Phonotactic simplification in borrowed /TH/-fronting

Betsy Sneller (University of Pennsylvania)

Forms and processes that are borrowed from one dialect to another tend to also see a simplification of the rules that govern them (Trudgill 1986). Milroy (2007) points to borrowable forms as off-the-shelf changes: borrowings that are simple enough for a speaker of another dialect to aquire post-Critical Period. /TH/-fronting, which is the substitution of [f] for $[\theta]$, seems to be a form that is robustly borrowable in World Englishes (e.g., Schleef and Ramsammy 2013; Holmes-Elliot 2013; Wood 2003). The current study examines phonotactic simplification in a case study of /TH/-appropriation in Philadelphian English.

This study draws on data from 43 speakers in the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (PNC) to investigate phonotactic constraints on /TH/-fronting. /TH/-fronting is a feature of African Amerian Vernacular English (AAVE) which has been described as occurring only in word-medial or word-final position (Fix 2010, Green 2002, Labov et al. 1968). However, these previous descriptions of /TH/-fronting in AAVE have not examined the role of syllable structure as a phonotactic constraint on fronting. In addition to /TH/-fronting in AAVE, recent work in South Philadelphia has found non-AAVE speaking White speakers appropriating /TH/-fronting in word-medial and word-final position as well (blinded for review). Notably, the speakers who exhibit /TH/-appropriation are speakers with regular and antagonistic contact with their AAVE-speaking neighbors: a situation from which feature borrowing could easily arise.

In this study, we examine the role of syllable structure phonotactic constraints on /TH/-fronting in AAVE, as well as expand on these initial observations of /TH/-appropriation by comparing phonotactic constraints across these two demographics in the PNC that exhibit fronting. We examine 2158 tokens from 19 AAVE-speaking Black speakers and 24 non-AAVE-speaking White speakers. Tokens were coded auditorily, and ambiguous tokens were excluded.

We find that the reported word-position constraints on /TH/-fronting in AAVE are borne out, with both groups most likely to front in word-final position, followed by word-medial position, and not fronting at all in word-initial position. When these constraints are broken down into *coda* and *non-coda*, however, a slightly different picture emerges. White speakers only exhibit /TH/-fronting in coda position. For the Black speakers, /TH/-fronting is possible in both coda-position as well as in onset position of a nonstressed syllable, though it is highly disfavored in onset position (4.4% of onset tokens are fronted, compared to 38% of coda tokens).

These results are consistent with an analysis of /TH/-fronting as a borrowed feature for these White speakers. We suggest that the regular, surface-level contact between both groups allows for the borrowing of /TH/-fronting as a feature, but not the more complex phonotactic rules governing /TH/-fronting. The more complex AAVE pattern, which shows fronting in codaposition and in onset-position of nonstressed syllables, has been simplified to a rule that allows for fronting in coda position only for these non-AAVE speakers. These results show phonotactic simplification in feature borrowing, in line with Milroy 2007 and Trudgill 1986.

References:

- Fix, S. 2010. Representations of blackness by white women: Linguistic practice in the community versus the media. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 16(2): 55-65.
- Green, L. 2002. *African American English: A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge Unniversity Press.
- Holmes-Elliot, S. 2013. Blame the Parents! The transmission of endogenous versus exogenous change within a levelling variety. Paper presented at UKLVC 9, Sheffield.
- Labov, W, P. Cohen, C. Robins, and J. Lewis. 1968. A Study of the Nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City. Final Report, Cooperative Research Project No. 3288, United States Office of Education.
- Milroy, L. 2007. "Off the shelf or under the counter? On the social dynamics of sound changes", in Christopher Cain and Geoffrey Russom (eds), *Studies in English Historical Linguistics III*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 149-72.
- Schleef, E. and M. Ramsammy. 2013. Labio-dental fronting of /θ/ in London and Edinburgh: a cross-dialectal study. *English Language and Linguistics* 17(1). 25-54
- Sweetland, J. 2002. Unexpected but authentic use of an ethnically-marked dialect. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6(4): 514-538.
- Trudgill, P. 1986. *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wood, E. 2003. TH-fronting: the Substitution of f/v for θ/ð in New Zealand English. *New Zealand English Journal*. 18. 50-56.