

Contrast and comparison in the probabilistic grammar

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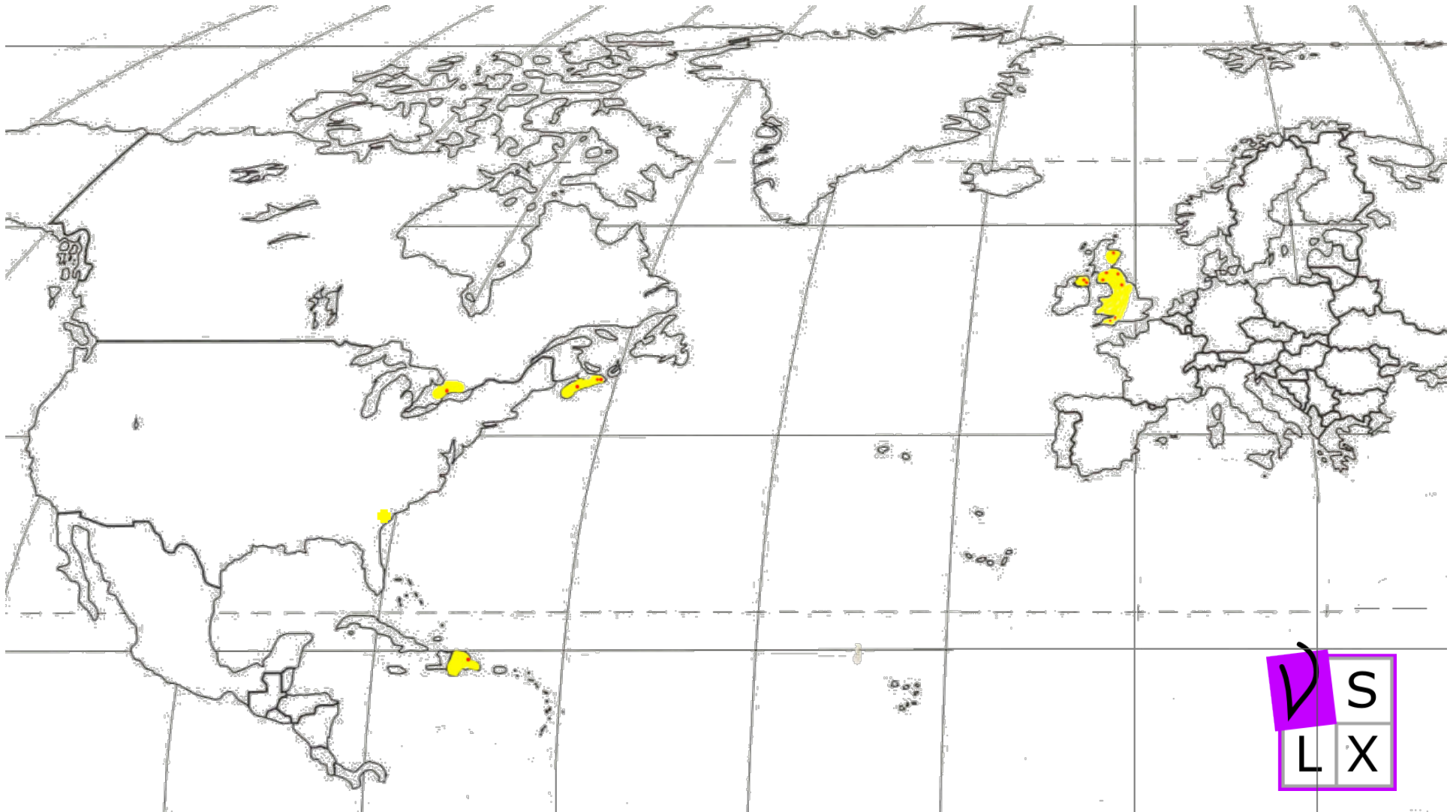


Starting point

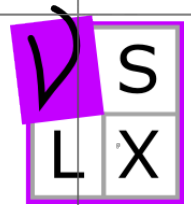
- ❖ If many constraints are stable across varieties what can vary?
- ❖ Are some variables more susceptible to local deviation?
- ❖ Does the possibility of ongoing linguistic change within a probabilistic system make a difference to global regularities or deviations?



Geographic perspective



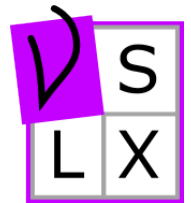
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Leuven

Comparative Sociolinguistics

- ❖ Built from two strands of linguistics:
 - ❖ sociolinguistics & historical linguistics
- ❖ “the connection (relationship) of linguistic variation in one body of materials to another”
 - ❖ Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001; Tagliamonte, 2002, 2012
- ❖ Necessity of finding an ideal diagnostic
 - ❖ functions in a non-trivial way in one variety while simultaneously functioning in a different non-trivial way in another variety.



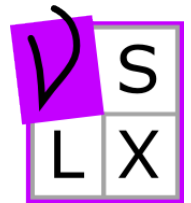
Deontic Modality

❖ ... the system of modal auxiliaries in English, [is] now undergoing a *wholesale reorganization*.”

❖ Bolinger, 1980:6

❖ The history of the tense-aspect-modal system of English is far from over. New operators are still being introduced ... both those and the system as a whole are in the process of being *re-shaped*.

❖ Givón, 1993:187



Emerging modals

- ❖ The success story of *have got to* and *got to* in British English over the past 150 years
 - ❖ Krug 1997:187
- ❖ “... change and spread are occurring under our very eyes.”
 - ❖ Krug , 2000:45

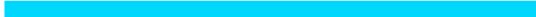
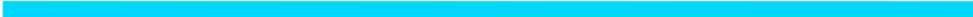
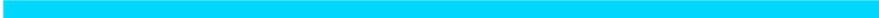


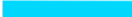


Deontic Modality

- ❖ A range of meanings including obligation, permission and necessity
 - ❖ Coates, 1983:32
- ❖ What do you say?
 - ❖ I *must* go to Leuven next week.
 - ❖ I *have to* go to Leuven next week.
 - ❖ I *'ve got to* go to Leuven next week.
 - ❖ I *'ve gotta go* to Leuven next week.
 - ❖ I *gotta* go to Leuven next week



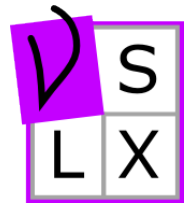
Historical Perspective

English	Old	Middle	Early	Modern	
	500-1066	1066-1500	1501-1750	1751-1800	1900-2008
mot					
<i>permission</i>					
must					
<i>deontic</i>					
must					
<i>epistemic</i>					
have to					
have got to					
got to	 				



Variation - 14th C

- ❖ *I moot go thider as I haue to go.*
 - ❖ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* Pardd.C. 749, 1465



Variation — 19th C

- ❖ It *'s got to* be done if I *have to* work like a steam engine!
 - ❖ *Christmas with Grandma Elsie*, Martha Finley, c. 1828-1909



Variation — 20th C

- ❖ It *'s got to* be done very careful.
- ❖ You *got to* go all by yourself, to the middle of the woods.
 - ✦ Mark Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, 1876
- ❖ They're wide open, an' all you *gotta* do is hit 'em.
 - ✦ Jack London. *Valley of the Moon*, 1911



Trajectory of change

must → *have to* → *have got to* → *got to*
→ *gotta*



Social Evaluation

- ❖ *Must*

- ✦ Formal; Associated with written language

- ❖ *Have got*

- ✦ Colloquial

But... what about *have to*?

