Elaborating extragrammatical effects on variation

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Symposium: The Locus of Linguistic Variation
http://lignos.org/locus

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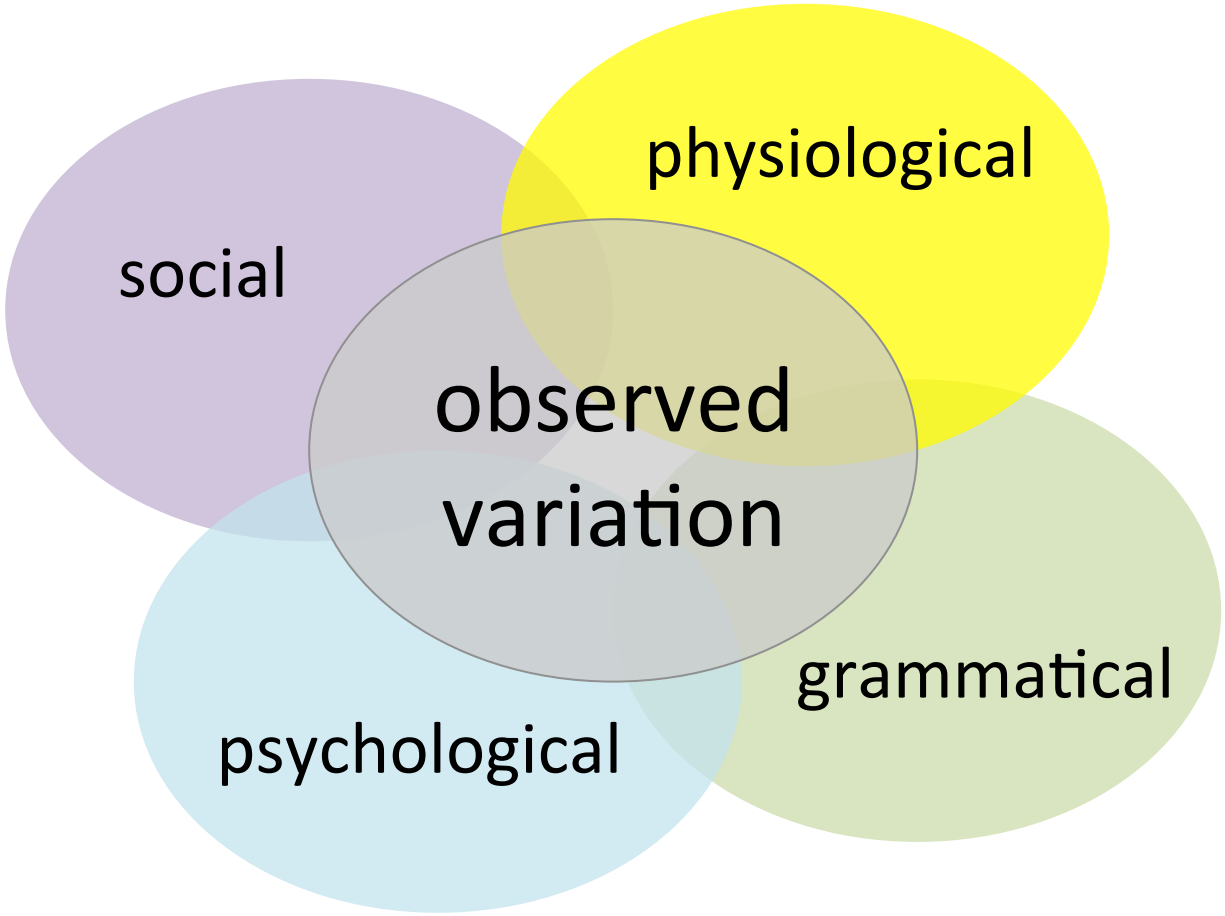
Introduction



Our proposal

Surface variation not monolithic

Two cross-cutting distinctions:

- Early versus late loci of variation
- Internal versus extragrammatical conditioning of variability

