



NARNiHS
North American Research Network
in Historical Sociolinguistics

Official Program for NARNiHS 2021

Third Annual Meeting

North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics

A Sister Society of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA)

8 – 11 January 2021

This year fully online via video-conference!

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Contents

Video-conferencing Guidelines	3
General Program	4
Sessions	7
Session 1: Norms – Between Homogeneity and Variation	7
Session 2: Contact and Sound Change	8
Session 3: Sources and Methods . . . and New Interpretations	9
Session 4: Syntax	10
Session 5: Syntax and Discourse.....	11
Session 6: Scripts and Graphemic Variation	12
Presenters and abstracts	13
José Miguel Alcolado Carnicero	13
Anita Auer	15
Emmanuelle Buillon	17
Eleonora Cattafi	18
Oliver Currie	20
David Ellingson Eddington	22
Alena A. Fidlerová	23
Anne-Christine Gardner	25
Michał Gluszkowski	26
Mark Iten	28
David F. Mora-Marín	29
Jeremy M. Needle	31
Alessandro Palumbo	32
James Ramsburg	34
Gijsbert Rutten	35
Eleonora Serra	36
James Stratton	38
Christopher Strelluf	40
Sali A. Tagliamonte	42
Marten van der Meulen	43
Sarah van Eyndhoven	45

Video-conferencing Guidelines

Welcome to NARNiHS 2021, the 3rd Annual Meeting of the North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics!

In the online environment of this year's event, please note the following important items for participating in our sessions.

- 1) We ask that you use a quiet location, if possible, from which to attend the panels in order to avoid unwanted "sound intrusions" during the presentations and discussion.
- 2) Once you are in the Zoom room, your microphone and video camera will be muted by default; this is to give you privacy as you get settled into the room. We recommend that you activate your video camera to be visually present during the sessions, but that you keep your microphone muted except if you are giving a presentation or are asking a question of other presenters.
- 3) During the question session, attendees will ask questions by using the "raise your hand" function on Zoom. Panel Chairs will call on participants who raise their hand to unmute their microphones and ask their question. As with in-person conferences, presenters will have the option after the panel to follow up individually with attendees who raised their hand but there was not enough time for their question.
- 4) We will not be recording the entire conference, but some of the presentations may be recorded at the presenter's request. If a given presentation is recorded, we will announce it at the beginning of the presentation so that you have the opportunity to turn your camera off if you so wish.
- 5) If you experience technical issues during the panels, you may contact the Panel Chair using the chat function. We will try to help, but since we don't have any external IT support, we may not be able to resolve your issue. In that case, we recommend that you try exiting the Zoom room and logging back in.

General Program

Friday	08 January 2021
<p>Session 1</p> <p>11:00-11:30 US Eastern Time 8:00-8:30 Vancouver 17:00-17:30 Prague</p> <p>11:30-12:00 US Eastern Time 8:30-9:00 Vancouver 17:30-18:00 Prague</p> <p>12:00-12:30 US Eastern Time 9:00-9:30 Vancouver 18:00-18:30 Prague</p>	<p>Norms: Between Homogeneity and Variation <i>Chair: Israel Sanz-Sánchez – West Chester University, USA</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do prescriptivists know about usage? The influence of usage on Siegenbeek's <i>Woordenlijst</i> (1847) <i>Marten van der Meulen and Gijsbert Rutten – Radboud University Nijmegen and Leiden University, The Netherlands</i> 2. The spread of archaising, codified forms in the Buonarroti corpus: Dynamics of standardisation in early modern Tuscany <i>Eleonora Serra – University of Cambridge, England</i> 3. Politics, Pragmatism and Persistence: Written Scots during the Union debates in personal correspondence <i>Sarah van Eyndhoven – University of Edinburgh, Scotland</i>
<p>Break</p>	<p>12:30–13:30 US Eastern Time — 9:30-10:30 (Vancouver) 18:30-19:30 (Prague)</p>
<p>Session 2</p> <p>13:30-14:00 US Eastern Time 10:30-11:00 Vancouver 19:30-20:00 Prague</p> <p>14:00-14:30 US Eastern Time 11:00-11:30 Vancouver 20:00-20:30 Prague</p> <p>14:30-15:00 US Eastern Time 11:30-12:00 Vancouver 20:30-21:00 Prague</p>	<p>Contact and Sound Change <i>Chair: Fernando Tejedo-Herrero – University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dialectal phonetic features as an indicator of language shift in the conditions of language contact. A diachronic look at the insular Polish dialect in Russian surroundings (Vershina, Irkutsk Oblast, Siberia) <i>Michał Głuszkowski – Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, Poland</i> 2. The actuation of allophonic PRICE-raising in Kansas City in late 1800s speech <i>Christopher Strelluf – University of Warwick, England</i> 3. Orthographic Development of the Palatal Nasal /ɲ/ in Balearic Catalan as an Indicator of Contact-Induced Change <i>James Ramsburg – University of Minnesota, USA</i>

Saturday	09 January 2021
<p>Session 3</p> <p>11:00-11:30 US Eastern Time 8:00-8:30 Vancouver 17:00-17:30 Prague</p> <p>11:30-12:00 US Eastern Time 8:30-9:00 Vancouver 17:30-18:00 Prague</p> <p>12:00-12:30 US Eastern Time 9:00-9:30 Vancouver 18:00-18:30 Prague</p>	<p>Sources and Methods . . . and New Interpretations <i>Chair: Kelly E. Wright – University of Michigan, USA</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Language and Religion: The Case of (Early) Modern Czech <i>Alena A. Fidlerová – Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic</i> 2. Merits and Challenges of Late Modern English Pauper Petitions as a Source for Historical Sociolinguistic Investigations <i>Anita Auer, Anne-Christine Gardner, Mark Iten – University of Lausanne, Switzerland</i> 3. “At Ones and Twos”: Wardens’ and Governors’ Ego-Centric Social Network Ties as Potential Channels of Transmission of the Language Shift to English in the Late Medieval Records of the Mercers’ and the Grocers’ London Livery Companies <i>José Miguel Alcolado Carnicero – International Center for Higher Spanish Studies, University of Cantabria, Spain.</i>
Break	12:30–13:30 US Eastern Time — 9:30-10:30 (Vancouver) 18:30-19:30 (Prague)
<p>Session 4</p> <p>13:30-14:00 US Eastern Time 10:30-11:00 Vancouver 19:30-20:00 Prague</p> <p>14:00-14:30 US Eastern Time 11:00-11:30 Vancouver 20:00-20:30 Prague</p> <p>14:30-15:00 US Eastern Time 11:30-12:00 Vancouver 20:30-21:00 Prague</p>	<p>Syntax <i>Chair: Joseph Salmons – University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reassessing the role of the individual in syntactic variation and change <i>Oliver Currie – University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.</i> 2. The interplay of linguistic and social factors in the choice of the relative marker: some evidence from Greek documentary papyri (I-VIII AD) <i>Eleonora Cattafi – Ghent University/FWO Research Foundation Flanders, Belgium</i> 3. Prepositional alternation before city names in Hexagonal French: A variationist and longitudinal account <i>Emmanuelle Buillon – University of Victoria, Canada</i>

Sunday	10 January 2021
<p>Session 5</p> <p>11:00-11:30 US Eastern Time 8:00-8:30 Vancouver 17:00-17:30 Prague</p> <p>11:30-12:00 US Eastern Time 8:30-9:00 Vancouver 17:30-18:00 Prague</p> <p>12:00-12:30 US Eastern Time 9:00-9:30 Vancouver 18:00-18:30 Prague</p>	<p>Syntax and Discourse <i>Chair: Alexandra D'Arcy – University of Victoria, Canada</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. From 'buddy' to 'dude' to 'bro': Vocative change in Ontario English <i>Jeremy M. Needle and Sali A. Tagliamonte – University of Toronto, Canada.</i> 2. Old English Intensifiers: A Quantitative Analysis of the Old English Intensifier System <i>James Stratton – Purdue University, USA.</i> 3. A Historical Study of Propredicate <i>do</i> in Utah <i>David Ellingson Eddington – Brigham Young University, USA</i>

Monday	11 January 2021
<p>Session 6</p> <p>11:00-11:30 US Eastern Time 8:00-8:30 Vancouver 17:00-17:30 Prague</p> <p>11:30-12:00 US Eastern Time 8:30-9:00 Vancouver 17:30-18:00 Prague</p> <p>12:00-13:00 US Eastern Time 9:00-10:00 Vancouver 18:00-19:00 Prague</p>	<p>Scripts and Graphemic Variation <i>Chair: Jenelle Thomas – University of Oxford, England</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Language and script mixing in the epigraphic sources of medieval Scandinavia <i>Alessandro Palumbo – University of Oslo, Norway</i> 2. Historical Sociolinguistics of Mayan Writing: Graphic and Graphemic Variation and Change <i>David F. Mora-Marín – University of North Carolina, USA</i> 3. NARNiHS General Meeting (open to all) <i>Note that this meeting is planned for one hour:</i> 12:00-13:00 US Eastern Time – 9:00-10:00 (Vancouver) 18:00-19:00 (Prague)

Sessions

Friday, 8 January 2021

Session 1: Norms – Between Homogeneity and Variation

Chair: Israel Sanz-Sánchez (West Chester University, USA)

Time: 11:00–12:30 (New York) — 8:00-9:30 (*Vancouver*) / 17:00-18:30 (*Prague*)**11:00 What do prescriptivists know about usage? The influence of usage on Siegenbeek's *Woordenlijst* (1847).**08:00
17:00*Marten van der Meulen and Gijsbert Rutten (Radboud University Nijmegen and Leiden University, The Netherlands).*

Much contemporary research into prescriptivism focuses on the influence of prescriptivism on language use. Rarer is work investigating the influence of usage on prescriptivism. We investigate this influence by presenting a Dutch case study. We discuss the puristic *Lijst van woorden en uitdrukkingen met het Nederlandsch Taaleigen strijdende* (1847) by Siegenbeek. We analyze statements about usage in this list, including the use of frequency words. Next, we analyze corpus data from 1750-1847, using Nederlab (3507 texts, 30.3 million words). We discuss the results in the context of different types of prescriptivism (Curzan 2014) and the frequency illusion (Zwicky 2006).