- ❖ *Got*

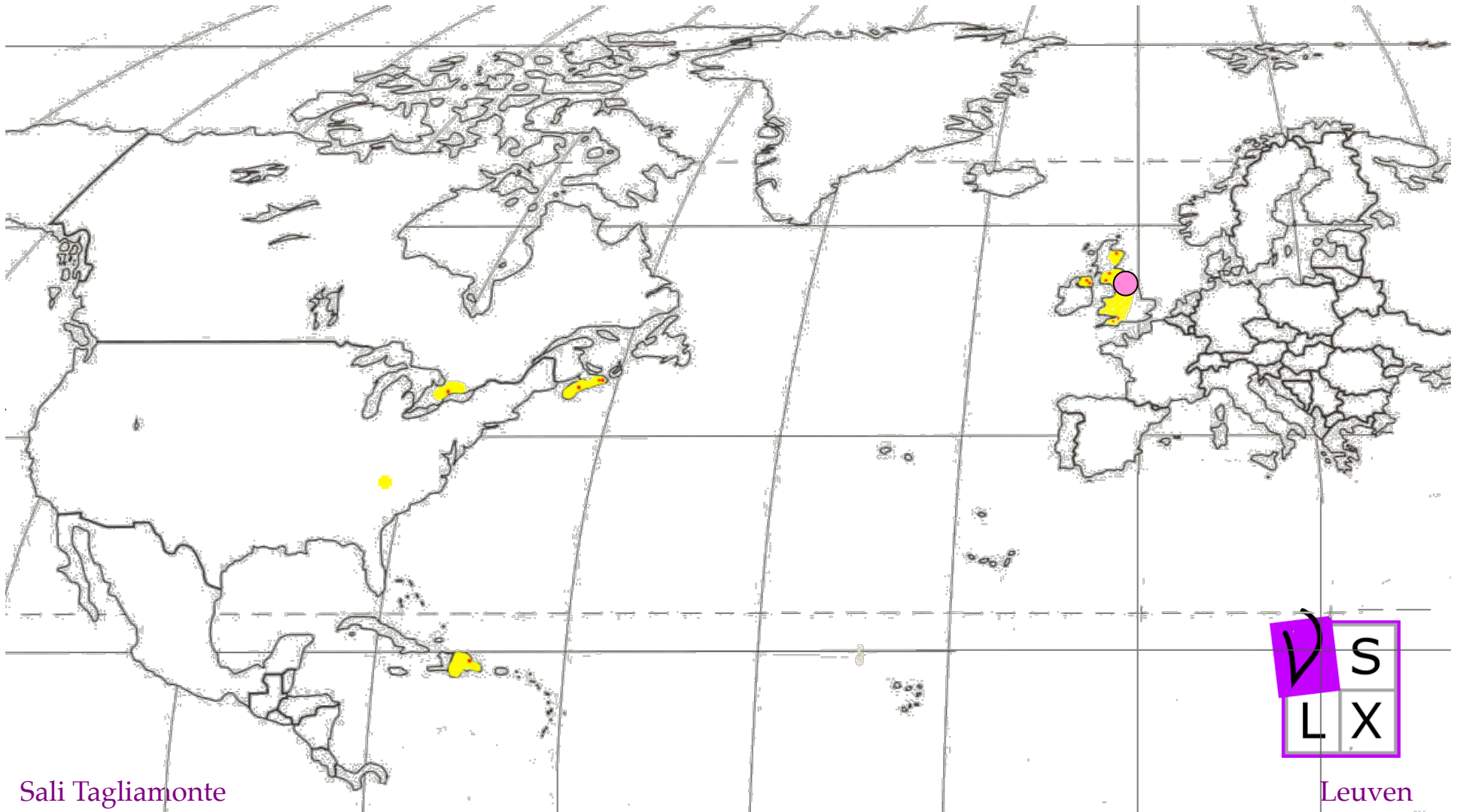
- ✦ Informal

- ❖ *Gotta*

- ✦ Vulgar



York

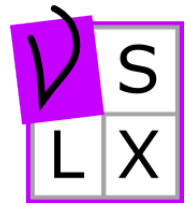


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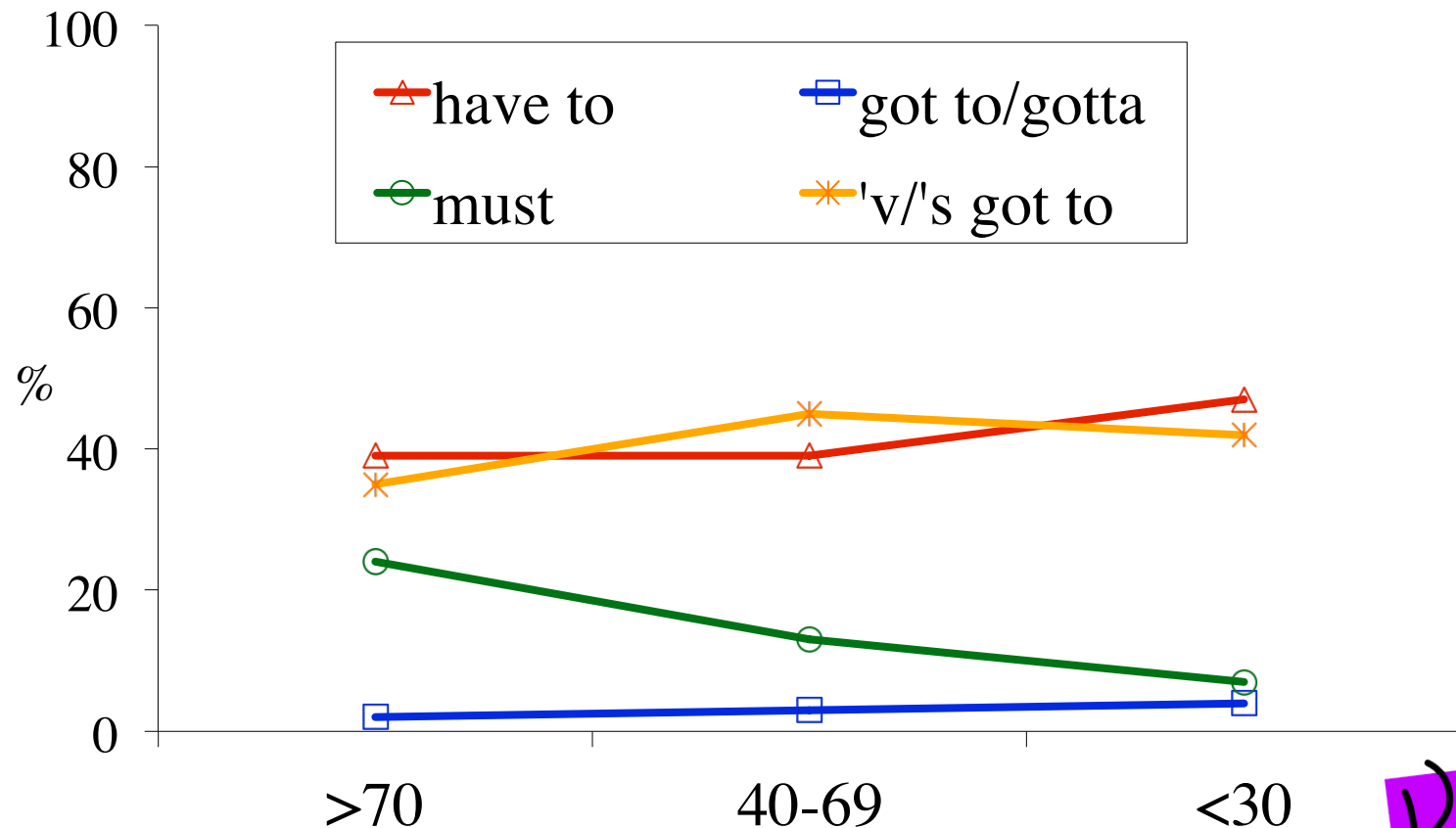
Leuven

