Narr, 509-20. (Reprinted in: Language change. Edited by I. Rauch and G. F. Carr. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 175-91.)

Law, Vivien. 1982. The insular Latin grammarians. Studies in Celtic history 3. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brydell Press.

Löfstedt, Bengt. 1965. Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malchasanus. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Latina Upsaliensia 3.

Neumann, Günter, and Jürgen Untermann. 1980. Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit. Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 40.

Pisani, Vittorio. 1960. Storia della lingua greca. In: Enciclopedia classica, II:5, vol. 1. Torino: Soc. Editrice Internationale. 1-132.

Reichenkron, Günter. 1965. Historische latein-altromanische Grammatik, I. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.

Rosén, Haiim. 1980. Die Sprachsituation im römischen Palästina. In: Neumann and Untermann (1980:215-39).

Thomas, Robert. 1891. Zur historischen Entwicklung der Metapher im Griechischen. Diss. Erlangen: Univ. Buchdruckerei.

Toynbee, Arnold. 1975. Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world. London: Oxford University Press.

Weinrich, Harald. 1976. Münze und Wort: Untersuchungen an einem Bildfeld. In: Sprache in Texten. Stuttgart: Klett. 276-90.

Whorf, Benjamin. 1941. The relation of habitual thought and behavior to language. In: Language, culture, and personality: Essays in memory of Edward Sapir. Edited by L. Spier et al. 75-93. (Reprinted in: Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings. Edited by J. B. Carroll. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1956. 134-59.)

Zgusta, Ladislav. 1980. Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich. In: Neumann and Untermann (1980:121-45).

LANGUAGE CONTACT, VARIATION AND DIFFUSION: MICROLEVEL COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES

John R. Rickford
Stanford University

Fifteen years ago--during my first year as a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania--I sat in this very hall for my very first Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics. The theme of that conference was 'Sociolinguistics: Current Trends and Prospects,' and I remember the heady excitement of meeting and listening to people I had known previously only from their works, and of trying to decide which of the fascinating interest groups I would attend. Although I had been specializing in sociolinguistics since my undergraduate days, that 1972 Georgetown University Round Table convinced me that there was no more exciting subject in the entire world, and nothing else that I would rather do. In the light of current emphases on formalism and abstract structure, students specializing in sociolinguistics don't always feel that way. But you need that sense of subject and self-worth to pull you through the pressures of graduate work and dissertation writing. And so I wish to begin by thanking the organizers and participants of GURT 1972, somewhat belatedly, for helping to fire me with that passion for sociolinguistics, and I also wish to express the hope that those of us involved in GURT 1987 may be able to do something similar for others.

The study of languages and dialects in contact--and of the variability and diffusion that accompany such contact--is potentially important to linguists of virtually every specialization (grammarians, historical linguists, psycholin- guists, sociolinguists, applied linguists), but to each in somewhat different ways. In this paper, I will adopt the perspective of sociolinguistics, my primary interest.

From the perspective of the development of sociolinguistic theory, the study of languages in contact is significant as the focus of some of the earliest work in modern sociolinguistics--for instance, McDavid's (1948) study on the spread of unconstricted /-r/ in South Carolina. This paper was clearly an inspiration to Haver Currie, who referred to it at some length in the (1952) paper in which he proposed a field of study attending explicitly to the 'social functions and significations of speech' (p.28), and coined the term 'sociolinguistics' for it. Throughout the 1950s, Haugen, Weinreich, Ferguson, Fisher, Gumperz, and others began to construct modern sociolinguistics through their descriptions of and theoretical generalizations about multilingual contact situations of various kinds. And although the methodologies and conceptualizations introduced by Labov and others in the 1960s and 1970s represent obvious advances for sociolinguistics, one cannot help remarking (when one takes the trouble to go back and read it, at least) how much of that early contact-based literature remains relevant.

From the perspective of current sociolinguistic theory, the study of languages and dialects in contact (as against their study in isolation--idealized or actual) is important for our understanding of the mechanics of and motivation for synchronic variation and diachronic change. It is perhaps no accident that sociolinguists from very diverse strands are all currently engaged in the study of contact and diffusion issues: Labov and Trudgill, for instance, on the diffusion of urban dialect features; Cooper, Fishman, and Kachru on the spread of English and other languages; Giles, Le Page, and their colleagues on sociopsychological aspects of interspeaker accommodation and identity; Alleyne, Bickerton, and others on substratal versus universal factors in creole genesis.

