Loss of Historical Phonetic Contrast Across the Lifespan:

Articulatory, Lexical, and Social Effects on Sound Change in Swabian

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Background

Lifespan Studies of Language Change

- Questions about the apparent-time approach to language change:
 - —Do all individuals change in the same way, at the same rates, and at the same points across their lifespan?
 - —Do the grammars of individuals change along with the grammars of the communities they are a part of?

Frequency and Phonetic Mergers

- Bybee (2002) finds that reduction affects high-frequency words first
- Hay et al. (2015) find that sound change, if in progress, affects low-frequency words first and then spreads to high-frequency words across the years
- Tomaschek et al. (2018) maintain that high-frequency words "get more practice", which consequently may make them more resistant to change

The Linguistic Variable: /ai/ Diphthong

- Linguistic Variable: Modern standard German /ai/ diphthong
- MHG Phonemes /i:/ and /ei/: merged in contemporary Standard German MHG /i:/ → SWG [əi] ~ STD [ai]
 e.g., MHG Zeit [zi:t] 'time' → SWG [tsəit] ~ STD [tsait]

 MHG /ei/ → SWG [ɔi] and [əi] ~ STD [ai]
 e.g., MHG klein [klein] 'small' → SWG [glɔi] or [gləi] ~ STD [klain]
- Research Question: To what extent are the two MHG phonemes, /i:/ and /ei/, losing their historical phonetic contrast and merging, or becoming more similar to each other, across the lifespan of the individual speaker

Our Hypotheses: /ai/ Diphthong

We expect to see a greater loss of phonetic contrast:

- 1) in the later recordings (2017) than in the earlier ones (1982) (e.g., Auer 2011; Schwarz 2019)
- 2) in Stuttgart rather than Schwäbisch Gmünd (e.g., Trudgill 1986; Nerbonne & Heeringa 2007)
- 3) with speakers who have a low orientation to Swabian (e.g., Auer & Hinskens 2005; Dodsworth 2017)
- 4) in environments with following voiceless consonants (e.g., Kluender et al. 1988, Denes 1955)
- 5) in high-frequency over low-frequency words (Bybee 2002, Hay et al. 2015, Tomaschek et al. 2018, Todd et al. 2019)

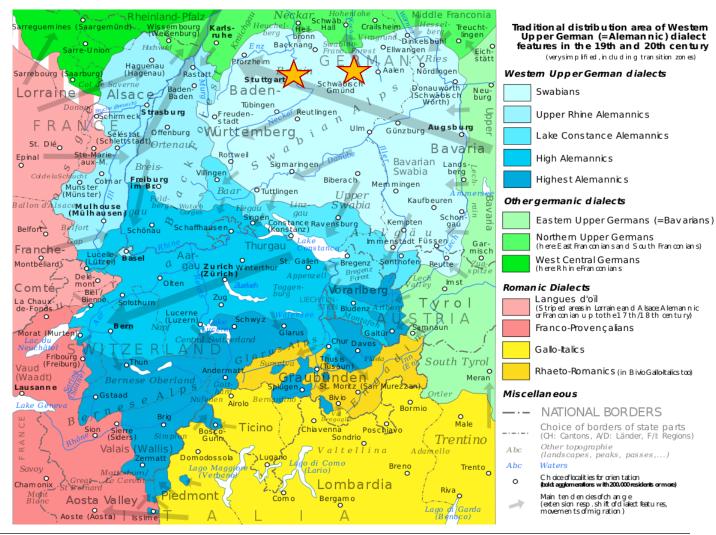
The Study

Swabian

Swabian or Schwäbisch is a High German dialect, belonging to the Alemannic family, spoken by just over 800,000 people.

Two communities:

- Stuttgart area
- Schwäbisch Gmünd



Two Swabian Communities



Swabian Corpora

1982 40 speakers

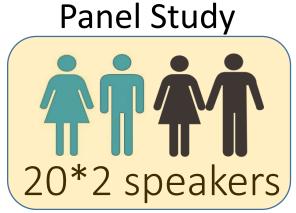
The proof Study

2017 107 speakers

2017 107 speakers

49 speakers 58 speakers
Stuttgart Gmünd

Panal Study



Data Collection and Preparation

• Sociolinguistic Interviews

- —Labovian-style, casual interview questions of approximately one hour
- —Same interview instrument and techniques used in 1982 and 2017
- —Similar casual interview situations

Transcription and Extraction

- —Completed in ELAN 5.3 by native German speakers
- —First and second formants extracted in PRAAT 4.0 and z-scaled by speaker
- —Word types with [ai] at the onset were excluded

Swabian: Loved or Loathed

also gewisserweise isch mä da scho e bissle Stolz darauf ä ... des [ist] aber eich zu neunundneunzig Komma fünf Prozent alles witzig und positiv [ge]meint, und niemand meint des in Konotation wie Baure oder sowas, also des isch scho ganz cool.