Variation — *York*

- ❖ You *must* take these sweeties for being a good girl.
- ❖ You *have to* believe in ghosts to ever see it. Oh dear! Why did they *have to* see me in my underpants?
- ❖ My car *'s got to* go to the garage. The following day I *'ve got to* be at Church flower arranging for harvest festival.



Overall Distribution — YRK

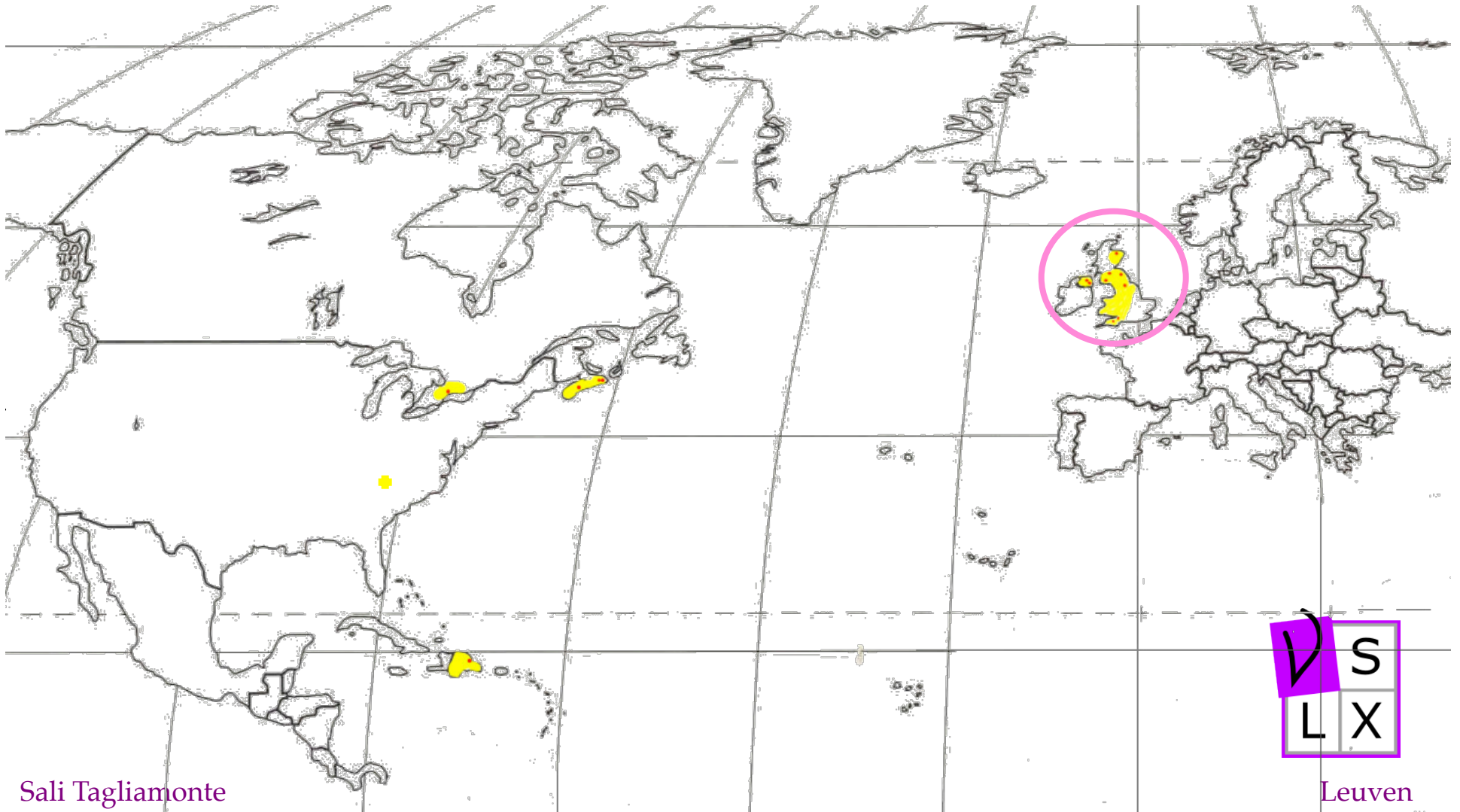


Observations

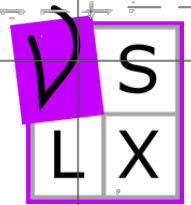
- ❖ York
 - ❖ *Must* is present, but decreases in apparent time
 - ❖ Use of *have to* is healthy across all generations
 - ❖ Use of *got to* or *gotta* is rare.
- ❖ Robust variation between *have to* and *have got to*
 - ❖ Tagliamonte, 2003:52-53