However, I believe that our understanding of how and why language contact and diffusion occur would be particularly enriched (and sociolinguistics would benefit accordingly) if more of us concentrated on small, relatively self-contained communities and drew on ethnographic observation, interviewing, and reconstruction to explore the social and linguistic milieu in which particular instances of diffusion or nondiffusion occur. Although this approach is by no means original to me (it's what the pioneers of the forties and fifties were doing, after all), it might be useful to characterize it here as the microlevel community perspective, to emphasize that it is different from but

complementary to other approaches which others have fruitfully been adopting: for instance, the macrolevel study of spread across nations or continents or more abstract deductive theorizing about relevant parameters.[1]

From this point on, I wish to review briefly a few recent studies of past and current contact situations which take this microlevel community perspective, attempting to demonstrate that each adds something valuable (sometimes small, but always valuable) to our understanding of why and how spread or decline occur--new facts or insights or hypotheses, or confirmations and extensions of earlier ones. Although I agree with Weinreich (1953) and Labov (1966) that it is equally important to attend to internal as well as external factors, I will give rather more attention to the external (sociopsychological) ones, partly because I think these are vital to the theoretical issues we face (contrary to the assumptions of many formal linguists), and partly because much of the significant recent microlevel work on diffusion (for instance, Trudgill 1986) concentrates on internal constraints.

Former contact situations. Pidgin-creole studies is one subfield in which issues of how and why new varieties arise and spread are crucial, but often addressed through thought-experiments and unconstrained speculation about the past. There are some valuable exceptions, however, including the sociohistorical studies of Rens (1953) on Sranan in Suriname, Le Page (1960) on Jamaican Creole, and Baker (1982) on Mauritian Creole.

One microlevel study which falls within this sociohistorically informed category--one as yet relatively unknown--is Zenk's (1984, in press) work on the conditions under which Chinook Jargon rose to prominence on the Grand Ronde reservation in western Oregon which was established by the United States government in 1856. His documentary research reveals that the various Indian tribes forcibly brought together there spoke at least nine different languages, none numerically dominant (see Table 1), and that a number of other factors conspired to ensure that Chinook Jargon rather than any of those languages would become the medium of communication and integration within that community. One such factor was the Native preference for local exogamy. From a compilation of 117 husband-wife pairs between 1856 and 1907, Zenk (1984:109) found 49 cases in which both

spouses' tribal affiliations were recorded; in only four of these (8%) were husband and wife from the same tribe.

Table 1. Languages and tribes represented in Grand Ronde in 1877 and 1887, expressed as fractions of total population (not tabulated: Canadian French). Adapted from from Zenk (in press).

Languages	Government tribal designations	1877	1887
Molala	Molala	.07	.08
Upper Chinookan	Clackamas, Oregon City	.13	.16
Northern Kalapuyan	Tualatin, Yamhill	.13	.13
Central Kalapuyan	Santiam, Luckiamute, Mary's R.	.17	.20
	('Calapooia')	.04	.01
Southern Kalapuyan	Yoncalla	.01	.01
Umpqua Athabaskan	Umpqua	.17	.19
Takelma	Rogue River, Cow Creek	.20	.13
Shasta Shastan	Shasta	.09	.05
Others			.04

Drawing on his own interviews with elder members and former members of this community as well as historical and other sources, Zenk is able to provide other quantitative and qualitative details about Jargon use in this community. For instance, through collations of information about 151 individuals to whom various degrees of Jargon use could be attributed, he is able to trace the decline in the knowledge of tribal languages, the rise of Jargon, and the eventual displacement of Jargon by English over successive generations. He also shows that even after community members were capable of communicating in English, they often preferred to use Jargon for workaday functions because of its
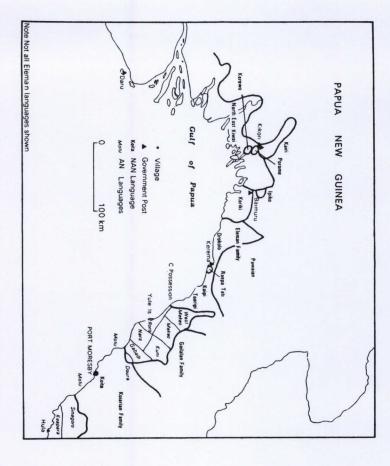
symbolic associations with their Indian identity, and they also reserved it for certain literary-aesthetic functions (see Hymes and Zenk, in press).

Dutton's (1983) sketch of two pidginized versions of native languages in the Gulf of Guinea--based on contemporary sources as well as interviews with the descendants of former pidgin speakers--is also like a breath of fresh air, in part because it takes us away from the beaten track of European pidgins and creoles, and in part because it enriches pidgin-creole theory. The languages he describes are pidginized versions of Eleman and Koriki used by the Motu people from around Port Moresby (see Map 1) when they sailed several hundred kilometers to the west on hiri or trading expeditions. On these hiri, which continued up until recent decades, the Motu would exchange their pots for the Eleman and Koriki peoples' sago and canoe logs. The Motu crew of each such voyage, comprising about 29 members, would spend two months or more in the village of their Eleman or Koriki hosts, which numbered from several hundred to two thousand people and were known for cannibalism and savagery. Not surprisingly (and in line with what we know of the relation between power asymmetry and choice of lexical base in other contact situations), the trade languages were lexically based on Eleman and Koriki rather than on Motu.

