show (Sections 4.2 & 4.3). They are mainly perceptive differences based on subjective feeling of superiority, even though the people from the Upper Quarter seem to acquire more wealth and own more land in the village than people from the Lower Quarter.

3.3. Data

Table 3 shows the distribution of [q], [?], and [v] in the speech of the 50 participants. It shows that there is a general tendency towards the use of the urban form [?] with 78% use of [?] compared to 21% use of [q]. The use of [v] is insignificant, as it constitutes less than 1%. However, comparing the linguistic behavior of boys and girls across the different age groups reveals the following: (1) boys and girls behave similarly in the youngest age group (Table 4); and (2) girls maintain their use of the urban form throughout their preadolescence and adolescence, while boys show higher percentages of the rural form from age nine and up (Table 4). Table 4 shows that in the age groups 9-11, 12-14, and 15-18 three out of seven boys, four out of six boys, and three out of six boys respectively use very high percentages of [q].

#	Name	Age	Grade	Gender	Mother's Origin	Area
1	'Adan	6	1 st	M	Not from Oyoun Al-Wadi (NFO)	Upper Quarter (UQ)
2	Max	6	1 st	M	NFO	UQ
3	Shama	6	1 st	F	NFO	UQ
4	Sandy	6	1 st	F	NFO	UQ
5	Jerjes	7	2 nd	M	NFO	UQ
6	Rico	7	2 nd	M	NFO	UQ
7	Halab	7	2 nd	F	NFO	UQ
8	Jessy	8	3 rd	F	NFO	LQ
9	Talia	8	3 rd	F	From Oyoun Al-Wadi (FO)	LQ
10	Neomi	8	3 rd	F	FO	LQ
11	Eli	8	3 rd	M	NFO	LQ
12	'Anis	8	4 th	M	NFO	UQ
13	Dani	9	3 rd	M	NFO	UQ
14	Ward	9	3 rd	M	FO	LQ
15	Rula	9	3 rd	F	NFO	UQ
16	Lina	9	4 th	F	NFO	LQ
17	Jorgos	9	4 th	M	FO	Downhill Quarter (DQ)
18	Mary	10	5 th	F	NFO	UQ
19	Margaret	10	5 th	F	NFO	LQ
20	Jabour	10	5 th	M	NFO	UQ
21	Rami	11	5 th	M	FO	LQ
22	Lu'ai	11	6 th	M	NFO	UQ
23	Jano	11	6 th	M	NFO	UQ
24	Jenny	11	6 th	F	NFO	UQ
25	Rasha	10	6 th	F	NFO	UQ
26	Fuad	12	7 th	M	NFO	DQ
27	Naji	13	7 th	M	NFO	UQ
28	Salina	13	7 th	F	FO	LQ
29	Rouda	13	7 th	F	FO	LQ
30	Rachel	13	8 th	F	FO	LQ
31	Randa	13	8 th	F	NFO	UQ
32	Roma	13	8 th	F	NFO	LQ
33	Imad	13	8 th	M	NFO	UQ
34	Rojer	14	8 th	M	FO	DQ
35	Husam	14	8 th	M	NFO	UQ
36	Rada	14	9 th	F	NFO	UQ
37	Wardi	14	9 th	F	FO	DQ
38	Maher	14	9 th	M	NFO	UQ
39	Ola	15	10 th	F	NFO	UQ
40	Salam	15	10 th	F	NFO	UQ
41	Peter	15	10 th	M	FO	LQ
42	Andy	16	10 th	M	NFO	UQ
43	Nariman	16	11 th	F	NFO	UQ
44	Rimona	16	11 th	F	NFO	UQ
45	Miller	16	11 th	M	FO	LQ

46	'Atif	17	11 th	M	NFO			UQ
47	Naseem	17	12 th	M	NFO			UQ
48	Kamal	18	12 th	M	NFO			LQ
49	Hala	17	12 th	F	NFO			UQ
50	Ghada	17	10 th	F	NFO			UQ

Table 2. Social distribution of the study participants.

#	Name	[q]	%	[?]	%	[ɣ]	%	Total
1	'Adan	0	0	38	100	0	0	38
2	Max	0	0	49	100	0	0	49
3	Shama	0	0	136	100	0	0	136
4	Sandy	1	0.5	191	99.5	0	0	192
5	Jerjes	3	4	69	96	0	0	72
6	Rico	1	2	42	98	0	0	43
7	Halab	8	13	52	87	0	0	60
8	Jessy	3	3	103	97	0	0	106
9	Talia	18	20	73	80	0	0	91
10	Neomi	11	17	51	81	1	2	63
11	Eli	5	5	100	94	1	1	106
12	'Anis	2	2	96	98	0	0	98
13	Dani	3	6	46	94	0	0	49
14	Ward	5	4	125	96	0	0	130
15	Rula	7	9	72	91	0	0	79
16	Lina	0	0	77	100	0	0	77
17	Jorgos	62	89	8	11	0	0	70
18	Mary	7	4	177	96	0	0	184
19	Margaret	13	14	79	86	0	0	92
20	Jabour	35	27	95	73	0	0	130
21	Rami	113	46.5	123	50.5	7	3	243
22	Lu'ai	84	97	3	3	0	0	87
23	Jano	4	4	106	96	0	0	110
24	Jenny	7	7	88	93	0	0	95
25	Rasha	1	2	50	98	0	0	51
26	Fu'ad	102	100	0	0	0	0	102
27	Naji	2	2	107	98	0	0	109
28	Salina	4	3	117	97	0	0	121
29	Rouda	0	0	89	100	0	0	89
30	Rachel	19	19	83	81	0	0	102
31	Randa	1	1	114	92.5	8	6.5	123
32	Roma	2	1	213	99	0	0	215
33	Imad	72	89	8	10	1	1	81
34	Roger	37	95	1	2.5	1	2.5	39
35	Husam	9	21	34	79	0	0	43
36	Rada	10	11.4	76	86.4	2	2.2	88
37	Wardi	40	95	2	5	0	0	42
38	Maher	104	86	16	13	1	1	121

39	Ola	1	1	159	99	0	0	160
40	Salam	54	25	166	75	0	0	220
41	Peter	47	82	10	18	0	0	57
42	Andy	16	28	42	72	0	0	58
43	Nariman	9	5	167	95	0	0	176
44	Rimona	9	14	54	86	0	0	63
45	Miller	29	43	36	53	3	4	68
46	'Atif	1	1	82	99	0	0	83
47	Naseem	9	8	106	92	0	0	115
48	Kamal	116	97	4	3	0	0	120
49	Hala	1	1	152	99	0	0	153
50	Ghada	0	0	149	99	1	1	150
	Total	1087	21	4036	78	26	1	5149

Table 3. Distribution of [q], [?] and [β] in the speech of the participants.

All other speakers use percentages of [q] that range between 0-28%, with the higher percentages used by boys. This indicates that girls show higher tendency towards the use of the urban form than boys do. There is a clear shift in their speech towards the urban form [?]. On the other hand, boys show more inter-speaker variation and greater tendency towards the rural form. About half of the boys use more [q] than [?] in the three older age groups.

Age group	Girls' behavior	Boys' behavior	Details
6-8	Mainly [?]	Mainly [?]	No difference
9-11	Mainly [?]	3/7 boys use high percentage of [q]	Jorgos (4 th grade, 9) = 89% Rami (5 th grade, 11) = 46.5% Lu'ai (6 th grade, 11) = 97%
12-14	Mainly [?]	4/6 boys use high percentage of [q]	Fu'ad (7 th grade, 12) = 100% Imad (8 th grade, 13) = 89% Roger (8 th grade, 14) = 95% Maher (9 th grade, 14) = 86%
15-18	Mainly [?]	3/6 boys use high percentage of [q]	Peter (10 th grade, 15) = 82% Miller (11 th grade, 16) = 43% Kamal (12 th grade, 18) = 97%

Table 4. Gender and age groups differences in the use of [q] and [?]

4. Quantitative analysis and results

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) is used to perform the statistical analysis. A binary logistic regression test is carried out to investigate the main effects of

the social factors, gender, age, mother's origin, and area of residence, on the use of each of the linguistic variable (q). The results are reported in the following sections. In this study, the variant [v] (Tables 1 & 3) is excluded from the quantitative analysis because of its very limited occurrence in the speech of the 50 participants. Eliminating it will not affect the statistical results.

4.1. Distribution of variants according to the social factors under investigation

The distribution of the variants according to gender reveals that girls use the urban form more than boys (Figure 1). The distribution of variants according to age shows that age groups vary considerably in their use of [q] and [?] (Figure 2). Figure 2 shows that the youngest age group uses [?] the most. This use decreases with age. It reaches its lowest point in the age group 12-14. In contrast, the use of [q] increases with age and reaches its highest point in the age group 12-14. This is not surprising given that four out of six boys in this age group use very high percentages of [q] and almost no [?]. The use of [?] increases slightly in the oldest age group but remains at a much higher level than the youngest age group. The pattern in Figure 2 indicates a change in progress towards the rural form. The distribution of variants based on whether the speaker's mother is from Oyoun Al-Wadi or not reveals some difference (Figure 3). The distribution of variants according to the area of residence shows there is no noticeable difference between the residents of the Upper and Lower Quarters (Figure 4). However, the difference is great between these two Quarters and the Downhill Quarter. The residents of this Quarter have almost 100% use of [q] and almost no use of [?]. This is because the Downhill quarter is somehow isolated from the rest of the village. Most of the people who live in this Quarter are either pure people from Oyoun Al-Wadi or few Alawite families that settled later in the village and whose speech is characterized with [q] (Habib 2010b: 68).

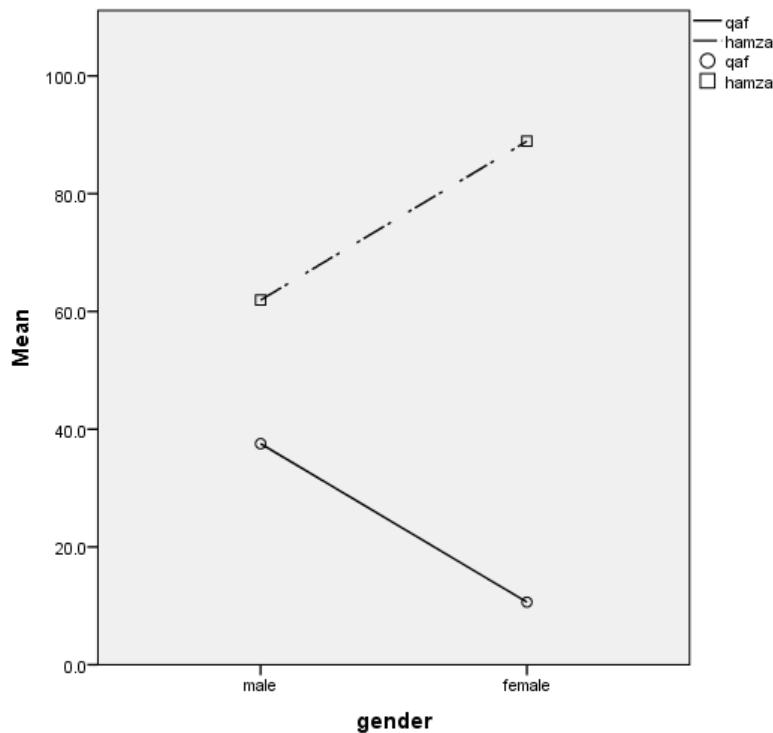


Figure 1. Distribution of [q] and [?] according to gender.

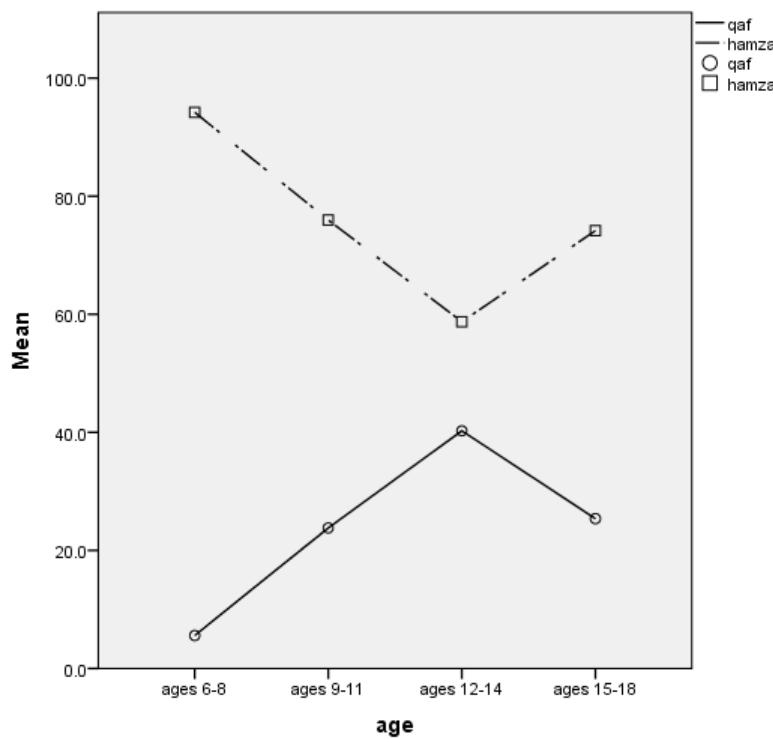


Figure 2. Distribution of [q] and [?] according to age.

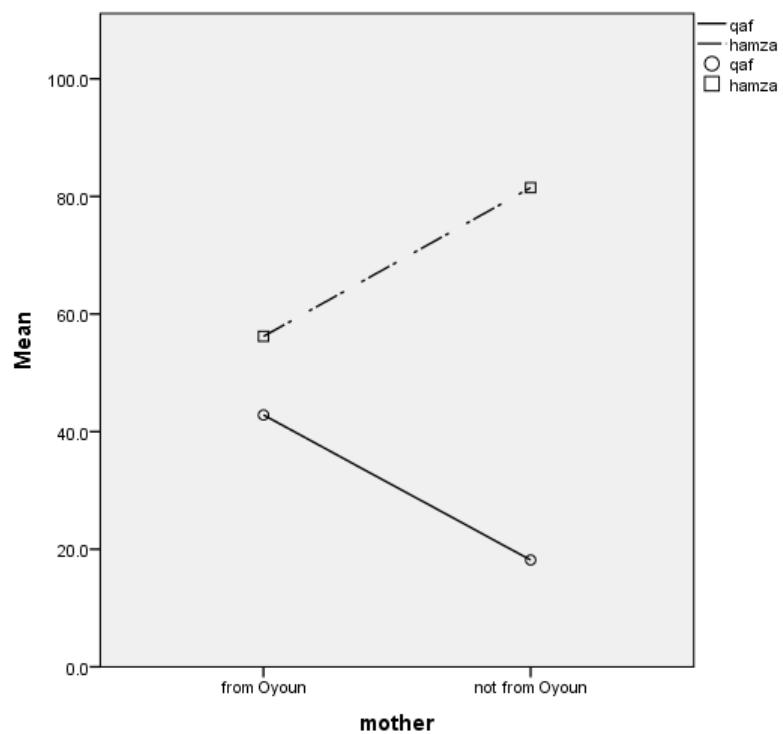


Figure 3. Distribution of [q] and [?] according to mother's origin.

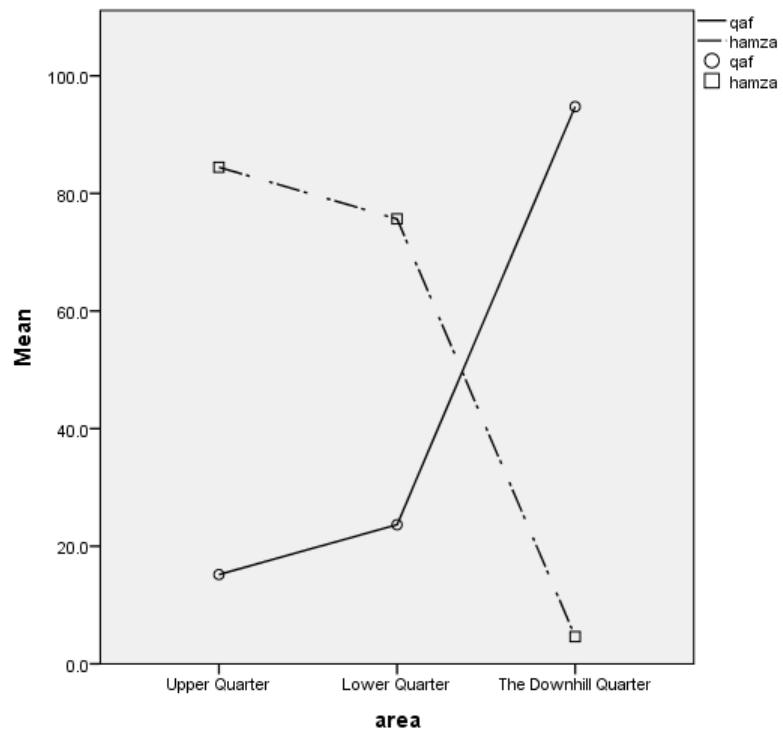


Figure 4. Distribution of [q] and [?] according to area of residence.

