NARNiHS

North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics

Official Program for NARNiHS 2022

Fourth Annual Meeting

North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics

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

7 – 9 January 2022

This year fully online via video-conference!

Contents

Video-conferencing Guidelines

Welcome to NARNiHS 2022, the 4th 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.

Program Overview

Friday	07 January 2022
Session 1	**Socio-historical reconstructions** *Chair: Joshua Bousquette – University of Georgia, USA*
11:00-11:30 **US Eastern Time** *08:00-08:30 Vancouver* *17:00-17:30 Berlin* *19:00-19:30 Moscow*	**1.** Using a sociolinguistic database for detecting historical changes in Siberian languages *Olga Kazakevich ; Elena Klyachko – Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences / Russian State University for the Humanities ; Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences / Higher School of Economics*
11:30-12:00 **US Eastern Time** *08:30-09:00 Vancouver* *17:30-18:00 Berlin* *19:30-20:00 Moscow*	**2.** Intra-individual register studies in Old High German *Gohar Schnelle ; Silke Unverzagt* *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany*
12:00-12:30 **US Eastern Time** *09:00-09:30 Vancouver* *18:00-18:30 Berlin* *20:00-20:30 Moscow*	**3.** Reconstructing spoken discourse in writing: an analysis of orality markers in historical witness depositions *Magda Serwadczak* *Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium*
12:30-13:00 **US Eastern Time** *09:30-10:00 Vancouver* *18:30-19:00 Berlin* *20:30-21:00 Moscow*	**4.** Verbal $-s$ and $-\emptyset$ in Historic AAL through Black Drama *John W. W. Powell* *University of Arizona, USA*

Program Overview

Saturday	08 January 2022
Session 2	**Linguistic features in their socio-historical context** *Chair: Carolina Amador-Moreno – Universitetet i Bergen, Norway*
11:00-11:30 **US Eastern Time** *08:00-08:30 Vancouver* *17:00-17:30 Berlin* *19:00-19:30 Moscow*	**1.** Speech Reflections in Late Modern English Pauper Petitions from Dorset *Anne-Christine Gardner ; Anita Auer ; Mark Iten* *Université de Lausanne, Switzerland*
11:30-12:00 **US Eastern Time** *08:30-09:00 Vancouver* *17:30-18:00 Berlin* *19:30-20:00 Moscow*	**2.** Intra-writer Variation in Epistolary Interaction: Audience Design in the use of Synthetic and Analytic Comparative Adjectives *Tamara García-Vidal* *University of Murcia, Spain*
12:00-12:30 **US Eastern Time** *09:00-09:30 Vancouver* *18:00-18:30 Berlin* *20:00-20:30 Moscow*	**3.** '[T]he two eldest boys [...] are both in the fifth standard and for grammar and arithmetic far before me'. Language variation and change among nineteenth-century Irish immigrants to New Zealand *Dania Jovanna Bonness* *Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, Norway*

Program Overview

Sunday	09 January 2022

Session 3
 	
11:00-11:30
US Eastern Time
08:00-08:30 Vancouver
17:00-17:30 Berlin
19:00-19:30 Moscow
 	
11:30-12:00
US Eastern Time
08:30-09:00 Vancouver
17:30-18:00 Berlin
19:30-20:00 Moscow
 	
12:00-12:30
US Eastern Time
09:00-09:30 Vancouver
18:00-18:30 Berlin
20:00-20:30 Moscow
	Socio-historical interactions between language discourses and practices
	Chair: Sandrine Tailleur – Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, Canada
	
	1. The word of God and the language of the people: standardization and variation in Early Modern Welsh manuscript sermons
	    Oliver Currie
	    University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
	
	2. Which Script for the Czech Language?
	    Alena Andrlová Fidlerová
	    Univerzita Karlova, Czech Republic
	
	3. "Aberration," or Cultural Fascination? French Gender Inclusive Reforms from the Revolution to the Present
	    Jennifer Kaplan
	    University of California – Berkeley, USA

Sunday	09 January 2022
13:00-14:00 **US Eastern Time** *10:00-11:00 Vancouver* *19:00-20:00 Berlin* *21:00-22:00 Moscow*	**NARNiHS General Meeting (open to all)** *Chair: Israel Sanz-Sánchez – West Chester University, USA* **Note** that this meeting is planned for one hour: 13:00-14:00 (US Eastern Time) *10:00-11:00 (Vancouver)	19:00-20:00 (Berlin)	21:00-22:00 (Moscow)*

Sessions

Friday, 8 January 2022

Session 1: Socio-historical reconstructions
Chair: Joshua Bousquette (University of Georgia, USA)
Time: 11:00-13:00 (New York) — *08:00-10:00 (Vancouver)* | *17:00-19:00 (Berlin)* | *19:00-21:00 (Moscow)*

11:00 **Using a sociolinguistic database for detecting historical changes in**
08:00 **Siberian languages.**
17:00
19:00 *Olga Kazakevich ; Elena Klyachko (Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences / Russian State University for the Humanities ; Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences / Higher School of Economics).*

A unified anonymized database of sociolinguistic questionnaires is briefly described. Two case studies of language changes in a Selkup and an Evenki local communities using this database are shown. In the Selkup local community of Farkovo at the Turukhan river two dialects are spoken, one of which has undergone restructuring of the categories of Number and Conjugation type within the last century. The Evenki local community of Uchami at the Lower Tunguska river has changed its Evenki dialect within the last 70 years. Both phenomena can be (at least partly) explained using the data from the database.