11:30 The spread of archaising, codified forms in the Buonarroti corpus: Dynamics of standardisation in early modern Tuscany.08:30
17:30*Eleonora Serra (University of Cambridge, England).*

This paper examines the spread of two morphological features codified in grammars in a corpus of private letters from sixteenth-century Tuscany. This is the correspondence of Michelangelo Buonarroti's family and their contacts (395000 words, written between 1496 and 1585), including letters by 198 writers from different social backgrounds. The results suggest that change from above in social terms can be detected at the level of informal writings. I complement this analysis with a micro-level approach which examines the language of individual members of one generation of the Buonarroti family, relating individuals' network structures to their participation in linguistic change.

12:00 Politics, Pragmatism and Persistence: Written Scots during the Union debates in personal correspondence.09:00
18:00*Sarah van Eyndhoven (University of Edinburgh, Scotland).*

The year 1707 in Scotland marked the political unification of two nations, but also a cornerstone in the disappearance of written Scots. Yet both linguistic and political awareness were increasing, making this a unique time-period to examine. Looking at the correspondence of the Earl of Seafield, a key figure involved in the Union of the Parliaments, I analyse how Scots manifests in his letters. I examine Scots on orthographic, phonological and lexical levels, and consider possible interactions with his political and national identity. Scots is shown not only to persist in writing, but also to be utilised in politically-charged ways.

Break 12:30–13:30 — 9:30-10:30 (*Vancouver*) / 18:30-19:30 (*Prague*)

Friday, 8 January 2021

Session 2: Contact and Sound Change

Chair: Fernando Tejedo-Herrero (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA)

Time: 13:30–15:00 (New York) — 10:30-12:00 (*Vancouver*) / 19:30-21:00 (*Prague*)

13:30 **Dialectal phonetic features as an indicator of language shift in the conditions of language contact. A diachronic look at the insular Polish dialect in Russian surroundings (Vershina, Irkutsk Oblast, Siberia).**

10:30

19:30

Michał Głuszkowski (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Chair of Slavic Languages, Toruń, Poland).

It has been observed that the contact with the Russian language stimulates the processes of devoicing on word boundaries, as well as inhibits word-internal voicing and mazurism in the Lesser Polish dialect island in Eastern Siberia. The aim of the present study is to analyze the dependency of the level of maintenance of the dialectal phonetic features in the subsequent generations of the inhabitants of Vershina on their age. Tracing the generational differences allows us to illustrate the process of the evolution of an insular dialect and and present them on a timeline 1910-2019.

14:00 **The actuation of allophonic PRICE-raising in Kansas City in late 1800s speech.**

11:00

20:00

Christopher Strelluf (University of Warwick, England).

This presentation attempts to account for the actuation of Canadian Raising in Kansas City in the late twentieth century. It explores PRICE vowels in recordings of 11 Kansas Citians born between 1884 and 1914, along with a larger sample of newer sociolinguistic interviews. It shows that PRICE underwent diphthongization as a result of social changes between the Civil War and World War II, and that diphthongization provided the phonetic precursor for allophonic raising. It argues that the Actuation Problem for the recent sound change can only be solved by understanding the motivations and actions of the earlier sound change.

14:30 **Orthographic Development of the Palatal Nasal /ɲ/ in Balearic Catalan as an Indicator of Contact-Induced Change.**

11:30

20:30

James Ramsburg (University of Minnesota, USA).

The current study examines the historical development of the palatal nasal grapheme in Balearic Catalan texts in an attempt to better characterize the origins of linguistic hispanicization on the Balearic Islands. From the 16th to the 20th centuries the palatal nasal phoneme /ɲ/, originally represented as <ny>, was written as <ñ>, <ñy>, or <yñ>. This study seeks to further characterize this phenomenon and better analyze how exactly various linguistic and social factors affected the use of either the native or contact-induced graphemes. The results suggest that year, location, and text genre were all significant predictors contributing to the usage of contact graphemes.

Saturday, 9 January 2021

Session 3: Sources and Methods . . . and New Interpretations

Chair: Kelly E. Wright (University of Michigan, USA)

Time: 11:00–12:30 (New York) — 8:00-9:30 (*Vancouver*) / 17:00-18:30 (*Prague*)**11:00 Language and Religion: The Case of (Early) Modern Czech.**

08:00

17:00

Alena A. Fidlerová (Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic).

The paper addresses the problem of mutual relationship between the religious history of a nation and the views on the desirable form of its standard language. It focuses on the early 19th-century codification of modern Czech and argues that (1) in a way, it was in its motivation more “confessional” than the language choices of the authors of the preceding early modern era, and (2) that it was influenced both by its proponents’ views on the ideal Christian piety and by their assessment of the cultural significance of individual religious movements in the history of Czechs.

11:30 Merits and Challenges of Late Modern English Pauper Petitions as a Source for Historical Sociolinguistic Investigations.

08:30

17:30

Anita Auer, Anne-Christine Gardner, Mark Iten (University of Lausanne, Switzerland).

This paper critically discusses the merits and challenges of pauper petitions written under the Old Poor Law in England, c. 1795–1834, and their value for historical sociolinguistics. Based on a corpus of c. 2000 petitions, and couched in social, educational and migration histories, the paper sheds light on (a) the types of linguistic studies possible, (b) the (un)reliability of meta-linguistic social data retrieved from the pauper petitions, (c) the role of self-corrections in the writing process, and (d) the relationship between the petitions and dialect representations in contemporary literature, depositions, as well as grammars and manuals.

12:00 “At Ones and Twos”: Wardens’ and Governors’ Ego-Centric Social Network Ties as Potential Channels of Transmission of the Language Shift to English in the Late Medieval Records of the Mercers’ and the Grocers’ London Livery Companies.

09:00

18:00

José Miguel Alcolado Carnicero (International Center for Higher Spanish Studies, University of Cantabria, Spain).

This research evaluates the impact of the interpersonal relations at the micro-individual network level on the origins of a change in the choice from Latin and French to English for written domains in late medieval England. The paper proposes two analyses of the contacts between the administrators serving office when English manuscripts occur for the first time in the most prominent livery companies of the period: the London Mercers and the London Grocers. Their results show that, among the liverymen in office when the records are firstly shifted to English, the same people appear and are related to one another.

Break 12:30–13:30 — 9:30-10:30 (*Vancouver*) / 18:30-19:30 (*Prague*)

Saturday, 9 January 2021

Session 4: Syntax

Chair: Joseph Salmons (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA)

Time: 13:30–15:00 (New York) — 10:30-12:00 (*Vancouver*) / 19:30-21:00 (*Prague*)

13:30 **Reassessing the role of the individual in syntactic variation and change.**

10:30
19:30

Oliver Currie (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia).

Based on a case-study of word order change in Early Modern Welsh (c.1550-c.1750), which shows marked variation between individual writers in the use of an emerging verb-initial construction, I will argue that analysing syntactic variation between individuals can also shed light more generally on the mechanisms and diffusion of syntactic change. From a theoretical perspective, I seek to combine the insights of recent work on individual syntactic variation in diachronic construction/cognitive grammar frameworks with those of “Third Wave” sociolinguistic studies which highlight the agency of individual speakers.

14:00 **The interplay of syntactic, semantic and social factors in the choice of the relativizer: some evidence from Greek documentary papyri (I-VIII AD).**

11:00
20:00

Eleonora Cattafi (Ghent University/FWO Research Foundation Flanders, Belgium).

Greek documentary papyri from Egypt have proved to be well-suited to sociolinguistic research because of the large body of textual data available, as well as for their internal diversity. In this presentation, I analyze the distribution of Greek relative markers in a corpus consisting of all relative clauses in letters, petitions and contracts collected in archives from the 1st to the 8th century AD. My aim is to identify the main linguistic and social factors influencing the choice of the relative marker in these texts and their relationship.

14:30 **Prepositional alternation before city names in Hexagonal French: A variationist and longitudinal account.**

11:30
20:30

Emmanuelle Buillon (University of Victoria, Canada).