Outline

1. Early vs. late loci of variation

2. Internal vs. extragrammatical conditioning

3. Putting it together

4. Future directions

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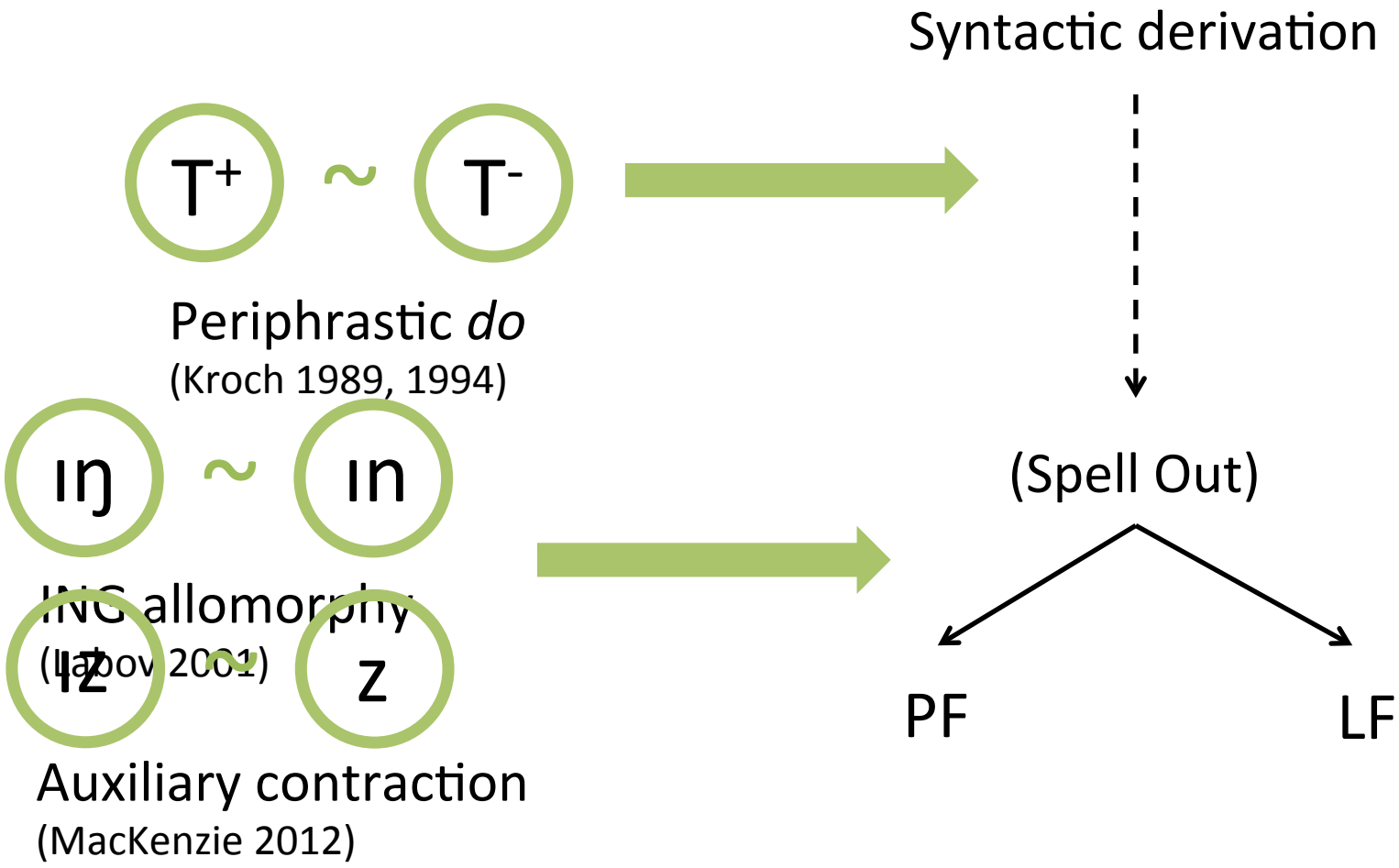
Early loci of variation

Variation in selection of linguistic units

- Choice between functional heads
- Choice between stored phonological forms

Early loci of variation



Late loci of variation

Manipulation of linguistic units selected earlier

- Discrete phonological processes
  - t,d-deletion (Guy 1980)
  - h-lenition (MacKenzie 2012)
  - r-sandhi (Foulkes 1997)
  - schwa-epenthesis (MacKenzie & Yang 2013)
- Gradient phonetic implementation
  - vowel target (Fruehwald 2013)
  - vowel trajectory (Jacewicz, Fox & Salmons 2011)
  - pitch (Levon 2007)
  - coarticulation (Zellou 2012)

Late loci of variation

- variable coronal stop deletion

/ læst naɪt/

- variation in pitch

[həɬoʊ]

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Internal vs. extragrammatical

MacKenzie & Tamminga 2013:

Internal factors attested in categorical alternations

Extragrammatical factors could not trigger a categorical alternation

- Style
- Production planning
- Priming
- Speech rate

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Intersection of loci & conditioning