4.2. Results of the binary logistic regression test

Table 5 summarizes the results of the binary logistic regression test. The numbers in it represent the *p-values* that are considered significant at ≥ 0.05 . Table 5 shows that gender and area of residence play a significant role. What is interesting is that mother's origin emerges as statistically insignificant; it does not play a role in the observed inter- and intra-speaker variation in the use of (q). The results in Table 5 can be interpreted as follows based on the coefficients (B) and their exponentials ($\text{Exp}(B)$) in the Parameter Estimate Tables that are not included for space purposes. Only the coefficients and exponentials that show significance are reported here. The odds that males would use the rural sound [q] ($p = 0.000$; $B = 2.134$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 8.450$) are 9 times the odds that females would use it. Although age emerged as statistically insignificant in the Main Effects Table, the Parameter Estimate Table shows that the use of the urban sound [?] by the youngest age group is statistically significant and that the odds that this group would use [?] ($p = 0.047$; $B = 1.899$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 6.679$) is 7 times the odds that the older age groups would use it. Regarding area of residence, the Parameter Estimate Table also shows statistical significance; the odds that the Upper Quarter ($p = 0.022$; $B = 4.581$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 97.615$) and the Lower Quarter ($p = 0.049$; $B = 3.737$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 41.992$) would use the urban sound [?] are respectively 98 times and 42 times the odds that the Downhill Quarter would use it.

Independent factor	(q)
Gender	0.000
Age	0.104
Mother's origin	0.688
Area	0.006

Table 5. Main Effects of gender, age, mother's origin, and area on the use of the variable (q).

These results indicate obvious gender differences whereby boys use more rural forms than girls. There are also differences between the youngest age group and the three older age groups. The youngest age group uses [?] almost categorically. However,

the use of [?] decreases and the use of [q] increases in the three older age groups, mainly among boys (Table 4), which could indicate a change in progress initiated by boys in the age group 9-11 and advanced by age group 12-14 (Figure 2). Despite the slight dip in age group 15-18, this group exhibits high usage of [q] comparable to age group 9-11. Some differences also exist among the three areas of residence. Speakers who reside in the Downhill Quarter use more rural forms than speakers residing in the Upper and Lower Quarters.

4.3. Discussion of results with the help of ethnographic information

The findings in this study require further explanation through more thorough ethnographic investigation. During the interviews and informal conversations, many male speakers, parents, and siblings mentioned that they noticed themselves, their son(s), or their brother(s) respectively change his/their speech (i.e. started using the [q] sound) towards the fourth or fifth grade, i.e. around eight or nine years of age. A couple of speakers mentioned the third grade, and one sister mentioned that she noticed her brother started changing in the first grade.

The social meanings of the urban and rural variants were also extracted from the interviews. A summary of these extracted social meanings is presented in this paper. Many girls said that they do not like the *qaf* sound for reasons such as being unpleasant, ugly, harsh, not soft, and old fashion. They feel it is for men and that it requires more effort in pronunciation (i.e., more stress or pressure is used in its pronunciation). For them, *qaf* is *Dai'aje* 'rural' and shameful. On the other hand, *?af* is nicer, prettier, better, softer, gentler, and more refined for girls.[‡] *?af* is *Nahawe* 'lit. grammatical, but it refers to the urban form in the village's sense of the word'. Boys and parents also mentioned these reasons to explain why girls use or should use [?]. Some of the younger boys also mentioned these reasons for their use of *?af*.

On the other hand, most boys like the *qaf* sound more for reasons such as manliness, masculinity, immensity, strength, and power. It makes them feel masculine

[‡] They use the word *?af* to indicate *hamza*, replacing the [q] of *qaf* with [?] as a convention of their pronunciation of *qaf*.

like their father. For some, it is more suitable, nicer, and easier (in the sense it comes more natural to them). It makes them feel they belong to the village, as opposed to feeling like strangers. Some of them use it to satisfy the father or spite the mother or to show independence and individuality. The sound [q] gives them a strong feeling of association with their village and represents for them features of manhood in their village: strength, valor, and toughness.

Boys may ridicule other boys if they use *?af*, giving each other names such as, *Mishtawe* (i.e., a person from Mashta Al-Helou) and *tant* 'lit. aunt, but it is used to mean gay or weak' (cf. Al-Wer 2007: 67), meanings associated with *?af* among boys in the village. It is worth noting that some of them associate the word *Mishtawe* with *tant*. Thus, accusing someone of being *Mishtawe* means that one is from Mashta Al-Helou and thus betraying his roots and supporting his adversaries. This is also considered an insult to a boy from Oyoun Al-Wadi because it indicates weakness given the association of *Mishtawe* with *tant* and thus weakness. This linguistic reaction of the village's boys is not surprising as ridicule (Stanford 2008) and peer pressure (Romaine 1995: 238) have been indicated as major influences on children's speech and acquisition of another feature or dialect.

However, despite these conflicts we observe some boys move on with their lives careless of what their friends may call them. They maintain extensive use of [?]. This indicates there is a linguistic conflict that results from oppositional forces. These forces work at the intra- and inter-speaker levels. These forces will be called centrifugal forces and centripetal forces. Centrifugal forces refer to the external social forces and the prestige brought about by the urban forms. Centripetal forces refer to the village sense of belonging and male values such as toughness, masculinity, ferocity, etc. Sometimes the centrifugal forces overcome the centripetal forces and vice versa.

In addition, speakers mentioned that the area they grow in or their surrounding environment influences their speech. Some girls mentioned that boys are allowed more freedom of movement than girls are, and thus have more opportunities to communicate with the traditional village people in the street outside their homes. More contact with the village environment and with male friends allows them to use more [q]. On the other hand, girls have less freedom of movement; they stay mostly at home with their

mothers. Even their contact with their female friends is limited to the homes of each other. Hence, they retain their mothers' form. Furthermore, there are very limited friendships among boys and girls in the village, which limits communication between them as well as mutual linguistic influence.

5. Conclusion

The study shows a wide spread of the urban feature among the village's children. However, there seems to be two linguistic trends that are gender- and age-related. The spread of the urban feature is retained in the girls' speech in their preadolescence and adolescence but overturned towards the rural feature in the boys' speech. Boys who, like girls, acquired their out-of-town mothers' feature initially start around the age of eight switching to the village feature because it carries meanings of vigor, bravery, virility, masculinity, and a strong sense of belonging to the village. Girls, on the other hand, are encouraged and continue to use the urban feature because it carries meanings of femininity, softness, delicateness, and refinement. Boys start at the age of eight conceptualizing the various meanings associated with the rural and urban forms and refuse to identify with the latter meanings, abandoning the urban feature and adopting the rural feature around the fourth grade.

Variation in adolescent language has been investigated by many but mainly in urban and suburban areas, indicating that "emotional involvement in social identity" is more salient in adolescence than in any other life stage (Eckert 1988: 206; 1991). The desire to have distinct social identities makes adolescents significant bearers of language change (Eckert 1988, 1991; Kerswill 1996: 198). The present study rather focuses on a rural community and finds that the youth's emotional involvement in building a social identity starts earlier in life than in adolescence (i.e. in pre-adolescence). The boys' desire to have a distinct social identity from girls, i.e. an identity that is charged with masculinity and manliness, emerges as early as eight years of age. In some cases, it starts earlier. This finding is significant because it relates to the age in which children start conceptualizing the social meaning of linguistic variables and implementing this knowledge in their speech. It reflects on the linguistic maturity and

sociolinguistic competence of kids and their ability to differentiate and choose among linguistic variants at an early stage of their life. These children's linguistic behavior accords with Kerswill's (1996: 181) definition of sociolinguistic competence as "a person's ability to recognize language varieties within the community, to evaluate those varieties socially, and to exploit them in the communication of social meaning."

In this study, it is apparent that the social and psychological development of children and the social meanings development of sounds are concurrent at every stage of their lives. However, this development and gender differentiation process (Labov 2010: 254) is more apparent in boys' than in girls' linguistic behavior because tangible change towards the use of rural forms is observed in their speech in their preadolescent and adolescent years. As soon as they start recognizing the importance of certain sounds to the development of their local and masculine identity, boys deviate from their mothers' form. The fact that girls do not deviate from their mothers' form does not exclude them from this development and gender differentiation process. By retaining their mothers' urban form, girls are announcing their feminine, soft, and more refined status. The development of social meaning in relation to gender differentiation in the girls' case can be gleaned from the story of a 13-year old girl who used the rural forms earlier on in her life because both her parents are from Oyoun Al-Wadi and use rural forms. In her early adolescent years, she adopted the urban form due to friendly, familial, and societal encouragement to sound more refined and soft. The recognition and adoption of norms that are more appropriate for females and males (Walters 1991: 213) is a major part of this social and psychological development as well as the gender differentiation process.

Thus, the different social meanings of the urban and rural sounds in this study lead to salient linguistic differences between boys and girls and among boys from different age cohorts, resulting in the acquisition of different features at different stages in their lives and in bidirectional linguistic changes in youth language within the same community.

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LINGUISTIC MAPS & DIALECT DATA PROCESSING

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Abstract

The present study explores the major accomplishments made thus far with special consideration of the path of development linguistic map making has taken hitherto in Korea and Japan. The purpose of creating linguistic maps is to identify linguistic boundaries, either big or small, and assign systematic meanings as well as determine the relationship between spatial distribution and change by time. The linguistic maps should be understood in their broader concept that shows the various geographic information related to linguistic branches within a particular geographic area as well as relevant trends and aspects in linguistic branches on not only paper but also online screens and images. This study classifies linguistic maps into manual method maps and computerized maps, for which the time of computerization has been identified as a standard for classification, and explores their types focusing on those demonstrating high performance in presentation techniques.

Keywords

Linguistic map, Dialect map, computerized linguistic map, Audio linguistic map, Aialect data, Sejong Plan

MAPAS LINGÜÍSTICOS Y PROCESAMIENTO DE DATOS DIALECTALES

Resumen

El presente estudio explora los principales logros alcanzados hasta el momento, con especial atención en el desarrollo que los mapas lingüísticos han tenido hasta ahora en Corea y en Japón. El objetivo de la creación de mapas lingüísticos es identificar las fronteras lingüísticas, ya sean grandes o pequeñas, y asignar significados sistemáticos, así como determinar la relación entre la distribución

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espacial y el cambio temporal. Los mapas lingüísticos deben ser entendidos en su concepto más amplio, ya que muestran, no sólo en papel, sino también en pantallas y en imágenes en línea, información geográfica diversa relacionada con distintas ramas de la lingüística en una área geográfica particular, y también las tendencias y aspectos lingüísticos relevantes. Este estudio clasifica los mapas lingüísticos en mapas de métodos manuales y mapas informatizados, para los que el tiempo de la informatización se ha identificado como un estándar para la clasificación, y explora sus tipologías centrándose en los que demuestran un alto rendimiento en las técnicas de presentación.

Palabras clave

Mapa lingüístico, mapa dialectal, mapa lingüístico informatizado, audio mapa lingüístico, datos dialectales, Plan de Sejong

1. Introduction

The purpose of creating linguistic maps is to identify linguistic boundaries, either big or small, and assign systematic meanings as well as determine the relationship between spatial distribution and change by time. Hence, linguistic maps gather the linguistic data collected from a certain research area and “present the basic material in the map” (Macaulay 1985: 175).

According to the traditional notion of a linguistic map, “a linguistic map is to express the linguistic differences within a particular region in the form of a map” (The Society of Dialectology 2001: 265). However, the linguistic maps should not be understood in this traditional notion that shows the linguistic branches in the form of a map, but they should be understood in their broader concept that shows the linguistic characteristics on three-dimensional online screens as well as on the maps or schematics.

2. Types of linguistic maps

Linguistic maps published around the world or distributed online have come in various forms. In general, linguistic maps are categorized as i) display maps and

interpretive maps depending on their form of presenting data; and ii) qualitative maps and quantitative maps depending on their way of producing maps.

The types of linguistic maps have been further diversified since computers have gained popularity. Linguistic maps can be more exhaustively classified into a variety of types in accordance with the quantity and form of data, the way of presenting data, the level of comprehensiveness and simplification of data processing, the form of visual presentation of data, etc. Meanwhile, the differences among diverse types of linguistic maps are explained by means of the different presentation techniques used depending on the performance levels of computers as well as the advancements made in software of databases or graphic systems, or the different developmental stages in creating linguistic maps and linguistic data. The present study classifies manual method maps and computerized maps, and examines their types focusing on those which demonstrate high performance in presentation techniques.

2.1. Manually created linguistic maps

Manually created linguistic maps are produced by displaying dialect transcribed form or symbolic markers manually in each area on a blank map. The manually created linguistic maps are further classified into two types; i) offset method through which the manually created linguistic maps are printed offset (the same method is applied to master printing) and ii) tracing method through which a researcher manually draws a map and a printing designer transfers them to a tracing paper.

Such manual methods of creating linguistic maps are uneconomical and also lack the credibility in accuracy. Those linguistic maps produced by mimeograph machines around 1950s are not only crude but also barely legible.

2.2. Computerized linguistic maps

Map-making methods using PCs, which organize dialect data and transfer them to maps, are very effective in enhancing the analytical capacity of linguistic data.

The types of linguistic maps are diversified according to the size of the research area, the scale of a map, the number of research areas, the types of data, the methods of map-making, etc. Furthermore, the methods of data processing and the ways of computer-based map-making are also diverse. Computer-based map-making methods either utilize the previously developed software programs or develop and use a fully computerized map-making system.

2.2.1. Linguistic maps using the existing software

The process of computerization of linguistic map-making in Korea can be condensed into a search for dialect data collecting methods, techniques of creating images on a blank map and printing them out, symbolization of dialect data and displaying them on a blank map, etc. At the beginning, such word processors as 'OHP', 'boseokgeul', and 'hangul' were mainly used in computerizing the data. Mail merge or the method through which grids were established and the areas were specified on a blank map was mainly employed for image display and print-out. Recently previously developed software programs (bitmap, paint brush, photo shop, illustrator) are utilized for image-making on a blank map and print-out. Yet exhaustive software has not been developed which enables computers to cover the whole process from linguistic map-making to print-out in establishing data base for dialect data.

Jung (정인상) (1985) first used dBASE II in creating linguistic maps, while Kim, Hong, Kim & So (김충희,홍윤표,김병선,소강준) (1991) used dBASE III. As Kim (김덕호) (2002)'s linguistic map making method using mail merge has been widely distributed, the method of making isogloss maps using graphic software programs like Photoshop, ArcView, mass flow controller for windows, etc. has spread out.

2.2.2. Grid-matrix maps

A location map is based on a detailed the map of basis, while in a grid-matrix map the overall structure of the regions or the map of basis are abstractly represented and systematized in the grid. Kim (김충희) (1992) introduced the Grid-matrix technique of

an exclusive linguistic map making system using Boseokgeul II and HANDB into the Korean academic world [Figure 1].