'in a certain way, one is a little proud [to be Swabian]... it's 99,5% funny and positive, and no one makes a connection to farmers or whatever, it's pretty cool.'

(Fabian 2017)

meine Kinder schämen sich sogar heutzutage Schwäbisch, also die verbinden Schwäbisch mit irgendwas, was sie nicht möchten.... dieser dörfliche Zusammenhalt stoßen die eher ab.

'nowadays my children are actually ashamed of Swabian, well they associate Swabian with something they don't like.... they are more likely to reject this village solidarity.'

(Helmut 2017)

Swabian Orientation Index (SOI)

Swabian Allegiance:

- 1-1. Self-Declared Swabian: Are you a 'real' Swabian?
- 1-2. Non-Swabian Friends: Do you have friends who are NOT Swabian?
- 1-3. Swabian Ridicule: Do they laugh at how you speak?
- 1-4. Accommodation: Do you change how you speak?

Swabian Language Attitudes:

- 2-1. Opinion of Swabian Language: What do you think of the Swabian language?
- 2-2. <u>Job Prospects for Swabians</u>: Is it difficult to find a job when you speak Swabian?
- 2-3. Swabians Speaking German: Is it odd when a Swabian speaks standard German?
- 2-4. Non-Swabians Speaking Swabian: Is it odd when a non-Swabian speaks Swabian?

Swabian Cultural Competence:

- 3-1. Swabian Knowledge: Are there different Swabian dialects?
- 3-2. Swabian Specialties: Do you know how to make Spätzle? Maultaschen?
- 3-3. Swabian People & Jokes: Do you know [various well-known Swabians]?
- 3-4. Swabian Activities: Do you participate in Hocketse & local activities?

Swabian Language Usage:

- 4-1. <u>Parents Speak Swabian</u>: Do your parent speak Swabian?
- 4-2. Swabian with Friends & Family: Do you speak Swabian with ...?
- 4-3. Swabian with Neighbors: Do you speak Swabian with ...?
- 4-4. Swabian with Others: Do you speak Swabian with ...?

Assesses speakers' orientation and attitudes to the Swabian culture and language

$$SOI = \frac{\sum_{1}^{n} \lambda_{i}}{n}$$

scaled from 1 for the lowest to 5 for the highest (rescaled to 0 to 1 for regression analysis)

Swabian /ai/ Diphthong Corpus

| MHG | 1982 | | | 2017 | | |
|---------|-------|--------|---------|-------|--------|---------|
| Variant | Types | Tokens | DataPts | Types | Tokens | DataPts |
| /i:/ | 357 | 1984 | 77,422 | 468 | 2189 | 107,184 |
| /ei/ | 391 | 3056 | 112,656 | 442 | 3525 | 151,417 |
| TOTAL | 748 | 5040 | 190,078 | 910 | 5714 | 258,601 |

Types = unique words

Tokens = instances of word type

Datapts = frequency measurements

Analysis & Methods

Predictors

Predictors

- Recording Year: 1982 versus 2017
- Diphthong Origin: MHG /i:/ versus MHG /ei/ (based on DWDS)
- Speech Community: Stuttgart versus Schwäbisch Gmünd
- Swabian Orientation Index (SOI): high versus low, median split
- Word Frequency: high versus low, median split
- Following Articulatory Environment: voiced versus voiceless
- Time in the Diphthong: normalised between 0 and 1