Britain and Northern Ireland



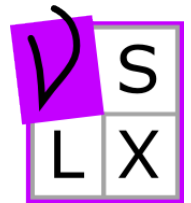
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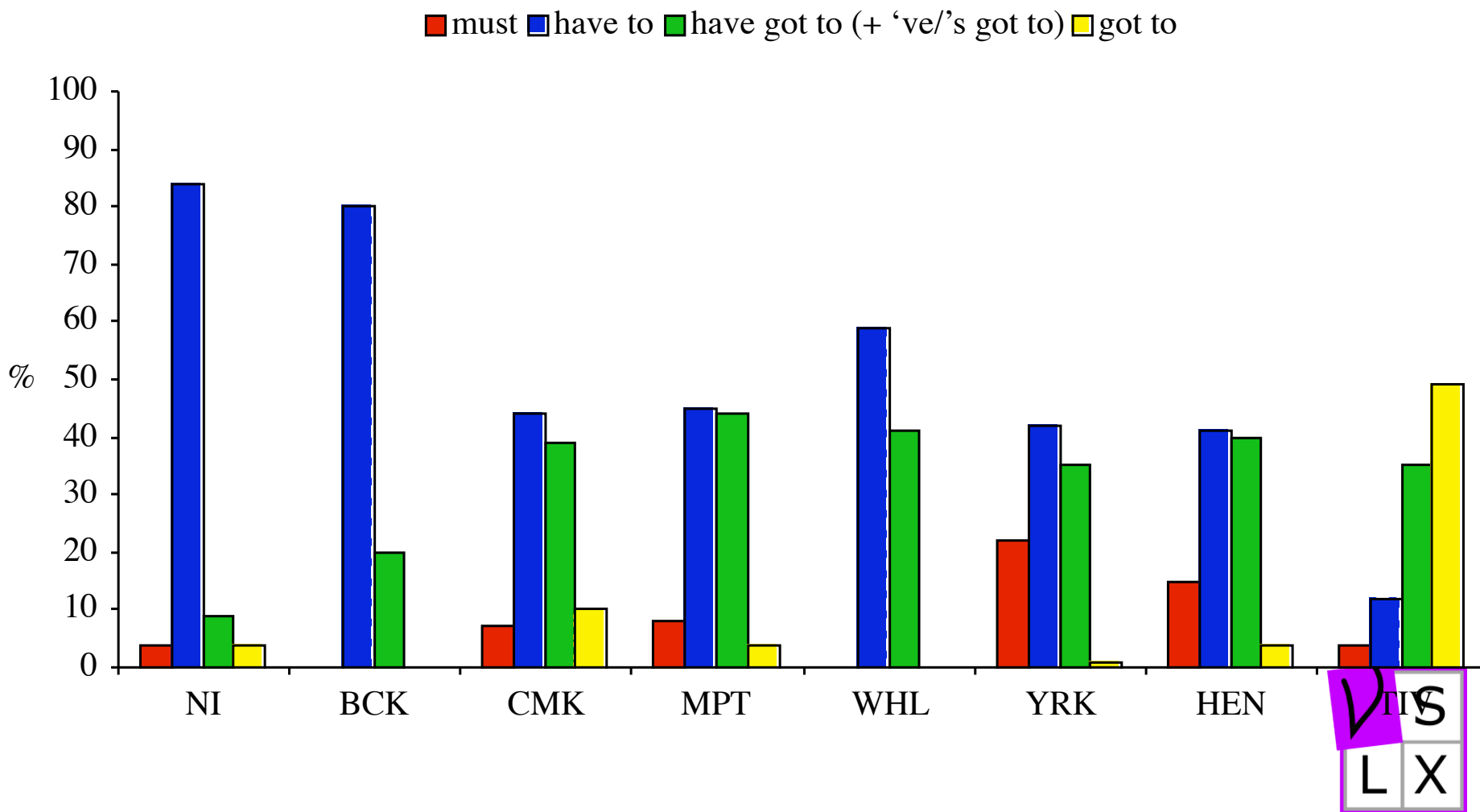
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Cross-variety comparison

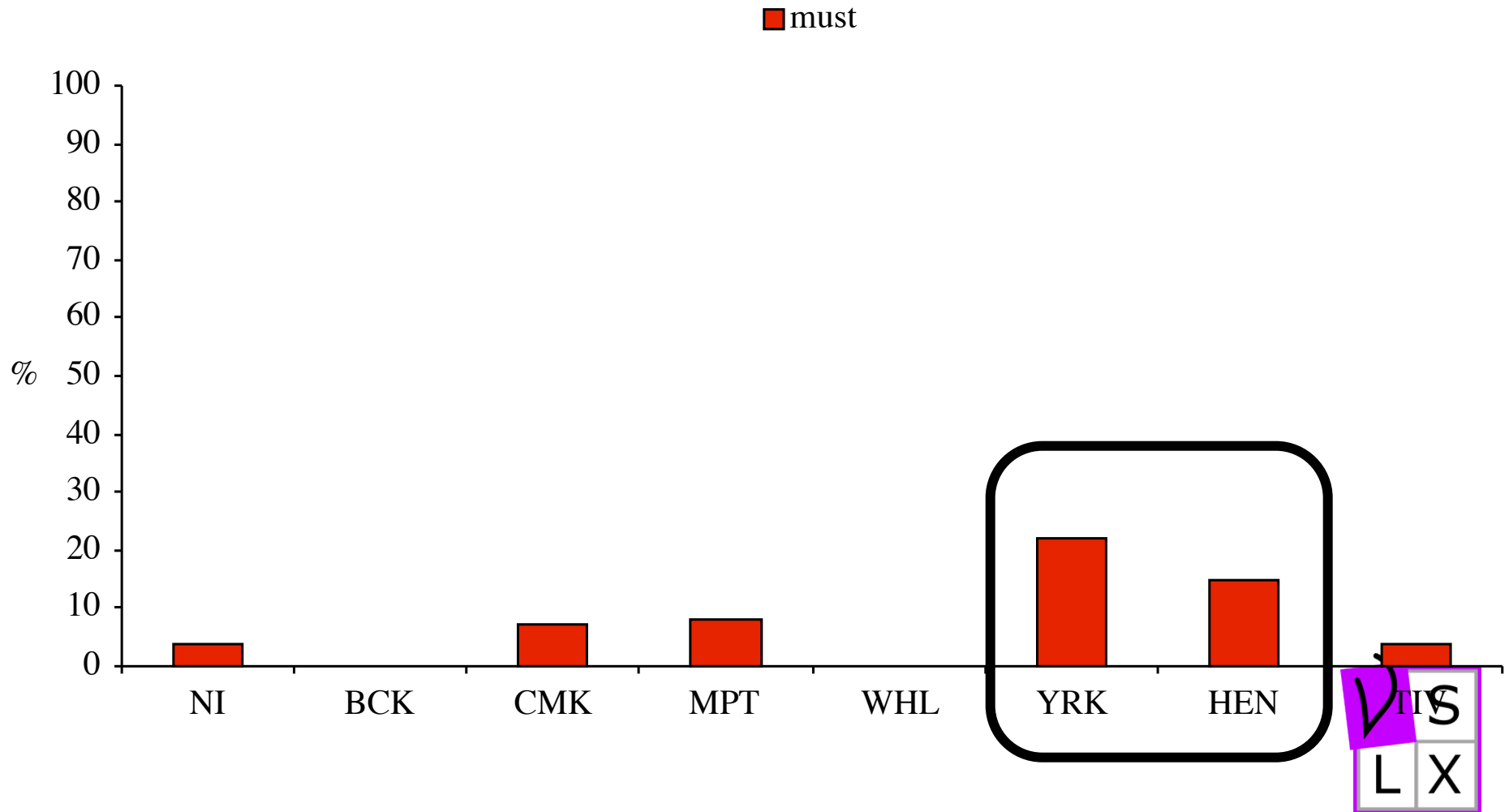
- ❖ Next time I'm in the doctors I *must* ask to see the physio.
- ❖ They *have to* keep up with the Jones' now.
- ❖ You *'ve got to* have a vice of some kind.
- ❖ It *has to* be natural to work
- ❖ You *have to* go through my old scullery.
- ❖ When you've got a man suddenly plunged into your life you *'ve got to* feed him, haven't you!
- ❖ The plants *got to* drag it out.