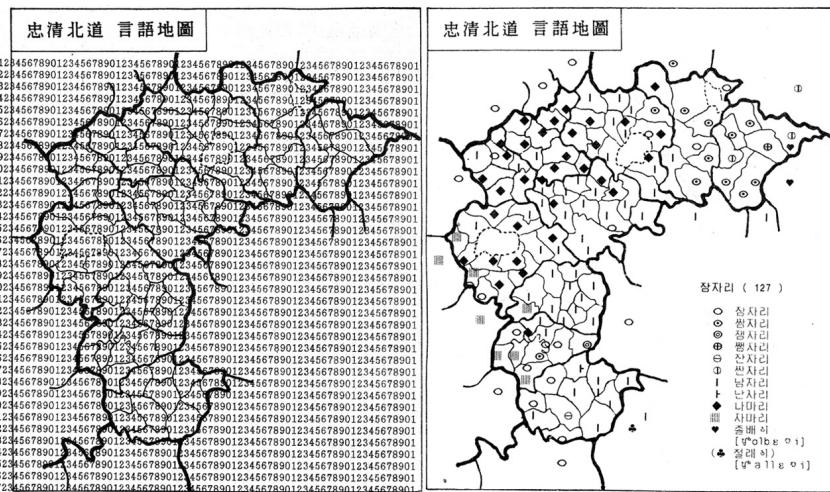


Figure 1. Kim (김충호) (1992)'s linguistic map of ChungCheongbuk-do

In Japan, Ogino Tsunao (荻野綱男) developed a linguistic map-making software called GLAPS (Ogino 1994). GLAPS produces maps which are expressed in cross-table method and glottogram method. In this program, 80 by 80 columns of grid are encoded and converted into diskette files. Takahashi-genzi (高橋顯志)'s ‘Boring linguistic map’ arrays graph paper-like grid patterns on a blank map and draws the linguistic distribution on each area.

Actually this is a two dimensional expressive method. However it not only expresses the information of many different strata but also suggests a frequency glottogram technique which displays information of the informant. SYMVU (designed by Harvard University's Computer Graphic Laboratory), a British linguistic map-making program, is another location of map-making method, which was utilized for the Welsh dialect data analysis by Alan R. Thomas (1980). Likewise a cartogram which is a type of grid map and cluster-type maps has been widely used for data processing of special information since GIS program was released.

2.2.3. Dialect search and linguistic maps

A ‘dialect search program’ was developed as a part of Sejong Plan (2001), which not only searches dialect data but also identifies linguistic distributions on a map [Figure 2]. The program was developed by two professional researchers, that is Tu & An (두길수, 안동언) (2002). And this Plan was supported by National Institute of the Korean Language in the South Korea.

This program is very useful for searching for dialect data. It marks dialect distributions on a linguistic map in colour, employing the unique Arcview’s mask technique. The linguistic Map produced by the search system has a couple of drawbacks; i) it falls behind in accuracy, and ii) it cannot input the data. However, the graphic search is possible.

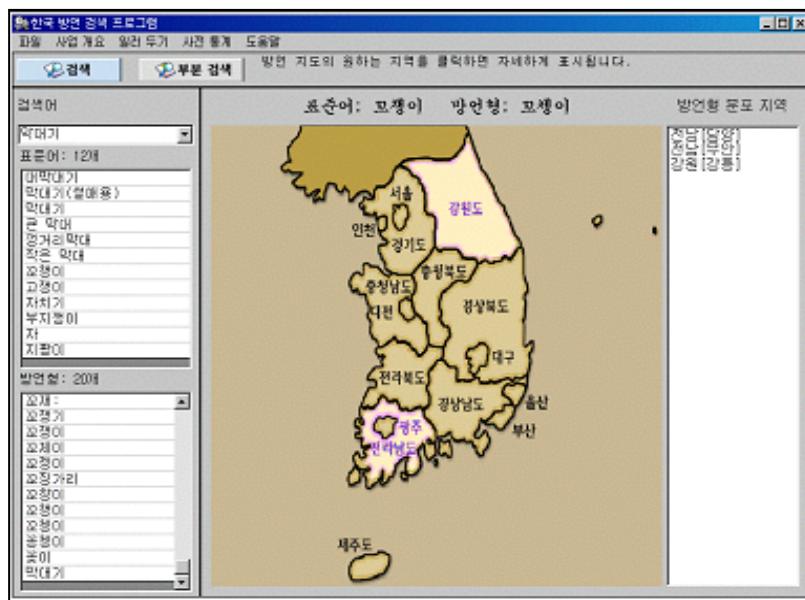


Figure 2. Korean dialect search system by Sejong Plan (2001)

2.2.4. Symbolic sign linguistic maps

Symbolic sign linguistic maps use various symbolic signs and colours on a map. Among others, the National Institute for Japanese Language started to computerize the whole process of making symbolic sign linguistic maps from ‘Grammar Atlas of Japanese Dialects (GAJ, 方言文法全國地圖)’ vol. 5. A GAJ is created by folding many layers of

image of maps and letters, signs and colours of dialects. Since a GAJ basically uses Adobe Illustrator, but signs in each area are made to automatically select a form of differentiation in dialect, it can be considered to be a fully automatic program for linguistic map making.

Another type of symbolic sign linguistic map is SEAL system developed by Fukushima (1983) [Figure 3]. This system also operates in Windows English versions. It can process the linguistic data from other countries and create maps for them. Furthermore it can create interpretative maps which reflect the frequencies of lexicon. Lee (이상규) (2003) developed KSEAL by adding three more letters to SEAL in order to transcribe dialect data in Korean [Figure 4]. Symbolic sign linguistic maps are the most efficient in expressing geological distribution of linguistic data, but it has a limit as to reflecting detailed areal information causing differentiation in language. And Lee (이상규) (2005) developed MAP MAKER (a linguistic Map making tool), which can make symbolic sign linguistic maps in a easier way in Windows [Figure 5].

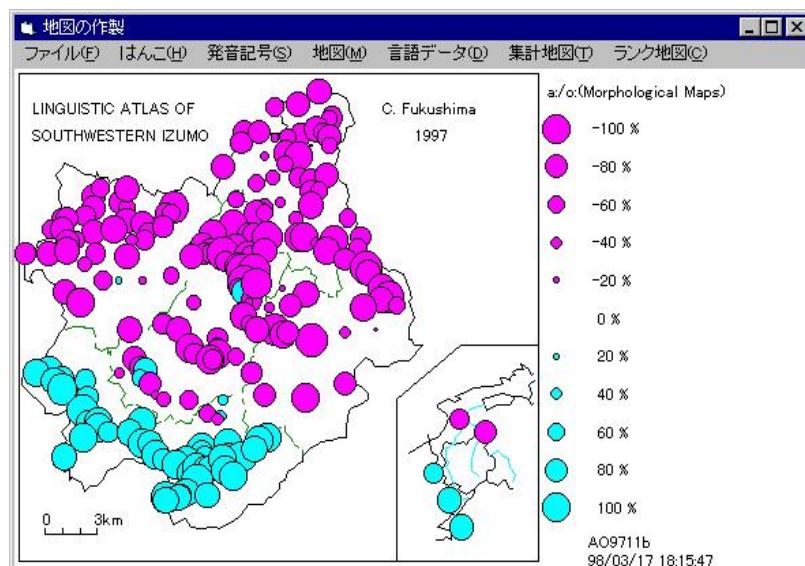


Figure 3. Fukushima Chitsuko (1983)'s SEAL

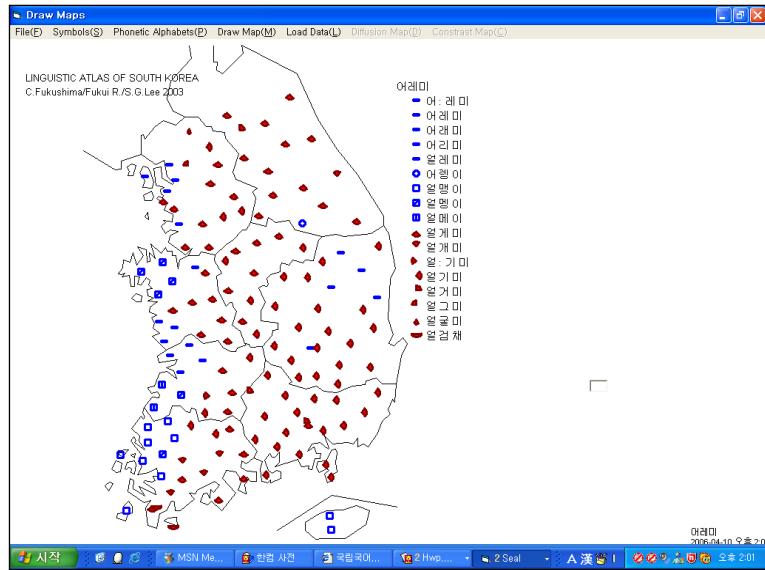


Figure 4. Lee (이상규) (2003)'s KSEAL

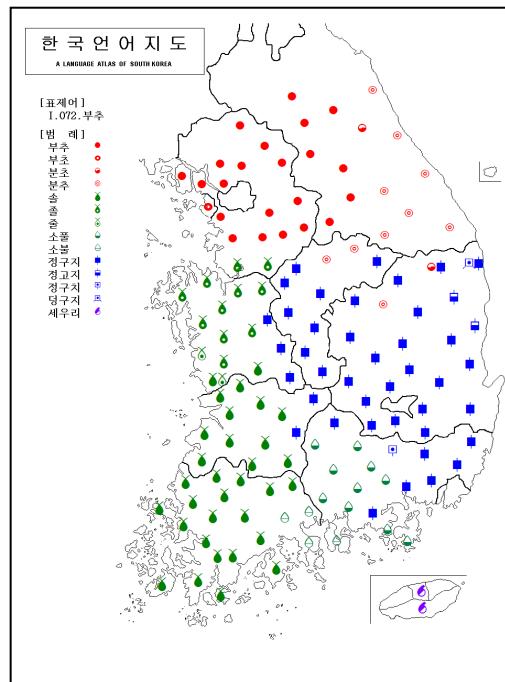


Figure 5. Lee (이상규) (2005)'s MAP MAKER

2.2.5. Audio linguistic maps

Audio linguistic map is made by simultaneously displaying both encoded linguistic forms and voices of the informants collected at the spots on a linguistic map. It uses previously developed software and adds voice information to the linguistic map.

Such linguistic maps are created by using previously developed software like Excel 2000, File maker Pro 5.5, Acrobat 5.0, etc. in the procedure of ① date input, ② making sign fonts, ③ converting into signs, ④ making a blank map, ⑤ making new file using File maker Pro, ⑥ making PDF format and programming of fonts. And then Acrobat link property is utilized to hyperlink each single sign by the link tool and connect them with the voice file.

Audio linguistic map was developed by Kishie Shinsuke (岸江信介) at University of Tochushima as a linguistic map making program for natural discourse data [Figure 6]. Nakai Seiichi (中井精一) at University of Toyama developed an Audio linguistic map making system using GIS.

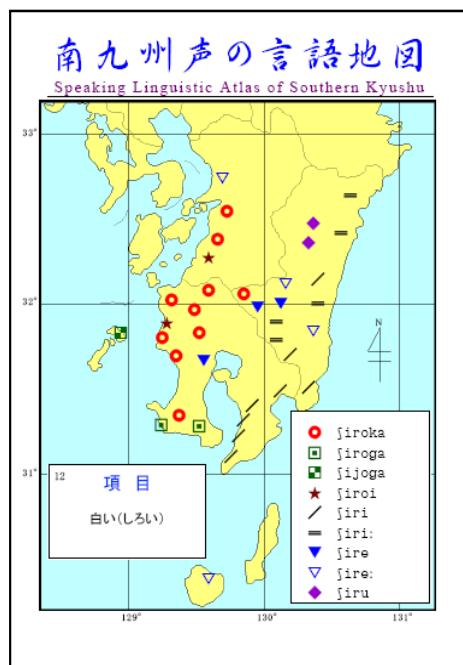


Figure 6. Kishie Shinsuke (岸江信介)'s Audio linguistic map

In the South of Korea, N. I. K. L. (국립국어원) (2007) further plans to develop a tool which can systematically manage computerized programs for voice data as well as data of dialect transcription including Audio linguistic map production (making) based on MAP MAKER [Figure 7].

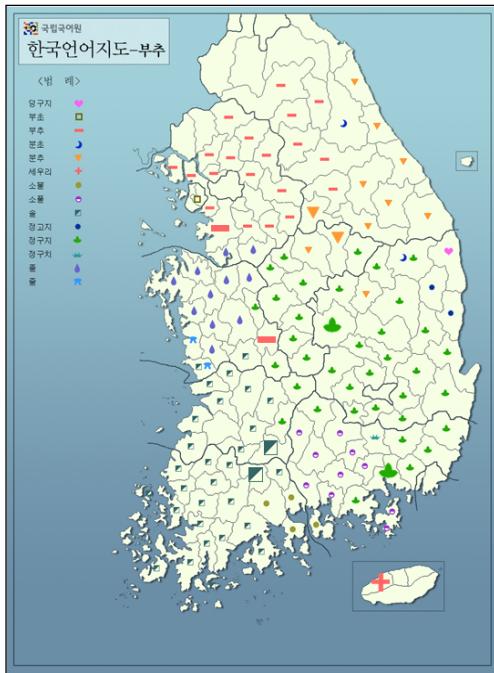


Figure 7. N. I. K. L. (2007)'s Audio linguistic map

2.2.6. Dialect perception maps

A perception map is a type of linguistic Map which is attempted to divide the dialects by examining the linguistic perception of the dwellers or reflect the dialectal differences on a map based on socio-perceptual differences. Dennis R. Preston (1989: 25) surveyed the perception level of the American dialect among people living in Hawaii and divided by their language and dialects. Perceptual Dialect Maps of Korea were developed by Lim (任榮哲) (1992) with Daniel Long and Isao Onishi. Kim Deokho (2001) and Kim, Kishie & Takiguchi (2012) integrated the native speaker's cognitions in the Gyeongsangbuk-do of the South Korea and made the Perceptual dialect map of non-linguistic features [Figure 8].

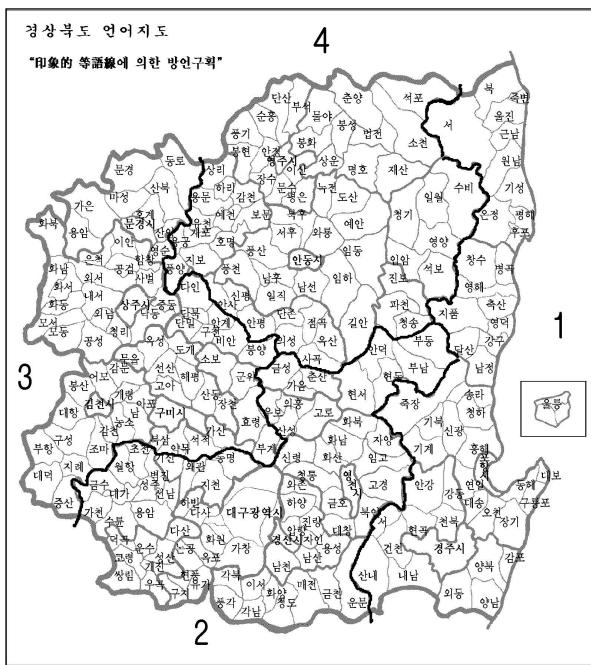


Figure 8. Kim (2001) and Kim, Kishie & Takuguchi (2012)'s the Perceptual dialect map of Kyungpook Korea

2.2.7. Multi-dimensional linguistic maps using GIS

The GIS-Research at University of Toyama founded <人文科學と GIS> in 2003. It has tried to interpret the factors for differentiation in language multi-dimensionally, using MANDARA, a supporting system for geological information analysis. Especially the ways to develop the techniques to use the geographic information system (GIS) in making linguistic maps as interdisciplinary studies among folklore, socio-linguistics, etc. will be actively examined. In the future Audio linguistic map making utilizing the geographic information system should be attempted in a full scale. Currently Nakai Seiichi (中井精一) and Kibe Nobuko (木部暢子) at University of Toyama are actively discussing the methods to make Audio linguistic map.

3. Tools for linguistic Map making

3.1. Development of tools for linguistic Map making

The methods of making linguistic maps are rapidly developing. It has developed from the direct input of dialect form on a map, via the symbolic map-making method by which dialect form is converted into symbolic signs (signs, numbers, colours, etc.) to the method by which the informants' voice data are simultaneously presented on a map. Furthermore three-dimensional geographic features are also used as the basis of linguistic maps, which show linguistic distributions on a map with such various geographical marks as rivers and mountains expressed on it. The presentation techniques in linguistic map making using geographic information system have reached the level of more than three dimensional world, synthesis of time and space, and presenting the virtual environment of linguistic geography by simulating the time and space of the past and future. In the near future linguistic maps will make it easy to search voice data and also make it possible to connect them with transcribed data.

Many analysis tools for the study of language have been introduced in the world, and recently various tools for linguistic maps using graphic tools and Excel have been introduced. I myself introduced SEAL in the linguistic world of Korea. However, the SEAL was originally developed in Japan, thus it has many limits.