Drawing on two corpora of vernacular speech spanning over a hundred years, this study seeks to provide a longitudinal account of prepositional variation before city names in Hexagonal French. Previous research on this phenomenon (e.g. Hernández, 2008; Huyghe, 2012) has taken a semantic and pragmatic approach. However, the use of variationist methods reveals that, in addition to linguistic predictors, social factors—particularly speaker’s age and location—are critical to explain the variable grammar of this feature. This study contributes to a better understanding of the comparative effects of time and geography on long term patterns of morphosyntactic variation.

References:

Hernández, P.C. (2008). La décoloration de la préposition sur : Une explication en termes d’intégration conceptuelle. *Formes symboliques*, 7, 1–19.

Huyghe, R. (2012). Sur et les noms de territoires. *Cuadernos de Filología Francesa*, 23, 169–186.

Sunday, 10 January 2021

Session 5: Syntax and Discourse

Chair: Alexandra D'Arcy (University of Victoria, Canada)

Time: 11:00–12:30 (New York) — 8:00-9:30 (*Vancouver*) / 17:00-18:30 (*Prague*)

11:00 From 'buddy' to 'dude' to 'bro': Vocative change in Ontario English.

08:00
17:00

Jeremy M. Needle and Sali A. Tagliamonte (University of Toronto, Canada).

Beyond calling attention, vocatives (e.g. 'honey', 'mister') are embedded in cultural and discourse contexts and show wide variability over communities and across time. Vocatives have been studied from Early Modern English to the present day, revealing how language and society change together. We study familiarizers in vernacular Ontario English, including an urban/rural continuum and individuals born between 1950s-2000s. In the earlier 20th century, 'buddy' is the norm, 'dude' largely replaces it after the 1970s, and for adolescents born after 2000, 'bro' rises quickly. We suggest that vocatives are ideal for tracking historical processes in sociolinguistics.

11:30 Old English Intensifiers: A Quantitative Analysis of the Old English Intensifier System

08:30
17:30

James Stratton (Purdue University, USA).

This study uses variationist quantitative methods to examine the factors constraining and conditioning Old English intensifier variation. Both internal and external factors are found to operate on this system, with predicative adjectives favoring intensification over attributive adjectives, prose texts having higher intensification rates than verse texts, vernacular texts having higher intensification rates than Latin-based texts, and the rate of intensification increasing over time. The quantitative analysis of the Old English system also increases the time depth necessary for a more detailed reflection on the diachronic recycling, replacement, and renewal of intensifiers.

12:00 A Historical Study of Propredicate *do* in Utah.

09:00
18:00

David Ellingson Eddington (Brigham Young University, USA).

Propredicate *do* (PPD) is examined from a corpus of sermons given by people born between 1797 and 1957. DiPaolo (1993) claims that PPD in Utah is due English settlers. The statistics reveal that PPD is not particular to Utah since Utah born speakers use PPD at very similar rates, and in some time periods non-Utah born speakers used PPD at higher rates. The English origin of PPD is contradicted by the fact that PPD was not common in England until the 1920s. PPD in Utah has been in steady decline since 1847.

Monday, 11 January 2021

Session 6: Scripts and Graphemic Variation

Chair: Jenelle Thomas (University of Oxford, England)

Time: 11:00–1:00 (New York) — 8:00-10:00 (*Vancouver*) / 17:00-19:00 (*Prague*)

11:00 **Language and script mixing in the epigraphic sources of medieval Scandinavia.**

08:00

17:00

Alessandro Palumbo (University of Oslo, Norway).

When Latin and the Roman alphabet were gradually introduced in Scandinavia from the late eleventh century, they encountered an 800-year-old native tradition based on the local vernaculars and the runic script. This resulted in a long coexistence of the two languages and scripts, to their mixing and mutual influence. In my talk, I will present the preliminary results of a project that investigates this encounter of written cultures by focusing on phenomena of language and script switching in epigraphic sources. Through a combination of epigraphic, multimodal and sociolinguistic analyses, the project aims to determine the carvers' multilingual and multiscryptal proficiency, and the status relationship between the Latin and runic written traditions.

11:30 **Historical Sociolinguistics of Mayan Writing: Graphic and Graphemic Variation and Change.**

08:30

17:30

David F. Mora-Marín (University of North Carolina, USA).

This paper combines historical sociolinguistics and paleography to study graphic and graphemic variables in Epigraphic Mayan (ISO 639-3 emy) (ca. 400 bce-ce 1697). My previous work has shown the productivity of studying linguistic and orthographic variation in EMY (Mora-Marín 2017, 2019, 2020). This paper investigates graphic and graphemic variation involving three allograms used to spell *?aajaaw 'lord, ruler' by means of the Maya Hieroglyphic Database (MHD) (Macri and Looper 1991-2020) to trace their patterns of graphic variation and change, including contextual parameters (media, genre, text density) and sociopolitical networks during the Classic (ce 200-900) period.

12:00 **NARNiHS General Meeting (open to all)**

09:00

18:00

Note that this meeting is planned for one hour: 12:00-13:00
— 9:00-10:00 (*Vancouver*) / 18:00-19:00 (*Prague*).

Presenters and abstracts

JOSÉ MIGUEL ALCOLADO CARNICERO

International Center for Higher Spanish Studies, University of Cantabria, Spain.

“At Ones and Twos”: Wardens’ and Governors’ Ego-Centric Social Network Ties as Potential Channels of Transmission of the Language Shift to English in the Late Medieval Records of the Mercers’ and the Grocers’ London Livery Companies

[Session 03]

This research engages with the scholarly literature about the impact of social variables, in general, and social networks, in particular, on the linguistic practices of written communities in past times (e.g., Tieken-Boon van Ostade et al. 2000; Hernández Campoy & Conde Silvestre 2012; McColl Millar 2012; Russi 2016). The major aim of the study is to evaluate the potential role of the interpersonal relations of informants at the micro-individual network level, i.e., ego-centric ties (L. Milroy [1980] 1987: 46–48), in the origins of a change in the choice of languages for a variety of domains, i.e., language shift in progress (Fasold [1984] 1991: 213). In order to achieve this goal, the paper specifically proposes two separate social network analyses of the attested contacts between the wardens and the governors serving office when the different kinds of manuscripts were written in English for the first time in the two most prominent livery companies from the end of the Middle Ages: the Mercers and the Grocers of London (Burrage & Corry 1981: 382).

As English authorities gave official recognition to the City of London companies throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the liverymen in charge of their administration had to keep record of all the legal, financial, membership, trading, charity, and estate activities during their stints in office. These various types of records are cited here as chronicling, on the one hand, direct references to professional collaborations by the members of the companies and illustrating, on the other hand, the initial propagation of the shift to English as the reemerging base language of textual communication to the detriment of the traditional Romance languages, Latin and French, in late medieval England. The corpora under study comprise the earliest English manuscripts in the oldest extant books of the Mercers’ and the Grocers’ livery companies, which have also been transcribed in more modern editions (Kingdon 1883–1886; Lyell & Watney [1936] 2011; Jefferson 2009).

The results show that, among the liverymen in office when English was firstly used for the different records, the same people appear on several occasions and tend to be related to one another in a variety of ways. Applying a sociolinguistic network approach (L. Milroy [1980] 1987; J. Milroy & L. Milroy 1985), evidence appears to support the following two hypotheses. In the first place, the office-holders initiating the shift to English in the earlier groups of records might have been linguistically influenced by their weak links with innovative informants in contact with other social networks through which English-based texts were already flowing. And in the second place, those same office-holders could have also transmitted that early adoption of the new record-keeping practices in English through their strong ties to apprentices or fellow administrators, who subsequently promoted the use of English in the remaining groups of records for the first time.

Albeit independent, the two social network analyses seem to be somehow interconnected, insofar as fairly similar processes of diffusion of written English have been revealed in the two livery companies. Thus, this historical sociolinguistic study may be offering a model for replication to other London companies in future investigation. Those new findings might be eventually extrapolated, e.g., to the

broader socio-centric network level for much more ambitious endeavors in other promising lines of research.

References

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ANITA AUER
 ANNE CHRISTINE GARDNER
 MARK ITEN

University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Merits and Challenges of Late Modern English Pauper Petitions as a Source for Historical Sociolinguistic Investigations [Session 03]

In their introductory chapter of the newly founded *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Auer et al. (2015) argue that a main concern of historical sociolinguistics is its “effort to overcome the social bias connected to class, education and literacy inherent in written sources that has afflicted language historiography.” This objective is attained by taking a “language history from below” perspective (cf. Elspaß 2005; Elspaß et al. 2007), i.e. to investigate data sources created by the lower ranks of society. Pauper petitions written by the labouring poor under the Old Poor Law in England during the period c. 1795–1834 allow historical sociolinguists to take an alternative perspective on language history during the Late Modern English period. While research on different aspects of this type of material has already been carried out (see for instance Fairman 1999, 2007a, 2007b; Vandenbussche 2006; Nordlund 2007; Vandenbussche & Elspaß 2007; Yokoyama 2008; Laitinen & Auer 2014; Latinen 2015; Timmis 2018), a critical discussion of the merits and challenges related to the data source and its value for historical sociolinguistics is missing to date. The current paper will therefore focus on this matter.