Overall Distribution — UK

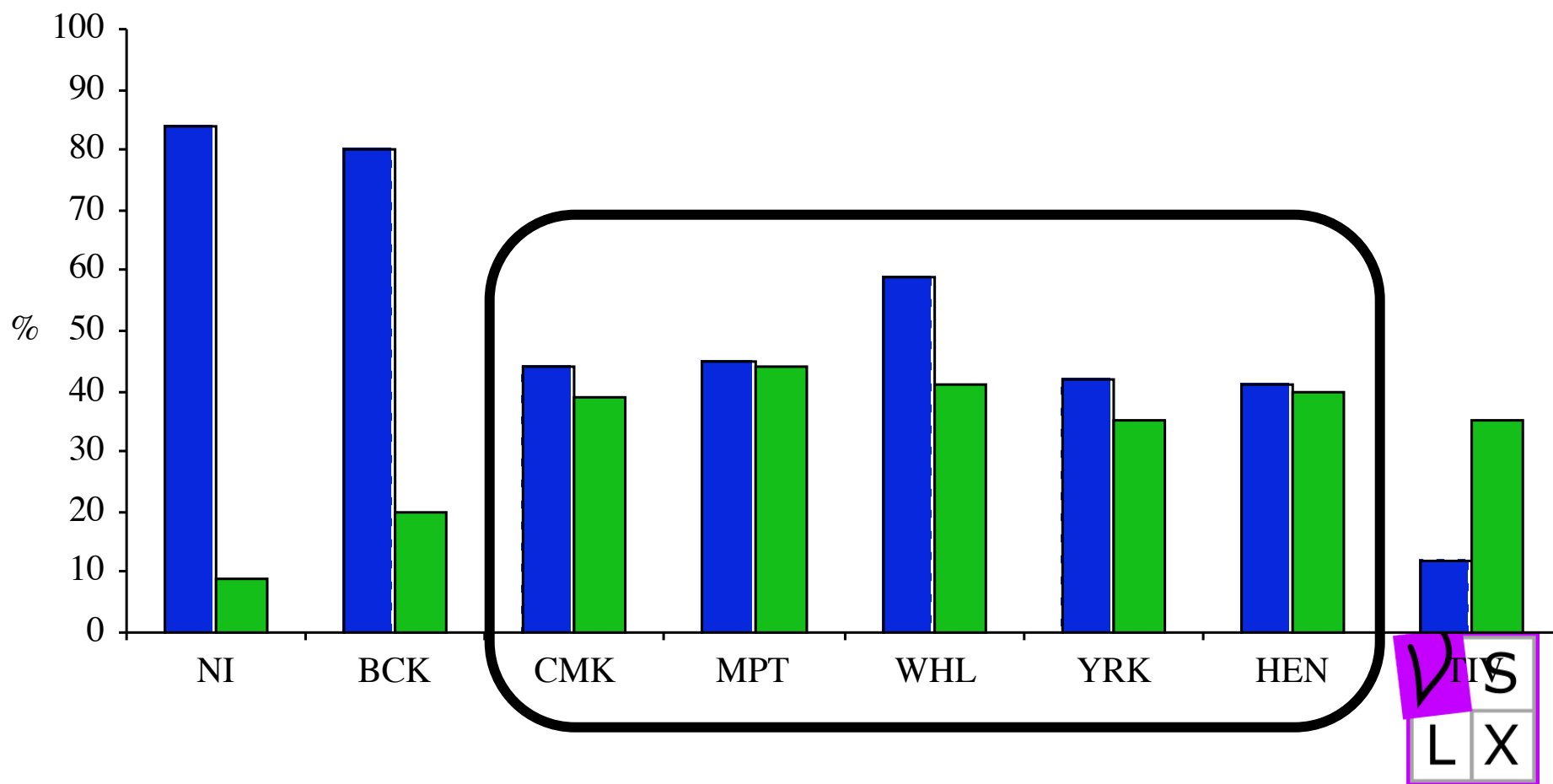


Overall Distribution — UK



Overall Distribution — UK

■ have to ■ have got to (+ 've/'s got to)



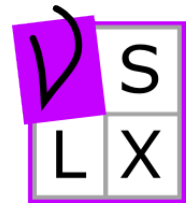
Observations

- ❖ The historical cline from *must* to *have to* to *have got to* can be viewed in geographic relief
 - ❖ Where *have to* is more frequent --> evidence that the variety is more conservative
 - ❖ Where *have got to* is more frequent --> evidence that the new layer has made inroads into the system
 - ❖ Where *must* is steadfast, the varieties contain middle class speakers
 - ❖ Tagliamonte & Smith, 2005:357



Constraints

- ❖ What is the underlying mechanism of the change?



Strength of Obligation

- ❖ Different forms are thought to encode different meanings, i.e. gradations in the strength of the obligation ...
 - ❖ “it is imperative that ...
 - ❖ “it is important that ...
 - ❖ “it is necessary or a requirement that ...”
 - ❖ Coates, 1983:32



Strength of Obligation

- ❖ *Must* is thought to be strongest while the other forms are weak
- ❖ *Have to* and *have got to* are typically grouped together with no meaning difference nor contrastive strength to the choice between them
 - ❖ Huddleston, 2002:183



Nature of Authority

- ❖ Pragmatic distinction between subjective vs. objective obligation
 - ❖ Huddleston and Pullum 2002:183
- ❖ *Subjective obligation*, speaker imposes authority on themselves or others
- ❖ *Objective authority* comes from some other source, external to the speaker
 - ❖ E.g. rules and regulations



Objective Authority

...authority comes from outside

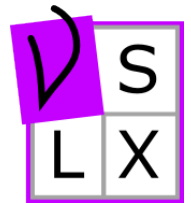
- ❖ I'm always the biggest so I have to sit in the front of the car, Brenda's the smallest. So she *has to* sit in the back.
- ❖ You-know, why do we *have to* be so dominated by these typical names?



Subjective Authority

... Authority comes from speaker

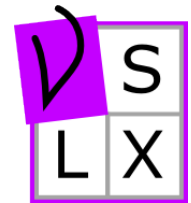
- ❖ I just feel like total crap about myself and it's-like, "I *got to* start eating better, and like exercising"
- ❖ We told her owner "You've *got to* get control of that dog. You *'ve got to* get a license."