11:30 **Intra-individual register studies in Old High German.**
08:30
17:30 *Silke Unverzagt ; Gohar Schnelle (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany).*
19:30

Starting with the language of Notker of St. Gallen (ca 950-1022) and by applying the systematic functional situation Field-Tenor-Mode-model we investigate the establishment of certain situational subdimensions to determine possible registers in OHG. Our findings of situational characteristics are based on close-reading results, interdisciplinary and corpus-based quantitative analysis of linguistic features. We will demonstrate the methodological steps and results for the functional register components of narrativity, instruction, and argumentation and the situational register components of the social role relationship to approach OHG registers through a combination of quantitative and qualitative corpus-based step-by-step description both of their situational and linguistic characteristics.

12:00 **Reconstructing spoken discourse in writing: an analysis of orality**
09:00 **markers in historical witness depositions.**
18:00
20:00 *Magda Serwadczak (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium).*

Linguists interested in studying the spoken word of the past are forced to rely solely on written records as audio- and video material is simply not available. This raises the question whether written sources truthfully and accurately depict the actual spoken interaction. Drawing from a corpus of 18th- and 19th-century Flemish witness depositions and suspect interrogations, this study aims to shed more light on the ways speech is (re)constructed in writing. The results are framed against the background of standardization and entextualization processes as well as their influence on the institutional discourse in the 18th- and 19th-century Flanders.

12:30   **Verbal –s and –ø in Historic AAL through Black Drama.**

09:30
18:30   *John W. W. Powell (University of Arizona, USA).*
20:30

Both (a) null inflected verbs (verbal –ø) for third person singular pronouns, and (b) –s inflection on verbs (verbal –s) with non-third singular subject pronouns are well attested in historic varieties of African American Language. What, if anything, conditions –s inflection? Hypotheses range from free variation to the Northern Subject Rule (NSR), that is verbal –s tends to follow full NPs, but not pronouns. I built a corpus of African American drama of 5.4 million words from the mid-1800s to present. Using computational methods, I show that the NSR cannot account for the distribution of verbal –s in my corpus.

Saturday, 8 January 2022

Session 2: Linguistic features in their socio-historical context
Chair: Carolina Amador-Moreno (Universitetet i Bergen, Norway)
Time: 11:00–12:30 (New York) — *08:00-09:30 (Vancouver)* | *17:00-18:30 (Berlin)* | *19:00-20:30 (Moscow)*

11:00
08:00
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19:00

Speech Reflections in Late Modern English Pauper Petitions from Dorset.

Anne-Christine Gardner ; Anita Auer ; Mark Iten (Université de Lausanne, Switzerland).

Pauper petitions represent a largely untapped, but valuable resource for historical dialectology. These are letters written by the labouring poor to their home parish to apply for out-relief (financial or other support). We present two case studies based on petitions by paupers with legal settlement in Dorset, identifying dialect features on the basis of unusual spellings and with the help of comparative resources such as modern dialect surveys and contemporary treatises. We also illustrate to what extent these features can be localised, considering issues surrounding the notion of settlement and the significant mobility of the paupers at the time.

11:30
08:30
17:30
19:30

Intra-writer Variation in Epistolary Interaction: Audience Design in the use of Synthetic and Analytic Comparative Adjectives.

Tamara García-Vidal (University of Murcia, Spain).

The aim of this paper is to account for individuals' sociolinguistic behavior in interpersonal communication on the investigation of socially-based patterns of style-shifting in private correspondence from 16th to 18th century England. By applying the audience design model (Bell 1984), the study is carried out through the analysis of synthetic and analytic comparative adjectives, focusing on syllable-length and etymology of the adjectives, in letters written by five members ascribed to certain social groups and addressed to recipients from different social orders. Results show variability in comparative alternation when addressing different social-ranked recipients exhibiting upward and downward accommodation patterns.

12:00
09:00
18:00
20:00

'[T]he two eldest boys […] are both in the fifth standard and for grammar and arithmetic far before me'. Language variation and change among nineteenth-century Irish immigrants to New Zealand.

Dania Jovanna Bonness (Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, Norway).

Drawing on the letters of a nineteenth-century Irish migrant family, this paper investigates whether traces of characteristic Irish English morphosyntactic features brought to New Zealand by some of its early settlers are still present in their colonial-born children's language, and whether any of these features can confirm or contradict predictions made by Trudgill (2004) and Schneider (2007) regarding the developmental stages of early New Zealand English. Primary focus will be on the *indefinite anterior perfective* and on non-standard use of the *definite article*. This paper thus aims to contribute to research on new-dialect formation and on intergenerational language variation in the Irish diaspora.

Sunday, 9 January 2022

Session 3: Socio-historical interactions between language discourses and practices
Chair: Sandrine Tailleur (Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, Canada)
Time: 11:00–12:30 (New York) — *08:00-09:30 (Vancouver)* | *17:00-18:30 (Berlin)* | *19:00-20:30 (Moscow)*

11:00
08:00
17:00
19:00
The word of God and the language of the people: standardization and variation in Early Modern Welsh manuscript sermons.

Oliver Currie (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia).

Early modern manuscript sermons can provide a unique insight into language standardisation processes as well as individual linguistic variation. While preachers are writing in the same genre, they could use very different linguistic registers and preaching styles, choosing, at one extreme, to adopt the Bible as linguistic model, or, at the other extreme, using more colloquial and dialectal language, potentially to accommodate to their congregation. This paper examines individual linguistic variation and the development of a biblical literary standard in Early Modern Welsh based on a corpus of late 16th to early 18th century autograph manuscript sermons.

11:30
08:30
17:30
19:30
Which Script for the Czech Language?

Alena Andrlová Fidlerová (Univerzita Karlova, Czech Republic).

The paper analyzes the process during which the Czech language community switched from the blackletter to the roman type, on a sample of Czech printed texts published between 1800 and 1850. It tries to verify whether the most important variables influencing the choice of the script were those already mentioned in the literature (the level of education of the author and/or the anticipated reader and the place of print), or whether other variables not considered so far (the genre of the text, the confession of the author and/or anticipated reader) could not play an important role as well.