Variation with both early and late loci can be internally and extragrammatically conditioned

But: not all extragrammatical factors affect early- and late-loci variables equally

Consider predictions for differential sensitivity to extragrammatical factors

Style

Sensitivity to elements of the social context

- Social setting
- Interlocuters
- Topic
- Stance-taking
- Audience design
- Politeness

Speaker aware of stylistic demands prior to and during production

↳ Style may affect early or late loci

Production planning

Linguistic elements (syntactic nodes, prosodic words) planned in short-term memory buffer

Limits of short-term memory impose constraints on application of linguistic operations

Planning units determined early in a derivation

↳ Planning may affect early or late loci

Intersection of loci & conditioning

Differential sensitivity of early- and late-loci variables to extragrammatical factors

Style

- no obvious divergence

Planning

- no obvious divergence

Priming

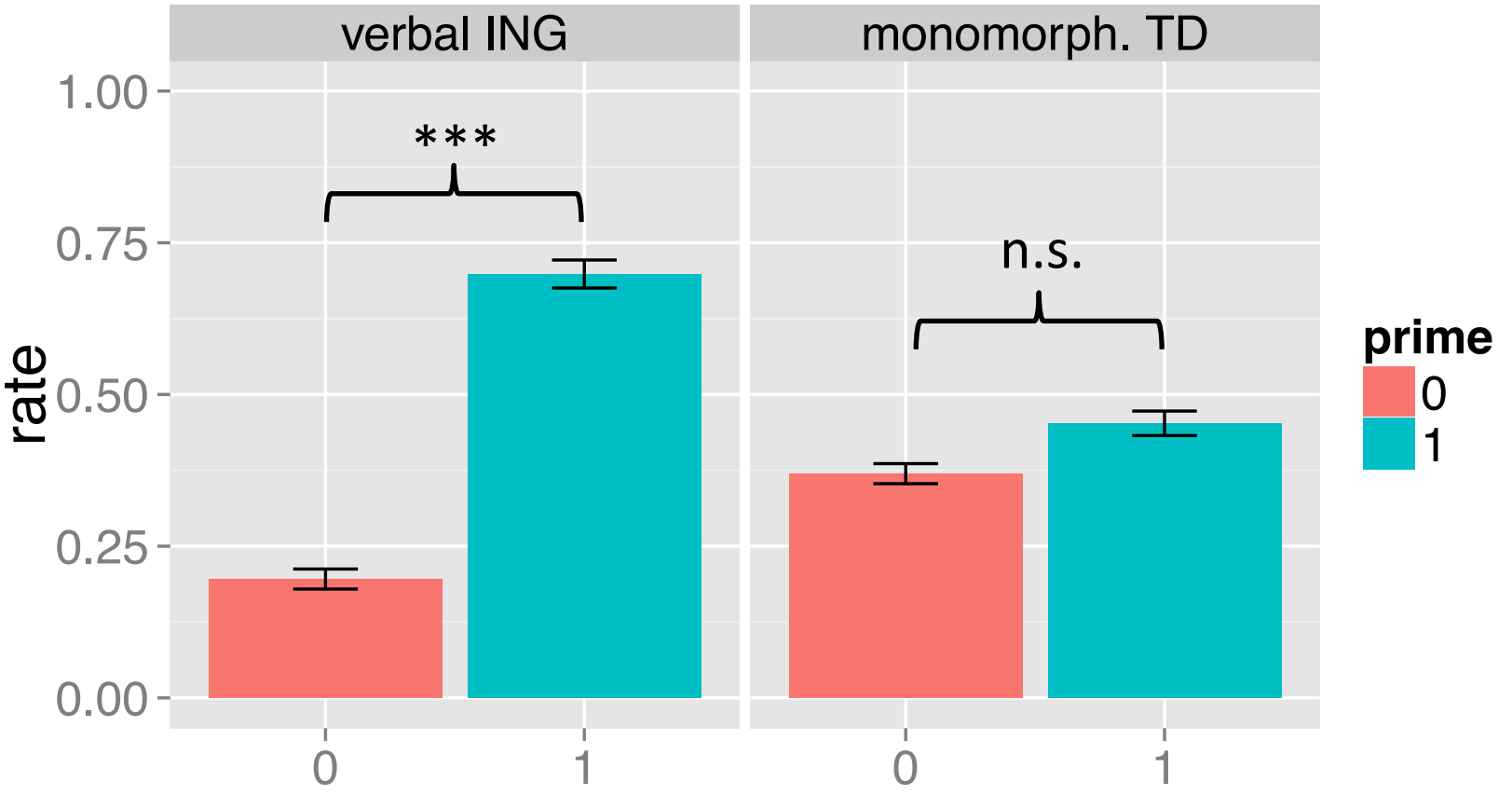
Tendency towards repetition of recently-processed linguistic forms

