

Contents

List of Figures	xv
Preface	xvii
o.1. The aims of the present work	xvii
o.2. Caveat	xx
Acknowledgements	xxiii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	xxv
CHAPTER 1	
Introduction	1
CHAPTER 2	
Structuralism's neglect of dynamics	3
2.1. The development of structuralism	3
2.2. Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913)	4
2.3. Linguistic concepts or terms associated with Saussure	7
2.4. Saussure's <i>parole-langue-langage</i>	7
2.5. Saussure's synchrony and diachrony	11
2.6. <i>Tout se tient</i> , the celebrated phrase associated with Saussure	18
2.7. Postscript	20
CHAPTER 3	
Labov's contribution to dynamics	23
3.1. Labov's background	23
3.2. The Martha's Vineyard study (1962–1963)	28

3.3. The Social Stratification of English in New York City [SSENYC] study (1962–1966)	30
3.4. The Harlem Black American English project (1968)	35
3.5. The quantitative analysis of sound change in progress [LYS] project (1968–1972)	37
3.6. The Philadelphia Linguistic Change and Variation [LCV] project (1972–1979)	39
3.7. The ‘Cross-Dialectal Comprehension’ [CDC] project (1985–1992)	41
3.8. The Atlas of North American English [ANAE] project (1991–2003) ²³	42
3.9. Labov’s methodological principles	44
3.9.1. Quantitative approach	45
3.9.2. Representativity in sampling and in contextual style	48
3.10. Labov’s ground-breaking phonological findings	50
3.10.1. Acoustic analysis	51
3.10.2. Chain-shifts and peripherality	54
3.10.3. Near-mergers	56
3.10.4. Regular phonetic mechanisms and lexical diffusion	60
3.10.5. Gradual phonetic change and the S-curve	63
3.11. Linguistic concepts or terms associated with Labov	64
3.11.1. Variant and variable (1963)	64
3.11.2. Apparent time (1964)	66
3.11.3. Change in progress (1972)	66
3.12. The consistency of Labov’s aims	67
3.12.1. From the known to the unknown	67
3.12.2. Which correlational factors are important?	69
3.12.3. Terminology	81
3.12.4. A potted appraisal of Labov’s achievements	83
CHAPTER 4	
Martinet’s contribution to dynamics	85
4.1. Martinet’s background	85
4.2. The Weinsberg camp study of French phoneme variation (1941)	88
4.3. Martinet’s protracted conversion to dynamics	91
4.3.1. Martinet in New York and his return to France	91
4.3.2. Martinet the functionalist	92
4.3.3. The middle-aged Martinet struggles with language dynamics	96

4.3.4.	Martinet the variationist discovers change in progress	102
4.3.5.	The elderly Martinet bites the bullet and adopts dynamic synchrony	104
4.3.6.	Martinet on dynamic synchrony	108
4.3.7.	The influence of Martinet's dynamic approach	112
4.3.8.	When does dynamic synchrony become diachrony?	117
4.4.	Linguistic concepts or terms associated with Martinet	121
4.4.1.	Twofold structuration (F. <i>double articulation</i>) (1949)	122
4.4.2.	Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of structuration	130
4.4.3.	Chain-shifts (F. <i>chaînes de propulsion & de traction</i>) (1952)	132
4.4.4.	Linguistic optimality (F. <i>l'économie linguistique</i>) (1952)	132
4.4.5.	Momentum (general drift) and linguistic optimality	140
4.4.6.	Functional yield (F. <i>rendement fonctionnel</i>) (1938)	152
4.4.7.	Axiology (F. <i>axiologie</i>) (1975)	153
4.5.	Martinet's growing awareness of variation	153
CHAPTER 5		
The Prague School and Jakobson's contribution to dynamics		155
5.1.	The Prague School and its influences	155
5.2.	Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929)	155
5.3.	Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945)	157
5.4.	Roman Jakobson (1896–1982)	163
5.4.1.	Jakobson's background	163
5.4.2.	Jakobson's earlier insights into dynamics	168
5.4.3.	Jakobson's refining of his appreciation of language dynamics	182
5.4.4.	Martinet and Jakobson	190
5.5.	Uriel Weinreich (1926–1967)	198
5.6.	Eugenio Coseriu (1921–2002)	208
5.7.	The origins of the dynamic approach	214
CHAPTER 6		
Problems of definition of concepts and terms relevant to dynamic linguistics		219
6.1.	Variation and alternation	220
6.2.	Oscillations and allophones	221
6.3.	Fluctuations	222