3.2. Characteristics of linguistic Map maker

The linguistic Map Maker has been introduced in Kim (2010). This program is the tool for making symbolic sign linguistic maps and has many advantages as follows.

1) It makes it possible to produce linguistic maps very easily in Windows. When clicking 'new file creation' in the menu, a pop-up comes on, which leads to open the necessary files to make maps according to order so that one can easily produce maps just by following the procedure the program suggests. Furthermore this program has a setting function which minimizes the time of map-making. One can set for the use of basic blank maps, the use of basic coordinates, and the use of random symbolic signs by

clicking file -> setting change in order. Such basic setting of use is a very useful function in making many different word maps with the same blank maps. It prevents repeating the same procedure to make new maps and thus can minimize the time in making maps.

2) The analysis and interpretation of dialect data can be simplified through its arithmetic and sorting function. In other words, the program has the function which sorts dialect form in the alphabetical order or in the order of frequency and makes it possible to catch the types of dialect differentiated form and the frequency of occurrence at a glance, and thus helps to select which words should be put on dictionaries.

3) The automatic coordinate setting function makes it possible to produce the type of maps the user wishes. When a basic map is used for a map-making as a base, the desired basic map is scanned and coordinates are built one by one on the blank map, using image tools. However, the map maker's function to generate coordinator data automatically makes it easy to produce desired types of maps.

4. Concluding remarks - New strategy for base of dialect data

Until now linguistic maps have been produced based on the generation of data base on each area after local data are surveyed, and then interpretation of language differentiation has been attempted. However, it is necessary to seek for a new method for base of dialect data. First, word networks should be constructed by systematizing the data collected on the spot. Language differentiation should be interpreted based on these word networks, and then linguistic maps should be produced accordingly.

The construction of word networks should be done by composing the semantic relationships among the words using facet-system. Likewise word networks should be constructed according to 1) etymological factors of language differentiation, 2) morphological factors of language differentiation, and 3) phonetic and phonological factors of language differentiation based on the dialect data. The interpretation of language differentiation should be attempted at the stage of base of the data. Accordingly clearer linguistic maps can be created.

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THE REALLOCATION OF [j] IN CYPRIOT GREEK

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Abstract

This article examines the variation between lateral palatal ([ʎ]) and fricative palatal ([j]) instantiations of the variable (LiV) in Cypriot Greek. Through the analysis of two datasets, one based on sociolinguistic interviews, and one based on elicitation tasks, it is shown that the fricative variant, which used to be associated mainly with the city of Ammochostos (Famagusta), is now present in all three major urban centres of the island, and that young men are leading the change. The circumstances that led to this development are examined from the perspective of the socio-psychological model proposed by Britain (1997), and it is argued that this is a case of socio-stylistic reallocation (Trudgill 1986). Viewed within the context of sociolinguistic tension that has existed between Cypriot Greek and the standard varieties for more than a century, the emergence and spread of a native variant is seen as another sign that the status of Cypriot Greek vernacular is increasing within the community.

Keywords

Greek, dialects, Cypriot, reallocation, laterals

LA REASIGNACIÓN DE [j] EN GRECOCHIPRIOTA

Resumen

Este artículo estudia la variación entre la palatal lateral ([ʎ]) y la palatal fricativa ([j]) las soluciones de la variable (LiV) en grecochipriota. A través del análisis de dos conjuntos de datos, uno basado en entrevistas sociolingüísticas y otro basado en tareas de elicitation, se muestra que la variante fricativa, que solía estar asociada principalmente con la ciudad de Ammochostos (Famagusta), está ahora presente en los tres principales centros urbanos de la isla, y que los jóvenes están liderando el cambio. Las

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circunstancias que condujeron a este desarrollo se examinan desde la perspectiva del modelo socio-psicológico propuesto por Britain (1997), y se argumenta que se trata de un caso de reasignación socio-estilística (Trudgill 1986). Examinado en el contexto de la tensión sociolingüística que ha existido, durante más de un siglo, entre el grecochipriota y las variedades estándar, la aparición y propagación de una variante nativa es visto como otra muestra de que la situación de la lengua grecochipriota vernácula aumenta dentro de la comunidad.

Palabras clave

griego, dialectos, chipriota, reasignación, laterales

1. Introduction

This study examines the pattern of variation for the variable (liV) in Cypriot Greek. It discusses the results of two separate research projects, one based on sociolinguistic interviews, and one based on elicitation tasks. On the basis of the sociolinguistic interviews, I will argue that although the envelope of variation comprises several variants, the main axis of variation is between the palatal lateral [ʎ] and the palatal fricative [j], both of which may appear in geminate or short form. The innovative variant is the fricative, which used to be associated mainly with the city of Ammochostos (Famagusta), according to Christodoulou (1967). However, the data from the interviews also show that the variable is rare in free-flowing conversation, and so a second study, based on elicitation tasks was conducted in order to examine the role of linguistic and non-linguistic parameters. These data indicate that the fricative variant is now present in all three major urban centres of the island, and that young men are leading the change. In the discussion, I employ the socio-psychological model proposed by Britain (1997), and argue that this is a case of socio-stylistic reallocation (Trudgill 1986). I also place this change within the more general history of sociolinguistic tension between the stigmatized dialect of Cypriot Greek and the standard, as well as the overall emergence of a Cypriot vernacular, which speakers use in order to negotiate the space between these two extremes (Terkourafi 2005b). From this perspective, the emergence and spread of a native variant can be viewed as another sign that the status of Cypriot Greek vernacular is increasing within the community.

2. Variation in the pronunciation of (l)ɪV

As will be seen below, this variable has barely been noted in the literature, so it is perhaps appropriate to justify it as an object for variationist study. Tagliamonte (2006) uses the term *super token* to refer to instances in which a single speaker uses two different variants of a variable in the same utterance, because these exemplify the type of variation that is suitable for quantitative analysis. In this corpus, the best example of a super token can be seen in the following excerpt (example 1), where an educated female speaker in her mid-twenties, who is recounting a recent trip to Sweden, switches between a palatal lateral and a palatal fricative in the middle of a noun phrase:

- (1) iðame toðimarxio timbaja ipaʎa ipoli ine gamlaston
we.saw the.city.hall the.old the.old the.city is gamlaston
'We saw city hall the old the old city is called "Gamlaston"?'

In Standard Modern Greek (SMG), the pronunciation is invariably [ʎ], and there are no mentions of variation in other Greek dialects (Newton 1972b, Kontosopoulos 1981). For Cypriot Greek, the earliest mention of this variation comes from Christodoulou (1967), who locates this phenomenon in the cities of Lemesos (Limassol) and Ammochostos (Famagusta). This is a puzzling observation, given that the two cities are about 100 km apart, the two major urban areas of Lefkosa (Nicosia) and Larnaca are between them, and this report comes before the major movements of Cypriot speakers caused by the war of 1974: Ammochostos is one of the cities that were taken over by Turkish troops, and has remained uninhabited since then. More recently, Arvaniti (1999) also mentions this variation, but according to her it is more characteristic of the region of Larnaca. Menardos (1969), Contossopoulos (1972) and Newton (1972a), however, do not mention this type of variation. Newton states that, [l] is a "voiced alveolar lateral, somewhat palatalized and long before /y/". Thus, even though this variation has been noted in the literature, not much is known about it.

2.1. The 2007 dataset

The first dataset that I will discuss was constructed on the basis of conversations recorded during the spring of 2007 by eight participant-interviewers in Cyprus for the purpose of investigating a syntactic phenomenon. The research assistants were students at the Department of English Studies at the University of Cyprus in Lefkosia, and were trained in terms of fieldwork techniques, ethical standards, etc. The team members were all native speakers of Cypriot from different areas of the southern part of the island, and were instructed to conduct conversations with family members and close friends. The interviewers were able to recruit 52 speakers in three different locations: Lefkosia, which is the capital and is located in the center of the island; Lemesos, the second largest city is located on the coast about 60 km southwest of the capital; and Larnaca, the third largest city which is also on the coast and 40 km south of the capital. Four of these interviews contained performances of folk songs and stories, and so were not used in the construction of the database.

The examination of the data revealed an aspect of this variation that poses serious challenges to the usual approach: The variable is rare in everyday conversation. Even though the database comprises over 40 hours of recordings, altogether, only 675 tokens of (liV) were available for extraction. Moreover, these tokens belong to very few types: as can be seen in Table (1), 70% of the tokens come from just seven different types. Thus, this dataset cannot provide us with a trusted picture of the phenomenon.

Type	Translation	Tokens
/ðulia/	'work'	104
/teliono/	'finish'	95
/telia/	'completely'	68
/malia/	'hair'	45
/palio/	'old'	63
/xilia/	'thousand'	65
/yalia/	'glasses'	34
Total		474

Table 1. Types and tokens in the 2007 dataset

However, the dataset does provide some first observations that can help shape the strategy of a more focused investigation. First, there is the issue of the envelope of variation. According to Arvaniti (2010), the variants are a palatal lateral and a long (phonetically geminate) palatal fricative, which is realized as a glide only in weak positions, a finding that is partially confirmed in the present data. Arvaniti also notes that the variant lacks extensive voicing, which is also confirmed in this dataset. A phonetic analysis of the 2007 data reveals a larger set of variants that may occur in conversational situations, including a non-geminate palatal fricative, and a palatal affricate as detailed in Table 2. Also, both segments (the lateral and the fricative) have geminate and non-geminate variants, whose distribution is not different ($\chi^2 = 0.1405$, df = 1, *p*-value = 0.7078). Thus, the main axis of variation appears to be lateral vs. fricative.

Variant	Tokens	Coding
1. Geminante lateral [ʎ:]	142	lateral
2. Non-geminante lateral [ʎ]	397	lateral
3. Affricate [gʎ]	3	fricative
4. Geminante fricative [j:]	112	fricative
5. Non-geminante fricative [j]	293	fricative
6. Glide [j]	19	fricative

Table 2. The envelope of variation for (l)iV

The marginals of the distribution also suggest some areas of interest in terms of its interpretation. As one can see in Table 3, there is an abrupt increase in the use of the fricative variant for speakers born after 1975, which when taken into consideration alongside the spread of the innovative variant to the capital (Lefkosa) indicates that this pattern represents a change in progress. The results for *Sex* and *Education* are somewhat contradictory: Women do not prefer the fricative variant, which may be an indication that it lacks prestige, but at the same time we see that this variant is preferred by speakers with an advanced education, which suggests the opposite.

		<i>fricative</i>		<i>lateral</i>		Total
		N	%	N	%	
Age	Over 30	5	3.3	148	96.7	153
	Under 30	301	57.7	221	42.3	522
Sex	Male	51	51.5	48	48.5	99
	Female	255	44.3	321	55.7	576
Education	High school	75	38.9	118	61.1	193
	Post secondary	231	47.9	251	52.1	482
City	Lefkosia	97	59.1	67	40.9	164
	Lemesos	99	39.9	149	60.1	248
	Larnaca	110	41.8	153	58.2	263
Total		306	45.3	369	54.7	675

Table 3. Distribution of fricative vs. lateral palatal usage by Age, Sex, Education and City

Given the different percentages of use for men and women and according to a speaker's level of education, one might ask about the general awareness of this variation. Within the Labovian paradigm (Labov 1972, 2001), there are three recognized types of sociolinguistic variables which are associated with speakers' awareness: indicators (no awareness), markers (subconscious awareness) and stereotypes (conscious awareness). Themistocleous (2008) in her dissertation on orthographic conventions for Cypriot Greek online, mentions at least one token of <τέλεια> (/telia/) spelled <teja>. The use of <j>, suggests conscious awareness of the fricative pronunciation. However, the evidence in the 2007 dataset is inconclusive. On the one hand, there is evidence of awareness as in example (2), where the male speaker first uses the fricative variant in the word [ðuja], but, in his second turn, switches to the lateral ([ðuʎa]), most likely recognizing the use of the lateral by the participant-interviewer. On the other hand, there are many instances of conversations between fricative and lateral users where the variants are juxtaposed without incident. Furthermore, in two cases, interviewers instruct their mothers to speak Cypriot, but the correction does not seem to apply to the lateral vs. fricative distinction. One such case can be seen in example (3), where the mother of a participant-interviewer uses the

phrase [ayreλa metavya] “asparagus with eggs” (a Cypriot shibboleth), with a lateral in the word for asparagus, but a fricative-fricative combination (SMG pronunciation) in the word for “eggs.” The daughter asks her to “speak in Cypriot,” and the mother obliges by producing a fricative-stop combination in “eggs,” but does not change the pronunciation of [ayreλa]. Thus, the variable does not appear to be a stereotype, but it is not clear whether it is an indicator or a marker.

(2)	Chr	stiðuja	mu	fonazun	me	k ^h ristin
		at.work	I.POSS	call.PRES.3PL	I.DO	Christine
	Int	stiðuλa	indalos	se	lalusi	
		at.work	how	you.DO	call.3PL.PRES	
	Chr	stiðuλa	lalun	me	k ^h ristin	
		at.work	call.PRES.3PL	I.DO	Christine	

“Christos:¹ ‘At my work they call me Christine (in jest)’

Interviewer: ‘What do they call you at work?’

Christos: ‘At work they call me Christine.’”

(3)	Mother	θatiγaniso	ayreλa	metavya		
		FUT.fry.1SG.PRF	asparagus.DO	with.the.eggs		
	Daughter	kipriaka	se	parakalo		
		CypriotACC.SG	you.DO	please.1SG.PRES		
	Mother	metafka				
		with.the.eggs				

Mother: ‘I will make asparagus with eggs’

Daughter: ‘Cypriot, please’

Mother: ‘with eggs’

2.2. *The 2011 dataset*

As the above discussion has shown, the analysis of the data from the 2007 study leaves several key questions about the variation unanswered. So, in a 2011 study, I trained four native speakers of Cypriot and graduate students in the Linguistics Program of the Department of English, who interviewed 27 speakers in their families and circle of

¹ This and other speaker names are pseudonyms.

friends. Since the variable had proven to be rare, the focus of these interviews was on elicitation tasks. They began with a brief general discussion about Cyprus (food, life, work opportunities), and then proceeded to the reading of a rural-themed passage, which had been specially constructed to contain instances of the (liV) variable, and finally the task of naming items in a slideshow. These were 48 items that were selected because they contain the variable (liV), and could be represented graphically, so as not to influence speakers' pronunciation by showing them SMG spelling.

There were 12 male and 15 female participants. Since the first study demonstrated that the variable was only used by younger speakers, the second study focused on speakers below the age of 35. The median age of the participants was 23, the minimum being 16, and the maximum 34. They lived in the cities of Lefkosia, Lemeso, and Larnaca, the three major cities of Cyprus. As expected, the variable rarely occurred in the conversational sections of the interviews. The elicitation tasks, on the other hand, produced a total of 2406 tokes, 105 of which had to be excluded for technical reasons. The remaining 2301 tokens were analyzed using GoldVarb Lion (Sankoff, Tagliamonte & Smith 2012). A number of linguistic factor groups were examined: position in the word, nature of the following and preceding vowel, the provenance of the word (Greek or Cypriot), and stress of the syllable. The non-linguistic factors examined were gender (operationalized as sex), education, region of residence (operationalized as city), and attention to speech (operationalized as linguistic task). Due to the rarity of the variable it was not possible to construct a perfectly balanced sample for all the linguistic factors, and thus most of those cells were empty or under-populated.

Input = .752		Log likelihood = -1245.1		Total N = 2301	
Group	Factor	Weight	%	N	
Following V	/e/	0.59	80	317	
	/a/	0.5	73	1586	
	/o/	0.39	65	398	
<i>Range</i>		20			
Sex	male	0.68	87	963	
	female	0.36	63	1338	
	<i>Range</i>	32			
Task	text	0.53	75	1097	
	images	0.47	71	1204	
	<i>Range</i>	6			
City	Lefkosia	[0.52]	77	570	
	Lemesos	[0.52]	71	668	
	Larnaca	[0.47]	72	1063	

Table 4. Multivariate analysis results for the use of the fricative variant in 2011 data.

