Converging to local and supralocal norms: stylistic variation in migrants' speech

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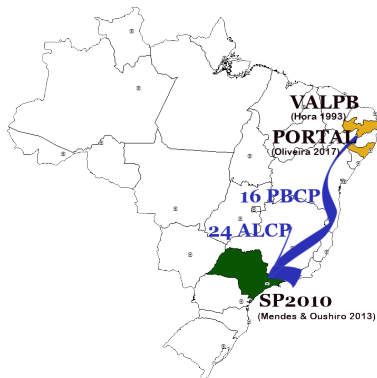# The Accommodation Project: Northeasterners in São Paulo
Oushiro (2016)

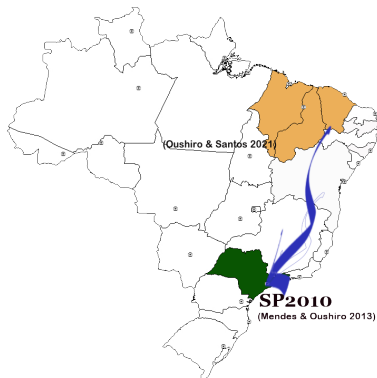- Sample 1: 32 speakers from AL, PB (Mendes, 2011; Gomes da Silva, 2014)

The Accommodation Project: Northeasterners in São Paulo
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- Sample 2: 40 speakers from AL, PB (Oushiro, 2020)

The Accommodation Project: Northeasterners in São Paulo
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50 BASP
(Souza 2017)

SP2010
(Mendes & Oushiro 2013)

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- 40 speakers from MA, PI, CE (Oushiro & Santos, 2021)

The Accommodation Project: Northeasterners in São Paulo

Oushiro (2020); Souza (2017); Guedes (2019); Oushiro & Guedes (2019); Silveira (2021); Barbosa (2021)

Predictors:

- Gender
- Age of arrival
- Length of residence
- Social network
- Identification with place of origin and host community
- Internal factors...

Sociolinguistic variables:

- pretonic midvowels /e, o/
- /t, d/ before [i]
- coda /r/
- coda /s/
- rhythm
- entonation
- sentential negation
- nominal agreement
- definite article

Stylistic variation

Focus on...

- prestige (Labov, 2006 [1966], 2001)
- audience (Bell, 1984; Rickford & McNair-Knox)
- identities and social practices (Eckert, 2004)
- topic (Schilling-Estes, 2004; Becker, 2009)

Stylistic variation in migrants' speech:

- Hora & Wetzels (2010): migrants to São Paulo from NE Brazil used more of the northeastern [h] variant of coda /r/ in formal reading style
- but migrants in dialect contact situations potentially face multiple competing linguistic norms (Guy, 2016)

The Speech Community
Labov (1972, 120-121)

❝ *The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by* participation in a set of shared norms*; these norms may be observed in* overt types of evaluative behavior*, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.* ❞

Coda /r/ and coda /s/ in Brazilian Portuguese

- Coda /r/: [r R x ɣ h ɦ ɾ ɻ], deletion
  falar 'to speak'; *porque* 'because'

- Coda /s/: [s ʃ h], deletion
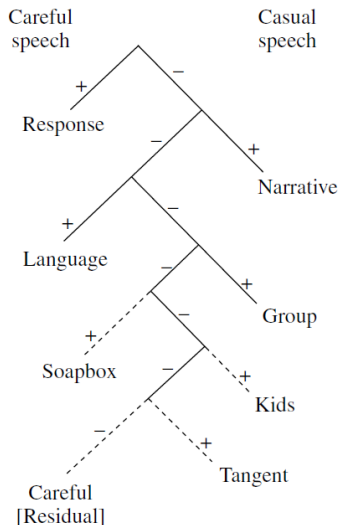 *costa* 'coast'; *desliga* 'turn off'; *falamos* 'we spoke'

Norm	R	S
local	[ɾ ɻ]	[s]
national	[h]	[s]

Research Questions

- Do migrants accommodate to the local São Paulo variants of coda /r/ and coda /s/ over time?

- Which social groups tend to accommodate to the São Paulo dialect?

- How do migrants behave according to different speech styles?

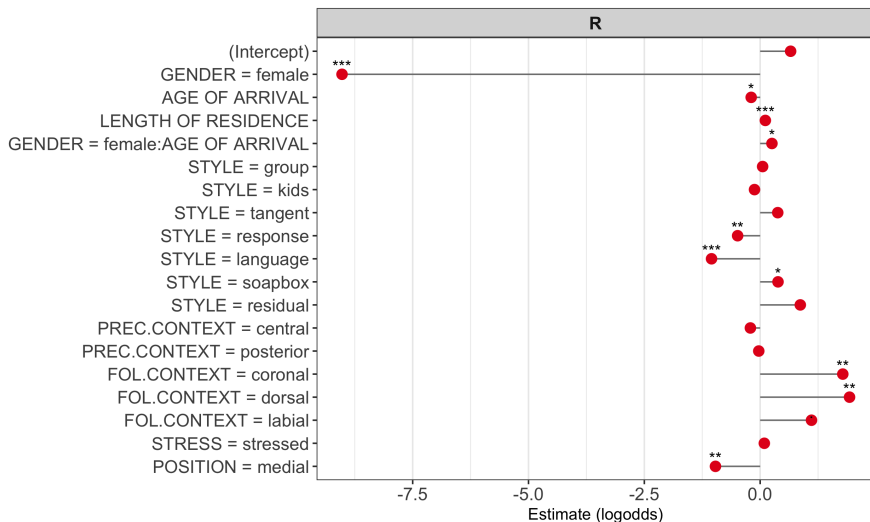# Coding for Style
Figure 1: Labov (2001, 94)