The first part of the paper will provide some general background information on a recently launched research project which comprises the creation of a corpus of c. 2,000 pauper petitions. Based on the experiences of the research team with the material to date, and couched in socio-historical, educational and migration histories, the second part of the paper will discuss a number of issues that highlight the merits and challenges of the data. More precisely, the corpus creation process allows us to shed light on (a) which kinds of linguistic studies regarding different linguistic levels, e.g. spelling, morphosyntax, are possible with the data and which are not, (b) the (un)reliability of meta-linguistic social data retrieved from the pauper petitions, (c) the role of self-corrections in the writing process and its reflection of the paupers’ educational backgrounds, specifically the training in writing (cf. Fairman 2008, 2012), and (d) the relationship between the pauper petitions and dialect representations in contemporary literature, depositions, as well as grammars and manuals. The focus in this presentation lies on the availability and reliability of meta-linguistic data, in combination with the issue of migration and dialect representation. The points will be illustrated with selected examples from pauper petitions from different English counties covering the period 1795–1834. All in all, the paper provides an overview of what kinds of research questions can be answered with the help of the pauper petitions corpus.

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EMMANUELLE BUAILLON

*University of Victoria, Canada***Prepositional alternation before city names in Hexagonal French: A variationist and longitudinal account** [Session 04]

À is the prototypical preposition used before city names in French, yet there are reports that, since the early 20th century, *sur* also appears in this context in vernacular varieties of European French (e.g. Grevisse & Goosse, 1993; Hernández, 2008; Huyghe, 2012). Research on this variation has focused on semantic and pragmatic differences between *à* and *sur*, suggesting that *sur* is used to emphasize the mobility of the speaker (Hernández, 2008; Lismoen, 2015) and to refer to human activities (Huyghe, 2012). It has also been suggested that this competition reflects ongoing expansion of *sur* from more concrete to less concrete uses (Hernández (2008), a possible indication of ongoing grammaticalization. To date, however, previous work has relied on made-up examples (Huyghe, 2012), small participant surveys (Lismoen, 2015), or data sets that were not systematically analysed (Hernández, 2008). Moreover, the influence of social factors on this variation has received scant attention (Lismoen, 2015). This study seeks to address these shortcomings by providing a variationist and longitudinal account of *à/sur* variation. It asks the following question: Which factors (linguistic and social) can account for prepositional variation before city names in Hexagonal French?

The data was drawn from two publicly available corpora of spoken Hexagonal French, representing three locales: the Parisian city-centre, a group of suburban cities surrounding Paris, and the midsize provincial city of Orléans. The speakers were born between 1878 and 1994 (N=150), providing a mixture of real- and apparent-time perspectives on variation.

Following variationist methods, the analysis considers all contexts where *à/sur* variation is possible (N=2542) and seeks to elucidate the variable grammar. Preliminary results indicate a trajectory of change from below, initiated in the early 20th century, with a notable rise of *sur* in the 1950s in Paris and its suburbs, and in the 1970s in Orléans. This temporal gap suggests the slow geographic spread of the incoming variant from a major urban centre (Paris) to smaller urban ones (Orléans). In addition, the linguistic predictors are weaker in Orléans than in Paris and its suburbs, a pathway that is consistent with diffusion (Tagliamonte & Denis, 2014). This study therefore contributes to a better understanding of the comparative effects of time and geography on long term patterns of morphosyntactic variation, and shows how adopting a variationist approach can support claims made using a classical semantic framework (e.g. Hernández, 2008; Huyghe, 2012).

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ELEONORA CATTAFI

Ghent University/FWO Research Foundation Flanders, Belgium

The interplay of linguistic and social factors in the choice of the relative marker: some evidence from Greek documentary papyri (I-VIII AD) [Session 04]

Historical sociolinguistics has been successfully applied since its earliest stages (Romaine 1980, 1982) to the study of relative clauses, proving the potential of investigating these syntactic configurations in this framework (Russi 2016). While much work has been dedicated to relative clauses in the history of the English language (e.g. Bergs 2005), a recent interest in a socially informed analysis of language variation has arisen in the field of Post-Classical Greek (Bentein 2019a, 2019b). In particular, Greek documentary papyri have proved to be well-suited to sociolinguistic research because of the large body of textual data available, as well as for their internal diversity, which embrace a variety of text types ranging from family letters to petitions to the authorities (Palme 2009).

In Post-Classical Greek, relative clauses can be introduced by a large class of elements (Cadbury 1923), the most common being the relative pronoun *hós* (1).

- (1) pánt[a] sou paidía meth' hō̄n é[s]ēi
 'all your children, with *whom* you should be' (BGU 1.249, l.23)

However, many other relative markers can be found, including *hóstis*, *hósper*, *hósos*, *hoîos*, *hopoîos*, *hopóteros*. Moreover, a particular usage involves the definite article *ho* in the place of the relative pronoun (2), which can be better understood by taking into account its social context.

- (2) tà khalkómata tà ékhis(*) parà soí
 'the bronze vessels *which* you have by you' (p.mich. 3.22, l.8)

In this paper, I will present the results of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of relative markers in a corpus of Greek documentary papyri from Egypt. The texts examined are taken from archives, collections made in antiquity (Vandorpe 2009), which makes more effective to retrieve information about the background and relationship of the social actors. The corpus consists of all relative clauses in letters, petitions and contracts collected in archives dating from the 1st to the 8th century AD, resulting in approximately 3.000 relative clauses: the data analysis was further implemented by the use of digital tools in the domain of papyrology, such as the EVWRIT database (Everyday Writing in Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt).

My aim is to identify the main factors that govern the choice of the relativizer in these documentary texts. I will demonstrate that three orders of factors play a role: (a) syntactic factors such as the relativization strategy and the function of the pronoun in the relative clause; (b) semantic factors such as the restrictive or non-restrictive type of modification and the semantic identity of the antecedent; (c) social factors such as the communicative situation and the social distance between the participants. At the same time, due to the linguistic restrictions (Perna 2013) and the sociolinguistic tendencies (Bentein & Bagriacik 2018) concerning some types of Greek relative clauses, I will show how these factors need to be thought as interconnected, contributing to the preference for a specific relative marker.

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OLIVER CURRIE

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Reassessing the role of the individual in syntactic variation and change [Session 04]

Both synchronic and diachronic linguistics have tended to ignore or treat as marginal the role of the individual language user as an agent in syntactic variation and change. Thus, while language change is the result of the cumulative action of individual language users, the emphasis has typically been on the fact the individual language users have the same collective start point and arrive at the same end collective end point, rather than on how the choices and decisions of language users bring about language change.

In this paper I will seek to reassess the role of the individual in syntactic variation and change. I aim to show, based on a historical corpus-based case study of word order change in Early Modern Welsh (c.1550-c.1750), that individual stylistic choice can be a significant factor in syntactic variation and change and will argue that analysing variation between individual users in historical corpora can also shed light more generally on the mechanisms and diffusion of grammatical change. From a theoretical perspective, I seek to build on the insights of recent work on individual variation, on the one hand in historical linguistics, in particular the Mind Bending Grammars project led by Peter Petré (Anthonissen 2019, 2020b; Anthonissen and Petré 2019; Petré and Van de Velde 2018) and, on the other hand in “Third Wave” sociolinguistic studies of individual stylistic variation, which focus on the agency of individual speakers but which have been based on primarily phonological data (Coupland 2007, Eckert 2000, 2018).

The case study concerns the development of verb-initial (VSO) word order in Welsh. VSO order is regarded as a characteristic feature of Modern Welsh, but Welsh has not been consistently VSO throughout its history. In Middle Welsh (c.1200-c.1500), the prototypical verb-initial construction where a finite verb comes in absolute-initial position (*Absolute-initial verb order* or *AIV order*) in a positive declarative main clause (PDMC), was rare in prose, which had a predominantly verb-medial order, but common in poetry. AIV order starts to be used more frequently in prose texts from the second half of the 16th century, in particular the Bible translations, but for at least two centuries after that we find extreme variation. Various factors seem to impinge on the variation, including register and text type, syntactic and lexical/idiomatic factors. However, the predominant factor seems to be individual stylistic choice, as we find contemporary writers from similar social and education backgrounds showing extremely divergent patterns of use. For some writers AIV order is the predominant construction in PDMCs (> 50%), while other contemporary writers avoid the construction and others still shows various intermediate patterns of usage. The reason for such an extreme pattern of variation seems to be that the new construction, AIV order, was competing with two other well-established productive constructions – another verb-initial one, the dummy subject construction, as well as SV constructions with personal pronouns – with which it appears to have been perceived as interchangeable. As a semantically and pragmatically neutral construction, AIV order could be used in an extremely wide range of syntactic contexts – wherever these competing constructions were used – or, indeed not at all.

I will also explore whether the individual stylistic variation observed in Early Modern Welsh is exceptional or unusual and whether broader theoretical insights be drawn from the data. A key question that arises both here and more generally (cf. Petré and Van de Velde 2018: 894) is what motivates individuals to adopt new patterns (or indeed not)? Further, how do individuals know or decide how and how frequently to use a new construction and how much “free choice” do they have (cf. Cappelle 2009)?