The optimal model which can be seen in Table 4, includes only one linguistic factor, the nature of the following vowel with front and back high vowels (/i/, /u/) combined with their mid counterparts (/e/ and /o/), because of the small number of tokens for the former. All factors are significant, except for city of residence. In terms of the following vowel, the front vowel favours the fricative variant and the back vowels disfavour it, while [a] is at 0.5 weight. The sex of the speaker is the most important non-linguistic factor, with men favouring the innovative variant while women do not. The difference between the two tasks is also significant with fricative variant being favoured in the reading task. In fact, it is probably the case that this difference is under-represented. The text composed for the reading task was unavoidably written with SMG spelling conventions, since Cypriot Greek does not have its own writing system. The use of standard spelling, for example <γυαλιά> (/γialia/, ‘glasses’), probably prompted speakers to use the standard pronunciation more than they may have otherwise.

Taken together, the results of the analysis of the two datasets lead to the following conclusions: The fact that region is not a significant factor suggests that the

variation between the lateral and fricative variants is a supra-local feature of the Cypriot Greek vernacular. The rapid spread of the fricative among urban speakers below the age of 30 suggests that this is a case of change from above, in the sense that it has its source in a regional variety (Labov 2001). Furthermore, men are leading the change, and the innovative variant appears to be a marker of less formal speech. In the next section I explore the implications that these findings have for the status of Cypriot Greek.

3. Discussion

Before attempting an analysis of the change described above, it is necessary to provide a brief description of the sociolinguistic tension experienced by the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus, both in terms of its historical development and its current situation, because these are crucial parameters for understanding the environment within which this change is taking place.

In Cyprus one finds the interesting phenomenon that its Greek-speaking community, despite living in a British colony for most of its modern history (1878-1960), has been mainly influenced — politically, culturally and linguistically — by developments in mainland Greece. For example, the attempt of the new British government in 1878 to establish an English-based curriculum in Cypriot schools, an approach that has been successful in other colonial settings² was met with fierce resistance, mainly by the Greek-speaking population with the support of the Greek Orthodox Church (Karyolemou 2001). As a result, the local variety of Cypriot Greek did not develop simply in contradistinction to an administrative language imposed by the colonial power (English). It also existed in opposition to standard Greek, which, due to the irredentist ambitions of the newly independent Greek state, was imposed in domains such as church language, education, and literature through a policy of providing books, curricula and teachers for Greek-speaking communities (cf. Karagiorges 1986; Koliopoulos 2000-2002). In effect, Cypriot Greek became a third-class language in its own country.

These tensions continued even after Cyprus gained its independence in 1960. It is

² Kamwangamalu (2010) discusses the staying power of colonial languages in Africa despite efforts of decolonization.

telling that the first fracture in the tenuous relationship between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities was signalled by the 1964 decision of the latter to officially follow mainland Greece educational (i.e., linguistic) policies. Three years later, in 1967, a right-wing military junta took over in Greece and began to undermine the left-leaning government of Cyprus led by Archbishop Makarios. The destabilization effort culminated in 1974, when Makarios was overthrown and nearly assassinated. The coup established a pro-Greek puppet government, which gave Turkey the legal basis to intervene militarily, ostensibly to restore the constitution, although it appears that such an invasion had been long in the planning by Turkey, the US, and Britain. There were two assaults, one in July and one in August, which resulted in the division of the island into two territories: the northern part for Turkish Cypriots and the southern part for Greek Cypriots. Thousands of Greek Cypriots had to become refugees within their own country and eventually all Turkish Cypriots relocated from the south to the northern part of the island (Hitchens 1984; Mallinson 2005).

It was inevitable that such a catastrophe would imbue the language question with even more layers of meaning, but it also had practical consequences. The influx of refugees into the southern urban centres of Lefkosia, Lemesos and Larnaca would mean a drastic reorganization of the dialect map of Cypriot Greek and intensified dialect contact. Several thousand Greek Cypriots found refuge in Greece, which after seven years of military dictatorship was just establishing a European style democracy for the first time in its modern history. The expanding Greek University system reserved seats for Cypriot Greek students and Greek teachers were offered positions in the Cypriot education system, chiefly in order to implement the teaching of the new vernacular SMG in Cypriot schools. However, since the Cypriot dialects had been isolated from the rest of the Greek world for a millennium, and under more intense contact with other languages (Arabic, French, Turkish, and English; cf. Browning 1983; Horrocks 2010), SMG was not a *koiné* that Cypriot Greek speakers could relate to. It was just a more simplified version of a high language imposed on them, and this time, it was not just the Greek of the Church, or classical education, it was also the Greek of the military junta who had brought devastation to the island. Thus, while some continued to think of Cyprus as a part of Greece and of standard Greek as an integral part of their identity, others began

to seek an alternative, more independent Cyprus with its own Cypriot vernacular.

According to Terkourafi (2005a), the events of 1974 served as a catalyst for the emergence of a Cypriot koiné, which she labels gCG (generalized Cypriot Greek.) She makes the case that this koiné is ultimately based on the urban varieties that began to emerge after the island passed to the control of the Lusignan Franks, and continued developing through the Ottoman Empire. The process was accelerated first during the Great Depression in the 1930s, and then even more so after WWII, both due to the industrialization of the island and, more importantly, because of the development of better transportation networks. In Cyprus, the main method of urbanization was not relocation to the major urban centres, but rather commuting, which actually led to a more widespread loss of distinction between the rural and urban varieties, as commuters brought city norms back to their home villages (Terkourafi 2005a).

The sociolinguistic relationship between the koiné and SMG remains a controversial issue. Some (e.g., Sciriha 1996; Moschonas 1996; Panayotou 1996, Rowe & Grohmann 2013) describe it as a diglossic situation, with SMG as the high variety, while others (Arvaniti 2002; Tsiplakou *et al.* 2006) treat it as a continuum of vernaculars. Goutsos & Karyolemou (2004) suggest that it is a complex relationship where perception is different from practice, i.e., the situation is perceived as diglossic but usage is along a continuum which ranges from the basilectal “village” Cypriot (*horkatika*) to the acrolect that urban and highly educated speakers use (*horaitika*), and which does not keep strict boundaries between Cypriot and SMG.

To understand how such a dichotomy between perception and practice may have emerged, it is useful to examine the language education experience of a Greek Cypriot child during his or her formative years.³ Up until the age of three, she is spoken to in gCG, and can use it without censure. At the age of four, she will be enrolled in kindergarten, where corrective instruction towards SMG will begin. At six, she will enter elementary school where instruction will take place in SMG, and she will also start learning English. At eight, English instruction will begin in earnest, and at 12 she will be asked to start learning French. Finally, at 16, if French is not agreeable to her, she will begin learning yet another language (most select Italian, Spanish or German). At

³ I thank one of the graduate students at UCY, Maria Tenizi, for providing me with this information.

university, instruction will continue in SMG, for the most part, and in English in certain courses. According to Tsiplikou *et al.* (2006: 273), adult speakers “switch relatively smoothly from one choice to another” and that these choices may include SMG forms which are considered part of the acrolect. This description makes it clear that gCG is relegated to the status of an undesirable code at a very early age, and never gains any overt prestige. Corrective instruction towards SMG begins at kindergarten at the precise time that Vernacular Reorganization (Labov 2001) begins, in other words just as children are becoming attuned to sociolinguistic variation (four years old). However, both at this stage and throughout their education, Cypriot children are being corrected about the use of dialectal forms by teachers who use many dialectal forms themselves, thus leading to a disconnect between perception and usage that Goutsos & Karyolemou (2004) refer to.

Whatever the cause of this disconnect may be, it has led to the kind of sociolinguistic tension that is typical of such situations (cf. Milroy & Milroy 1985; Fasold 1990, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998). Papapavlou (1998) in a matched-guise test found that Cypriot speakers judge the local variety as sounding uneducated and unpolished, while they also judge SMG speakers as insincere, unfriendly and manipulating. In several studies on language use by Cypriot media, Pavlou (2004) discovered that, although most mass media communication is conducted in SMG, gCG is preferred for advertising of Cypriot products, especially those that have to compete with foreign ones.

From a structural perspective, according to Terkourafi (2005b), gCG shows all the key characteristics of a koiné as it is based on the regional lect of Mesaoria (the area around the capital city Lefkosia) and has developed through simplification and levelling processes that are the result of contact between the various regional varieties, as well as influence from SMG. Based on various studies that have taken place in the past century (Menardos 1969; Contossopoulos 1972; Newton 1972a), Terkourafi identifies almost three dozen features (from all components of the grammar) that characterize this koiné in contradistinction with either SMG or more localized varieties of the language (i.e., “village” Cypriot). Typical examples of such innovative features include: the leveling of Mesaoritic [pettera] to gCG [peθθera] (“mother-in-law”), which is found in the other varieties of Cypriot Greek, through the influence of SMG [peθera]; the

simplification of genitive and accusative plurals for nominals of all genders; and the blending of Mesaoritic [omorca] and SMG [omorfça] to produce gCG [omorfca] (“beauty”).

The spread of the regional variant [j] within this koiné, then, presents an important development, since this appears to be the first instance in which a local variant is elevated to supra-local status. I will attempt to explain this change as a case of *reallocation*, a process that Trudgill (1986) has demonstrated can also be a result of dialect contact and koinéization, in addition to simplification, levelling, and blending. In reallocation, variants from regional varieties may survive into the koiné by acquiring a different embedding. Britain & Trudgill (2005), discuss several examples of the phenomenon, showing that sometimes the embedding is socio-stylistic in nature, while other times it is structural. For example, the koiné of Norwich is the product of contact between the regional varieties of West, South, and North and East Norfolk. In terms of the pronunciation of words in the ROOM lexical set, there were three different regional variants, (tense, lax, and fronted, respectively), which still persist, but have taken on a socio-stylistic role: The tense variant has high status, the lax middle status, and the fronted variant has low status. In a different example, during the formation of the Anglo-Australian community two variants of the BATH set came into contact: Northern English /æ/ and Southern /a:/ . Even though the latter was a prestigious variant, it was not adopted wholesale. Both variants still exist, with /æ/ appearing only before nasal codas (*plans, dance*, etc.), giving us an example of structural reallocation.

The pattern of variation in Greek Cypriot (liV) appears to be the result of socio-stylistic reallocation, as the regional variant [j] has been adopted as a marker by male speakers in gCG. This observation strengthens the conclusion by Terkourafi (2005b) that gCG is indeed a koiné involving the regional dialects of Cyprus, since in this case we see the spreading of a regional feature across the island, whereas the other changes that have occurred involve the assimilation of SMG features in one way or another. However, before we adopt this position, it is important to demonstrate that the socio-historical conditions that are thought to lead to koinéization also existed during the emergence of this variable.

Britain (1997) proposes that dialect contact situations lead to koinéization because

they place speakers in situations in which their *ontological security* is threatened. He adopts the term from the social model of Giddens (1984), in which *routinization* — “the habitual, taken for granted character of the vast bulk of activities of day-to-day social life” — plays a very important role. Routinization helps people establish ontological security, defined by Gregory (1989) as an individual’s mode of confidence that results from his or her ability to participate in daily life in a mostly predictable way.

Britain also makes the claim that situations of dialect contact, even when they are produced by voluntary movement of people results in a loss of routinization, and of ontological security. In order to mitigate the anxiety brought about from such disorientation, people will “open themselves to others, forming new ties of friendship and intimacy” (p. 40). Finally, he suggests that this process of re-grounding requires individuals that are more likely to converge, and here the role of children is important as they are “complete accommodators [...] and in situations where no one variety is dominant, they rationalize the linguistic resources of the community around them.” Kerswill (2001: 673) supports this view as well: “for a koiné to form, the speakers must waive their previous allegiances and social divisions to show mutual solidarity. Where they do not, koinéization is slowed, or may not result at all.”

If we take stock of the events that surround the emergence of (liV) in Cypriot Greek, it quickly becomes clear that they did produce the social and political environment that Britain describes. The war of 1974 resulted in loss of life and property, the displacement of populations, and the scattering of many northern Cypriot-Greek communities across the southern half of the island. This, in turn, resulted in demographic and infrastructure pressures on the host communities, bringing about both a disruption of routinization and a major threat to the ontological security of all Cypriots, one that would not dissipate easily.

In fact, one could argue that it was not until the 1990s that the situation in Cyprus stabilized. Up until the mid 1980s, it was hoped that the “Cypriot problem” could be resolved and that refugees would be able to return to their hometowns, thus prolonging the period of “routinization disruption” by placing everyone in a state of limbo. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot side declared itself an independent state making reunification of the island unlikely. This impressed upon refugees the necessity of integrating with Greek-

Cypriot communities in the southern part of the island. The government began a program of parceling out state-owned lands around the three major cities by a lottery system, so there was no systematic relocation of the refugee population as integral communities.

At the same time, the Greek Cypriot community was achieving financial and political success as an independent state: whereas the per capita GDP in 1980 was 4,384 USD, by 1990 it had risen to 9,971 USD (UNSD 2012); 1989 saw the establishment of the University of Cyprus which admitted its first students in 1992; the Cypriot state began developing closer ties to the European Union leading to full membership in the Eurozone (2005); and there has been a significant rise of the merchant marine and financial services sector. This eventually led to a reversal of brain-drain, with many expatriates (or their children) returning to Cyprus and a significant increase of mainland Greeks being employed in Cyprus (TSE 1992, 2011). Thus, as the situation in Cyprus was stabilizing, and the population (both refugees and hosts) began to accept the new status quo, it appears very likely that children born after 1974, and who would have been entering adolescence in the late 1980s and early 1990s, would act as the accommodators in Britain's model, and accelerate the koinéization process that had started after WWII.

It is not surprising that a variant such as [j] would be reallocated, especially if Christodoulou (1967) is correct about it being a characteristic of the Ammochostos region. This city, built near the cite of the ancient city state of Salamis, is today a ghost city, having remained uninhabited since 1974, and so maintains iconic status in terms of the loss of life, property and security that followed the invasion. It is not clear, however, why such a role would be assigned to a feature that is so rare in usage as (liV). One can only speculate, but it may be that as a rare feature, the use of the fricative variant, does not colour one's speech as too basilectal while at the same time giving it the appropriate tenor of alignment with local values. In a study of the stigmatized /l/ and /n/ palatalization in Greece (Pappas 2006), participants remarked that any attempt of a speaker to mitigate the extent of palatalization did in fact improve their overall image. Wolfram (1974) has also argued that the price tag of adoption of a marked feature may sometimes be too costly. On the other hand, the rare occurrence of the variable may

also explain why a basilectal feature has such a high input probability (0.75) despite the overall prescription against “village” speech.

In terms of the sociolinguistic situation in Cyprus, the biggest implication of this socio-stylistic reallocation is that it provides evidence that gCG has emerged as the *de facto* vernacular standard. Despite the feelings of linguistic inferiority by Cypriot speakers reported in earlier studies, more recent research (Arvaniti 2002; Tsipakou 2004) indicates that Cypriot speakers are becoming more self-confident, and are more positive towards their native variety. As Terkourafi (2005b: 335) notes:

Such a wealth of new productive mechanisms and novel constructions is not what one expects of a retreating variety, and attests to the overall vitality of the Cypriot Greek dialectal continuum, though of course different elements may be falling out of use, as new ones emerge.

This, in turn, means that we can no longer talk of Greek Cypriots as a diglossic community, if it were ever appropriate, because as Kerswill (2001) notes koinés do not have a target language. The koinéization process described in the work of Terkourafi and the emergence of (liV) as a socio-stylistic marker lead us to the conclusion that we do not have a binary opposition between Cypriot and Standard Greek, but rather a continuum that ranges from basilectal varieties (*horkatika*) all the way to acrolectal varieties (*horaitika*), and that the latter are standard enough. In fact they are so good, that for certain speakers, or in certain occasions, they do not pass as adequately Cypriot, and must be “enhanced” (cf. Tsipakou & Ioannidou 2012). The following excerpt from Tsipakou (2004) is a case in point. Here, the speaker expresses her overt disapproval of the use of the basilectal [eyoni] ('I') while at the same time she herself uses mostly gCG features (underlined) in phonology, morphology and syntax.

ne, en xorkatika pu lalun kori mu. ercete sto komotirion epses mja korua,
ðekapende xrono, ðen iksero akrivos, ce lali mu **eyoni**. akuis stavrul:a mu? **eyoni**.
kori mu lalo tis, esi ise lefkosiatis:a kori mu. esi ise xoraitis:a. inda tropos en tutos na
lalis **eyoni?** ufu! lali mu tje fefci

Yes, they speak like peasants dear. A girl comes into the salon yesterday, fifteen-years old, I don't know exactly, and she says to me 'eyoni'. Did you get it, Stavroula dear? 'eyoni'. My dear, I told her, you are from Lefkosia, my dear. You are from the city. What is this way of speaking, to say 'eoni'? "Whatever!" she said and left.