Dutton's paper provides a relatively detailed linguistic description of these contact varieties, but also includes information about the social context which goes beyond what those speculating about pidgin-creole formation have been able to dream up: for instance, the fact that women and girls in the Eleman/Koriki villages knew little of these languages because they were not directly involved in the trade and because familiarity between visitors and host village women was discouraged (p.83); or the fact that trade partnerships were handed down from father to son in both the Motu and Eleman/Koriki villages, so that kin-like relations developed between them over time (p. 85). Most interesting, however, is Dutton's hypothesis that the necessary and sufficient conditions in which contact languages of this type arise are twofold: '(a) both sets of traders must speak different languages; and (b) one set of traders has to be placed in a vulnerable position vis-à-vis the other' (p. 100). The Motu were vulnerable, not only because they were outnumbered far from home, but also because their canoes were actually

dismantled and rebuilt during the visit to accommodate the return cargo. Dutton finds this hypothesis confirmed in all but one case in Papua New Guinea (that of Mailu, where vulnerability existed but no trade language developed; see Dutton 1978). It is worth consideration more generally.

Map 1. Sketch map of languages of the hiri area, Papua New Guinea (source: Dutton 1983:78. Used with permission of Karoma Publishers, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich.).

Finally, there is Warner-Lewis's (1982) dissertation on the decline of Yoruba in Trinidad, which brings to mind Dorian's celebrated (1981) account of the death of East Sutherland Gaelic. In both cases the study is based on interviews conducted over many years with the last generations of

speakers of the waning language, most of whom do not survive the completion of the study, embodying and actualizing the metaphor of language death. Warner-Lewis's speakers are second and third generation descendants of Yoruba indentured laborers brought to Trinidad in the late nineteenth century (along with Indians and other ethnic groups), after the abolition of slavery. Here is an example of their language--a lament uttered by the husband of one of the informants when he awoke in hospital (Warner-Lewis 1982:73):

(1) Ara'lé o o   'People of my household,

Ṣé ni mo mà jí ire?   Is it true that I have woken well?

Ṣé ni mo mà ji ire?   Is it true that I have woken well?

Kò ṣé bi a bí mo ni   This is not the place that I was born.'

Warner-Lewis deals most extensively with the lexico-semantics, morphosyntax, and phonology of this Yoruba, which shows 'monostylism and shrinkage in syntactic range' (p. ii), much as reported by Dorian (1981) and Dressler (1982) for language death in Europe. But in a rich chapter on 'The sociolinguistic context of Trinidad Yoruba' (chap. 3), she provides valuable documentation of the dislocation of values and relationships within the family domain which, as Joshua Fishman reminded us at the opening session of this Round Table, is the other side of language spread, the side we see only when we consider the displaced language. For instance, she notes (p. 66) that, given the multiple infringements of the law to which lower-class people in general and African immigrants in particular were wont (squatting on crown lands, defaulting on mortgages, drumbeating at unauthorized hours, the practice of obeah), Yoruba served as a concealment language for its in-group: Olókpá m bò wá 'The policeman is coming' was a well-known secret code.' But, she continues, 'as the African communities declined, not only law officers, other African nationalities and Creoles in general were treated as outsiders, but even the creole relatives of the Africans.' Such creole or locally born relatives, suffused

with the Eurocentric prejudices of the new environment (in which Creole French and English were spoken), sometimes made fun of the tonal characteristics of the older people's Yoruba, described it with epithets like 'hog,' 'pig,' and 'coarse' (p. 90), and in some cases even forbade the older people from using it in the household. In reaction, the first generation Yoruba were poignantly defiant of their right to their own language ('I sell with the language,' one declared, 'so let me dead with it'), but for fear of being betrayed, refrained from passing it on to their children and grandchildren. As Warner-Lewis eloquently puts it (p. 68), they were 'caught in a vise between the cultural instinct to perpetuate their culture on the one hand, and to withhold the vehicle of that information on the other.' Thus we see the forces of language spread and retreat, although originating in the external environment, eventually becoming internalized, as the Yoruba contributed to their own language's demise for their own self-preservation and integrity.