Examples from Early Modern Welsh case study: Variation between Absolute-verb initial (AIV) order and Pronoun Subject/Dummy Subject + Verb orders

(1) Psalms 5: 6

a. William Salesbury's translation, 1567 — Pronoun Subject + Verb order

Ti ddestrywy y rei y ddywedant gelwydd
 You-2s destroy-2s-PRES the ones who say-3p-PRES/FUT lie

b. William Morgan's translation, 1588 — AIV order

Difethi y rhai a ddywedant gelwydd
 Destroy-2s-PRES the ones who say-3p-PRES lie

'You destroy those who tell lies'

(2) Mark 1.40

a. William Salesbury's translation, 1567 — Dummy subject + verb order

Ac e ddaeth ataw ddyyn clavrlyt
 And it come-3s-PAST to-him man leprous

b. William Morgan's translation, 1588 — AIV order

A daeth atto ef[vn] gwahan-glwyfus
 And come-3s-PAST to-him 3s [one] leprous

'And a leper came up to him'

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DAVID ELLINGSON EDDINGTON

Brigham Young University, USA

A Historical Study of Propredicate *do* in Utah [Session 05]

Propredicate *do* (PPD) occurs when a form of the verb *do* replaces the predicate (e.g. *Did you put them in the drawer? I could have DONE*). It is most common in England and, while cases have been documented before the 20th century, it became a popular usage there after WWI. In the US it is considered unusual. DiPaolo (1993) noticed its existence in Utah and attributed it to the fact that Utah received a much higher proportion of English immigrants than other states.

The present study examines sermons and discourses of leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, aka Mormon). The speech of 338 speakers born between 1797 and 1957 was examined. Cases of PPD (n=887, e.g. *I think he would have done*), as well as cases where PPD does not occur, but could (n=3011, e.g. *I think he would have*) were extracted from clause final position following *ought to*, *have*, *used to*, *should*, *would*, *might*, *will*, *can*, and *may*.

A mixed models statistical analysis reveals a significant interaction between modal and birth year and birth place and birth year. The use of PPD varies across time with each modal showing a different trajectory. The modals that most often appear with PPD are *ought to*, *have*, and *used to*, where PPD is used in over 30% of the cases. The PPD rates of the nine modal are not correlated with their frequency in Contemporary English.

The idea that PPD is a trait particular to Utah English is not supported. Utah-born and non-Utah, non-English-born (Other-born) speakers from between 1918 and 1957 use PPD at very similar rates. In two birth cohort groups (1848-1867 and 1898-1917) the Other-born group used PPD at higher rates that did the Utah-born. If PPD was adopted from English immigrants it must have occurred at an early date since its use among the English born between 1797 and 1846 dominate the Other-born. (White settlers arrived in Utah in 1947.) However, the English-born's use of PPD lags behind both the Other-born and Utah-born between 1848-1967. The idea of early adoption is contradicted by the evidence that PPD did not come into vogue in England until the 1920s, while the of PPD by speakers born in Utah has been in steady decline and experienced no boost after the 1920s.

ALENA A. FIDLEROVÁ

Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

Language and Religion: The Case of (Early) Modern Czech [Session 03]

The paper addresses the problem of mutual relationship between the religious situation of a nation and the views on the desirable form of its cultivated or standard language. For such an analysis, the Czech Lands represent an excellent example due to their history of dramatic changes in the confession of the majority of their population. In the early 15th century, the “pre-Reformation” of the Hussite movement brought about the vernacular liturgy, religious campaigning and the desire for universal literacy, and was followed by nearly two centuries of uneasy religious tolerance, vivid religious polemics and the predominance of diverse non-Catholic denominations, including the small in number, but culturally influential Bohemian Brethren. The forced re-Catholicization starting in the early 17th century caused the exile of the non-Catholic intellectual elites, strengthened the role of Latin and officially, though not always in reality rejected most of the previous literature. Since the mid-18th century, the Enlightenment period followed with its restricted religious tolerance and increased importance of German, inspiring the nationalist movement of the Czech National Awakening period, which eventually resulted in the national rather than religious self-identification of the inhabitants.

Of this complicated story, the paper focuses on the choices made during the 19th-century codification of the modern Czech language and their relation to the religious history of the nation and language. It tries to answer the question whether, or to which extent the preference of the majority of the National Awakening leading figures for the language of the mostly non-Catholic authors of the so called Golden Age (the late 16th century) and their contempt for the language of the following Baroque period (with the exception of its major non-Catholic author, Comenius; see e.g. Dobrovský 1818, Jungmann 1849), which led to rather archaic modern standard Czech adopting mostly the phonology and morphology of the late 16th century and rejecting later changes, were motivated by the objective condition of the language and literature and to which extent they were influenced by religious sympathies and antipathies of the codifiers, both intentionally and unintentionally. It bases its argumentation and critique on three types of sources: (1) the summarizing works on the history of the Czech language (e.g. Havránek 1980, Cuřín 1985, Šlosar et al. 2009); (2) the results of recent research concentrating mostly on the re-evaluation of early modern Czech (e.g. Berger 2012, Fidlerová 2013, Koupil 2015, Kvas 1997, Vykypělová 2008, 2013a, 2013b; especially the hypothesis of Vykypělová that in the “long” 16th century, both the language and orthography may have been partly determined by the religious denomination of an author or printer and that similarly as in German, also in Czech a “Catholic” and a “Protestant”, or more specifically “Brethren” variant of the cultural language existed); and (3) the analysis of 16th- to 19th-century sources, especially grammars and other works which evaluated the language of the preceding periods and named their exemplars or deterrent examples with respect to their religious affiliation, e.g. Konstanc 1667, Štajer 1668). It approaches critically the traditional picture of the history of Czech, which to some extent even today repeats the claim put forward by the authors of the modern Czech archaizing codification, namely that it was motivated by the objective qualitative difference between the language bloom of the Golden Age period and the deep decline of the Baroque era. It argues that in a way, this codification was in its motivation more “confessional” than the language choices of the authors of the early modern era and that it was influenced both by the religious affiliation of its proponents themselves (or, more precisely, their view of ideal Christian piety) and by their assessment of the cultural significance of individual religious movements of the past.

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ANNE-CHRISTINE GARDNER

University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Merits and Challenges of Late Modern English Pauper Petitions as a Source for Historical Sociolinguistic Investigations [Session 03]

(abstract under Anita **Auer**, Anne-Christine Gardner, Mark Iten)

MICHAŁ GŁUSZKOWSKI

Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, Poland

Dialectal phonetic features as an indicator of language shift in the conditions of language contact. A diachronic look at the insular Polish dialect in Russian surroundings (Vershina, Irkutsk Oblast, Siberia) [Session 02]

Our attention is focused on the voicing sandhi, voiced word-internal consonant clusters and mazurism (Pol. *mazurzenie*) as the most characteristic phonetic features of the Lesser Polish dialect in Eastern Siberia, in the village of Vershina in Irkutsk Oblast', Eastern Siberia, Russia (Mitrenga-Ulitina 2015). Vershina is a 110-years-old language and cultural island founded by voluntary settlers from Little Poland before 1st World War.

The Lesser Polish dialect belongs to the voicing zone of Polish regional varieties (Dejna 1993), in which the obstruents in the word-final are pronounced as voiced before the following types of sounds in the initial segment of the next word: vowels – *powiesz i już* 'you say it and' [ʒ' i]; sonorants - *szed napszód* 'he was moving on' [d n]; voiced obstruents – *dziadek był Polak* 'grandfather was Polish' [g b]. In word-internal positions even non-voiced obstruents may undergo voicing: *jestem* 'I am' [zd]; *wielki* 'great' [lgʲ]. It also represents the mazing zone of Polish dialects, in which *czas* 'time' [ʧas] is pronounced as [tsas], *szary* 'grey' [ʃari] – as [sari], *żaba* [ʒaba] 'frog' – as [zaba] (Sawicka 2020).

The insular dialect in Vershina for over a century has been in contact with standard Russian language, in which only an initial voiced obstruent in the next word can result in pronouncing voiced obstruents in the word-final (cf. Avanesov 1984), voicing in word-internal positions occur only before voiced obstruents except of [v] (regressive assimilation), and mazurism are not observed.

The Vershinian dialect is also in contact with the local Russian dialects (of the surrounding villages) and standard Polish language (acquired from vestigial teaching of minority language in the local school and from Polish tourists visiting Vershina every summer), but these varieties represent the same pattern of voicing/devoicing assimilation as standard Russian (Kasatkin 1999), with voicing assimilation in word-final and word-internal positions only before voiced obstruents (Gussmann 1992; Rubach 1996) and without mazurism.

Thus, language contact situation stimulates the processes of devoicing on word boundaries, as well as inhibits word-internal voicing and mazurism.

Since the generational differences strongly affect the language situation and individual speech behaviour (Głuszkowski 2012), the aim of the present study is to analyze the dependency of the level of maintenance of the characteristic Lesser Polish phonetic features in the subsequent generations of the inhabitants of Vershina on their age). Although due to relatively small number of informants representing each of the generations the statistical dependencies only play an auxiliary role in qualitative interpretation, their results show high positive correlation (Pearson's r 0,75-0,9) for year of birth as an independent variable and the following dependent variables: frequency of voicing sandhi, frequency of mazing (as the indicators of the maintained dialectal features) and /v/ treated as sonorant in word-internal consonant clusters (strong negative correlation as an indicator of the level of Russian influence). Tracing these data allows us to illustrate the process of the evolution of an insular dialect and present them on a timeline, where the starting point is the state of the Lesser Poland dialect in the descriptions from the beginning of the 20th century, and the final – the phonetics of the youngest generation.