12:00
09:00
18:00
20:00
"Aberration," or Cultural Fascination? French Gender Inclusive Reforms from the Revolution to the Present.

Jennifer Kaplan (University of California – Berkeley, USA).

Using a corpus of French metalinguistic texts from the 18th-21st centuries, I periodize the debates over gender-inclusive French. I first identify (1) the *emergence* of these debates in metalinguistic texts as part of the language reforms between 1784-1799, which allows me to reframe both (2) the reignition of the debates over feminization in the 20th century (c.1984-1999) and (3) l'écriture inclusive (2010s-Present) as the *afterlives* of these 18th century debates. Ultimately, the very existence of these early debates counters the conservative, prescriptivist framework (e.g., of the Académie Française) that debates over grammatical gender and social gender were resolved in the 17th century.

Break   12:30–13:00 — *09:30-10:00 (Vancouver)* | *18:30-19:30 (Berlin)* | *20:30-21:00 (Moscow)*

13:00
10:00
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21:00
NARNiHS General Meeting (open to all)

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

Note that this meeting is planned for one hour: 13:00-14:00 (US Eastern Time)
     — *10:00-11:00 (Vancouver)* | *19:00-20:00 (Berlin)* | *21:00-22:00 (Moscow)*.

Presenters and abstracts (in alphabetical order)

ANITA **AUER**
Université de Lausanne, Switzerland

Speech Reflections in Late Modern English Pauper Petitions from Dorset
  [Session 02]

*[abstract under Anne-Christine **Gardner**, Anita Auer, Mark Iten]*

DANIA JOVANNA **BONNESS**

Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, Norway

'[T]he two eldest boys […] are both in the fifth standard and for grammar and arithmetic far before me'. Language variation and change among nineteenth-century Irish immigrants to New Zealand [Session 02]

The Irish constituted the third largest group of the British-born founder population in New Zealand. Nevertheless, only few characteristic Irish English features seem to have survived in New Zealand English. Letters that these settlers sent home to Ireland can provide evidence of variation and change in early New Zealand English, while theoretical frameworks for the development of postcolonial languages (e.g. Trudgill 2004 or Schneider 2007) can help us understand the different stages in the development of this variety. This paper investigates whether traces of characteristic Irish English morphosyntactic features in the settlers' language are still present in their colonial-born children's language, and whether any of these features can confirm or contradict predictions made by Trudgill (2004) and Schneider (2007) regarding the developmental stages of early New Zealand English. This paper thus aims to contribute to research on new-dialect formation and on intergenerational language variation in the Irish diaspora.

The data material consists of 40 letters written by James Logan and Hamilton McIlrath of Killinchy, Co. Down, Ireland and seven of their New Zealand-born children (15 letters) between 1860 and 1915 (Basset et al. 2009). The letters give an account of the families' lives, their work and their achievements over five decades, but also reveal invaluable information on individual and intergenerational language variation and change during that period. This paper specifically focuses on perfective aspect as exemplified by the *be*-perfect in *We are near finished harvesting* (Jennie McIlrath, 1 March 1904) and on the non-standard use of the definite article as reflected in *he has been very ill with the whooping cough* (Hamilton McIlrath, 15 July 1879). Both features have long been characteristic of Irish English, but are absent from present-day New Zealand English.

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Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Postcolonial English. Varieties Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, Peter. 2004. *New Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

OLIVER **CURRIE**
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

The word of God and the language of the people: standardization and variation in Early Modern Welsh manuscript sermons [Session 03]

Unlike their printed counterparts, early modern manuscript sermons have not attracted systematic attention from historical linguists and are less likely to be included in historical corpora. From a historical sociolinguistic perspective, though, manuscript sermons provide a particularly interesting opportunity for the study of variation between individual language users. While preachers are writing in the same genre, they could use very different linguistic registers and preaching styles. Welsh preachers could choose, for instance, to follow the model of the 1588 Welsh Bible (revised in 1620), which provided the basis of an emerging literary standard, or to use a more colloquial and dialectal language closer to that spoken by their congregations.

This paper examines sociolinguistic variation and language standardization in a corpus of Welsh autograph manuscript sermons from the late 16th to the early 18th century comprising 50 sermons in 14 manuscripts by 13 different preachers. In some cases, the manuscripts indicate when and where the sermons were preached, enabling the (probable) identification of the preachers, though in other cases the preachers are anonymous. The analysis of sociolinguistic variation encompasses a range of orthographic, morphological and syntactic variables which seem to have reflected a growing divergence between an emerging literary standard based on the Bible, on the one hand, and colloquial Welsh, on the other. These variables were identified by comparing contemporary texts of different types and registers ranging from printed prose to popular verse and Slander case records. (A selection of the variables is illustrated in the table below).

We do in fact find significant variation between individual preachers. For example, at one extreme, John Piers, the rector of Caerwys and Llandderfel in Northeast Wales (MS NLW 12205), follows closely the language of the Welsh Bible, while at the other extreme William Williams' sermons (MS NLW 73A), which were preached 1629-30 in Llanafan, Breconshire (Southeast Wales), are replete with colloquial and dialectal forms, English loanwords as well as Latin phrases and quotations. However, because of the lack of biographical information as well as the lack of other Welsh texts by the same preachers with which to compare the sermons, it is difficult conclude what factors may have motivated individual preachers' use of language. Did William Williams, for example, use more colloquial language specifically to accommodate to his congregation or perhaps because he was less at home in literary Welsh? On the other hand, we also have English language sermons for several preachers (including John Piers and William Williams) and so can examine whether their style and patterns of use in one language can shed light on their style and patterns of use in the other language (e.g. use of the Bible as linguistic model, use or avoidance of Latin, possible linguistic accommodation to or divergence from the congregation).