What this study adds to our knowledge, among other things, is a heightened awareness of the conflict and poignancy which can accompany the nontransmission of ancestral languages in immigrant situations; the words and life stories of individual 'survivors' take us deeper into the ambience of this harsh language death situation and help us to compare its ecological and ethological/emotional (Whinnom 1971) dimensions with other known cases. It is significant, for instance, that Dressler's (1982:325) skeleton flow-chart of the 'necessary (but not sufficient) causes' of language decay, although constructed on the basis of European cases, applies equally well to Trinidad Yoruba: social subordination --> negative sociopsychological evaluation --> sociolinguistic restriction --> linguistic decay↑↑.

Current contact situations. When we turn to existing contact situations, we of course have even better opportunities to pinpoint the nature of linguistic diffusion between groups and to understand the ecological and ethological dimensions of their social contact. But taking full advantage of such opportunities again involves the selection of microlevel units (neighborhoods rather than nation-states), and the willingness to search for answers in ethnographic observation and interviewing within the community itself. Several studies have already established

the value of this approach: the work of the Université du Québec à Montréal group on variation in Montréal French (see Sankoff 1986 for several recent reports); the work of Gal (1979) on the spread of German at the expense of Hungarian in Oberwart, Austria; the work of the Milroys in Belfast, particularly their (1985) paper on the importance of weak network ties in the diffusion of linguistic change; the work of Labov and his colleagues (Labov and Harris 1986, Ash and Myhill 1986) on the relations between black and white vernaculars in Philadelphia; and the work of Eckert (1986) on high school Jocks and Burnouts and the spread of linguistic change in suburban Detroit. Here I report briefly on some recent and ongoing studies of my own in this category, noting some points of contact with these other studies.

My (1985) study of the diffusion of vernacular features across ethnic boundaries on a South Carolina Sea Island (population around 100) indicated that several phonological variables were treated similarly by blacks and whites, but not so grammatical ones (such as plural and possessive marking and the passive). As I tried to understand how black Mrs. Queen and white Mr. King could fail to share more after living on a small island for over 80 years, it became clear from observation and oral history that they rarely had the close face-to-face interaction and personal associations which seem to promote convergence elsewhere. As Labov and Harris (1986:20) note, 'linguistic traits are not transmitted across group boundaries simply by exposure to other dialects in the mass media or in schools,' but through interpersonal interaction.

In my (1979) work on sociolinguistic variation in Cane Walk, Guyana, I was particularly intrigued by the sharp linguistic stratification between the community's two primary social classes, the estate class cane cutters and field workers (=working class) and the nonestate class shopowners, clerks, school teachers and contractors (=lower middle class). The sociolinguistic difference is obvious in the following samples. The first is a description of a game, 'Sal', by Derek, a 14-year-old estate class member:

(2) An if de nak yu, yu out. an if yu ron out til outsaid an yu kom bak an halo "saal out!" do miin yu pardno no--wo get out--hii kon kom in bak di geem. bot if

yu o wan kyaptin an yu ge nak, di hool said out. (SI 52)

'And if they knock you, you're out. And if they run all the way out and come back and holler, "Salt out!," that means your partner isn't--the one who'd been out--he can come back in the game. But if you're a captain and you get knocked, the whole side is out.'

Note the many creole features in his speech, including lax open vowels in pronominal yu and de (his laxing frequency in 127 such cases is 72%), the creole indefinite article (wan kyaptin), the absence of copula is or are (yu out).

The second is a description of a Kali Mai ceremony at which evil spirits are cast out, provided by 14-year-old Katherine, a nonestate class member who lives on the same street as Derek, one block away. Like (1), this is an extract from a longer text in Rickford (1987a):

(3) laik diiz piipl, rait? dee fain dir sik, rait? ... deed say wel, dee teek yu tu dis leedi himself, rait? di see dot shiiz di--am--di kalii mai, rait? shiiz hi modo ov di ooshon. (SI 94)

'Like these people, right? They find they're sick, right? ... They'd say well, they take you to this lady herself, right? They say that she's the--am--Kali Mai--right? She's the mother of the ocean.'

Although Katherine's speech here is about as casual as she gets anywhere in the interview, it is obviously closer to the standard English or acrolectal pole of the continuum, including tense or long pronominal vowels (as in dee; in 122 tokens, her overall laxing rate is only 32%, compared with Derek's 72%) and the English copula (dir sik, shiiz di modo).

Table 2. Location of occupations and best friends of 24 Cane Walkers.