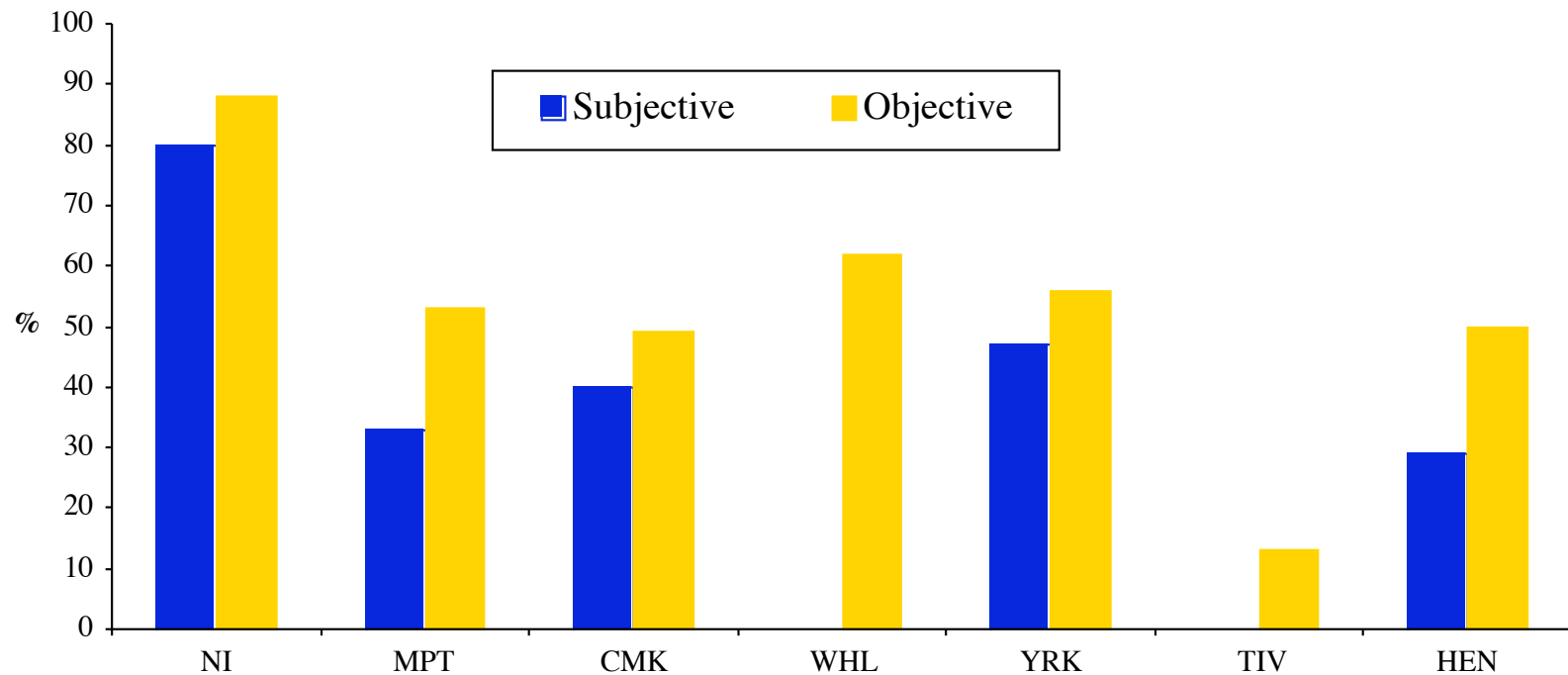
Generic readings:

.... authority comes from outside

- ❖ But you *have to* wear shoes in the river.
'Cause of all those...crabby clam things and all the rocks and stuff.
- ❖ You just *have to* rub them the nice way.
- ❖ All you *have to* do is like get the stupid rhythm right.



Distribution of *have to* by type of authority

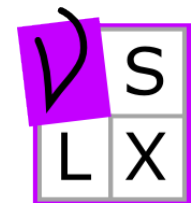


Have to in BCK, WHL, YRK

Three variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors
to *have to*.

	BUCKIE		WHEAT- LEY HILL		YORK	
	FW	%	FW	%	FW	%
	.60		.32		.49	
	152		165		369	
FAC- TORS:	FW	%	FW	%	FW	%
Age						
> 70	.74	80	[.72]	59	.52	54
41-70	.39	47	[.46]	39	.40	40
< 40	.47	58	[.49]	29	.59	55
Range	35				20	
Sex						
Female	[.54] ↑	63	.72 ↑	58	.55 ↑	54
Male	[.45]	54	.34	26	.41	40
Range			38		12	
Type of reference						
Objective	.61	70	.81	65	.66	65
Generic	.37	46	.52	17	.41	40
Subjective	.40	52	.22	16	.39	40
Range	36		59		27	

Factors selected as significant in bold.



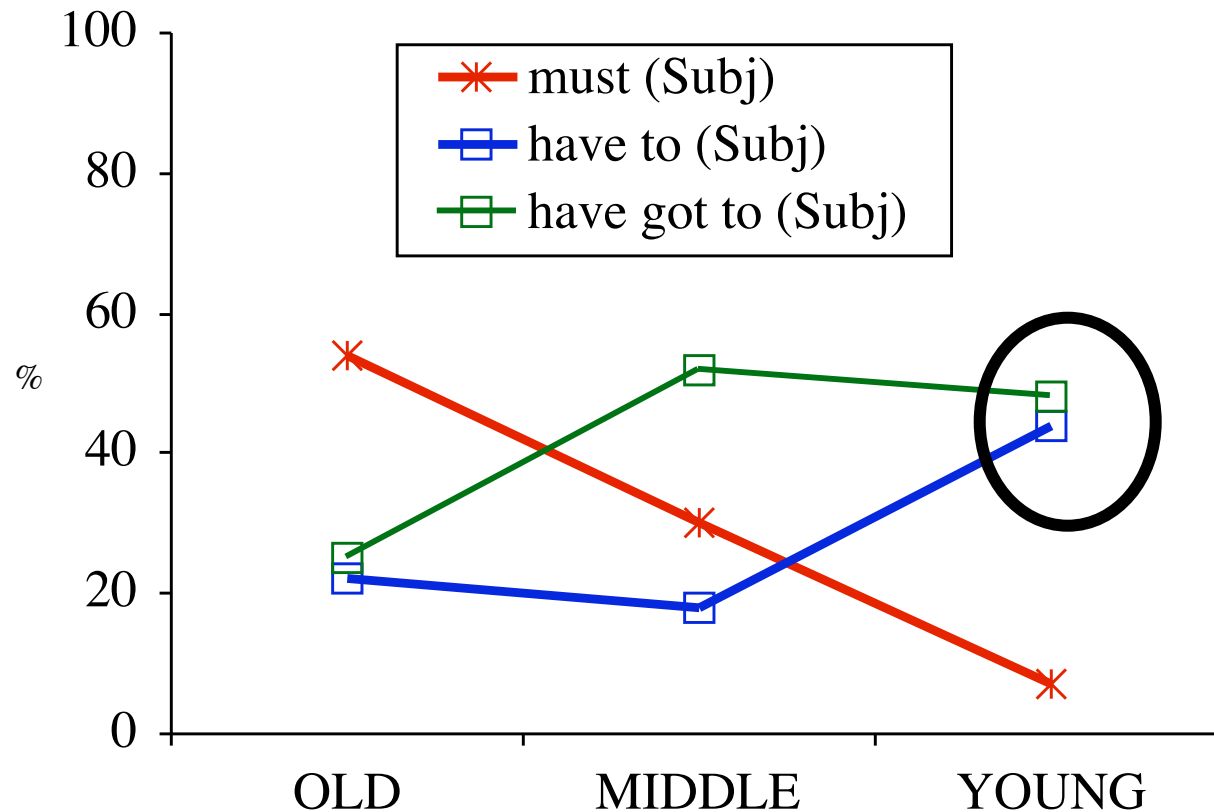
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Deontic system - UK

Deontic forms by reference and pragmatics in Br E			
	OBJECTIVE	SUBJECTIVE	GENERIC
	(1 st & 3 rd)	(1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd)	(2 nd)
<i>Have to</i>	✓		
<i>(Have/‘ve/’s) got to</i>			✓
<i>Must</i>		✓	



Subjective obligation apparent time - YRK



Observations

- ❖ *must* is moving out
- ❖ *have to* is increasing, particularly among the youngest generation.
- ❖ *have to* is taking over the slot left behind in the wake of the recession of *must* ... a stepwise progression:
 - ✦ First, *have got to* moves into objective readings
 - ✦ Second, *have to* moves into subjective readings