In this respect Cypriot Greek is not that different from other regional varieties of the language. The standard, as all standards, is an idealized abstraction that no one actually speaks and serves as an umbrella under which the varieties can be united. The reasons why this protection is not extended to Cypriot Greek as it is to Cretan (which is similar to Cypriot) or even Arvanitika (the now extinct ethnolect of 17th century Albanian settlers and their descendants) are historical and political, not linguistic. But note, that the price that these other regional varieties have had to pay in order to join in under the umbrella is the shrinking role of their most basilectal forms, and consequently their continued (although partial) homogenization. So perhaps by being on the outside, Cypriot Greek will be able to carve its own trajectory of change and maintain its status as the most vigorous of Greek regional varieties.

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REVIEW

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CALDERÓN CAMPOS, Miguel, *El español del reino de Granada en sus documentos (1492-1833). Oralidad y escritura*. Bern: Peter Lang (Fondo hispánico de lingüística y filología, 22) 2015. 277 páginas. ISBN 978-3-043-1639-2.

La colección "Fondo hispánico de lingüística y filología" de la editorial Peter Lang nos presenta el nuevo trabajo de Miguel Calderón Campos bajo el título de *El español en el reino de Granada en sus documentos (1492-1833). Oralidad y escritura*. Este vigésimo segundo volumen se inserta directamente dentro del campo de la lingüística de corpus, concretamente, se nos presenta el *Corpus diacrónico del español del reino de Granada* (CORDEREGRA), compuesto en su totalidad por documentos de archivo inéditos.

En palabras del propio autor, siguiendo la terminología geolingüística, se trata de un corpus de "pequeño dominio", elaborado a base de documentación cercana a la oralidad y vinculada geográficamente a las actuales provincias de Málaga, Granada y Almería. El CORDEREGRA abarca una profundidad histórica de más de trescientos años, desde 1492 hasta 1833, fecha en la que el reino de Granada se divide en las provincias citadas según el nuevo modelo territorial. Estamos ante el primer corpus sistemático del oriente andaluz, zona que fue castellanizada al mismo tiempo que la América hispanohablante.

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Además, el CORDEREGRA se inscribe como subcorpus de la red CHARTA (*Corpus Hispánico y Americano en la Red: Textos Antiguos* <<http://www.charta.es/>>). La red CHARTA se conforma como un proyecto de enorme envergadura dirigido por Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja con la colaboración de una veintena de grupos de investigación de universidades españolas, europeas y americanas, movidos por el objetivo común de elaborar un macrocorpus panhispánico con criterios de transcripción rigurosos.

Cuatro son los objetivos que *El español del reino de Granada en sus documentos* persigue: 1) presentar los criterios geográficos, cronológicos y textuales sobre los que se fundamenta el CORDEREGRA; 2) analizar las muestras de oralidad del corpus, en los planos fonético, sintáctico y morfológico; 3) analizar las particularidades léxicas, especialmente las que están relacionadas con la pervivencia de arabismos en el reino de Granada; y 4) presentar una antología de documentos de interés historicolingüístico procedentes de los archivos del antiguo reino de Granada.

La obra cuenta con un índice general que refleja la división en ocho capítulos. Nos encontramos con dos bloques bien diferenciados. El primer bloque presenta los estudios lingüísticos (fonéticos, morfosintácticos y léxicos) realizados con los datos el CORDEREGRA. El segundo bloque nos muestra una amplia antología de documentos inéditos en los que se reflejan los criterios de transcripción seguidos.

Si nos centramos en el primer bloque, el primer capítulo es una presentación de los objetivos señalados arriba.

El segundo capítulo, titulado “El corpus del español del reino de Granada”, recoge y sintetiza de forma muy clara los trabajos más importantes en lingüística de corpus, y ofrece una minuciosa lista de todos los corpus disponibles actualmente, elaborados a ambos lados del Atlántico. El autor nos explica los criterios que se han seguido a la hora de presentar los documentos archivísticos. Como cierre a este segundo capítulo, se exponen y explican, por un lado, los tipos textuales que componen el CORDEREGRA (inventarios de bienes y declaraciones de testigos) y, por otro lado, la mezcla constante que estos tipos textuales muestran entre el registro oral y el escrito. Las descripciones de las probanzas y de los documentos notariales (testamentos, inventarios, cartas de dote, embargos y escrituras de partición) ilustran y ayudan a comprender el grado de mezcla de registros que estos arrojan.

El tercer capítulo lleva el título de “Aspectos fonéticos en la documentación”. Está dedicado al análisis de fenómenos generales como las vacilaciones vocálicas y los grupos cultos entre otros. No se quedan fuera del análisis otros fenómenos dialectales que caracterizan a las hablas andaluzas, como lo son la pérdida de *-s*, el yeísmo, el seseo, la pérdida de la *-d* y *-d* o la neutralización de *r/l*. Cada fenómeno se presenta contrastado con los datos de otros corpus documentales (CORDE, el corpus del español de Venezuela), teniendo en cuenta el desarrollo de dichos fenómenos en otras zonas de Hispanoamérica como Argentina o México.

Algunos aspectos morfosintácticos del español del reino de Granada se desarrollan ampliamente en el cuarto capítulo. Teniendo siempre de fondo la dicotomía oralidad/escritura, el autor analiza el uso de los diminutivos *-ito*, *-ico* e *-illo* y los valores que adquieren en el discurso (familiaridad, intimidad, informalidad y formalidad). Además, se estudian también el uso, el desarrollo y los valores de las formas de tratamiento (*tú*, *vos* y *usted*). Todo esto, como se ha indicado, contrastado con otros corpus, con el objetivo de aportar datos significativos en un tema tan discutido como son las formas de tratamiento.

Un apartado especial dentro de este tercer capítulo centrado en la morfosintaxis, lo ocupa el análisis de la estructura *artículo determinado + antropónimo*, en el que el autor rebate antiguas hipótesis y nos explica los valores que él encuentra en esta fórmula: un valor pragmático-discursivo, uno rememorativo y otro coloquial, valores que se apoyan en la amplia documentación aportada.

El quinto capítulo aporta una buena información sobre una parcela concreta del léxico español del reino de Granada: los arabismos. A través de un amplio glosario, advertimos la presencia de un buen número de voces de origen árabe encontradas en la documentación del CORDEREGRA, al mismo tiempo que observamos los distintos campos semánticos con los que se relacionan (joyas, indumentaria, adornos). De este modo, se demuestra la profunda huella léxica que las peculiaridades religiosas, políticas y culturales, heredadas del antiguo reino nazarí, dejaron en el español del este territorio.

El español del reino de Granada en sus documentos (1492-1833). Oralidad y escritura se cierra con las conclusiones globales sobre los fenómenos tratados en todos

los planos de la lengua. Estos fenómenos revelan rasgos de oralidad relacionados con la evolución del español general y del español dialectal (vacilaciones vocálicas, pérdida de la *-d*, *-s-*, *-s*, etc.). Seguidamente, el autor aclara la evolución de los valores de las formas de tratamiento (*vos* para las relaciones simétricas hasta finales del siglo XVII con valor afectivo o despectivo y la evolución del grupo nominal *vuestra merced* > *usted*) y revela otros rasgos de oralidad en el uso y los valores de la estructura *artículo determinado + nombre propio de persona*.

El primer bloque de este trabajo termina con un apartado en el que se recoge la abundante bibliografía citada. A continuación, se abre el segundo bloque de este libro, donde se presenta una amplia antología de documentos inéditos de gran valor historicolingüístico. Esta colección de documentos ha sido elaborada atendiendo a criterios de transcripción paleográficos junto con criterios de edición crítica con el objetivo de ayudar y facilitar su lectura.

Por último, cabe realizar unas breves anotaciones con respecto a los destinatarios de esta obra, así como de su valor en el campo de la historia de la lengua española. Este trabajo estaría especialmente destinado a los estudiosos de la diacronía de la lengua española, así como a estudiantes de filología en un estadio más avanzado y especializado. Por otra parte, es posible explotar las posibilidades didácticas de este trabajo, a la vista de la gran cantidad de ejemplos ofrecidos para todos los fenómenos que se van explicando a lo largo de cada capítulo. Esta afirmación se ve reforzada por el orden, la organización y la coherencia que *El español del reino de Granada en sus documentos (1492-1833)* presenta a través de sus exposiciones teóricas, bastante transparentes en cuanto a su comprensión.

Con respecto a la metodología de corpus que sigue el autor en sus estudios, esta resulta clara y eficaz a la hora de realizar una investigación en el campo de la lingüística de corpus, con resultados mucho más fiables. Esta metodología se viene poniendo de relieve desde los años noventa, década en la que los investigadores dedicados a la historia de la lengua española comienzan a resaltar la importancia de buscar y estudiar otro tipo de fuentes documentales no literarias para enfrentarse de forma más empírica a la enorme tarea de reconstruir la historia del español (Fontanella 1992; Company 1994; Oesterreicher 1994).

De esta forma, esta obra entra de lleno en esas directrices señaladas. En este caso, los estudios realizados por Miguel Calderón en *El español del reino de Granada en sus documentos (1492-1833)*, van enfocados en torno al eje que constituye la dicotomía oralidad/escritura en los textos archivísticos de ese territorio, cuestión que, hasta ahora, ha sido poco estudiada. Al mismo tiempo, el autor traza nuevos caminos para futuras investigaciones que tengan como base el CORDEREGRÁ en otros aspectos de la historia de la lengua española.

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REVIEW

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ĐURO BLAŽEKA; GROZDANA ROB (2014) *Rječnik Murskog Središća (Diccionario del habla de Mursko Središće)*, Zagreb: Učiteljski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 695 pp.

En el año 2014 la lexicografía dialectal croata se enriqueció con un nuevo diccionario de un habla kajkaviana [kaikaviana]. La monografía de Đuro Blažeka y Grozdana Rob, titulada *Rječnik Murskog Središća (Diccionario del habla de Mursko Središće)* y publicada por Učiteljski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Facultad de Educación de la Universidad de Zagreb), es el primer diccionario de un habla que pertenece al dialecto “međimurski” en el territorio croata.¹ Además del diccionario, que abarca su mayor parte, la obra también contiene estudios muy valiosos que contribuyen a ampliar los conocimientos sobre las hablas kajkavianas.

El libro se divide en tres partes. La primera consiste en cuatro capítulos. El capítulo introductorio, titulado *Zemljopisni položaj i povijest grada Mursko Središće (La posición geográfica y la historia de la ciudad de Mursko Središće;* pp. 17-18), está seguido por el capítulo *Govor Murskog Središća (El habla de Mursko Središće;* pp. 19-40), que comprende varios subcapítulos: *Dosadašnja istraživanja (Investigaciones previas;* p. 19), *Govor Murskog Središća kao tipičan govor svetomartinske skupine gornjeg poddijalekta međimurskog dijalekta (El habla de Mursko Središće como el*

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¹ Cabe destacar que en 2009 fue publicado *Mura menti horvát tájszótár (Rječnik pomurskih Hrvata)*. Ese diccionario reúne el léxico de los hablantes de croata que viven en pueblos situados en la orilla izquierda del río Mura, en Hungría. Esas hablas también pertenecen al dialecto “međimurski” del sistema kajkaviano.

habla típica del grupo “svetomartinski” del subdialecto “superior” del dialecto “međimurski”; pp. 19-23), *Fonologija* (*Fonología*; pp. 23-37) y *Morfologija* (*Morfología*; pp. 38-40). Luego sigue el capítulo *O nastanku i koncepciji rječnika govora Murskog Središća* (*Sobre la formación y la concepción del diccionario del habla de Mursko Središće*; pp. 41-47) con los siguientes subcapítulos: *Istoznačnice u rječniku* (*Sinónimos en el diccionario*; pp. 41-44), *Pučka vjerovanja* (*Creencias populares*; p. 44), *Istraživanja pseudoanalogonimije* (*Investigaciones de pseudoanalogonimia*; pp. 44-47) y *Rudarski termini* (*Términos de minería*; p. 47). La unidad se cierra con una amplia lista de las referencias bibliográficas usadas, que abarcan tanto la literatura específica sobre el dialecto “međimurski” como la literatura “kajkavológica” y la dialectológica en general. Al diccionario mismo, que es el eje de la segunda parte y de todo el libro, le precede una sección útil en la que se explican la grafía (es decir, la transcripción aplicada) y las abreviaturas empleadas en los lemas, mientras que en la tercera unidad del libro están a disposición del usuario las biografías de los autores, así como una rica compilación de fotografías, que, en concordancia con el dicho “Una imagen vale más que mil palabras”, nos ayudan a percibir y entender cómo funciona(ba) la vida en Mursko Središće.

El capítulo introductorio de la primera parte primero presenta la ciudad de Mursko Središće desde una perspectiva geográfica, demográfica e histórica, para ofrecerle al usuario un contexto claro. Gracias a ese texto nos enteramos de que el nombre de la ciudad más norteña croata, situada en la orilla derecha del río Mura, por primera vez aparece en 1334 en la lista de parroquias de Međimurje como *Sancti Martin in Sredysche*. Como centro importante se percibía ya en 1477, cuando fue mencionada como una *varoš* ‘ciudad’ junto con Čakovec, Nedelišće y Prelog, mientras que en la historia reciente recibe el estatus de ciudad en 1997.

En el siguiente capítulo se presentan los rasgos más importantes del habla desde el punto de vista dialectológico² (pp. 19-40) y por lo tanto comprende varios subcapítulos. En el compendio de las investigaciones previas (p. 19) uno de los autores, Đuro Blažeka, explica que basándose en el corpus léxico compilado para este

² Los signos dialectológicos usados en la reseña son parte del sistema que desarrolló el Dr. Peter Weiss en Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU en Liubliana (Eslovenia).

diccionario pudo ampliar los conocimientos existentes sobre el habla analizada, cuyo resultado presenta a continuación.

La clasificación del dialecto “međimurski”, ya presentada en el libro *Međimurski dijalekt* (del mismo autor), fue aplicada en este libro también. Según los rasgos fonológicos presentados en el siguiente esquema, el dialecto “međimurski” puede dividirse en tres subdialectos:

subdialecto	evolución de los fonemas protoeslavos *ě y *ə	evolución de los fonemas protoeslavos *ǫ y *!		
“gornji” (superior)	*ě ≠ *ə	<i>zdéla</i> <i>méglia</i>	*ǫ ≠ *!	<i>vík</i> <i>r'ǫuka</i>
“srednji” (central)	*ě = *ə	<i>zdéla</i> <i>méglia</i>	*ǫ = *!	<i>vúk</i> <i>róka</i>
“donji” (inferior)	*ě = *ə	<i>zdéla</i> <i>méglia</i>	*ǫ = *	<i>vók</i> <i>róka</i>

El habla de Mursko Središće, según los datos obtenidos en las investigaciones, es el representante típico del grupo “svetomartinski” del subdialecto “superior” del dialecto “međimurski” y se distingue de los demás grupos del subdialecto (“štrigovski” y “stanetinečki”) por los siguientes rasgos: a) el inventario vocálico contiene 12 unidades (entre ellas 4 diptongos) en posición acentuada, b) existe un sincretismo optativo de DLI de plural en todas las flexiones de sustantivos (menos la flexión -i), así como en la flexión de adjetivos y pronombres y c) hay una multitud de palabras comunes a las hablas “prekmurske”. A continuación el autor también expone la comparación de esta habla con las hablas “prekmurske” descritas hasta ahora (las de Beltinci y de Polana), refiriéndose a 12 rasgos. Sigue la descripción fonológica del habla: se revelan las características del inventario, su realización, distribución y el desarrollo histórico de las vocales, consonantes y la acentuación. En el habla de Mursko Središće la cantidad vocalica y la entonación del acento ya no son relevantes desde el punto de vista fonológico, por lo cual esas oposiciones antiguas se convirtieron en oposiciones de calidad vocalica, permaneciendo relevante tan sólo el lugar del acento. La consecuencia directa de ese proceso es el aumento del número de unidades del inventario vocalico: en la sílaba tónica aparecen: i, u, ij, ou, ei, ou, e, o, e, o, e, a y r, y en la atónica: j, y, e, o i a. El sistema consonántico está formado por las sonantes j, ž, l, m, n, r, y, v y las obstruyentes b, c, č, d, đ, f, g, x, k, p, s, š, t, z, č. Otro subcapítulo

contiene una breve descripción morfológica (haciendo especial referencia a los sustantivos y a los verbos). Es importante destacar que algunos sustantivos de la llamada “flexión a” en GDL de singular tienen los morfemas de la llamada “flexión e” (p. ej. *pec'iklјn*⟨sg. G *pec'iklјne*, D *pec'iklјnj* ‘bicicleta’); *klijček*⟨sg. G *klijčke*, D *klijčki*⟩ ‘pecíolo’ etc.), lo cual los acerca a las hablas “prekmurske”. Los nombres que terminan en -*u* en la flexión obtienen el infijo *-uj-* en el paradigma (p. ej. *žurų*⟨G *žurųja*, D *žurųjų*⟩ ‘Jorge’). En cuanto a los verbos, hay que mencionar la existencia de dos formas paralelas del participio activo de los verbos con raíz plurisilábica (p. ej. *ub'edųvo/ub'edųvaj* ‘almorzado, comido’), la forma larga de la 3^a p. de pl. de presente (por lo cual se distingue de las formas registradas en las hablas de los otros dos subdialectos), varias analogías etc. El autor destaca que en el habla de Mursko Središće ya se siente lo “periférica” que es esa habla en el contexto del subdialecto, porque por sus características se acerca a las hablas del subdialecto “srednji”; de hecho, algunas localidades que administrativamente pertenecen a Mursko Središće (p. ej. Hlapičina, Štrukovec y Križovec) en la clasificación dialectológica pertenecen a dicho subdialecto.