Dimension	Estate class	Nonestate class	Chi square	Sig. level
No. who work in Cane Walk	12/12	5/12	9.88	.01
No. of best friends in Cane Walk	42/47	23/55	24.80	.001

Now we can relate these dramatic linguistic differences between Derek and Katherine to a number of factors having to do with their social networks and orientations and the social history of the village. When asked to name five best friends, four of those named by Derek were from Cane Walk, but none of Katherine's was. As Table 2 shows, this was in line with a more general pattern by which estate class members' occupational activities and friendship networks were locally based, and those of the nonestate class members located outside the village, particularly in the nearby capital city of Georgetown. Compare Milroy (1980) on the relationship between local network strength and vernacular usage in Belfast.

Ultimately, however, both these language use and network differences are symptoms of something more fundamental: a difference in sociopolitical orientations and values. Cane Walk itself is linked historically with plantation culture, and the retention of creole language by estate class workers and their families is to some extent a symbolic assertion of that link (and defiance of Georgetown's middle class values--see Edwards 1983) by those who walk the same dams and do the same work their immigrant forefathers did. By contrast, Georgetown, the capital city, is the historical seat of government, and site of the 'best' schools (one of which Katherine attends) and much of the country's middle class; the nonestate Cane Walkers have by definition broken off from the estate occupations and culture of their forefathers. Although they still live in Cane Walk, these nonestate class members often seek upward social mobility through jobs and friendship networks with higher status Georgetown groups, and through the use of language varieties closer to Standard English.

My final piece of data is from a study we have just started into the relations between black and white Vernacular English in East Palo Alto (EPA), California, a city of 18,000 which (according to the 1980 census) is 61% black and 11.5% white. When complete, our sample will consist of equal numbers of blacks and whites from both sexes and three age levels; interviewers are generally drawn from the community and matched to subjects by sex and race. We are still very much at the data collection stage, but some preliminary results on copula absence and invariant be from a few of the adolescents and preadolescents in our sample are worth reporting.

The extract which follows is from an interview with Foxy Boston, a 13-year-old black girl from East Palo Alto.[2]

(4) "Shoot, I know I do, cause I be wakin' up an' I be slurpin', (?). I be goin', "DANG, THA'S SERIOUS!" Guess who I had a dream about, y'all" (Laughs) An' I go to school, I'll go, "Guy! Y'all guys--" When I get on the school bus--when I get on the city bus in the mornin'? All our frien's be comin' to pick me up, an' I go pick--we be all meet at the bus stop? Then they be sayin', "Guess what, girl! I's somp'n serious happen yesterday," they tellin' me. Then we be--I would break out (?), "Guys! Guess what?! Somp'n SERious HAppen girl! Guess who I had a dream about?! Tha's serious, man! Guess who I dream bout?! DANG, THA'S SERIOUS!" They be goin', "Who? Who you have a dream for?" An I tell 'em, they go, "THA's SERIOUS! DANG, THA'S SERIOUS!" (EPA 7)

Table 3 shows the use of invariant habitual/durative be in Foxy's tape-recorded speech (the interview lasted approximately one and a half hours), and compares it with data from other sources.[3]

Table 3. Invariant (habitual/durative) be usage by black speakers in various parts of the United States.

	NP	Adj	Loc	V+ing
Foxy Boston EPA (n=150)	2%	9%	13%	76%
Texas children* (n=111)	7%	5%	16%	72%
Detroit adults** (n=93)	UMC 2	LMC 2	UMC 21	LWC 69

* Data from 20 lower class children, 12-13 years old, Brazos Valley, East Central Texas (excluding 6 miscellaneous cases), as reported in Bailey and Maynor (1986:13-14).
**Data from 48 adults, as reported in Wolfram (1969:198).

The fact that Foxy by herself has more tokens of this distinctive Black English Vernacular (BEV) feature than occur in the entire Detroit or Texas samples is proof-positive that she is a vernacular speaker, and that BEV is alive and well on the outskirts of Stanford and Silicon Valley.[4] The fact

that Foxy is female makes her data even more interesting, for much of the literature on BEV is based on the language of black males.

Foxy's data is similar to Bailey and Maynor's adolescent data insofar as be occurs three-quarters of the time before Verb+ing. Noting that this is not the case with their older folk speakers, who use be only 23% of the time before Verb+ing,[5] Bailey and Maynor hypothesize that structural change has taken place/is taking place in this area of the BEV grammar, with the youngest generation using be more as an auxiliary than a copula. Since we have not examined comparable be from EPA adults, we cannot as yet confirm or reject this hypothesis.

Table 4. Copula absence (no is or are) among black speakers in various parts of the United States.

	NP	Adj	Loc	V+ing	Gonna	Total
Foxy Boston, EPA	55% (31)	94% (79)	84% (19)	100% (24)	93% (14)	86% (167)
Texas children	12% (373)	25% (200)	22% (98)	74% (78)	89% (53)	28% (802)
Detroit WC adults*	47%	37%	44%	50%	79%	?
NYC Cobras**	14%	72%	31%	59%	78%	?
LA adults**	32%	56%	33%	62%	72%	?