May be due to activation or implicit learning

Priming requires stored objects to host activation

↳ Priming should only affect early loci

Priming



Effect of previous token on (ING) and /t,d/-deletion

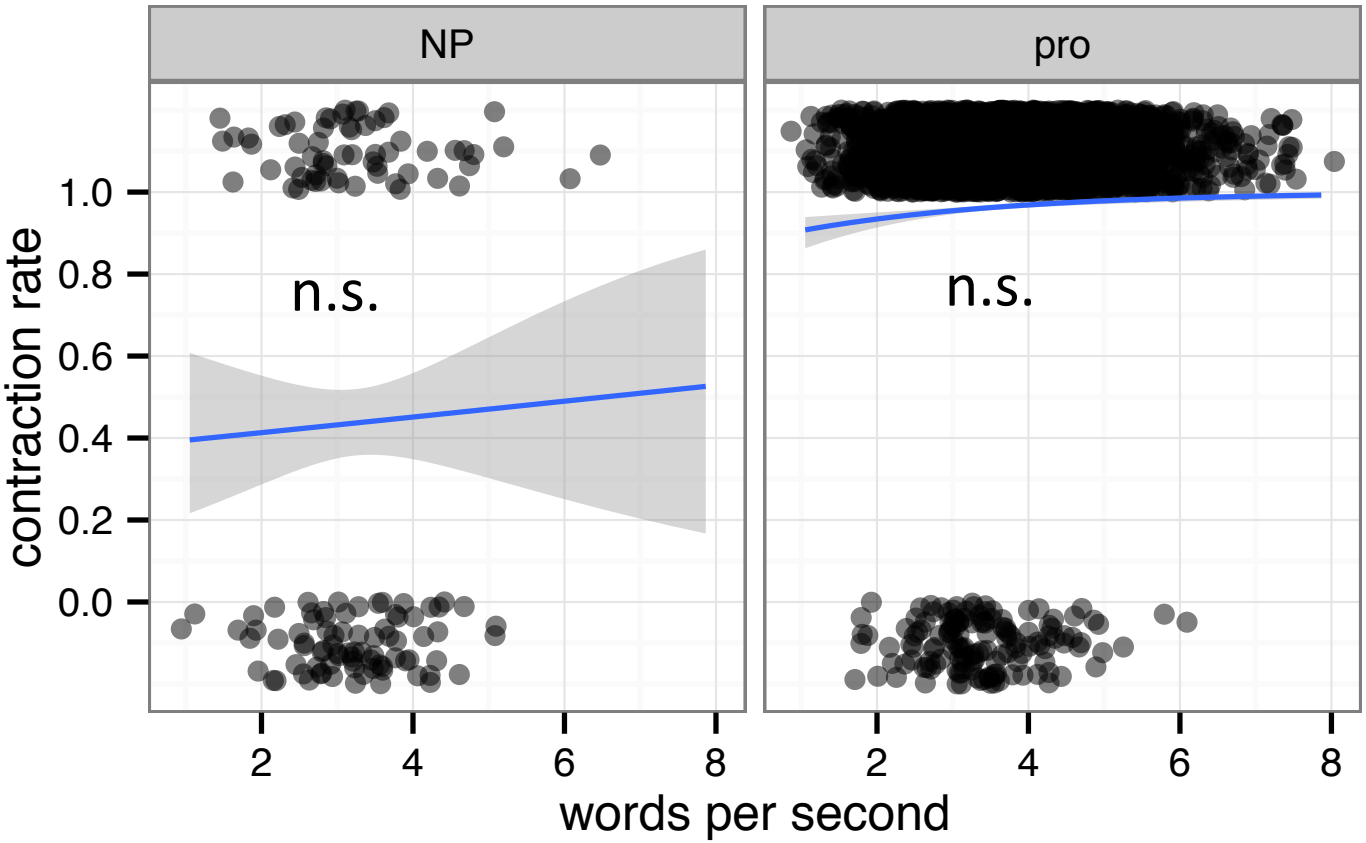
Speech rate

The speed at which speech is produced implicates the physical movement of the articulators