Corpus and methods

- 24 speakers:
  - Gender: 9 women, 15 men
  - Age of Arrival: 12 before 19 y.o.; 12 after 20 y.o.
  - Length of Residence: 12 for 9- years; 12 for 10+ years
  - All have low levels of education and have migrated from rural areas

- 3,935 tokens of /r/; 1,247 tokens of /s/

- Mixed effects logistic regression models in R
  - Fixed effects: Gender, Age of Arrival, Length of Residence, Style, Preceding and Following Phonological Context, Syllable Stress, Syllable Position
  - Random effects: Speaker and Lexical Item
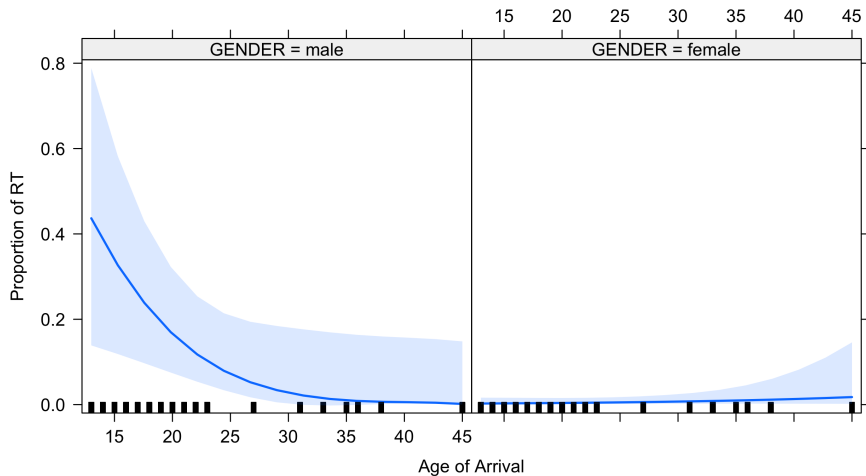 - Interactions: between external predictors

Coda /r/

Figure 2: Estimates in logodds for the use of tap/retroflex /r/ (N = 3,935)
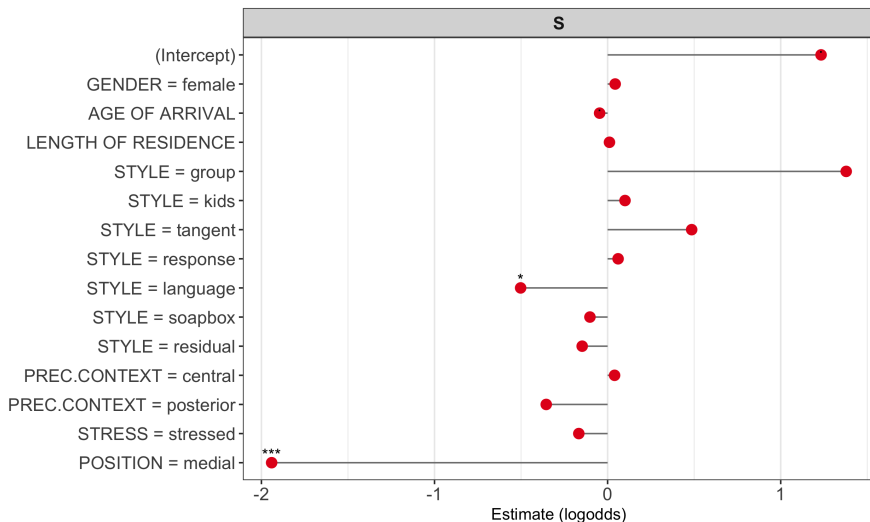
Coda /r/

Figure 3: Interaction between Gender and Age of Arrival

Gender * Age of Arrival effect plot

Coda /s/

Figure 4: Estimates in logodds for the use of alveolar /s/ (N = 1,247)

Discussion

- Different social embedding:
    - Coda /r/: [r ɻ] disfavored by women; favored by men who arrived earlier and those who have lived longer in SP
    - Coda /s/: no correlations with external predictors

- AoA and LoR: consistent with other studies – e.g. Oushiro (2020)

- Gender: different from other studies of NEers in SP; similar to Bortoni-Ricardo (1985); women's orientation to supralocal norm?

- Style:
    - response and language (Labov's 'careful') disfavored [r ɻ]; language disfavored [s]; awareness of dialectal differences, authenticity
    - soapbox favored [r ɻ]; convergence when talking about common problems

Conclusion

- Do migrants accommodate to the local São Paulo variants of coda /r/ and coda /s/ over time?
  - → yes for /r/; no social correlations for /s/

- Which social groups tend to accommodate to the São Paulo dialect?
  - → men acquire [ɾ ɹ], especially if arrived in their teens

- How do migrants behave according to different speech styles?
  - → different local and national norms for /r/
  - → men's orientation toward the local norm, women's orientation to the national norm for /r/
  - → language: not expression of prestige, but of awareness of dialectal differences and authenticity
  - → soapbox: dialectal convergence

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Thank you!
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