N's in parentheses, where available.
*For preceding pronoun only; Wolfram (1969:172).
**For is absence only; Baugh (1979:180-81), Labov (1982:189).

Table 4 provides comparable data on copula absence.[6] Again, Foxy has higher frequencies of the vernacular variant (zero) in every category than the BEV speakers in the other studies; in fact, her overall zero copula rate is close to categorical, and is actually so before progressives (Verb+ing).[7] Her data is comparable to that of the other groups insofar as a following NP is least favorable to copula absence,[8] but

unlike them in exhibiting no statistical difference between the locative,[9] adjectival, and gon(na) environments (chi square = 0.74).[10] These are like the progressive in being essentially categorical copula absence environments; Foxy's output represents variable copula absence taken to (virtual) completion.

Table 5 provides comparable data on copula use among two other EPA girls, nine years old (almost 10), both students at an overwhelmingly black private Lutheran school in the area. Elsie Shane is the only white person in her class. Martha Huff, her best friend (they were interviewed together), is black, and is indignant at the 'reverse racism' which Elsie encounters in school. What Table 5 demonstrates dramatically is that Elsie has not only NOT absorbed copula absence from her environment, but that her black friend Martha seems to have accommodated to her (Giles and Smith 1979) rather than vice versa, deleting only four copulas overall, although these are appropriately distributed in V+ing and gonna environments.[11] Neither speaker used a single invariant habitual/durative be.

Table 5. Copula absence (zero is, are) among two EPA friends.

	(n)	NP	Adj	Loc	Ving	Gonna	Total
Elsie Shane, white	(43)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Martha Huff, black	(66)	0%	0%	0%	8%	43%	5%

Elsie's case to some extent recalls that of Carla, the 13-year-old white girl in a black Camden (New Jersey) neighborhood who sounded black but turned out on closer inspection not to have copula absence and other core BEV grammatical features (see Hatala 1976, Labov 1980, but also Butters 1984). Both cases--and this is also true of my white Sea Island speaker (see Rickford 1985)--support Labov and Harris's (1986:20) observation that the linguistic influence that takes place when a dominated and dominant dialect are in contact is asymmetrical: speakers of the former acquiring the latter but not the reverse. We have reservations about their additional observations (ibid., 21) that 'abstract linguistic structure has little or no social impact on members

of the community,' and that 'social networks have little explanatory value for differences in individual rule systems' (social history being more significant), but we will be in a better position to address these issues as our familiarity with the community as a whole and with individual speakers increases. We are using a relatively new method of tracing personal networks (McAllister and Fischer 1978) which allows us to go beyond the naming of three or five best friends common in earlier network research. And, in order to assess the full range of speaker's competence in the verbal repertoire of the community and the symbolic significance of what they display in performance, we plan to explore several other variables and to draw on repeated interviews with different interviewers and more direct questioning than is usual in sociolinguistic surveys (see Rickford 1987b for discussion).

Summary. The study of language contact, variation and change has been important to sociolinguistics from its very beginnings, and continues to be so today. I have suggested, through brief discussions of work on three contact situations from the past and three from the present, that we can understand a good deal about the nature of linguistic variation and diffusion and its sociopsychological constraints if we focus on small-scale communities and depend on documentary and primary research, including ethnographic observation and interviewing wherever possible. Deductive theorizing about 'who adopts what, when, why, and how?' (Cooper 1982:31) is essential. And the answers provided by those who work at the macrolevel with census and survey data (for instance, Fishman et al. 1985) are invaluable. But the microlevel community perspective helps to confirm and extend our understandings in particularly rich ways, and for the sake of understanding language spread and developing sociolinguistic theory, it should be encouraged and more extensively adopted.

Notes

McNair-Knox, Keith Denning and Marilyn Sherzer for assistance in conducting the interviews and/or tabulating the results reported in this paper.

1. See Cooper (1982) for valuable papers in both categories.

2. Foxy Boston, like all speakers' names in this paper, is a pseudonym.

3. Foxy's numbers in Tables 3 and 4 are higher than those reported in the handout distributed at the GURT 1987 meeting, and some of the relative frequencies are also different, because careful rechecking of the tapes (using two retabulators for increased reliability) yielded several new examples.

4. It should be noted that Foxy's interviewer, Faye McNair-Knox, is herself black and a resident of East Palo Alto (for the past 24 years). Faye's daughter, a schoolmate and acquaintance of Foxy's, was also present during the interview. These factors undoubtedly contributed to the spontaneity of the recording session and the vernacular speech which emerged therein.