In general, we observe a progressive adoption by writers of linguistic features consistent with the 1620 Welsh Bible, but it does not happen in a uniform way. The selected orthographic and morphological features seem to have been adopted more consistently than the syntactic features, perhaps reflecting the fact the orthographic and morphological features may have been more salient and easier to adopt as well as the importance of individual choice, especially in the absence of a strong prescriptive tradition. In addition to shedding light on the development of the Welsh literary standard,

the paper aims to make a broader contribution to historical sociolinguistics by highlighting the potentially valuable testimony of manuscript sermons, which are an underresearched source, and discussing the challenges interpreting their evidence.

Examples of sociolinguistic variables analysed

Variable	Examples of forms affected	"Standard" variants based on Bible (e.g. John Piers)	"Colloquial" variants (e.g. William Williams)
-NT (/-nt/ vs. /-n/)	3pl verbal forms	*Y gwragedd a'i gwelsent ef;* The women PRT-him see-3PL.PLUPERF him "The women had seen him"	*nhwi findsan wrth y records fod yr Abbot hynny wedy marw* They find-3PL.PAST … "They found out from the records that that Abbot had been dead"
-AF (/-av/ vs. /-a/)	1sg present/future	*ond bendithiaf hi* But bless-1SG.FUT her "But I shall bless her"	*ag yma gadawa i* And here leave-1SG.FUT I "And here I shall leave"
Preverbal particle **y(r)** (retention vs. omission)	Adverb+**(y)**+Verb constructions	*Yna y rhoddes efe yr enfys yn y cymylau yn arwydd o'r cyfammod* Then **PRT** sent he … "Then he set the rainbow in the clouds as sign of the covenant"	*ag yma ∅ gadawa i yr Brenin maurhudus hin yn i state a j Roialty* And here ∅ leave I … "Here I shall leave the majestic king in his state and royalty…"
Absolute-initial verb order	Absolute initial finite verb in positive declarative main clause	***Danfonodd** Duw ei Fab* **Sent** God his son "God sent his son"	*No examples (except in quotations)*

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Morgan, William, Richard Parry, and John Davies. 1620. *Y Bibl Cyssegr-lan sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd.* Printedig yn Llùndain: Gan Bonham Norton a Iohn Bill, printwyr i Ardderchoccaf fawrhydi y Brenhin.

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ALENA ANDRLOVÁ **FIDLEROVÁ**
Univerzita Karlova, Czech Republic

Which Script for the Czech Language?   [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 campaiging 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, Kyas 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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Intra-Writer Variation in Epistolary Interaction: Audience Design in the Use of Synthetic and Analytic Comparative Adjectives [Session 02]

Recently, after the formulation of the Third-wave Sociolinguistics (Eckert 2012, 2018), new studies on Historical Sociolinguistics are now approaching language variation and change from a microscopic perspective by analysing the sociolinguistic behaviour of individual speakers microscopically (Auer 2015; Conde-Silvestre 2016; Schiegg 2016; Hernández-Campoy & García-Vidal 2018a, 2018b; Voeste 2018). This certainly constitutes a shift from the traditional sociolinguistic study of collectivity and interspeaker variation to that of individuality and intra-speaker variation.

The aim of this paper is to show results and conclusions on the investigation of socially-based patterns of style-shifting at the individual level in private correspondence from 16th to 18th century England of five selected individuals. In addition to tracing language variation and change in speech communities, epistolary communication may also shed light onto the motivation(s) for variability in individuals and their stylistic choices in past societies for the construction of identity. For this study, the data has been gathered from the *Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence* and the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Extension*, which contain useful metadata on the informants and addressees.

To account for speakers' sociolinguistic behavior in interpersonal communication, this paper addresses intra-writer variation through the application of the Audience Design model proposed by Bell (1984) in letters written by five members ascribed to certain social groups when addressing recipients from different social orders (see Figure 1 as an example for results obtained in one of the informants studied). The study is carried out through the analysis of the behavior of synthetic and analytic comparative adjectives focusing mainly on syllable-length and etymology of the adjectives when analyzed. On the basis of quantitative and qualitative analysis complemented by statistics, results show variability in the use of the synthetic vs. the analytic comparative linguistic form when addressing different social-ranked recipients exhibiting upward and downward accommodation patterns. In this way, the informants show addressee-based accommodative patterns when writing upwards by showing a preference of the analytic form with long and Romance adjectives (e.g.: *more substanciall, more vexatious*), and of the inflectional form with short and Germanic/native adjectives (e.g.: *happier, saddere*) when writing downwards. In this line, this study contributes to account for the social meaning of *inter-* and *intra-*speaker variation in the sociolinguistic behaviour of speakers as a linguistic resource for identity construction in interpersonal communication.

Keywords: adjective comparison, historical correspondence, historical sociolinguistics, intra-speaker variation, style-shifting.