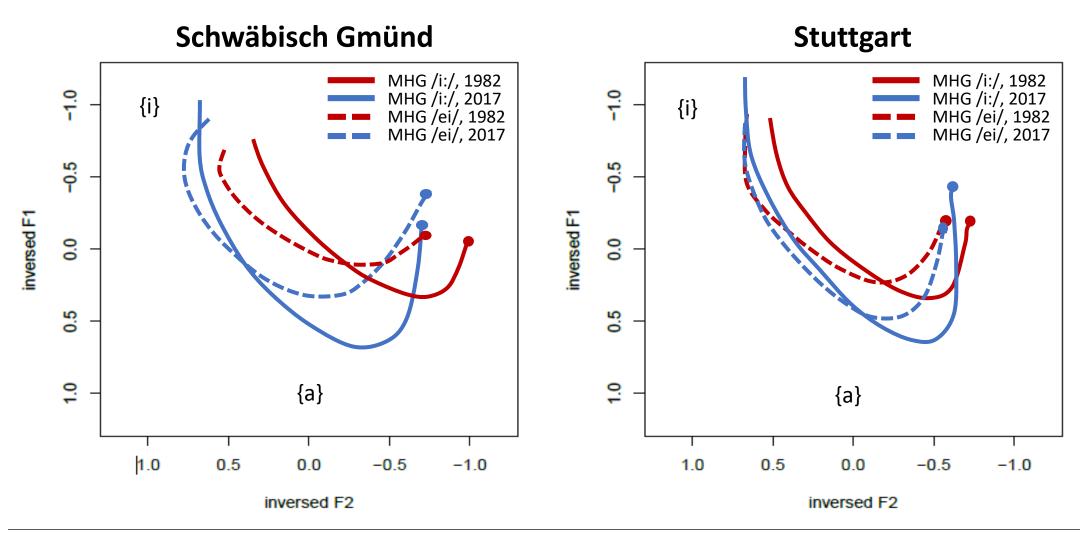
Generalized Additive Mixed Models (GAMMs)

GAMMs model non-linear relations between dependent and independent variables (Wood 2011).

Three models:

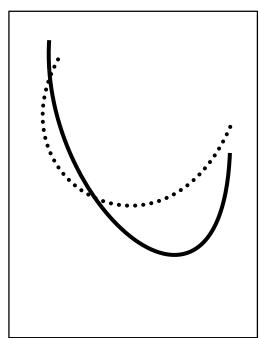
- (1) individual speaker differences between the two diphthongs across the lifespan,
- (2) isolated effects of manner of articulation
- (3) interactional differences between the two diphthongs
 - speech community, Swabian orientation, lexical frequency, and articulatory environment, i.e., following voiced/voiceless consonant.

Trajectories in the two Communities

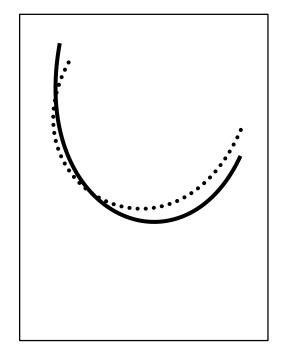


Operationalising Differences in Trajectories

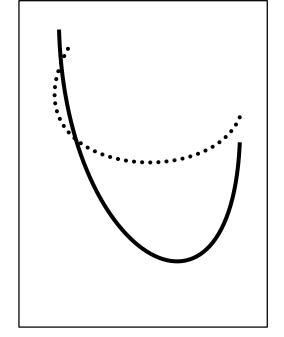
Two trajectories



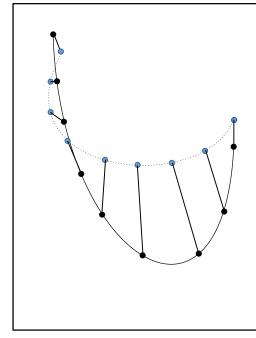
Smaller difference



Larger difference



Point-wise distances



—— MHG /i:/ …… MHG /ei/

Total Euclidean Distance Squared (TEDS)

$$TEDS = \sum_{i=1}^{n} (\sqrt{\Delta_{F1}^2 + \Delta_{F2}^2})^2$$

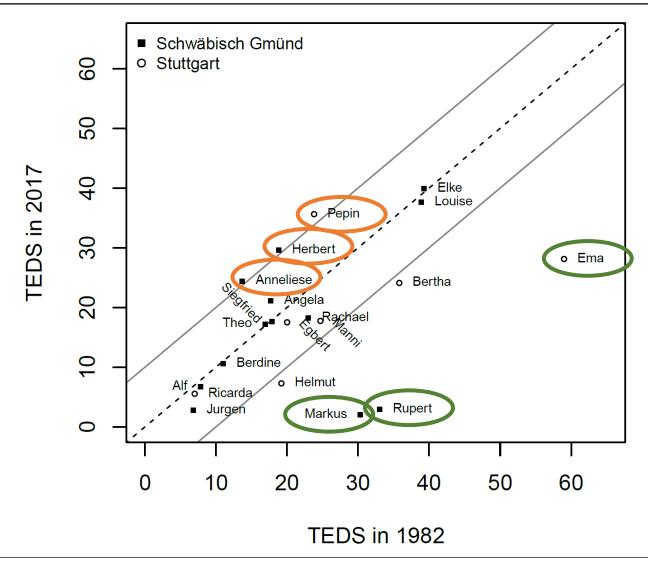
where:

 Δ_{F1} and Δ_{F2} denote the vectors of the point-wise differences between the F1/F2 trajectories of the two diphthongs