The language and sociolinguistic material was gathered during four field expeditions to Vershina in the years 2008-2019 (over 100 hours of mono- and bilingual interviews with 54 informants, biographical material: personal documents, student essays and memoirs).

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MARK ITEN

University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Merits and Challenges of Late Modern English Pauper Petitions as a Source for Historical Sociolinguistic Investigations [Session 03]

(abstract under Anita **Auer**, Anne-Christine Gardner, Mark Iten)

DAVID F. MORA-MARÍN

University of North Carolina, USA

Historical Sociolinguistics of Mayan Writing: Graphic and Graphemic Variation and Change [Session 06]

This paper reports on the application of approaches from historical sociolinguistics to graphic, graphemic, and orthographic variables. In previous presentations, the author has studied linguistic and orthographic variables in Epigraphic Mayan (ISO 639-3 emy) (ca. 400 BCE-CE 1697), specifically to the corpus of Classic texts (CE 200-900) (Mora-Marín 2019, 2020): in the first, two grammatical variables were traced temporally and grammatically, with one of them characterized as a case of unstable variation resulting in change (-il ~ -al ~ -(a)l-il ~ -(i)l-al vs. -(a)l-el ~ -(i)l-el ‘abstractivizer of nouns and adjectives’), the other as a case of stable variation suggestive of a sociolinguistic marker (-laj vs. -wan ‘intransitivizer of positionals’); in the second, the author defined the types of variables amenable for study, including graphic, graphemic, orthographic, and linguistic, while focusing attention to a case study of orthographic variation that was very likely not indicative of linguistic variation. This presentation will focus on the study of variables that are not directly or indirectly linguistic: graphic, referring to variation and change in the graphic elements that compose graphemes and which can lead to change in the form of graphemes; and graphemic, referring to variation and change involving allograms, different signs with the same value. The approach is based on the discipline of paleography as previously applied to Mayan writing (e.g. Lacadena 1995; Mora-Marín 2003, 2010, 2016), and highlights two cases of variation and change involving a set of three allograms (T168/2M1a, T533/AM1, T1000cgi/PT7, ZB3) used to spell Greater Tzeltalan *ʔaajaaw ‘lord, ruler’, one of the most frequent roots attested in Mayan writing, from the Late Preclassic (400 BCE-CE 200) to the Classic period. The author uses the Maya Hieroglyphic Database (Macri andLooper 1991-2020), an electronic corpus containing over three thousand texts, to study the temporal and geographic distribution of these allograms, not only to trace their graphic variation and change, but also to investigate their contextual parameters of variation including media, genre, and text density. The preliminary results pointing to a principled differentiation between allograms (with occasional cross-overs) throughout the period of study in terms of geography and social networks (allied polities), genre (political texts) and subgenre (calendrical passages vs. ritual actions within political texts), media (stone monuments vs. pottery vessels vs. jade jewelry), as well as text density (high density vs. low density of graphemes per “glyph block”). The results also describe graphic changes in the most frequent of these allograms, T168/2M1a, allowing for a more detailed chronological seriation and pattern of geographic diffusion than previously attempted (Lacadena 1995; Mora-Marín 2016); the pattern of geographic diffusion is shown to correlate with known networks of political alliance (e.g. Martin and Grube 2008).

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- 2020. Prerequisites for A Historical Sociolinguistics of Ancient Mayan Hieroglyphic Texts. Presented at the *The North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics at KFLC: The Languages, Literatures, and Cultures Conference*, April 16-18, 2020, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

JEREMY M. NEEDLE

SALI A. TAGLIAMONTE

University of Toronto, Canada.

From ‘buddy’ to ‘dude’ to ‘bro’: Vocative change in Ontario English [Session 05]

Vocatives are nouns that refer to addressees: “*Buddy*, how’re you doing?”. These highly-salient terms are almost never obligatory, leaving the choice of form, e.g. *buddy*, *dude*, *bro*, free to encode social and expressive meanings (Davies 1986; Murphy 1988). Vocatives are broadly considered to be ‘relationship management’ devices which include enacting or highlighting interpersonal positions, controlling topic movements, endearments, and insults (McCarthy & O’Keeffe 2003). Varieties vary substantially in the choice of vocatives (McCarthy & O’Keeffe 2003; Rendle-Short 2010; Formentelli 2014): for example, while *buddy* is considered North American, *mate* is British or Australian. The importance of vocatives for identity work has been well-demonstrated, especially in interaction with gender and social position (Kiesling 2004; Heyd 2014). Despite their important functions, variation in social meaning, and variation by dialect, vocatives are frequently described as under-studied in the literature.

In this study, we focus on a locally-grounded subset of possible (masculine) forms: *bud/buddy*, *bro*, *dude*, *mate*, *fella*. This set satisfies key criteria in sociolinguistic inquiry: interchangeability, frequency, wide use, and the potential for neutralization of speaker and addressee gender. Frequency is particularly important because, despite the large variety of vocative options, they are surprisingly rare in corpus data. Even with a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews of over 100 million words, there were only 249 instances of vocative uses of *bud/buddy*, *bro*, *dude*, *mate*, *fella*. The data come from vernacular speech from Ontario, Canada, which includes an urban/rural continuum and spans individuals born from the 1950s to the 2000s, making it possible to test broad social, areal, and dialectal patterns.

We analyzed patterns of use with respect to gender, year of birth, education, occupation, and community with Conditional Inference Tree (CIT) models, supported by Random Forest modeling (Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). This modeling approach is appropriate for multiple variants, as well taking into the imbalances inherent in the corpus data of different social groups.

Our findings demonstrate that the primary Ontario vocatives are *buddy* and *dude*, while *mate* and *fella* are rare. In the city of Toronto, there is a gender contrast among individuals born between the 1950s and 1990s: the dominant choice for women is *dude*, while men use a mixture of *buddy* and *dude*. In contrast, in adolescents born after 2000, *bro* is a prominent innovation.

Outside the city, *buddy* is dominant for speakers born before the 1980s. However, thereafter is a bifurcation by type of community: in larger towns, *dude* takes over, but in smaller rural locales *bud/buddy* remain the vocative of choice.

These results trace a pattern consistent with change from above which is visible in strong generational and areal influences on vocative choice, and in the fact that women appropriate the innovative forms before men. We establish that the North America-wide *buddy* is the foundational Ontario vocative. After the 1970s, the popularity of *dude* is consistent with broad cultural innovation correlated with ‘young’ and ‘cool’ identity (Kiesling 2004); however, in Ontario we can track its spread from the urban core to outlying centres as projected by the cascade model of diffusion (e.g. Labov 2003). As for the recent inception of *bro* in Toronto, we suggest it follows in line with Kiesling’s (2004:300) observations about cyclic patterns linked to prestige, namely that “what was cool in 1982 is not necessarily cool in 2002, but may become cool again in 2005”. Taken together, these preliminary findings suggest that vocative choice is an ideal variable for tracking historical trends in sociolinguistics.

ALESSANDRO PALUMBO
University of Oslo, Norway

Language and script mixing in the epigraphic sources of medieval Scandinavia
[Session 06]

The spread of Latin is a pivotal point in the development of medieval European literate societies. Scandinavia represents a unique case where Latin and the Roman script encountered an 800-year-old native tradition based on the local vernacular and the runic script. From being monolingual and monoscriptal, at the end of the 11th century parts of the Scandinavian societies became multilingual and multiscriptal. This led not only to a long coexistence of the two languages and scripts, but also to their mixing in epigraphic sources (see figure 1 below) and to their mutual influence, as regards for instance the palaeography, orthography and wording of the inscriptions (see e.g. Ertl 1994; Gustavson 1994; Knirk 1998; Källström 2018; Palumbo *forthc.*).

In my talk, I will present the preliminary results of a project that aims to investigate the encounter between the Latin and the native vernacular written culture in medieval Scandinavia (c. 1100–1500), through phenomena of language and script switching in epigraphic sources. The project aims to determine: 1) the medieval carvers' multilingual and multiscriptal proficiency; 2) the status relationship between the Latin and runic written tradition; and 3) the ideological presuppositions and purposes of the use of different languages and scripts.

The study focuses on how and why Latin and the Scandinavian vernaculars, as well as the Roman alphabet and the runic script were mixed together, and how they influenced each other. To this end, epigraphic methods are combined with multimodal and sociolinguistic analyses.

A multimodal study of bilingual and biscriptal texts implies an investigation on several analytical levels, encompassing both script-specific and linguistic features as well as visual and compositional elements (Sebba 2012). The analysed features are then interpreted sociolinguistically within the framework of linguistic landscape studies, a field that focuses on how multilingualism is displayed in the public space, predominantly in modern societies (cf. Pavlenko and Mullen 2015), and that strives to explain such multilingual practices with social, political and ideological factors (Gorter 2006).

The encounter between the Latin and the vernacular written culture in Scandinavia, too, takes place often in public texts and monumental inscriptions, whose receiver is not a single private person but rather a whole community. Viewed through this lens, the Scandinavian bilingual and biscriptal inscriptions do not only say something about the individuals' language and script proficiency, but also about the mutual status of languages and scripts, and the cultural and ideological processes behind the emerging of new writing practices.