En su participación en el congreso 3. *Međimurski filološki dani*, que tuvo lugar los días 12 y 13 de marzo de 2015, el autor esbozó la metodología utilizada en la realización del diccionario, que está en concordancia con la ya explicada y descrita en algunos trabajos previos (p. ej. Blažeka, Đuro. 2011. *Koncepcija Rječnika Svetog Đurđa* (Rječnika Iudbreške Podravine). 1. *Međimurski filološki dani*. Zagreb: Učiteljski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu; Belović, Stjepan – Blažeka, Đuro. 2009. *Rječnik govora Svetog Đurđa* (Rječnik Iudbreške Podravine). Zagreb: Učiteljski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu), por lo cual en este libro no están descritos todos los pasos. En el capítulo siguiente se presta atención a los sinónimos y a su presentación (están divididos en seis grupos y ampliamente exemplificados). A continuación se explica que el diccionario incluye también creencias populares, al igual que la terminología del campo de la minería. Finalmente, aprovechando su alto conocimiento de la situación dialectal en Međimurje, el autor ha dedicado un capítulo especial a la pseudoanalogonimia, ofreciendo así una serie de ejemplos de falsos amigos entre varios sistemas kajkavianos.

Como ya hemos destacado, la última parte del estudio introductorio es muy importante para el usuario, puesto que en ella se encuentra la explicación de la grafía (transcripción) y las abreviaturas usadas. Tanto en el estudio introductorio, como en el diccionario, se utiliza la transcripción dialectológica tradicional croata. A diferencia de los trabajos dialectológicos recientes, en los cuales la posición del acento suele marcarse con el llamado ictus (') sobre la vocal (p. ej. *pȳtrušítj* 'gastar'), la sílaba tónica en este diccionario está marcada con el ictus delante de la vocal (p. ej. *pȳtruš'itj* 'gastar'). En ese capítulo se advierte al usuario que los ejemplos de frases, que sirven para contextualizar cierta palabra, están escritos usando la transcripción fonológica y no fonética (por lo tanto [ž̞im] 'con él' se escribe /z̞im/).

A través del estudio introductorio, el usuario se familiariza con las características del habla de Mursko Središće, gracias a lo cual podrá usar el diccionario fácilmente. Veamos entonces cómo está organizado y estructurado el diccionario.

Como puede verse en la imagen adjunta, al principio mismo del lema se encuentra un archilexema, escrito en negrita y en mayúsculas. Esa forma está adaptada a la grafía del estándar croata, es decir no refleja las características típicas del habla (como el ensordecimiento final, la apertura, la diptongación o el cierre de las vocales, el acento etc.), y ayudará a que el diccionario sea más accesible y comprensible a todos los usuarios (incluso a los que no son lingüistas). Ese método mostrará sus ventajas en un futuro, cuando sean estudiados y comparados los corpus léxicos de más hablas međimurjenses y se trate de establecer un diccionario general de todo el dialecto, ya que el archilexema entonces servirá como un denominador común para todas las realizaciones (p. ej. fonológicas) de la misma palabra.

Entre corchetes encontraremos la forma canónica del lexema (ahora en transcripción dialectológica) y ciertas formas del paradigma dependiendo de la clase de palabra a la que pertenece, sobre todo si contienen alguna excepción. Si son posibles variaciones (fonológicas, morfológicas etc.), ellas están separadas por una barra (/). Detrás de los corchetes se halla la información gramatical (escrita en cursiva y en negrita), mientras que la acepción (o las acepciones) que sigue(n) está(n) escrita(s) en cursiva (y enumeradas). Con el símbolo ★ se destaca la frase en la que se contextualiza

cierta palabra, detrás del símbolo = aparecen los sinónimos, el signo ☀ simboliza una frase hecha o un proverbio y al lado del signo Ⓛ se añade alguna creencia popular.

Usando el diccionario constatamos que en él encontramos el corpus léxico relacionado con todas las esferas de la vida humana, desde la niñez hasta la vejez, y que refleja las actividades cotidianas de los hablantes. Por lo tanto, encontramos el léxico gastronómico (el que se refiere a la cocina y a la comida), el vocabulario que designa las prendas de vestir, el que hace referencia al hogar y a todo lo que lo rodea, la nomenclatura local de animales y de plantas, el léxico vinculado a la agricultura y a la minería, etc.

Aunque a primera vista pareciera que se trate de un diccionario dialectológico general, su uso continuo contribuirá a que los usuarios se den cuenta de que este diccionario, por más de contener léxico específico, tiene muchas características de un diccionario onomástico, fraseológico, terminológico y etnológico.

Es por eso que hay que destacar que este diccionario es útil también para los onomásticos, puesto que contiene numerosos ejemplos de nombres registrados en lemas separados. Prestando atención a diferentes categorías onímicas, los autores crearon una fuente de consulta muy valiosa. Los antropónimos son los más representados: el diccionario consta de unos 120 nombres de pila (básicos (p. ej. *Furj'qn, J'qna, Jant'qun, L'ovra*), abreviados (p. ej. *G'ela, Tva, J'ala, L'uca, L'eksij*) y derivados (p. ej. *G'ustek, K'arcđi, L'ucjka, Št'efek*) y el mismo número de apodos familiares (p. ej. *Ž'erkešuvj, H'itleruvj, Kuv'ačekj, R'usijčkinj, Vjč'ojkjinj* etc.). La multitud de esas formas señala que esos componentes establecen la fórmula más típica en la comunicación no oficial, mientras que los apellidos, que pertenecen a la fórmula oficial, no fueron registrados. También encontramos tres apodos personales (p. ej. *S'elcufka* etc.). Además, en el diccionario también encontramos zoónimos (en un total de 32 nombres de animales encontramos 15 nombres bovinos (p. ej. *'Arma, Br'ěza, C'itra, M'ujca, M'ura, P'erga, R'ouža, Tarka, Z'una* etc.), 6 nombres de caballos (p. ej. *'Edj, Idris, J'adran* etc.) y 9 de yeguas (p. ej. *Eíva, L'isa, L'iza* etc.). Unos 40 topónimos vinculados estrechamente a Mursko Središće también han sido integrados al diccionario (*Frg'ouf, Gr'ebljica, Hlapic'oujnska str'uga, Kat'ajnšček, Ljm'qn, Mel'ijje, M'oura, Š'tuk, Š'ouderka* etc.), al igual que información importante sobre el tipo de

objeto nombrado. Desgraciadamente no hay un mapa adjunto en el que estén ubicados los topónimos mencionados. El corpus onímico revela varios datos: p. ej. unos 30 oikónimos, 8 corónimos y 24 gentilicios reflejan informaciones sobre los lugares más importantes para los habitantes de Mursko Središće (se llaman *Serj'ončarij* y *Serj'ončarke*) y comunes en su vida cotidiana, mientras que los nombres de las oraciones y los 25 nombres de festividades demuestran la importancia de la fe en la comunidad.

Además de presentarse en lemas propios, muchos de los mencionados nombres aparecen también incorporados en frases en las que se aplican y contextualizan ciertas palabras. La mención de personas concretas y de los lugares importantes en la vida cotidiana, desde luego, comprueba la autenticidad del corpus expuesto en este diccionario.

Los autores indicaron que detrás del símbolo ☉ aparecen las expresiones idiomáticas. Aunque ellas dominan, sería más preciso decir que los lemas indicados por ese símbolo contienen **uniones de palabras**, porque además de frases idiomáticas (p. ej. *fr'ižek k'ak str'eila b'oužja; ml'otijti pr'oznū sl'amū*), contienen colocaciones (p. ej. *k'onjskј sl'ok* ‘tipo de planta (campanilla)’, *sl'eipa v'ouš* ‘lución’), proverbios (p. ej. ☉ *čij sj v str'ajnskј h'iži guspud'or, t'ę te vr'ota t'oučeju pü n'ogaj.*), frases burlonas (p. ej. **IVA** [*'Iva 'Ivija*] **m** oblik muškog imena Ivan. ☉ *'Iva sl'iva, gl'iva pü gn'ojsčićj pl'ova. D'oje r'aca pak ga st'aca, d'ojde g'ouska pak ga spl'uska, d'ojde p'ura pak ga zd'ura, a 'ounda d'ojde p'ek pak ga h'ijtj v nojv'ekšj dr'ek.*) etc. En cuanto a las frases idiomáticas *per se*, parece que la metodología de su indicación pudo haber sido mejor elaborada y más precisa (p. ej. hubiera sido mejor establecer una forma canónica de la expresión idiomática, indicar su significado y contextualizarla en una frase, en concordancia con la metodología ya expuesta y sistematizada en los diccionarios fraseológicos croatas). Eso no disminuye el valor que tiene el diccionario por el hecho de abarcar también ese corpus, sobre todo si se tiene en cuenta que muchas son de carácter local (es decir, se emplean sólo en la región de Međimurje o en un solo pueblo).

La abreviatura RUD. inaugura el bloque terminológico de este diccionario. El hecho de que muchos habitantes de Mursko Središće trabajaran como mineros ha quedado reflejado en la lengua, por lo cual encontramos un gran número de términos

de ese campo. Ellos son interesantes porque provienen de otras lenguas (del alemán y del húngaro). Destacaremos aquí algunos ejemplos:

abl'eis, abl'ezunk, 'ajnštr'ajh, 'anšl'eger, 'ažzbjs, beforunk, b'ounker, 'empruh, ferl'eis, ferz'ac, fl'ec, fūršt'ekatj, foršus, frpr'uh, gez'ijnk, grunz'ol, h'ajer, h'alda, k'apna, karab'ijtka, kum'ijt, k'uplar, l'aduŋga, l'aginšt'uk, l'ajtunga, l'apurnjk, l'igent, m'oček, m'itljn, op'ava, r'igljn, sfeder, š'oſla, št'empljn, št'urc, š'uber, š'uh, terz'ina, v'iper etc.

Al diccionario fueron incorporadas muchas creencias populares. En la mayoría de los casos se trata de una predicción del futuro a base del tiempo meteorológico o se describen las actividades de la gente cuyo fin es cumplir un deseo, es decir, las actividades que la gente hace si quiere que se cumpla algún deseo. (p. ej. **BARA** [B'ora B'ore] *f oblik ženskog imena Barbara*. (4. prosinca – spomendan sv. Barbare) ⓧ čj je na B'orū mr'as, tr'ajo bū v'ęs z'ijmskј č'as.).

El valor etnológico del diccionario no lo percibimos tan sólo en las creencias populares, sino también en la compilación de fotografías adjuntas en la última sección del libro. Al igual que muchas palabras específicas que nos llaman la atención, muchas de esas fotografías se nos grabarán en la memoria, despertarán recuerdos en la mente de los usuarios mayores y enseñarán a los jóvenes sobre el desarrollo de la vida rural.

En las 695 páginas del diccionario seguramente no fueron reunidas todas las palabras que forman el léxico del habla de Mursko Središće, pero en ellas se conservará la riqueza léxica, con sus diferentes capas, de varias influencias, convirtiéndose en una excelente fuente para investigaciones y análisis lingüísticos.

El proyecto demostró que la colaboración y la cooperación de un dialectólogo y una aficionada con una misma motivación - la protección y la conservación del tesoro léxico de cierto idioma popular, funciona como una simbiosis cuyo resultado es una obra que dejará una huella importante en la lexicografía croata. Este diccionario cumple con los requisitos de un diccionario moderno y, ofreciendo materiales adicionales, sobrepasa el concepto de un diccionario, llegando a ser un manual valioso tanto para el público científico (en primer lugar para los dialectólogos y kajkavólogos) como para los usuarios comunes y corrientes que conviven con cada una de esas palabras. Felicitando a los autores por su logro, esperamos tener pronto un nuevo diccionario de un habla kajkaviana.

ARQUILEXEMA

METATI [m'etati] m'ěčem, pl. 3. m'ěčeju, *imp.* m'ěči, *prid. rad.* m'ěto / m'ětau, m'ětala, m'ětalu / met'alu, *prid. trp.* m'ětanj, *sup.* m'ětat] **impf.** *stavljati.* ★ Z r'asvaj je m'ěto sn'opje v p'ormu. ☀ m'ětatj v kr'aj (*stavljati izvan upotrebe*). ★ M'ěčeš v kr'aj, p'osle buš p'ok n'uco.

METER [m'eter] m'ětra] **m** 1. *metar.* ★ K'oupila sem š'tirj m'ětre pl'otna. 2. *prostorni metar.* ★ Za z'ijmu n'ucam d'iset m'ětruf d'rf. 3. *metrička centa.* ★ Zasl'oužila je m'ěter ž'ita.

forma canónica
otras formas del
paradigma

datos gramaticales

METLAK [metl'ok] metlōka] **m** RUD. *potpora podgradama na otkopu u rudniku.* ★ Metl'ok je b'ijo ud b'qura, b'ukve, g'acije, alj ud s'akšega dr'ejava. Udž'agalj su se kūl'iku su se n'ucalj pr'ama šir'ijnj 'otkupa. (*Postavljalji se se okomito u jamu, kako je padao sloj ugljena koji se iskapao.*)

DATOS SOBRE EL
CONTEXTO DE USO

METUL [met'oul] met'oula] **m** = mat'oul

= sinónimo

MI [m'ij n'as] *pron.* **mi.** ★ M'ij smu t'qu prež'ijvili. V'ę vas t'qu č'oka.

acepción
(acepciones).

MICA [M'ica M'ice] f 1. *oblik ženskog imena Marija.* 2. *jedno od imena koje se davalo kravama.*

⊗ expresión
idiomática
(*significado de la
expresión
idiomática*).

★ frase en la que se
aplica cierta
expresión idiomática.

⌚ frase en la que se
explica cierta
tradición popular.

MIGATI [m'igati] m'igam, pl. 3. m'igali, *imp.* m'igaj, *prid. rad.* m'igo / m'igau, m'igala, m'igalu, *sup.* m'igat] **impf.** *treptati.* ☀ m'igati kak trūb'enta na v'odj

MIHALIJE [Mih'olije / Mihul'iye] Mih'olija / Mihul'ija] **n** dan sv. Mihaela (29. rujna). ☀ Čj za Mihul'ije s'ever v'l'ěče, v'eliku z'ijmu sn'egum duvl'eče. ☀ Ak je du Mih'olija s'ounce, 'ounda se na p'ěči ut'ova suš'ij. ☀ Za Mih'olija se z'apre l'etu, za Gr'egura se 'otpre! T'ej d'en su tjr'ali sv'iže p'ud hr'ost ka se naj'eju ž'ijra ka se fejst nak'rmiyu. Kr'ave su s p'ošnjka stj'r'alj d'imu. ☀ Št'qu se ne p'ozj, t'ej d'en bu zaj'aho k'oňa sv'etuga Mih'olija - bu hm'rū!

MIHOLČICOVI [Mih'olčičevi Mih'olčičevi] **m** pl. t. *jedan od zabilježenih obiteljskih nadimaka.*

★ Frase en la que se
aplica y con la que se
contextualiza cierta
palabra.