5. The full distribution of be for Bailey and Maynor's folk-speakers, by following environment (n=35, excluding 4 miscellaneous cases) is: __ NP: 23%, __ Adj: 23%, __ Loc: 31%, __ Ving: 23%.

6. As in other studies of copula absence (see Wolfram 1969:165-67), a number of potential tokens were excluded from the count because they represent categorical copula presence environments (e.g. the past tense, first person present tense am), because their analysis is indeterminate (i's, tha's, wha' tokens preceded or followed by a sibilant), or because they need not to be considered in relation to other variants (e.g. negative tokens, which need to be considered in relation to ain't). Foxy's copula absence frequencies for is versus are, shown below, indicate that the bulk of her variability in Table 4 is borne by her is usage, since are absence is categorical in her speech everywhere except before NP. For this reason, one might want to consider her copula absence in relation to is alone, as Labov and Baugh do for their New York City and Los Angeles data on independent grounds.

	__NP	__Adj	__Loc	__V+ing	__Gonna	Total
ø is:	40% (20)	88% (41)	57% (7)	100% (4)	88% (8)	74% (80)
ø are:	82% (11)	100% (38)	100% (12)	100% (20)	100% (6)	98% (87)

7. The distributions of the inflected copula and invariant habitual be are semicomplementary, the former most common where the latter is least common (before be), and least common where the latter is most common (before V+ing). This pattern holds to some extent in earlier studies as well, and extends also to person-number distributions (see Bailey and Maynor 1986): the inflected copula least common when it is are, invariant be most common with second person singular and plural subjects, that is, in potential are environments. (In Foxy's data, be tokens in this environment = 55% of the total, compared with 20% in first singular or potential is environments and 27% in third singular or potential am environments.) The interlocking relations between the inflected copula and invariant be in VBE grammar deserve further exploration.

8. The Detroit sample, of course, differs from all the other groups insofar as the least favorable environment for copula absence is a following adjective rather than noun phrase, but this may be due to the fact that only pronoun subject tokens were considered.

9. The locative environment is closer to the NP environment--as it is in preceding studies--in Foxy's is absence distributions given above in note 7.

10. Foxy's gonna environment falls short of 100% copula absence because of a single is in a phrase which is repeated slowly and deliberately: 'in three weeks sompn--somp'n-- somebody gon die. In three weeks, somebody is gon die.'

11. Martha is the mirror image of Foxy with respect to copula absence. Whereas Foxy only retains the copula with any regularity in the least favorable environment for copula absence (the latest or lightest environment in the terminology of Bailey 1973), Martha only deletes the copula with any regularity in the rule's most favorable (earliest, heaviest) environment. In dynamic terms, one might say that Foxy's copula absence rule has virtually gone to completion, while Martha's has barely begun. However, before accepting such a statement as anything more than a convenient metaphor, we need to know more about each speaker's copula usage in different styles to determine whether their

performance in the initial interview accurately reflects the limits of their competence. The reinterviews which we propose to do (Martha with a black interviewer, Foxy with a white one) should shed light on this issue.

References

Ash, Sharon, and John Myhill. 1986. Linguistic correlates of inter-ethnic contact. In: Sankoff, ed. (1986:33-44).

Bailey, Guy and Natalie Maynor. 1986. Decreolization? MS. submitted to: Language in Society.

Baker, Philip. 1982. On the origins of the first Mauritians and the creole language of their descendants. In: Isle de France Creole. Edited by Philip Baker and Chris Corne. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma. 131-259.

Baugh, John. 1979. Linguistic style-shifting in Black English. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Butters, Ron. 1984. When is English 'Black English Vernacular'? Journal of English Linguistics 17:29-36.

Cooper, Robert L. 1982a. A framework for the study of language spread. In: Cooper, ed. (1982:5-36).

Cooper, Robert L., ed. 1982b. Language spread: Studies in diffusion and social change. Bloomington: Indiana University Press (in cooperation with the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.).

Currie, Haver C. 1952. A projection of socio-linguistics: The relationships of speech to social status. Southern Speech Journal 18:28-37.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1981. Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1982. Acceleration, retardation and reversal in language decay? In: Cooper, ed. (1982:321-36).

Dutton, Tom E. 1978. Language and trade in central and southeast Papua. Mankind 11.3:341-53.

Dutton, Tom E. 1983. Birds of a feather: A pair of rare pidgins from the Gulf of Guinea. In: The social context of creolization. Edited by Ellen Woolford and William Washabaugh. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma. 77-105.

Eckert, Penelope. 1986. Adolescent social structure and the spread of linguistic change. MS. submitted to: Language in Society.

Edwards, Walter F. 1983. Code selection and shifting in Guyana. Language in Society 12.3:295-311.