Speech rate comes into play in implementation and articulation

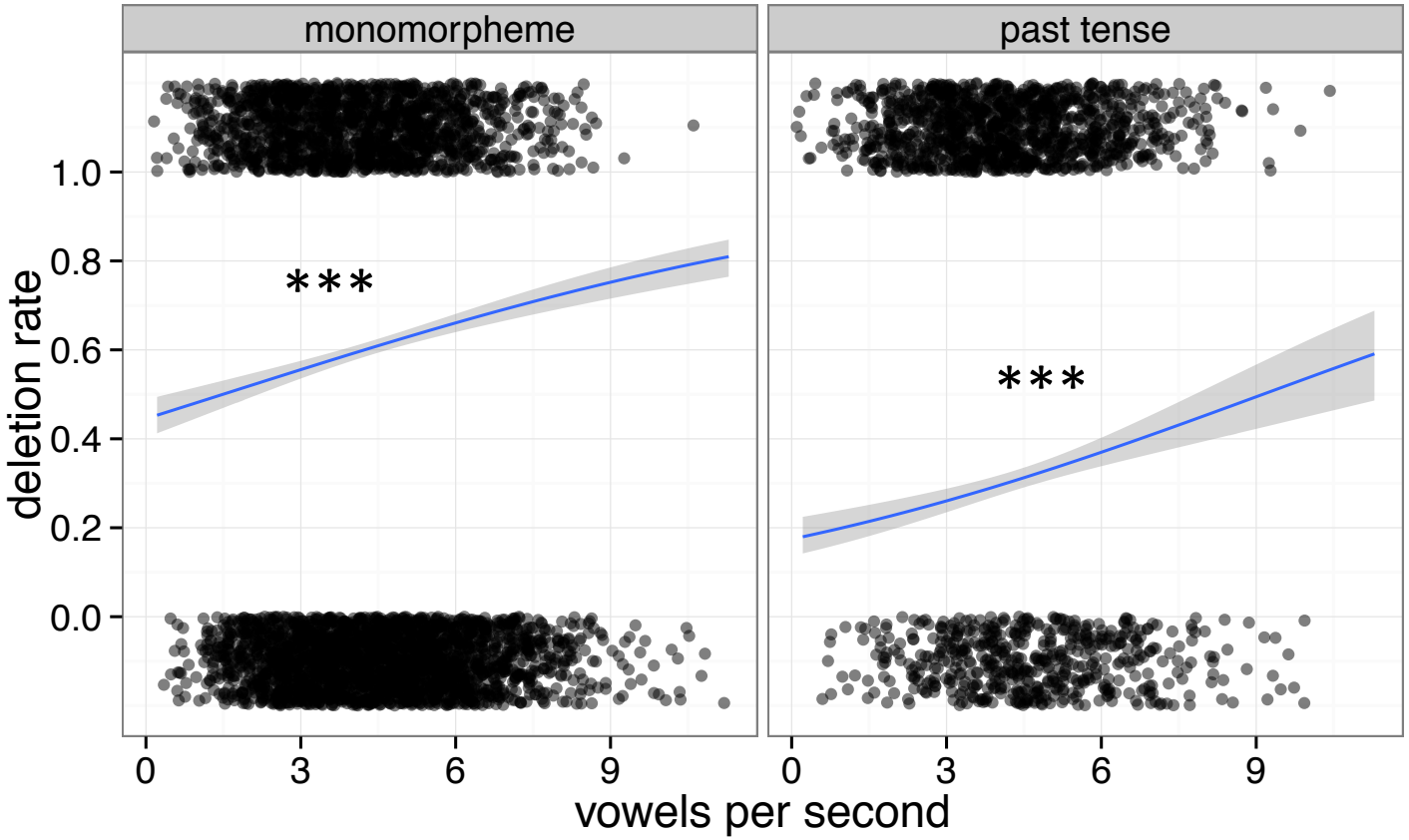
↳ Rate should only affect late loci

Speech rate



Effect of speech rate on auxiliary contraction

Speech rate



Effect of speech rate on coronal stop deletion

Priming vs. speech rate

Priming	Speech rate
✓ verbal -ɪŋ ~ -ɪn • allomorphy • early locus	✗ aux. contraction • allomorphy • early locus
✗ /t,d/-deletion • lenition process • late locus	✓ /t,d/-deletion • lenition process • late locus

Intersection of loci & conditioning

Differential sensitivity of early- and late-loci variables to extragrammatical factors