6.4. Neutralisation and archiphonemes	225
6.4.1. Neutralisation	226
6.4.2. Archiphonemes	228
6.5. Variation and alternation at the morphemic level	230
6.5.1. Synonyms	230
6.5.2. Allomorphs	231
6.5.3. Semantic alternants	232
6.5.4. Semantic variation	233
6.6. Societal correlations of variation	233
6.7. Indexicality and salience	236
6.8. Interactional and stylistic correlations of variation	238
6.9. Code-switching	240
6.10. Linguistic insecurity and linguistic attitudes	241
6.10.1. Linguistic insecurity	242
6.10.2. Linguistic attitudes and linguistic imagination	242
6.11. Fudging and fudge forms	243
6.12. Levelling, convergence and koineisation	245
6.13. Dialect jumping and the gravity and cascade models	247
CHAPTER 7	
Martinet and Labov	249
7.1. Problems of definition: The Communicative function of language	249
7.2. Problems of emphasis: Intrinsic linguistic determinants vs extrinsic societal determinants	255
7.2.1. Terminology	255
7.2.2. To favour intrinsic linguistic or extrinsic societal determinants?	257
7.2.3. Societal determinants of language	279
7.3. Distinguishing change and variation from one another	285
7.4. A muted appreciation of each other's ideas	288
CHAPTER 8	
Dynamics: Martinet's precursors	291
8.1. Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835)	291
8.2. The birth of dialectology in Europe in the 1870s	292
8.3. Pierre-Jean Rousset (1846-1924)	297

8.4. Franco-Provençal dialectologists	317
8.4.1. Franco-Provençal	317
8.4.2. Louis Gauchat (1866–1942) and Eduard Hermann (1869–1950)	318
8.4.3. Benvenuto Terracini (1886–1968)	327
8.4.4. Antonin Duraffour (1879–1956)	329
8.4.5. Interference associated with language shift neglected by the early dynamicists	334
8.4.6. The ideological ramifications of the term <i>patois</i>	337
8.5. Antoine Meillet (1866–1936)	348
8.6. Various early twentieth-century European dynamic studies	355
8.7. Swiss dialectologists	358
8.8. North American dialectologists	360
8.9. North American sociolinguists <i>avant la lettre</i>	364
8.9.1. Early sociolinguistic fumbblings	364
8.9.2. The Catholic University of America sociolinguists	365
8.9.3. Two individual sociolinguists	368
8.10. Conclusions as to the precursors of a dynamic approach to linguistics	370

CHAPTER 9

Some problems of reification in linguistics	375
9.1. Problems of reification: The structure of language	375
9.1.1. Structure or system?	375
9.1.2. Structure as locus for language's systemicity	384
9.1.3. Distinguishing language – as adjective – from linguistic	388
9.2. Problems of reification: The delimitation of language	390
9.2.1. The linguist's terrible twins: Language and dialect	390
9.2.2. Speech community	393
9.2.3. New York City English	396
9.2.4. Black American English	405
9.2.5. Denying the reality of dialect	415
9.2.6. Variable rules	418
9.2.7. Coexistent structures and coexistent systems	419
9.2.8. Creole dynamicists	424
9.2.9. Language contact and interference	433
9.2.10. Diasystems	437
9.2.11. Conclusions on the delimitation of dialects	442

9.3. Problems of reification: The critical threshold and lifespan variation	445
9.4. Problems of reification: Interior language and cognition	447
9.4.1. Interior language and exterior language	447
9.4.2. The brain according to neuroscientists	447
9.4.3. Cognitive linguists and dynamics	449
9.4.4. Linguistic relativity	454
 CHAPTER 10	
Conclusions	457
10.1. Influences on Labov's approach to dynamic linguistics	457
10.2. The general neglect of Martinet's contribution to dynamic linguistics	461
10.3. A final word	471
 CHAPTER 11	
What is dynamics in language and dynamic linguistics?	475
11.1. The nature of language as speech	475
11.2. Defining dynamics	476
11.3. Descriptive linguistics	478
11.4. The relationship between language structure and dynamics	481
11.5. The way ahead	485
 CHAPTER 12	
Principles of a dynamic description of language	493
12.1. Principle 1: Aim at a comprehensive description	494
12.2. Principle 2: Embrace an impressionistic approach	499
12.3. Principle 3: Delimit a target speech according to societal reality	503
12.4. Principle 4: Compare immediately adjoining dialects	504
12.5. Principle 5: Establish a birth-date and locality matrix	505
12.6. Principle 6: Distinguish expansive and recessive variants	507
12.7. Principle 7: Prefer a broad synchrony	509
12.8. Principle 8: Aim at a supra-oppositional phonology	510

12.9. Principle 9: Prioritise unaffected speech	513
12.10. Principle 10: Understand the dynamics of linguistic insecurity	514
12.11. Principle 11: Understand the relationship of analysis to inventorising	515
Bibliography	517
Index	563