Fishman, Joshua, Michael H. Gertner, Esther G. Lowy, and William G. Milan. 1985. The rise and fall of the ethnic revival: Perspectives on language and ethnicity. Berlin: Mouton.

Gal, Susan. 1979. Language shift. New York: Academic Press.

Giles, Howard, and P.M. Smith. 1979. Accommodation theory: Optimal levels of convergence. In: Language and social psychology. Edited by H. Giles and R. St. Clair. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hatala, Eileen. 1976. Environmental effects on white students in black schools. Master's essay, University of Pennsylvania.

Hymes, Dell, and Henry Zenk. (in press) Narrative structure in Chinook Jargon. In: Pidgin and creole languages: Essays in memory of John E. Reinecke. Edited by Glenn Gilbert. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Labov, William. 1966. The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, William. 1980. Is there a creole speech community? In: Theoretical orientations in creole studies. Edited by Albert Valdman and Arnold Highfield. New York: Academic Press. 369-88.

Labov, William. 1982. Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science; The case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor. Language in Society 11.2:165-201.

Labov, William, and Wendell A. Harris. 1986. De facto segregation of black and white vernaculars. In: Sankoff, ed. (1986:1-24).

LePage, Robert B. 1960. Jamaican Creole. London: Macmillan.

McAllister, Lynne, and Claude S. Fischer. 1978. A procedure for surveying personal networks. Sociological Methods and Research 7.2:131-48.

McDavid, Raven I., Jr. 1948. Postvocalic -r in South Carolina: A social analysis. American Speech 23:194-203.

Milroy, Lesley. 1980. Language and social networks. London: Basil Blackwell.

Milroy, James, and Lesley Milroy. 1985. Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. Journal of Linguistics 21:339-84.

Rens, L.L.E. 1953. The historical and social background of Surinam's Negro English. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Rickford, John R. 1979. Variation in a creole continuum: Quantitative and implicational approaches. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Rickford, John R. 1985. Ethnicity as a sociolinguistic boundary. American Speech 60.3:90-125.

Rickford, John R. 1987a. Dimensions of a creole continuum. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rickford, John R. 1987b. The haves and have nots: Sociolinguistic surveys and the assessment of speaker competence. Language in Society 16.2:149-77.

Sankoff, David, ed. 1986. Diversity and diachrony. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Trudgill, Peter. 1986. Dialects in contact. London: Basil Blackwell.

Warner-Lewis, Maureen P. 1982. The Yorùbá language in Trinidad. Ph.D. dissertation, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. Languages in contact. Publication no. 1, Linguistic Circle of New York.

Whinnom, Keith. 1971. Linguistic hybridization and the 'special case' of pidgins and creoles. In: Pidginization and creolization of languages. Edited by Dell Hymes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 91-115.

Wolfram, Walter A. 1969. A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Zenk, Henry. 1984. Chinook Jargon and native cultural persistence in the Grand Ronde Indian community, 1856-1907: A special case of creolization. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, Eugene.

Zenk, Henry. (in press) Chinook Jargon and the speech economy of Grande Reservation, Oregon: An ethno-graphy-of-speaking approach to an historical case of creolization in progress. In: Sociolinguistics and pidgin-creole studies. Edited by John R. Rickford (=International Journal of the Sociology of Language 71, 1988).

THE SPREAD OF LANGUAGE CHANGE: VERIFYING INFERENCES OF LINGUISTIC DIFFUSION

Henrietta J. Cedergren
Université du Québec à Montréal

1. **Introduction.** The systematic study of linguistic variation has successfully demonstrated that phonological variation assumes systematicity when elements of the social and linguistic contexts are considered in the analysis. Among other things, the quantitative study of variation has demonstrated that relationships of more or less are as much a part of language as the traditional concepts of obligatory or complementary relationships. More importantly, however, this line of research has opened a window permitting the direct observation of linguistic evolution, that is, the study of change in progress. Although the traditional methods of historical linguistics have permitted researchers to extrapolate genetic relationships from linguistic data sets, these analytical methods do not provide the necessary evidence for elucidating effectively how any system passes from state X to state Y. I call this the transition problem.

In this paper we are directly concerned with the 'transition problem' as it relates to the identification of linguistic change in progress within both social and geographical space. Studies of change in progress have generally used the notion of 'apparent time' as a means for identifying the evolutionary tendencies implicit in a synchronic data set. This methodological procedure depends crucially on the hypothesis that the grammar of individual speakers becomes stable some relatively short time after the end of the language acquisition period or some time during adolescence. It is assumed that except for minor lexical changes the phonetics and phonology of individuals do not undergo major restructuring during their lifetimes. If this hypothesis were not true, one would have to assume that age group differences that are discovered in synchronic data sets