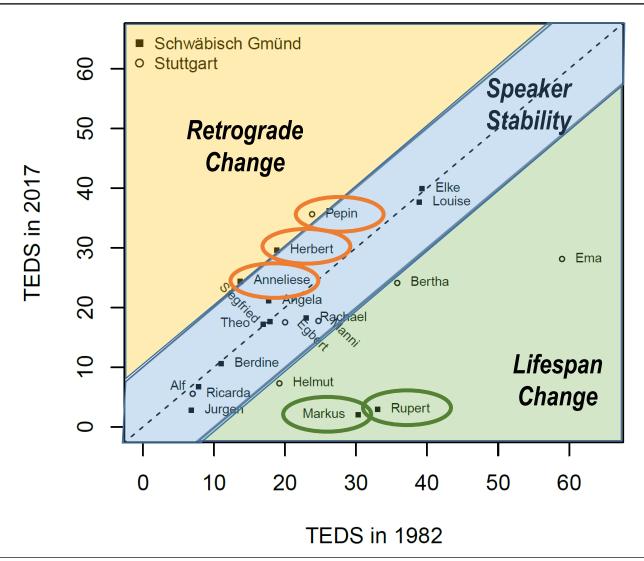
n denotes the length of the vectors (i.e., number of data points) in the F1/F2 trajectory

Results

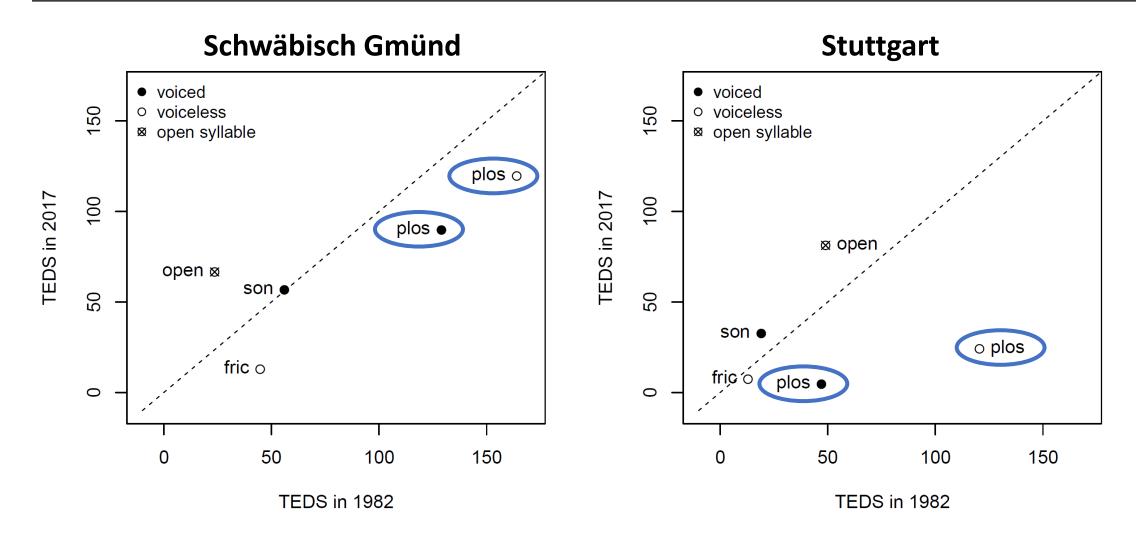
TEDS in 1982 and 2017: Individual Speakers



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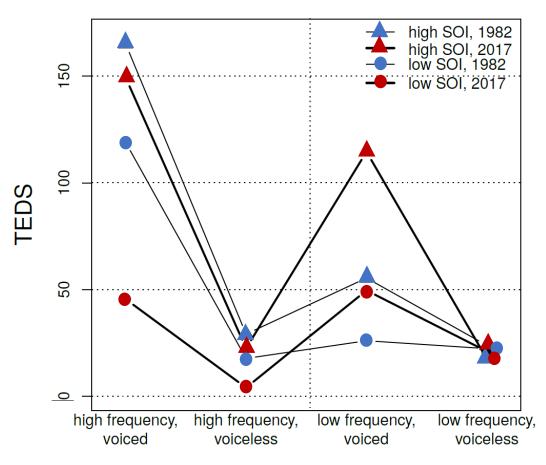