Style

- no obvious divergence

Planning

- no obvious divergence

Intersection of loci & conditioning

Differential sensitivity of early- and late-loci variables to extragrammatical factors

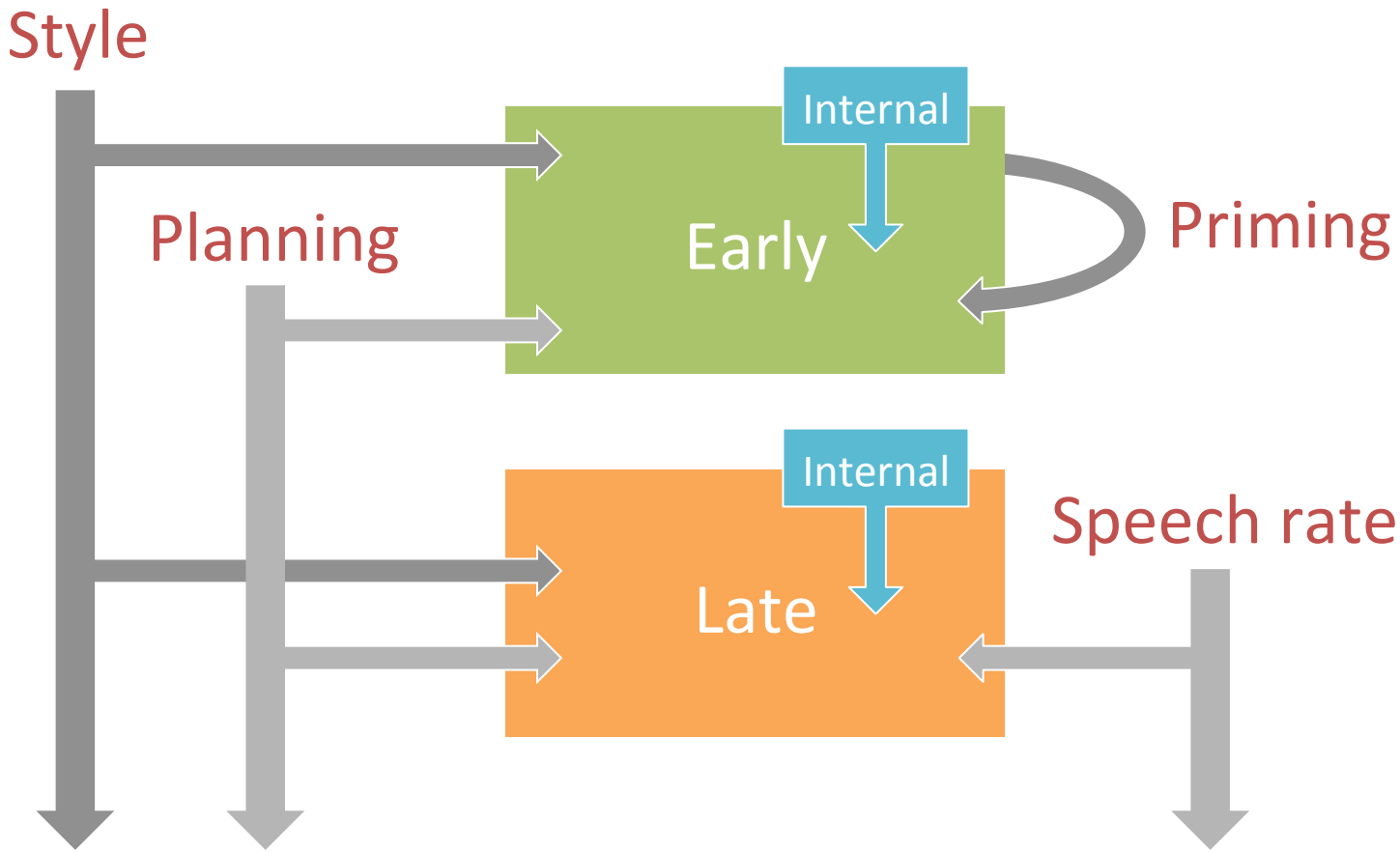
Priming

- affects only early-loci variables

Speech rate

- affects only late-loci variables

Summary


Style
Internal
Planning
Early
Priming
Internal
Speech rate
Late

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What's next?

This framework sets up a range of predictions:

- Effects within individuals?
- Universality vs. learnedness?
- Internal/extragrammatical interactions?
- Early-internal vs late-internal dependencies?

Thank you!

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Feel free to get in touch…

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