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Figure 1. Funerary inscription from Ugglum church, Sweden, dated to the end of the 12th century. The inscription consists of both runes (in bold), Roman letters, Old Swedish and Latin:

Reginmot · let · gera · hvalf : ifir : Gunnar : Esbeornar : son
rehinmop : læt · gæra : hualf : ifir · gunnar : æsbeornār · sōn :
 Haraldus : me fecit : mahister ·

“Reginmod had this vault made for Gunnar, Åsbjörn’s son. Master Harald made me.”

JAMES RAMSBURG

University of Minnesota, USA

Orthographic Development of the Palatal Nasal /ɲ/ in Balearic Catalan as an Indicator of Contact-Induced Change [Session 02]

The current study examines the historical development of the palatal nasal grapheme in Balearic Catalan texts in an attempt to better characterize the origins of linguistic hispanicization on the Balearic Islands. As noted by Veny (1982), from the 16th to the 20th centuries the palatal nasal phoneme /ɲ/, originally represented as <ny>, was written as <ñ>, <ñy>, or <yñ>. This change, clearly influenced by the Spanish palatal nasal grapheme <ñ>, coincides with the annexation of the Balearic Islands by the Spanish crown in the 16th century. However, that is the extent of the existing literature about this orthographic change. Therefore, this study seeks to further characterize this phenomenon and better analyze how exactly the factors of time, geographic origin, text genre, word position, and cognate status affected the use of either the native or contact-induced graphemes. To do so, this study utilizes Veny's corpora of historical Balearic Catalan texts (2009, 2011, 2013) produced between 1300-2010, and evaluates them via a distributional and multivariate analysis of the aforementioned variables. The results suggest that year, location, and text genre were all significant predictors contributing to the usage of contact graphemes. In terms of geographic origin, Ibiza – in contrast with the rest of the archipelago – strongly favored the conservation of the native <ny> form. This study also finds that the <ny> form was conserved in both narrative and poetic texts, confirming the historical argument that Catalan literature was largely unaffected by hispanicization. Perhaps most interestingly, a third of the texts analyzed featured a mixed use between native and contact graphemes, suggesting the equivalency and coexistence of diverse forms within an individual orthographic system. Overall, this study contributes to the understanding of the dynamics of contact-induced language change in the Balearic context.

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GIJSBERT RUTTEN

Leiden University, The Netherlands

What do prescriptivists know about usage? The influence of usage on Siegenbeek's *Woordenlijst* (1847) [Session 01]

(abstract under Marten **van der Meulen** and Gijsbert Rutten)

ELEONORA SERRA

University of Cambridge, England

The spread of archaising, codified forms in the Buonarroti corpus: Dynamics of standardisation in early modern Tuscany [Session 01]

In the early modern period, the Italian peninsula was politically and linguistically fragmented. However, literary Tuscan had progressively acquired prestige as a written variety, and in the sixteenth century it was codified and promoted, also thanks to the role of the Venetian printing press. The protagonists of this codification process were at a first stage non-Tuscans. The variety they codified was not based on the language actually spoken in Tuscany, but rather on the fourteenth-century, archaic Florentine variety found in the works of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. The reception of this archaic, codified variety in Tuscany was initially problematic. However, in the course of the sixteenth century this variety progressively made its way in the literary writings of Tuscan individuals, and was eventually promoted by the *Accademia della Crusca*.

If this is what happened on the literary front, the reception of this archaising variety at the level of informal writings requires further investigation. This paper examines the appearance and spread of a range of morphological features that characterised the codified, fourteenth-century variety, as opposed to contemporary Tuscan, in a Tuscan corpus of private letters. This is the corpus produced by Michelangelo's family and their correspondents (c. 400,000 words), including letters by 198 writers from different social backgrounds and walk of life, written in the time period 1496–1585. My study demonstrates that change from above in social terms can be detected even at the level of informal writings: a number of archaising features that were prescribed in grammars were more frequently used by individuals of high status at the beginning of the century, and they were progressively adopted by individuals of middle/lower status in the subsequent decades. In the case of the most frequent feature, the form of the masculine determiner *il*, its use rises from 23% in the Tuscan writers born 1450–1474, to 75% in writers born 1500–1524, and the feature is very much socially stratified (see graphs in the next page). I complement this analysis at the macro-level with a micro-level approach which examines the language of individual members of one generation of the Buonarroti family which is particularly represented in the corpus: the siblings Michelangelo, Buonarroto, Giovansimone and Gismondo, and Buonarroto's wife Bartolomea. These individuals belonged to the same generation and yet showed great variability in their use of codified, fourteenth-century features. The paper attempts to relate the network structure of each individual (reconstructed on the basis of biographical information) to their participation in the changes in progress.

Figure 1. Percentage of fourteenth-century Florentine form of masculine determiner *il* (codified in grammars) as opposed to *el*.

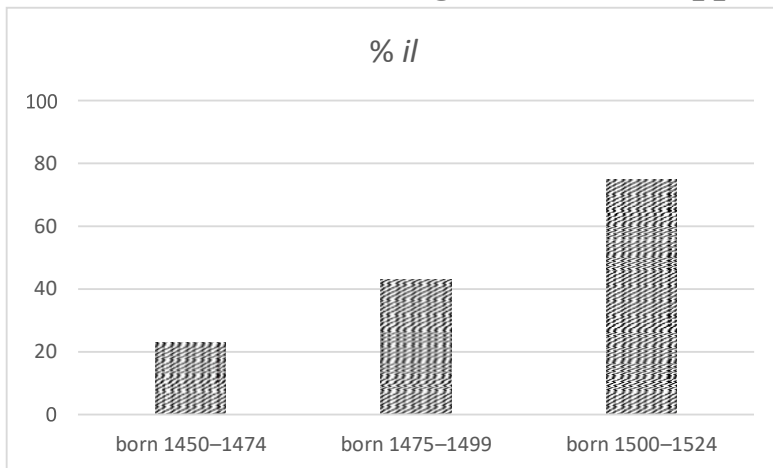
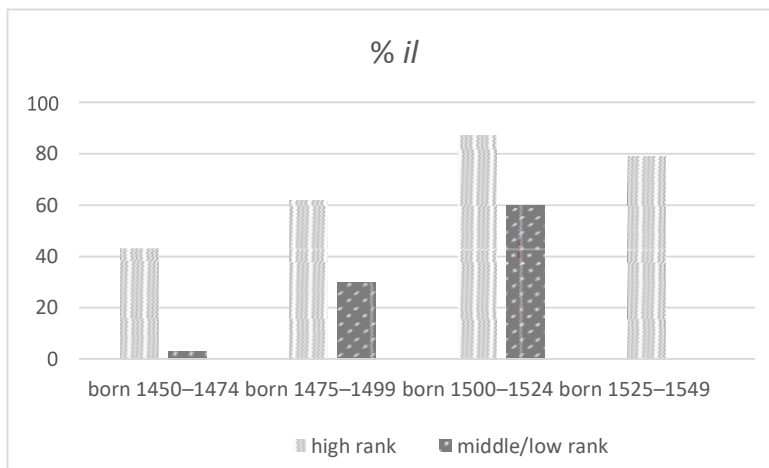


Figure 2. Social embedding of the change: percentage of fourteenth-century Florentine form *il* as opposed to *el* in the high and middle/low ranks.



JAMES STRATTON

Purdue University, USA.

Old English Intensifiers: A Quantitative Analysis of the Old English Intensifier System [Session 05]

While many studies have employed variationist methods to examine longitudinal changes in the English intensifier system (e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte 2003; Tagliamonte 2008; D'Arcy 2015), to date, no variationist studies have tackled the intensifier system of Old English. Previous studies have been monographic in nature, that is, they have focused on the development of specific intensifiers, such as *swiðe* 'very' (Méndez-Naya 2003), as opposed to their role as active participants within a multi-dimensional internally and externally constrained system (Peltola 1971; Mitchell 1976; Ingersoll 1978; Méndez-Naya 2003). The present study is the first of its kind to provide a critical view of the Old English intensifier system using variationist methods.

Two research questions were posited. First, using variationist quantitative methods, what is the distribution of amplifier variants in the Old English intensifier system? Second, are any internal or external constraints found operating on this system? To address these questions, the Old English component of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (Rissanen et al. 1991), containing four subperiods was used: O1 [-850], O2 [850-950], O3 [950-1050], O4 [1050-1150].

Following modern variationist work (e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte 2003; Tagliamonte 2008; D'Arcy 2015), the variable context was circumscribed to intensifiable adjectives, where negative, comparative, and superlative tokens were not included in the envelope of variation. The presence or absence of a preceding intensifier was coded respectively (Examples in [1]). Both internal (syntactic function, semantic type) and external factors (time, text type, text origin) were included in the analysis, and two mixed effects logistic regression models were run in Rbrul (Johnson 2009).

Results from the distributional analysis indicated that the number one variant was *swiðe* 'very' (57%), followed by *ful* 'very' (11%), and *swa* 'so' (7%). As for the multivariate analysis, the first logistic regression found both internal and external factors to constrain intensifier variability in Old English. Predicative adjectives favored intensification over attributive adjectives, prose texts had higher intensification rates than verse texts, vernacular texts had higher intensification rates than texts translated from Latin, and the intensification rate increased throughout time. The second regression model was run with the use or absence of *swiðe* as the application value. Syntactic position and text type were identified as statistically significant factors, with *swiðe* favored in predicative position, where it occurred more frequently in prose texts than in verse texts.