TEDS in 1982 and 2017: Following Environment



Interactional Analysis: Schwäbisch Gmünd

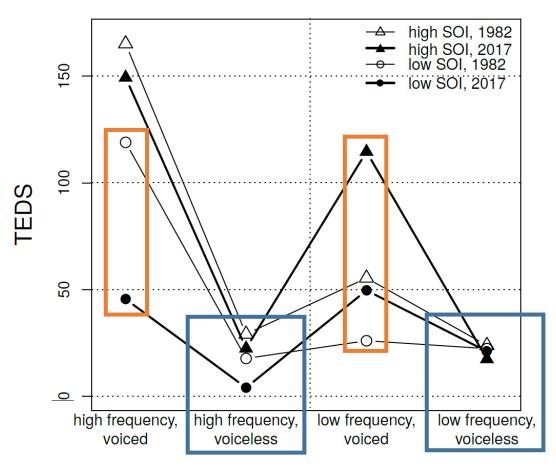
Schwäbisch Gmünd



- Overall lower TEDS values in 2017 than in 1982, showing loss of phonetic contrast over the 35 years
- Low SOI speakers show greater loss of phonetic contrast than high SOI speakers

Interactional Analysis: Schwäbisch Gmünd

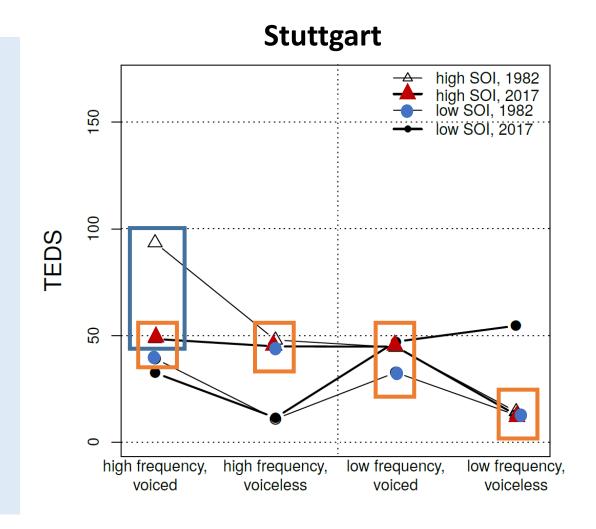
Schwäbisch Gmünd



- Overall lower TEDS values in 2017 than in 1982, showing loss of phonetic contrast over the 35 years
- Low SOI speakers show greater loss of phonetic contrast than high SOI speakers
- Voiceless consonants show the lowest TEDS, hence the smallest distinction between the diphthongs
- Interaction between frequency and SOI demonstrate the powerful effect sociocognitive factors have on sound change

Interactional Analysis: Stuttgart

- Overall lower TEDS values in 2017 than in 1982, showing loss of phonetic contrast over the 35 years
- Stuttgart speakers show smaller TEDS than speakers from Schwäbisch Gmünd
- Lower TEDS with high SOI speakers using high-frequency words in voiced environments
- High SOI speakers in 2017 produce TEDS similar to low SOI speakers in 1982, indicating change well-underway



Summary

- Change begins in urban centres and spreads to smaller communities
 - —Overall greater loss of phonetic contrast in Stuttgart in Schwäbisch Gmünd
- Sound change proceeds systematically through articulatory environments
 - —Change is most advanced in preceding voiceless environments
- Swabian orientation and 'dialect identity' matter
 - —Speakers with high SOI are resisting the change, while those with low SOI are embracing it
- Word frequency shows strong interaction with Swabian Orientation
 - —High SOI speakers are resisting the change with high-frequency words

Conclusions

- Speakers' internal grammars are more malleable than generally thought
 - —Overall loss of phonetic contrast between the two diphthongs across the lifespan for most speakers
- Changing local ideologies can shape the trajectory of language change
 - —The indexicalities and social meaning of the /ai/ diphthong reflect individual lifespan perspectives

von dem her war i mal typisch und zum Glück nimme so arg

'at that time I was typical and luckily not so much anymore'
(Pepin 2017)

i bin e Schwââb und bleib ôiner

'I'm a Schwab and will stay one'

(Louise 2017)

Thank you

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TEDS in 1982 and 2017: Interactional Effects

- Interactional effects based on community, Swabian orientation, lexical frequency, and voicing of the following consonant.
- F1 formant: six-way interaction:
 - —Time * Frequency * Swabian Orientation * Diphthong origin * Year * Voicing.
- F2 formant: five-way interaction:
 - —Time * Frequency * Swabian Orientation * Diphthong origin * Year.
- Random intercepts for speaker and word
- For voicing, 25th and 75th percentile of the frequency distribution
- In total, 32 TEDS values:
 - —2 Diphthongs * 2 SOI Levels * 2 Frequencies * 2 Voicing/Voiceless * 2 Communities