SLAČITI (SE) [sl'qčiti (se) sl'qčim (se), pl. 3. sl'qčiju (se), *imp.* sl'qči (se), *prid. rad.* sl'qčiu (se) / sl'qčijo (se) sl'qčila (se), sl'qčilu (se), *sup.* sl'qčit] **impf.** I. TRANS. *svlačiti.* ★ Sl'qči p'upl'one. II. REFL. *svlačiti se.* ★ St'orcj se st'ěška sl'qčiju. N'ę daju sij p'um'očj.

SLADEK [sl'adek, odr. sl'atkj, sl'atkuga, komp. sl'atkjši] **adj.** *sladak.* ★ M'quš jí je sl'atkjši ud m'eda. ☀ Sl'atkj je kak c'ukur.

SLATINE [Sl'atine] Sl'atijn] **f** pl. t. *naziv jednog polja oko Murskog Središća.*

SLATKARIJE [slatkar'ije slatkar'iji] **fpl. t.** = m'ěndjice

REVIEW

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HOLMES, JANET & KIRK HAZEN (eds.) (2014) *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide*, Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Wiley Blackwell, 352 pp.

Sociolinguistics presents itself as an inherently interesting field of study and, as researchers with an interest in language use, most of us are keen on finding out about the best and most appropriate research methodology in sociolinguistics. Janet Holmes and Kirk Hazen have succeeded to edit the much-needed and highly recommended single-volume guide, *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide*, which comprises a collection of twenty-one articles on the major approaches toward and tools of data collection, analysis and interpretation in sociolinguistics research. The book falls into three major parts. Like other volumes published by Wiley Blackwell in this series, the most pleasing characteristic of this volume is its practical approach, providing the reader with hands-on tips on how to collect and use various types of sociolinguistic data and data collection tools. The materials covered are as follows. In the Introduction Holmes and Hazen find the necessary space as to introduce the reader to the two major types of data in sociolinguistic research, namely, experimental and quantitative and anthropological and qualitative data. This part goes on to highlight the major focus of each chapter of the book. It is noteworthy that each chapter concludes with a number of excellent practical tips on the subject at hand. Chapter 1 deals with the two main types of research question which scholars ask when

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doing sociolinguistic research; of these, the first type of hypothesis is put forward by linguists and is more focused on the language and its features while the other type is concerned with society. This distinction has led to specification of various objectives for linguists and sociologists in that while linguists use society as a means of understanding how language works, sociologists use language to understand society. Part I, which constitutes four articles, highlights the various types of data that researchers come up with in the process of data collection as well as the methods of collection. These include interviews, written surveys and questionnaires, experimentally elicited data and computer-mediated communication data. The process of data collection through fieldwork and sociolinguistic interviews is treated in chapter 2. As a widely used data collection tool, interviews present an emic perspective in research, as opposed to an etic perspective. Critical issues in interviewing include: anonymity of participants, sample selection, observer's paradox and interviewing equipment. Two of the major approaches to sample selection, namely random sampling and judgement samples, are also discussed. Chapter 3 deals with questionnaires. Normally, a questionnaire is divided into three parts, namely, introduction, mid-section and conclusion. Items on a questionnaire can explore behavior, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and attributes. Types of questionnaire items are: close-ended and open-ended questions. Issues concerning how to construct and administer a questionnaire, write items, process, evaluate and analyze data obtained from a questionnaire are covered as well. Chapter 4 is concerned with experimental methods which have been long at the periphery of sociolinguistic work. Two major approaches discussed here include 'matched-guise technique' which examines how linguistic features as spoken by an individual affect the features attributed to that person and 'identification task' which treats how expectations raised about an individual influence the way his/her speech is heard and perceived. Associated ethical considerations are discussed as well. Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) and the two approaches associated with CMC, namely text-based interpersonal communication (e.g. via email) and social networking sites, are covered in chapter 5.

Part II comprises eight chapters, with each chapter dealing with how sociolinguistic data should be analyzed and interpreted as taken from a perspective on

language features. Chapter 6 attempts to delineate the distinctions between research on the present and the past. It is discussed that sociohistorical analysis is entrenched in the contextual sociopragmatic and variational features. Chapter 7 is on the inclusion of corpus linguistics in sociolinguistic research which uses naturally occurring data by means of special computer softwares to build a corpus. The acoustic features of language are examined in chapters 8 and 9 with the former discussing the phonetic analysis and the latter addressing phonological considerations. In fact, these two chapters elaborate on how language use can be constrained not only by social factors (e.g. age and sex) but also by features of the linguistic system itself. Moving away from the sound system, chapter 10 explores the morphosyntactic issues of language use in an attempt to illustrate the critical issues of concern in such research including diachronic variation, linguistic levels, etc. Chapter 11 takes a lexicographic approach to sociolinguistic research by adopting the ‘word’ as the starting point of vocabulary analysis. The focus of chapter 12 is on the interdisciplinary field of research of discourse analysis. This chapter treats four approaches to analyzing discourse, namely, critical discourse analysis, variational sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics. Statistical analyses are addressed in chapter 13 which includes such basic quantitative statistics as ratios, central tendencies, tests of significance, chi-square and correlations.

Part III, comprising seven articles, focuses on the context and the relevant contextual components such as speech communities, style and variation in sociolinguistic research. This part provides up-to-date information on notions as diverse as communities of speech, communities of practice (CofP), identity, social networks and dialectology. In this regard, chapter 14 stresses the culturally and historically constructed context of language use, taking an anthropological stance on the analysis of the ideologies of language and recommending ethnography as the major data collection method. Chapter 15 takes a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, stressing that the methodologies of CA can be equally applied to everyday social interactions as well as to institutional interactions. The three main elements of CA-led research consist of social action, turn and turn design. As an interdisciplinary study of linguistic variation, dialectology is addressed in chapter 16 which covers both

the old and traditional approaches to the study of dialects and the recent ones. In chapter 17, the focus of analysis gets narrower by taking the individual as the unit of analysis and research. The chapter introduces three frameworks as units of analysis: speech community, social network and community of practice (CofP). An important concept in this chapter is identity. Chapter 18 discusses what research in multilingual contexts should be like. It is commonly believed that today's world is characterized by multilingual features, rather than mono- or even bilingual ones. Chapter 19 addresses identity which is believed to play a central role in sociolinguistics. To elaborate on this highly significant notion, the author discusses how identity is related to the social context and style. Finally, a unique chapter which might attract its own readership to this collection is chapter 20, i.e., the final chapter. The uniqueness of this chapter lies in the fact that it reports on some of the latest developments in the area of child language acquisition with reference to sociolinguistic competence. This concept of sociolinguistic competence was first proposed by Canale & Swain (1980) as one of the four main components of the broader notion of communicative competence (i.e., grammatical competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence).

This single-volume guide does not presume advanced background in sociolinguistics on the part of the readers. The chapters, however, vary in their accessibility depending on the topic(s) the chapters are concerned with. This volume can serve as a highly needed source for both novice and advanced researchers who are willing to carry out sociolinguistic research. I would also recommend the book to academics who wish to conduct sociolinguistic research by means of a variety of tools, methods and types of data at the tertiary level. As for the style, the book has been written in a smooth and reader-friendly style. It does not include a large number of illustrations, tables and figures. The practical, along with the theoretical, hints provided for the reader so that s/he will carry out research more ably and precisely are an excellent feature of this guide.

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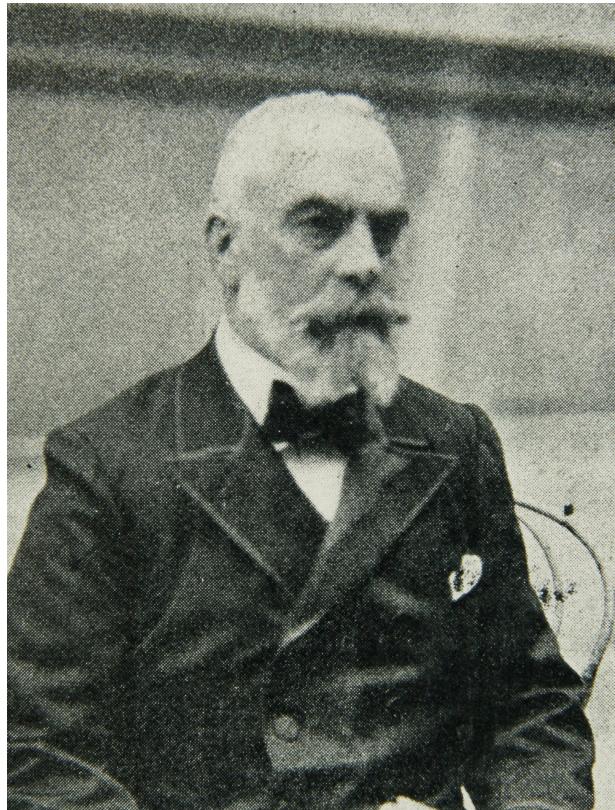
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FIRST DIALECTOLOGISTS



PIER ENEA GUARNERIO

(1854-1919)

“Sardinian is, between the two Romance zones, the Western and the Eastern one, an independent linguistic group, in which “logudorese” is the most typical variety; from there, Sardinian splays, towards South, in the “campidanese” dialects, that are in contact with Sicilian ones, and, towards North, in the “sassarese” and “gallurese”, that, through the “western” Corsican, join the “eastern” Corsican, that is a member of the Italian dialects’ family, or, better, of the Tuscan ones” (“Il dominio sardo. Relazione retrospettiva degli studi sul sardo fino al 1910”, *Revue de dialectologie romane*, III, 1911, 200).

1. Biography

Born in Milano in 1854 (July, 1st), at his hometown University he attended the courses of Linguistics held by Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, and, after graduation, he began his career of teacher of Italian and Humanities in the schools of Sardinia, where he lived for five years. This long experience, very important both from the human and professional point of view, led him to put the focus of his scientific interests on Dialectology — specially on linguistic varieties and traditions of that island, and on the texts written in old Sardinian. For this reason, he became within few years, and until the publication of Max Leopold Wagner's essays in 20th century, perhaps the best specialist of Sardinian dialectology. Nobody before him listened to Sardinian spoken dialects with a scientific hear.

In his ethnographic inquiries, he cooperated with the important journal *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, directed by Giuseppe Pitrè and Salvatore Salomone Marino. As university professor, he worked in the next periods in the Universities of Geneva and finally, in Pavia, where in 1903 he succeeded to Carlo Salvioni as the incumbent of the chair of Romance and Classic Glottology. During these years, he continued his researches in Sardinian Dialectology and History of Italian dialects (old Ligurian and others), but he also developed his interests in Indo-European linguistics, Latin and Greek etymology, toponymy, ethnography and literature, by publishing either linguistic essays or handbooks and articles with a larger target.

He died in Milano, after a long illness, in 1919 (December 1st).

2. Main works

Among the most relevant essays written by Pier Enea Guarnerio about Sardinian varieties, we can mention *I dialetti odierni di Sassari, della Gallura e della Corsica*, in *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XIII (1892), 125-140; XIV, 131-200, 385-422 (for this essay he got a grant from the *Accademia dei Lincei*, the most prestigious scientific Academy in Italy) and *Il sardo e il còrso in una nuova classificazione delle lingue romanze*, in

Archivio glottologico italiano, XVI (1904), 491-516; in the contribution *L'intacco latino della gutturale di ce, ci*, in *Supplementi dell'Archivio glottologico italiano*, IV (1897), 21-51, the author discusses one of the problems of historical phonetics that he analyzed several times (see § 3). The language of the Catalan linguistic minority of Alghero (Sassari, Sardinia) is described in a very precise way in *Il dialetto catalano di Alghero*, in *Archivio glottologico italiano*, IX (1886), 261-364, taken in consideration for all the next inquiries about this community.

To the old Sardinian Guarnerio dedicated the articles *La lingua della Carta de Logu, secondo il ms. di Cagliari*, in *Studi sassaresi*, III (1905), 67-145, and *L'antico campidanese dei secoli XI-XIII secondo "le antiche Carte volgari dell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Cagliari"*, in *Studi romanzi*, IV (1906), 189-259, and other articles, but, during his period at Genova University he studied also *La Passione ed altre prose religiose in dialetto genovese del sec. XIV*, in *Giornale linguistico*, XX (1893), 270-295, 369-383.

Very important, in toponymy are the two contributions *Intorno al nome del Monte Rosa*, in *Athenaeum*, IV (1916) and *Ancora sul nome del Monte Rosa*, in *Athenaeum*, V (1917), in which he explained very clearly that the name of this mountain in Western Alps is not related to the name of the colour but is a pre-Romance form that survives in Franco-Provencal dialects (*ruise, ruiza, reuse*, etc.) to mean 'glacier'.

The big etymologic dictionary of Italian words with a Greek origin, *Dizionario etimologico di dodicimila vocaboli italiani derivati dal Greco*, Milano, 1901 (written in cooperation with Amato Amati), was considered even several decades later one of the more reliable etymologic studies. For his Indo-European researches, we mention *Le sorti latine dell'ide. dw- iniziale*, in *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti*, XL (1907), 419-32.

To the lexicography of Italian Switzerland (Canton Ticino) is connected his memory *Appunti lessicali bregagliotti*, published in Milano — still the cultural capital of that corner of Switzerland - in the review *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti*, XLI (1908), 199-212, 392-407; XLII, 970; XLIII, 372-390, with plenty of data and materials coming from the Val Bregaglia.

A good success had, in 1910, the handbook *Gli Italiani e il bel paese. La letteratura*, Milano, Vallardi, 1910, an introduction to Italian literature for students and teachers, very clear and useful from the didactic point of view, thanks to the personal experience of Guarnerio as teacher of Humanities in several schools of different regions.

In his ethnographic production are relevant the articles *L'origine di Meneghino*, in *Natura ed Arte*, (1907-1908), II, 232-238, 311-316 - that got several positive comments and reviews in his hometown, the fatherland of the traditional stock character *Meneghino* — and *Il fantoccio del Carnevale e il giovedì grasso a Sassari*, in *Wörter und Sachen*, III (1912), a research concerning history and meanings of the Carnival folk traditions in Sassari (Northern Sardinia).

Only one year before his premature death, he published also a handbook of Romance Phonology (*Fonologia romanza*, Milano, Hoepli, 1918) that was generally welcome even if, because of the changing cultural climate of that period, it was also sometimes criticized, especially in reference to complete author's fidelity to the interpretative schemes of Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, created still in 19th century.

3. Some linguistic questions discussed by Guarnerio

In Guarnerio's and Ascolis's opinion, the Sardinian phonetic groups *ke*, *ki* (as in *kentu* 'hundred', *kimbe* 'five' etc.) are not, in the varieties of the island, the direct continuation of the classic Latin pronunciation, but the regression till the velar consonant of a sound that already in Latin had a little palatal development, from *k* to *k'*.

Besides, the linguistic position of Northern Sardinian ("gallurese", "sassarese") was, for Guarnerio, inside the group of Sardinian varieties, and not external, as, for instance, in Matteo Bartoli's contributions.

Both these opinions are now out-fashioned, even if Gino Bottiglioni e Carlo Tagliavini still agreed with Guarnerio's classification of Sardinian; but, of course, this is not a good reason to consider useless or antiquated the whole Guarnerio's scientific production.

4. Some author's words

“Il sardo costituisce, di mezzo alle due zone orientale e occidentale delle lingue romanze, un gruppo linguistico indipendente, di cui il logudorese è il tipo fondamentale, donde si degrada a mezzogiorno nel campidanese, che va a toccarsi coi dialetti siculi, e a settentrione nel sassarese e gallurese, che traverso al corso oltremontano finiscono nel corso cismontano, spettante alla famiglia dei dialetti italiani e più propriamente toscani” (“Il dominio sardo. Relazione retrospettiva degli studi sul sardo fino al 1910”, *Revue de dialectologie romane*, III, 1911, 200).¹

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¹ “Sardinian is, between the two Romance zones, the Western and the Eastern one, an independent linguistic group, in which “logudorese” is the most typical variety; from there, Sardinian splays, towards South, in the “campidanesi” dialects, that are in contact with Sicilian ones, and, towards North, in the “sassarese” and “gallurese”, that, through the “western” Corsican, join the “eastern” Corsican, that is a member of the Italian dialects’ family, or, better, of the Tuscan ones” (“Il dominio sardo. Relazione retrospettiva degli studi sul sardo fino al 1910”, *Revue de dialectologie romane*, III, 1911, 200).

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