All in all, the present study shows that both linguistic and external factors conditioned intensifier variability in Old English. Although social factors, such as sex and age, which are known to condition intensifier variability in Modern English (e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte 2003; Tagliamonte 2008) could not be included in the analysis due to the lack of sociolinguistic metadata, other external factors such as register and text origin were found operating on this system. This study therefore adds to the long tradition of research on English intensifiers, it provides new quantitative insight into its earlier system, while also contributing to modern variationist work on Old English variation and change.

Examples

- [1] a. Ða ða þæt folc þæt gehirde, hi wæron **Ø bliðe** gewordene
 ‘Then when the people that heard, they were happy become’
 ‘Then when the people heard that, they were happy’ [*Not Intensified*]
- b. Hie þa **swa blipe** on morgenne wæron
 ‘They then so happy in morning were’
 ‘They were then so happy in the morning’ [*Intensified*]
- c. ða wæs ic **swiðe blipe**
 ‘Then was I very happy’
 ‘Then I was very happy’ [*Intensified*]

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CHRISTOPHER STRELLUF

University of Warwick, England

The actuation of allophonic PRICE-raising in Kansas City in late 1800s speech

[Session 02]

This presentation examines the emergence of the raising of allophones of the vowel in PRICE before voiceless consonants in Kansas City. The conditioned split, which has traditionally been associated with Canadian Englishes (e.g., Joos 1942) and some traditional dialects of the US northeast and Mid-Atlantic (e.g., Kurath & McDavid 1961), has recently been reported as an incoming innovation across a growing swath of the United States (e.g., Davis, Berkson & Strickler 2020).

Kansas City, a large metropolitan area in the American Midland, joins the list of communities where PRICE-raising has emerged recently. Acoustic measurements of PRICE allophones from sociolinguistic interviews with Kansas Citians born in the second half of the twentieth century show that pre-voiceless allophones raised steadily away from pre-voiced allophones during that apparent-time span. This resulted in a majority of Kansas Citians born in the 1990s participating in PRICE-raising.

This presentation then attempts to account for the actuation of this recent innovation in Kansas City. While some researchers have argued that PRICE-raising outside its traditional areas is a result of dialect contact (e.g., Kodner & Richter 2020), there is no obvious source of contact in the late-twentieth century that would be expected to result in PRICE-raising. Phonetically motivated accounts, such as Moreton and Thomas's (2007), offer plausible language-internal explanations for PRICE-raising.

However, phonetically motivated accounts do not answer a fundamental question of Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog's (1968) Actuation Problem: "Why did this change occur now [...] and never before?" (cf. Fruehwald 2016:377).

An answer to the Actuation Problem for late-twentieth century PRICE-raising in Kansas City is found in recordings of 11 Kansas Citians born between 1884 and 1914. These recordings were compiled from old radio recordings and oral history collections. PRICE vowels among these Kansas Citians show a dramatically different acoustic profile from the vowels of Kansas Citians born after 1950, with all allophones of PRICE in the late 1800s being monophthongal. PRICE allophones before voiceless consonants then underwent diphthongization. While late-twentieth-century PRICE-raising in Kansas City is not explicable through dialect contact, the diphthongization of PRICE is a plausible outcome of dialect contact and other sociolinguistic forces in the late 1800s and early 1900s, including rapid population growth through in-migration from the North Midland and from rural Missouri, as well as post-Reconstruction policies which shifted wealth and influence away from many people with South Midland backgrounds. The diphthongization of PRICE allophones before voiceless consonants then created the phonetic precursor for PRICE-raising as predicted by Moreton and Thomas (2007).

As such, this presentation shows American Raising to be a recent innovation in Kansas City, which sits at the end of a longer chain of changes in productions of PRICE vowels. It argues that the Actuation Problem for the recent sound change can only be solved by understanding the motivations and actions of the earlier sound change. It therefore highlights the value of historical sociophonetic analysis of very old recordings to explain very recent sociophonetic developments.

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SALI A. TAGLIAMONTE
University of Toronto, Canada

From ‘buddy’ to ‘dude’ to ‘bro’: Vocative change in Ontario English [Session 05]

(abstract under Jeremy M. **Needle** and Sali A. Tagliamonte)

MARTEN VAN DER MEULEN

Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

GIJSBERT RUTTEN

Leiden University, The Netherlands

What do prescriptivists know about usage? The influence of usage on Siegenbeek's *Woordenlijst* (1847) [Session 01]

Much contemporary research into prescriptivism focuses on the possible influence of prescriptivism on actual language use. Rarer is work investigating the influence of usage on prescriptive rules. This seems to be an effect of the common assumption that, as Trask puts it, prescriptive verdicts are "often in defiance of normal usage" (1999: 246). However, as Ayres-Bennet shows for some of Vaugelas' rules, these may actually "reflect usage and its variation and change well" (2020: 207). This result shows that there may be more to the way in which prescriptivism relates to usage. However, the nature and extent of this relationship is as of yet unclear.

In this paper, we investigate the way prescriptivism links to usage by presenting a Dutch case study. As a starting point we take the *Lijst van woorden en uitdrukkingen met het Nederlandsch Taaleigen strijdende* (1847). Composed by one of the first professors of Dutch, Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774-1854), this pamphlet contains almost 200 evaluations of foreign words, usually condemning their use in literary texts. We first map out statements about usage in this list, including the use of frequency words and sources, and compare these to similar statements from the modern Dutch usage guide tradition (cf. van der Meulen, 2020). Next, we compare Siegenbeek's use of usage by looking at literary texts from the preceding period 1750-1847, using the DBNL part of Nederlab (3507 texts, 30,3 million words, cf. Brugman et al., 2016).

Analysis of the statements shows that Siegenbeek refers to usage in 46% of entries. Lower and higher frequency terms both occur, although lower frequency terms (such as *wel eens* "sometimes" and *niet ongewoon* "not uncommon"). As for users that are mentioned, Siegenbeek's focus is on 'good writers' in general and two specific authors in particular. These results starkly contrast modern Dutch usage guides, which include frequency terms much less often, show a focus on newspaper language, and which have a strong emphasis on high-frequency terms. We will argue that these differences can be attributed to Siegenbeek's background and the different tradition in which he writes.

When we compare Siegenbeek's pronouncements to actual language use, we see that when he does make stronger declarations (i.e. phrases such as *you hear it more and more often*), these do not always seem to relate well to the language he purportedly studied. While it is claimed in the introduction that the list of foreign words was primarily compiled on the basis of literary texts, it proves difficult to trace back the words in literary texts of the time. We will discuss this result in the context of the different types of prescriptivism distinguished by Curzan (2014), the Dutch metalinguistic tradition, and the prescriptivist frequency illusion (Zwicky 2006).

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SARAH VAN EYNDHOVEN

University of Edinburgh, Scotland

Politics, Pragmatism and Persistence: Written Scots during the Union debates in personal correspondence [Session 01]

The year 1707 in Scotland marked the beginning of a new chapter of political unification, but also (seemingly) the final chapter of written Scots, cementing an anglicisation process that had been ongoing for the past 150 years. English became the medium of choice for most forms of serious prose, while written Scots became largely relegated to ‘the domestic, the familiar, the sentimental, [and] the comic.’ (Murison, 1979, p. 37). Yet linguistic awareness of Scots was increasing at this time (Jones, 1995) and political and religious tension developed in the lead-up to the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 (Jackson, 2008). Use of Scots became increasingly marked and developed local or nationalist associations (Whatley, 2006) whilst the Union debates (1689- 1707) themselves saw a diverse range of ideological standpoints ranging from pragmatic acceptance to outright rejection (Kidd, 2008). In the face of such a linguistic and political awakening, this particular moment of Scots history is a unique period of time to examine. However the relationship between Early Modern Scots and the changing political situation is still to be explored, as well as what remained of written Scots at this moment in time.

By collecting correspondence produced by certain Scottish politicians involved in the Union debates (1689-1707), I statistically examine their frequency of written Scots (if they use it at all) and compare this with the potential influence of their political or religious ideology. For data, I focus on certain key politicians and religiously-inspired individuals from opposing camps, including the Earl of Seafield, George Lockhart of Carnwath and Robert Wodrow. Their letters are digitised and then tagged for instances of Scots lexis and characteristically Scots orthography and inflections, along with their English equivalent. I analyse how eighteenth-century written Scots manifests across different linguistic levels (orthographic, phonological and lexical), as well as its interaction with the political and national identity of these authors. Preliminary results show continued use of Scots in correspondence, despite previous accounts suggesting it had all but died out due to intense anglicising pressures (Millar, 2013). Scots also appears to continue largely on morphological and orthographical levels, although the influence of legal and academic terminology is apparent in the lexical items that remain. Authors whose attitude towards the Union tended to be religiously-charged are shown to differ in frequency and style to members with more of a focus on economic subject matters. I thus explore the changing linguistic landscape of written Scots within the divisive early eighteenth century, and demonstrate a historical instance of politically-influenced variation.

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