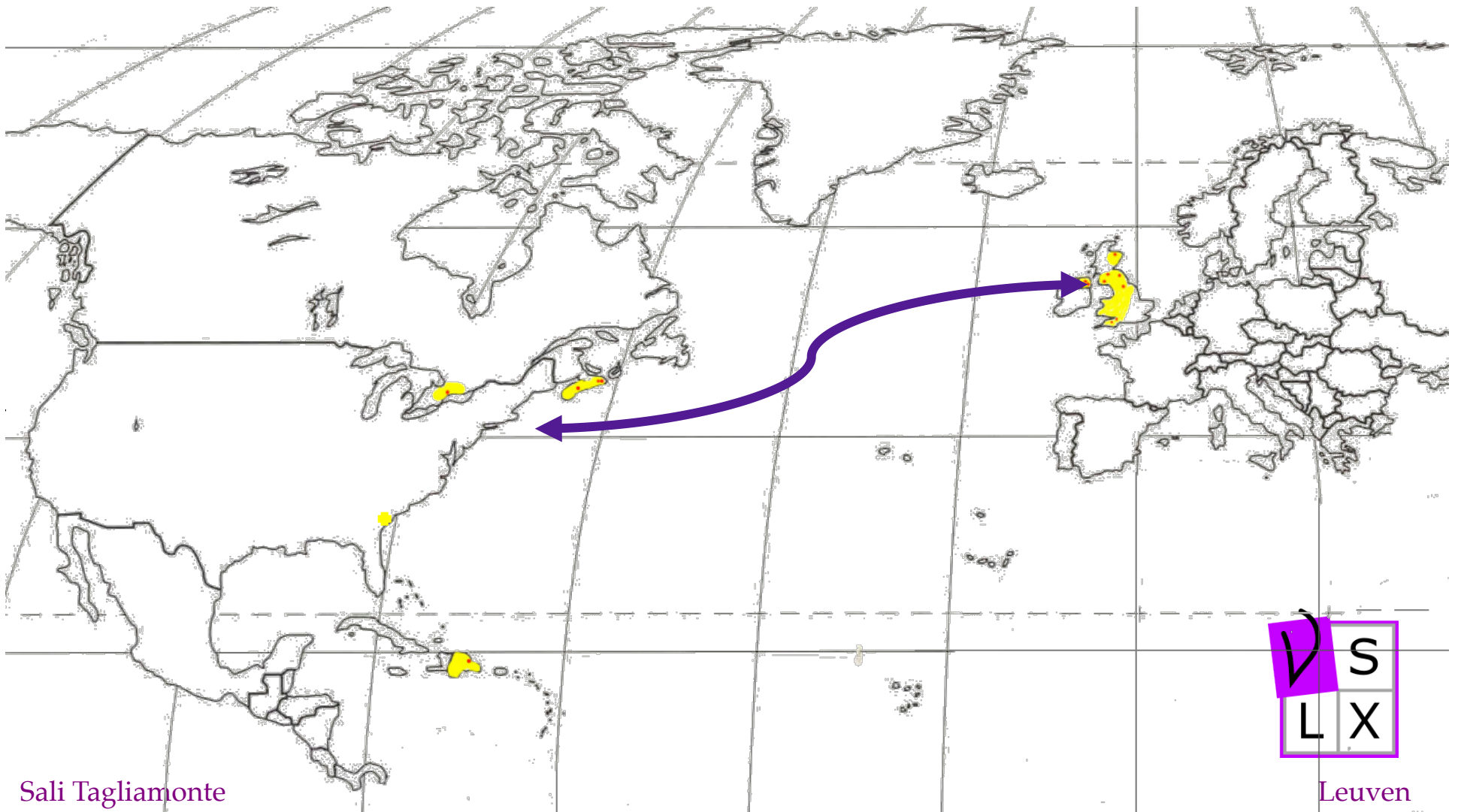


Diffusion

- ❖ In this state of flux, what happened in places where British dialects were transplanted?



Transatlantic comparison

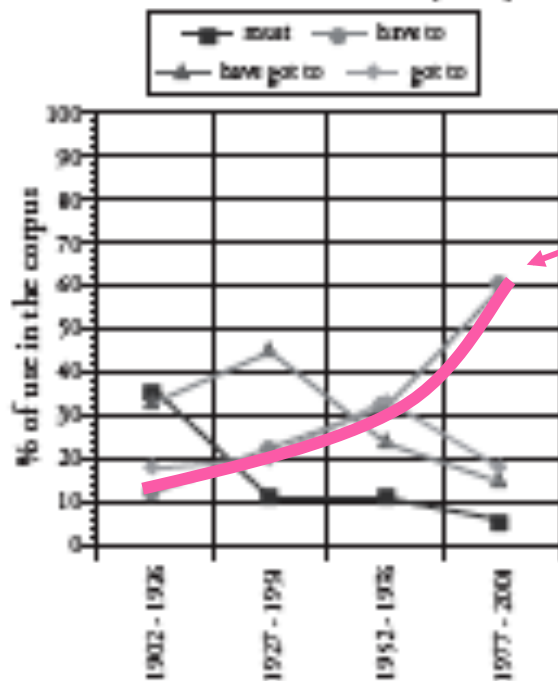


US and UK plays

(Jankowski 2006)

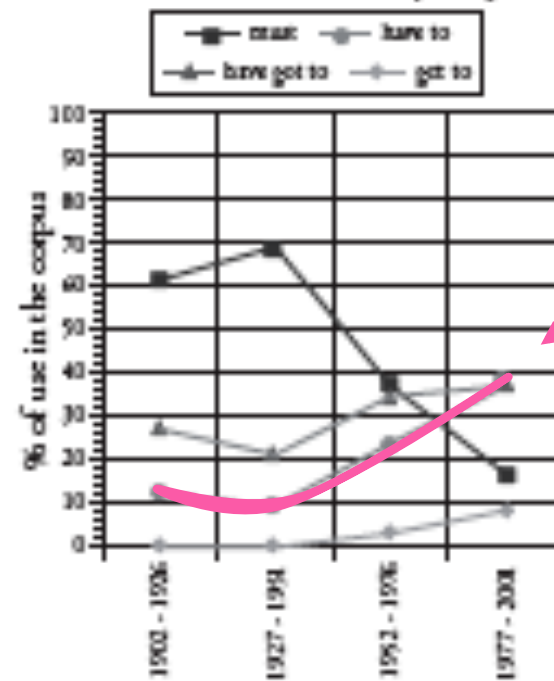
US

FIGURE 1:
Distribution of Variants of Deontic Modality
in RealTime: American Play Corpus