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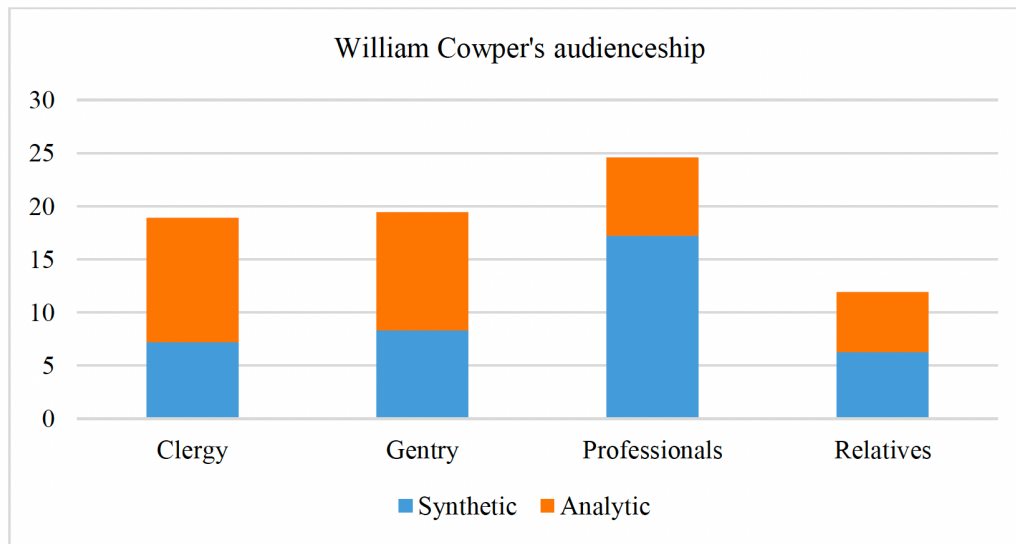

Figure 1. Normalised frequencies for synthetic and analytic comparative adjectives in William's Cowper's letters (ascribed to the professional social rank) according to his audienceship.

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Speech Reflections in Late Modern English Pauper Petitions from Dorset

[Session 02]

The field of historical sociolinguistics draws on principles and insights from present-day sociolinguistics with the assumption that "fundamental principles and mechanisms of language variation and change are valid across time" (Auer et al. 2015). In contrast to present-day studies, historical sociolinguists have to base themselves on written sources and have no direct records of speech. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct orality by investigating text types that are closer to speech such as personal correspondence, trial proceedings or speech representations in drama and fiction (cf. Culpeper & Kytö 2010). A written source that similarly reflects contemporary spoken language during the Late Modern English period is pauper petitions, i.e. letters written by the labouring poor to apply for out-relief (financial or other support) to their home parish. As many of the writers had not received much schooling, let alone grammatical training, the data source can reflect the varying levels of education and elements of speech of the writers from different regions in England.

The aim of the current study is to illustrate speech reflections in Late Modern English pauper petitions from a specific county, namely Dorset. First we will provide some general background information on a corpus of pauper petitions that we are currently compiling. In a second step we will describe our data and methodology, with a focus on our collection of petitions from Dorset written between 1803 and 1826, as well as comparative sources which can be used to reconstruct and identify South-Western dialect features in Late Modern English. These include poems written in Dorset dialect, such as those by William Barnes (1801–1886), as well as his *Dissertation on the Dorset Dialect of the English Language* published in 1844 (Burton 2013, 2017a/b; Burton & Ruthven 2013). In our case studies we show how regional (and other spoken) features are reflected in the idiosyncratic spellings in petitions of less educated paupers from Dorset. While sociolinguistically variable features such as h-dropping and h-insertion are common, different writers reveal different sets of regionally more restricted features. Augustine Morgan, for instance, must have pronounced "week" with a short vowel (spelt "wick"), lowered the KIT vowel ("lettel" for "little") and elided final /t, d/ ("han" for "hand", "nex" for "next"). Charls Ann Green's spellings, on the other hand, point towards features such as l-vocalisation ("triful" for "trifle"), shortening and assimilation processes in "fust" (for "first") and a monophthongal pronunciation of the FACE set ("tha" for "they"). Since all paupers represented in our corpus had moved away and wrote back to their home parishes, the petitions also allow us to identify the likely origin of the paupers, and track mobility patterns as well dialect contact in the past – Charls Ann Green, for example, wrote back to her home parish Wimborn in Dorset from London. The data gathered from pauper petitions thus significantly increases our knowledge of spoken and regional features in Late Modern England and pushes the boundaries of dialect studies back in time.

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Speech Reflections in Late Modern English Pauper Petitions from Dorset
[Session 02]

*[abstract under Anne-Christine **Gardner**, Anita Auer, Mark Iten]*

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"Aberration," or Cultural Fascination? French Gender Inclusive Reforms from the Revolution to the Present   [Session 03]

In modern France, *l'écriture inclusive* (inclusive writing) simultaneously marks masculine and feminine referents (e.g., *auteur* [m.], *auteure* [f.] *auteur•e* [m., f.]). While the Académie Française calls l'écriture inclusive an "aberration" that puts "la langue française...en péril mortel" (2017), the inclusive writing system is a modern extension of the much older process of feminizing grammatically masculine job titles (e.g., *auteur* [m.] *auteure* [f.]); this feminization itself was hotly debated during the French Revolution. While the 1980s-90s politico-linguistic debates over the revitalized *feminization* movement are well-documented (e.g Houdebine 1987; Dawes 2003; Fleischman 1997) and, in the 21st century, the gender-inclusive potential of l'écriture inclusive for both women (Abbou 2011) and non-binary Francophones (Mackenzie 2019; Kaplan 2019; Bolter 2019) has been much discussed, the 18th-century precursors to modern debates on *gender-inclusive language* are absent from the literature.

Methodology: I begin by *periodizing* the debates over gender-inclusive language. Borrowing from Pierre Swiggers' (2015) periodizing model, I first identify (1) the *emergence* of these debates in metalinguistic texts as part of the language reforms between 1784-1799, which allows me to reframe both (2) the reignition of the debates over feminization in the 20th century (c.1984-1999) and (3) l'écriture inclusive (2010s-Present) as the *afterlives* of these 18th century debates. My major innovations are twofold: *Periodizing* the different waves of these debates allows me to *argue* that such debates are *not* new, but rather longstanding (though evolving) features of French metalinguistic commentary. ***Corpus*:** For all three periods, my corpus is composed of metalinguistic texts. For the 18th century, I examine a combination of dictionaries (Féraud 1787-1788; Académie Française 1798) and debates between linguistic *authorities* and *public* letter-writers published in the *Journal de la langue Françoise* (1784-1795). For the 20th and 21st centuries, I analyze analogical *public* commentary in news editorials (20th century—see Ozello and Marks 1984; Fleischman 1997; 21st century— e.g. Peche 2017, *Figaro;* Brillard 2017, *Causeur*) and *authoritative* commentary in government-issued *circulaires* (*Journal Officiel de la République Française*). Because sources from both the 20th and 21st centuries frequently cite declarations from the Académie Française (1984; 2017; 2019; 2021), these are also included.

Results: My analysis of 18th century metalinguistic texts proves that gender-inclusive language reforms are *not* "aberrations," but rather an ongoing subject of interest to both the literate *French public* and *public intellectuals.* My second major finding is that debates over gender-inclusive language *evolve*. Debates in the *first period* (1784-1799) saw public intellectuals base the "validity" of a given feminized neologism on 1. whether it etymologically evoked the Latinate origins of French (e.g., "amatrice" [f., 'lover'] is "parfaitement analogue" to both pre-existing French feminine titles and the "latin *amatrix*" [*Journal* 1795, 152]), and 2. whether it was necessary, based on the number of women entering a given field. For the two later periods under examination, however, while proponents of feminization (20th c.) and l'écriture inclusive (21st c.) continue to base their arguments on *necessity,* opponents to gender-inclusive language reforms center their arguments on a notion only peripheral to 18th century debates: That masculine titles were *always-already* neutral because "le masculin l'emporte sur le féminin" (e.g. Académie Française 2017).

Theoretical Implications: In periodizing and recontextualizing debates over gender-inclusive language, I argue that 18th-century linguistic debates have important *afterlives* in modern gender-based language reforms. Ultimately, the very existence of these early debates counters the conservative, prescriptivist framework, put forth by the contemporary Académie Française and their followers, that debates over grammatical gender and social gender had been resolved within a few years of the Académie's founding in 1635.

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Using a sociolinguistic database for detecting historical changes in Siberian languages   [Session 01]

Numerous population displacements in Siberia (Sablin and Savelyeva, 2011) and the traditional multilingualism have played a great role in the language change and shift processes. In this paper, we present a sociolinguistic database for Siberian (mostly, Selkup, Ket and Evenki speech communities) and several case studies of language change supported by its data.

During our language documentation field trips, we conduct a sociolinguistic survey among the community members, posing questions on the linguistic biographies and language attitudes of the respondents as well as their parents and grandparents. We have compiled these questionnaires into a unified anonymized database, which has already helped us in several case studies.

One of these case studies is on the Selkup language in Farkovo (Turukhansky district, Krasnoyarsk krai). Farkovo began to grow in the 1930s, during the collectivization. In the 1950s-1970s small trading posts at the Turukhan and its tributaries were closed and their residents moved to Farkovo, as well as the Selkups from some villages at the Yenisey (Angutikha or Kureika), which can be seen from the questionnaires. As a result, Farkovo Selkup residents aged over 50 speak at least two Selkup dialects. The dialect of those who moved to the village from the Yenisey villages or from the Lower Baikha (a left tributary of the Turukhan), where they had intense contacts with Kets, has lost the dual forms. In contrast, these forms have been preserved in the dialect of those who came from the Upper Baikha (another left tributary of the Turukhan) or from the Khudosei (a right tributary of the Taz) and who contacted there with the Selkups of the Middle Taz. The Lower Baikha dialect has also lost the opposition of subjective and objective declension in the 1st and 2nd persons (singular), which may also be the result of a longitudinal contact with Ket.

Another case study is on the Evenki language in Uchami (Evenkiysky district, Krasnoyarsk krai). Glafira Vasilevich classifed the Evenki dialects in (Vasilevich, 1948), grouping them into southern, northern and eastern branches. She describes the dialect of Uchami as a southern one. Elena Lebedeva mentions southern features in her 1952 field notes from Uchami (Lebedeva, 1952), too. However, our 2008 work with Evenki speakers from Uchami as well as 2014 fieldwork in Uchami itself revealed that there were speakers of both northern and southern dialects there. Interestingly, one of the Evenki language consultants, who worked with us, also worked with Lebedeva back in the 1950s. Comparing the texts recorded within half a century from each other we can see that the northern features became more prominent in her speech, taking over the southern ones.

This shift can be justified by what the questionnaires show: the northern dialect consultants we worked with actually came to Uchami in 1952 as children together with their parents, migrating from the closed Vivi village, where a northern dialect was spoken. Their speech must have influenced the speech of Uchami inhabitants.

These case studies can seem minor but they show how the language change and shift happen at the microlevel. We cannot easily grasp the shift processes in language communities, and it is a great luck when the process can be supported by archive documents and questionnaires.

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Using a sociolinguistic database for detecting historical changes in Siberian languages   [Session 01]

*[abstract under Olga **Kazakevich** and Elena Klyachko]*

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Verbal –*s* and –*ø* in Historic AAL through Black Drama   [Session 01]

Null inflected verbs (verbal –*ø*) for all persons, including third person singular (3sg) pronouns, are well attested in historic varieties of African American Language (AAL). Example (1-2) come from Langston Hughes play 'Little Ham' (1935), see bolded words:

(1) SHINGLE She **don't** know you livin', less'n she **see** you. (p. 13)

However, this same character's speech sometimes exhibits –*s* inflection on verbs (verbal –*s*) with non-third singular subject (non-3sg) pronouns, as in the italicized words in (2):

(2) SHINGLE […] I *knows* it's lucky, 'cause I went by there last night and helped her put up the bed, and she **say**, 'Baby, I *feels* like something good's gonna happen […]' (p. 5)

Indeed, in a single sentence with non-3sg pronouns, verbs may vary between –*ø* and –*s*, see (3).

(3) SHINGLE Um-uh! I **hope** I *hits* 942, by then, so's I can buy my girl friend a turkey. (p. 7)

The question is what, if anything, conditions –*s* inflection? Early hypotheses attributed the distribution to problematic explanations like "random hypercorrection" (Labov et al., 1968). Others characterized the distribution as "unsystematic" (Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2015). Lastly, some scholars have attributed it to the so-called Northern Subject Rule (NSR; see Schneider, 2015; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2004; *inter alia*), who argue that verbal –*s* tends to follow full NPs (ex., 'The dogs bark**s**'), but not subject pronouns (ex., 'They bark'). Their findings attempt to relate the distribution in historic AAL to Northern British dialects, in support of the Neo-Anglicist perspective. Using computational methods on a corpus of historic AAL texts, I show that the NSR explanation cannot account for the distribution of verbal –*s* in my corpus, (like in 2-3). Moreover, my data provides evidence that –*s* and –*ø* may be in free variation in historic AAL.

I built a corpus of African American drama, which comprises 5.4 million words from 572 drama works by 48 playwrights, with publications spanning from the mid-1800s to the present. Then, using NLTK package for Python, I wrote code that extracted examples of:

(a) strings of verbal –*s* following non-3sg pronouns (ex. 'I/you/we/y'all/they comes')
(b) strings of verbal –*ø* following 3sg pronouns (ex. 'he/she/it come')
(c) strings of verbal –*s* following full plural NPs (ex. 'the dogs comes')[1]

The preliminary results yielded 782 examples of (a) verbal –*s* with non-3sg pronoun subjects within 179 plays by 38 authors. While the form saw more use earlier on, it does not seem to be confined to a region. That compares to 999 examples of (b) verbal –*ø* with 3sg pronoun subjects. Moreover, there were only 342 (c) verbal –*s* examples which feature a full plural NP subject. The sheer number of examples for (a) compared to (c) casts doubt that the NSR can adequately account for the distribution

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[1] Singular NPs with –*s* inflected verbs (ex. 'the dog comes') were not tested to avoid conflating general English 3sg inflection with the specific verbal –*s* properties in AAL. Similarly, verbal –*ø* with non-3sg pronouns were avoided.

of verbal −s in these drama texts. In order to see if there were any sensitivity to verb type, I plotted the frequency of the lexical verbs found in (a), (b), and (c) examples into *Figures 1, 2*, and *3* respectively. While there is slightly different distributions for the frequency of verbs for (a) and (b), they were largely the same verbs, thus suggesting that the alternation of *verbal −s/−ø* doesn't appear to be sensitive to inner aspect. This provides some evidence for a free variation account of −s/−ø, though more work needs to be done.
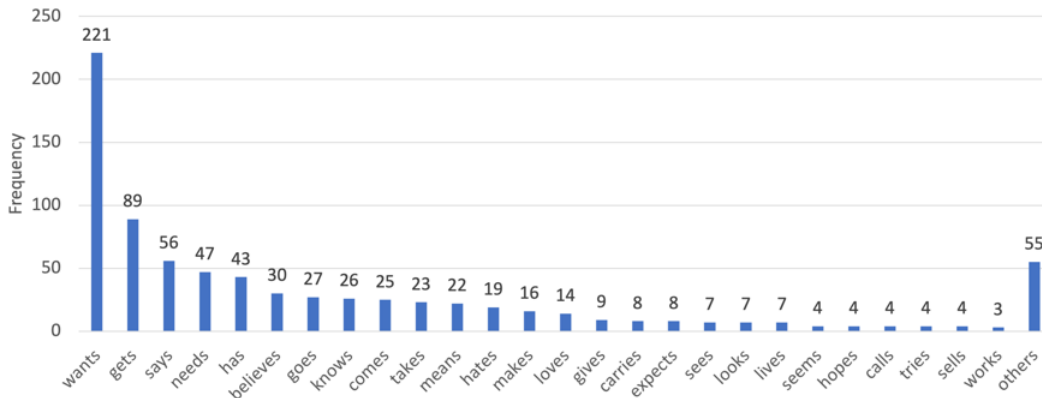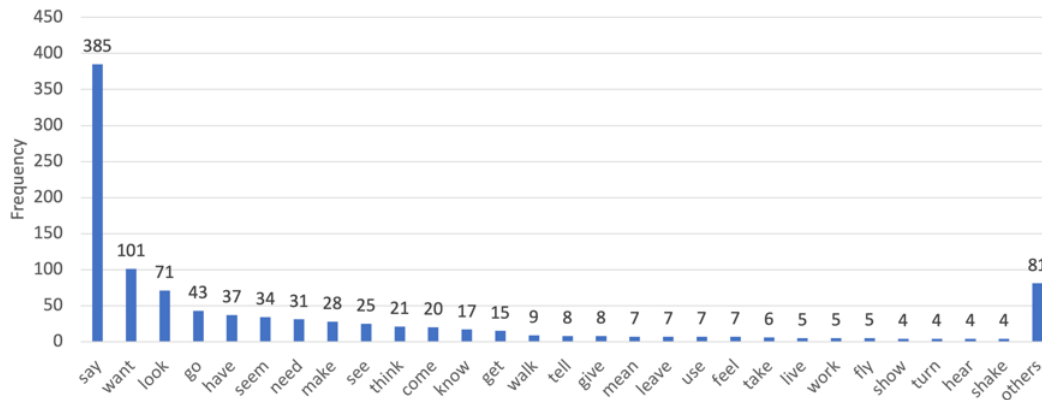

Figure 1. Verbal −s with non-3sg pronouns
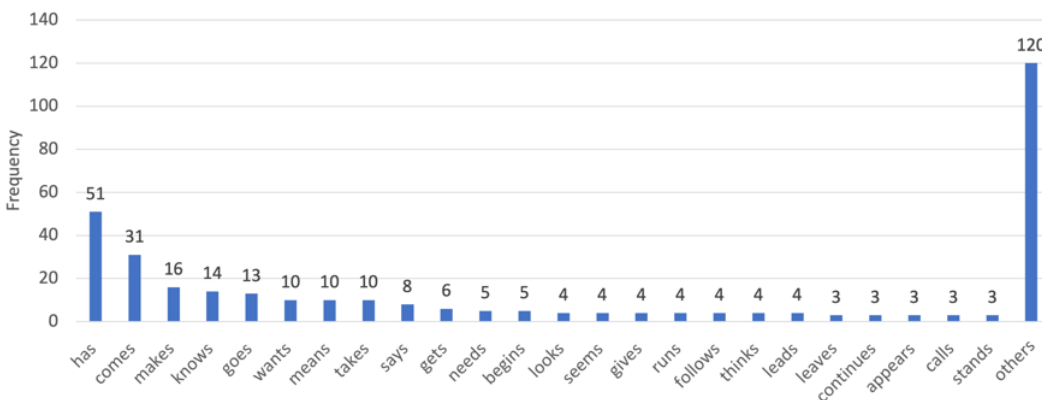

Figure 2. Verbal −ø with 3sg pronouns

Figure 3. Verbal −s with full plural NP subjects

[28]

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Intra-individual register studies in Old High German   [Session 01]

RQ: How can we detect and describe registers in Old High German?

The detection and description of Old High German (OHG) registers is a promising field of variationistic research, it provides an additional explanatory dimension. Starting with the definition of registers as systematic recurrent co-occurrences of linguistic feature constellations and cultural situational types (Neumann & Evert forthcoming, Biber 2009), we face a lot of challenges working with OHG data. The description of registers requires the description of constellations of linguistic features, the situational characteristics and the functional interpretation of the stated co-occurrence, which are all unknown quantities for a language spoken in a speech community alien from our modern perspective. In addition, the OHG text tradition does not provide sufficient data regarding both quantity and quality to apply state of the art register models and methodology developed on the basis of modern language corpora (Schnelle 2018).

For most historical languages both the set of linguistic features <u>and</u> the characteristics of a instantiated situation are unknown. Detecting and describing an OHG register means therefor to look for systematicity on both sides and combine the ends through careful functional analysis and interpretation. In our talk we are going to approach OHG registers through a combination of quantitative and qualitative corpus-based step-by-step description both of their situational and linguistic characteristics. To assure diachronic, diatopic and intraindividual comparability we start our investigation with the language use of one individual, Notker von St. Gallen (ca 950-1022), whose oeuvre is included as linguistic annotated subcorpora in the Old German Reference corpus (ReA, Donhauser 2015). Starting with the systematic functional situation Field-Tenor-Mode-model (Halliday 1978, Neumann 2014) we concentrate first on the establishment of certain situational subdimensions. Our findings of situational characteristics are based on close-reading results, interdisciplinary results and corpus-based quantitative analysis of linguistic features. For example, we will show how we used information based on the Bible and medieval society (Klein 2015) to establish hierarchical models we used as important part of the historical register, which of course cannot be obtained in the same way as for modern languages.

We will demonstrate the methodological steps and results for the functional register components of narrativity, instruction, and argumentation and the situational register components of the social role relationship. Preliminary results for situational instantiations are added in additional situational layers in the architecture of ReA and eventually result in a corpus linguistic multilayer modelling of OHG registers, that can be used in further research. With our work we do not only hope to broaden the variationist as well as the sociolinguistic view on the earliest German language period and gain information on OHG functional grammar. The several methodological and conceptual challenges prompt us also to extend established methodological paths of register studies and adjust them to historical material, which in the end shall also make an important contribution to the state of the art register research from a historical perspective.

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Reconstructing spoken discourse in writing: an analysis of orality markers in historical witness depositions [Session 01]

For historical sociolinguistics, the only way to access the spoken word of the past, is through written records, most of which were produced by professional writers. While they offer invaluable insight into language history, such sources also have their limitations: the inscription of speech into writing remains an attempt to capture the impermanent, interaction-based discourse and reify it in a fixed, circulable form (Bucholtz & Park 2009). This raises the question to which extent written records are credible in reflecting the actual spoken interaction. While the relationship between speech and writing has been dealt with in the studies into German (e.g. Elspaß 2005, Voeste 2010), English (e.g. Biber 1988, Timmis 2017) and Northern varieties Dutch (e.g. Rutten & van der Wal 2011), in-depth studies into Southern, Belgian varieties Dutch are still lacking. At the same time, the focus of most of the scientific research lies on private documents and letters, while other text types and communicative contexts receive less attention. Works of Culpeper & Kytö (2000), Grund (2007) and Topalovic (2003) show that different results are obtained from different text types and encourage exploration beyond private documents.

In this paper, not only do we aim to fill this descriptive gap, but also bring attention to documents produced in an institutional setting. To this end, we examine a corpus of historical witness and suspect depositions used in trial cases held at Flemish courts. The documents date back to the 18th and 19th century and contain originally speech-based depositions committed to paper by legal scribes. We use both qualitative and quantitative methods to select and analyze a number of orality and literacy markers (among which the type/token ratio, the use of punctuation and clause chaining "and") and zoom in on the scribes' entextualization practices, which are understood as ways of "rendering discourse extractable" (Bauman & Briggs 1990) and turning transient linguistic production into a durable text. The results are framed against the background of standardization processes and their influence on the institutional discourse in the 18th and 19th century Flanders and enable to assess the extent to which these written records are credible and likely truthful representations of the actual historical spoken interaction.

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Intra-individual register studies in Old High German [Session 01]

*[abstract under Gohar **Schnelle** and Silke Unverzagt]*