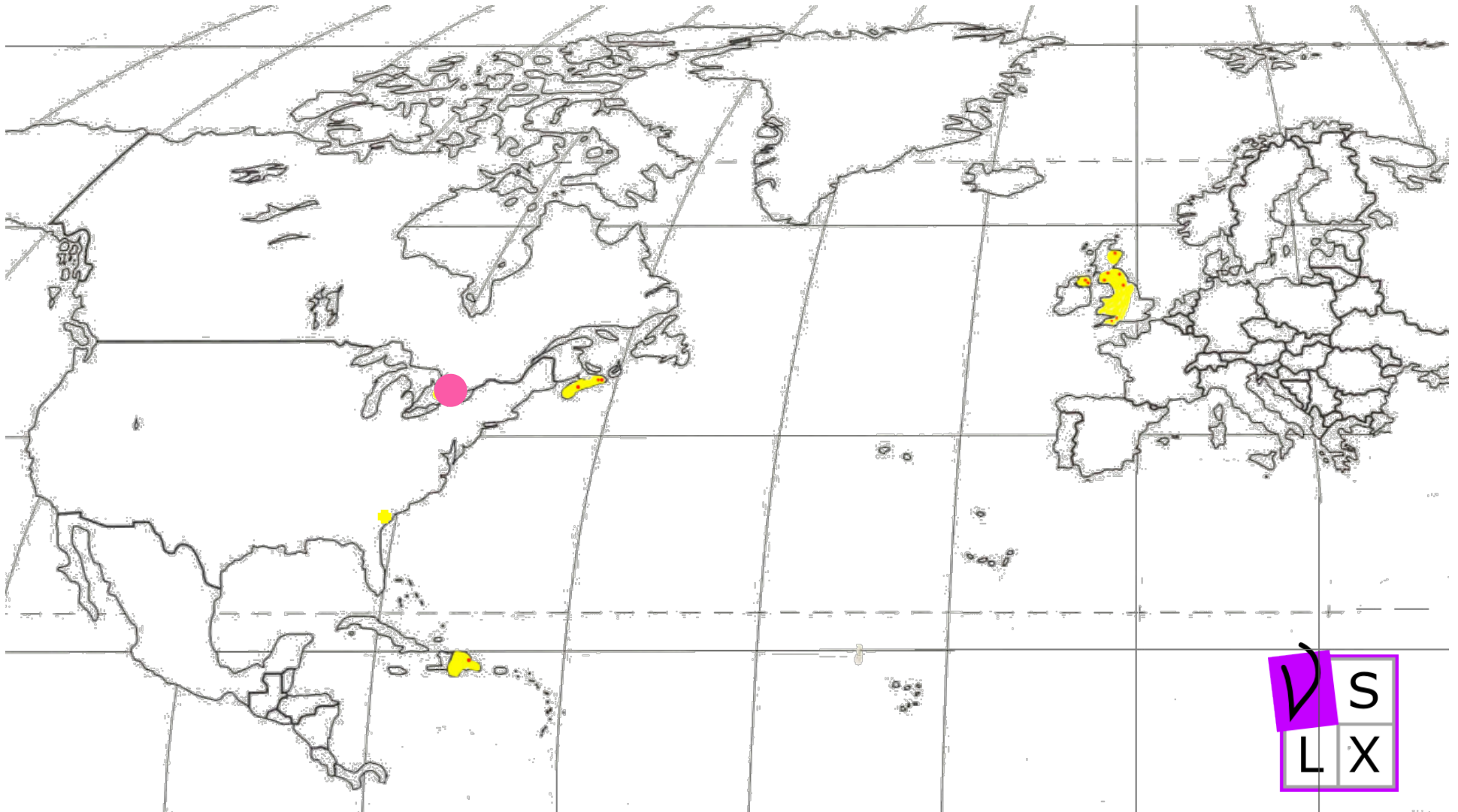
UK

FIGURE 2:
Distribution of Variants of Deontic Modality
in RealTime: British Play Corpus

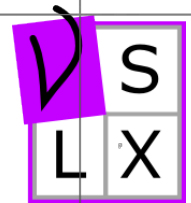


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Canada



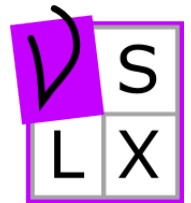
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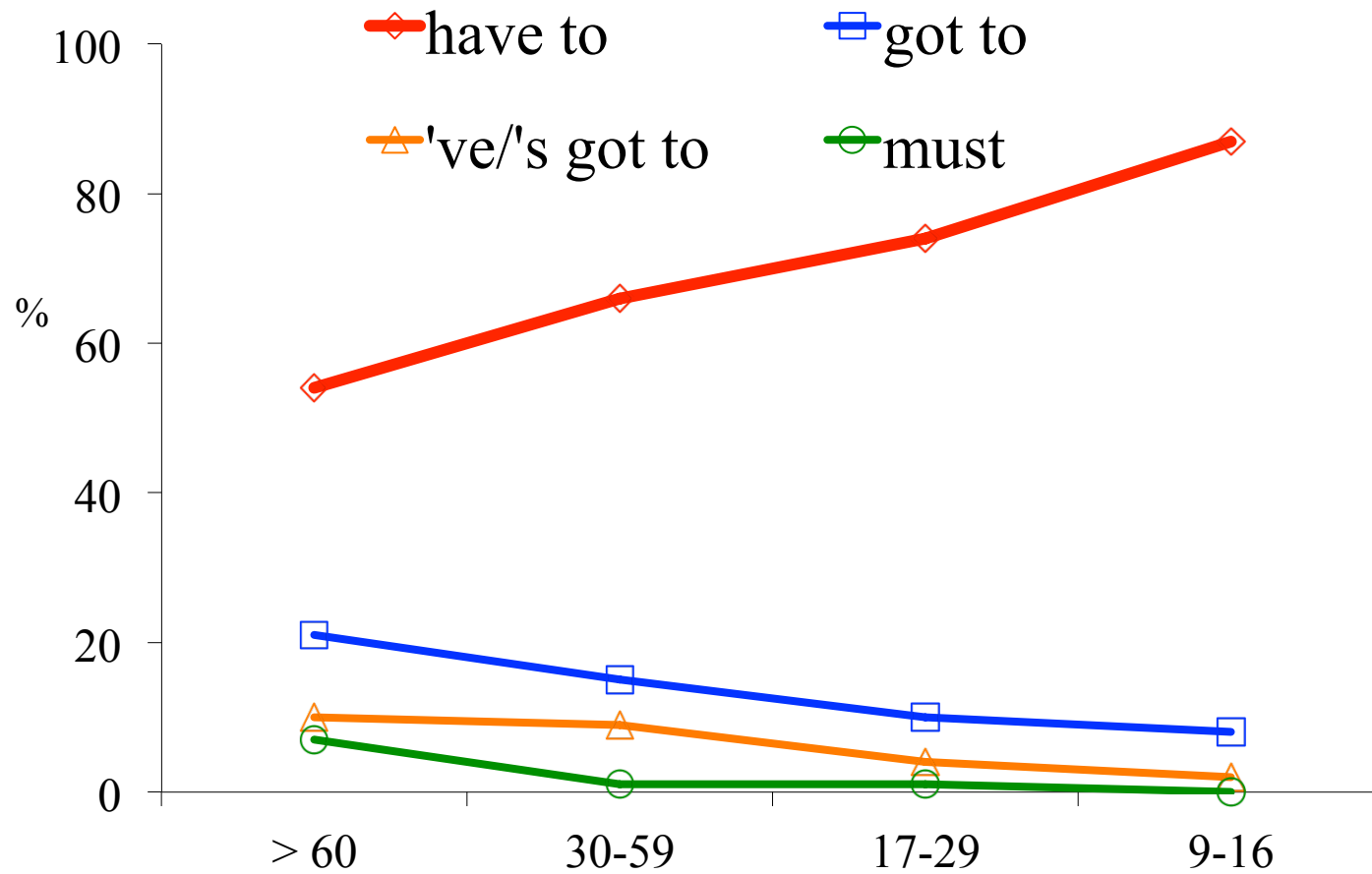
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Variation — TOR

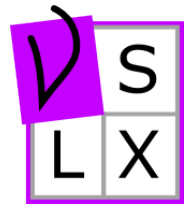
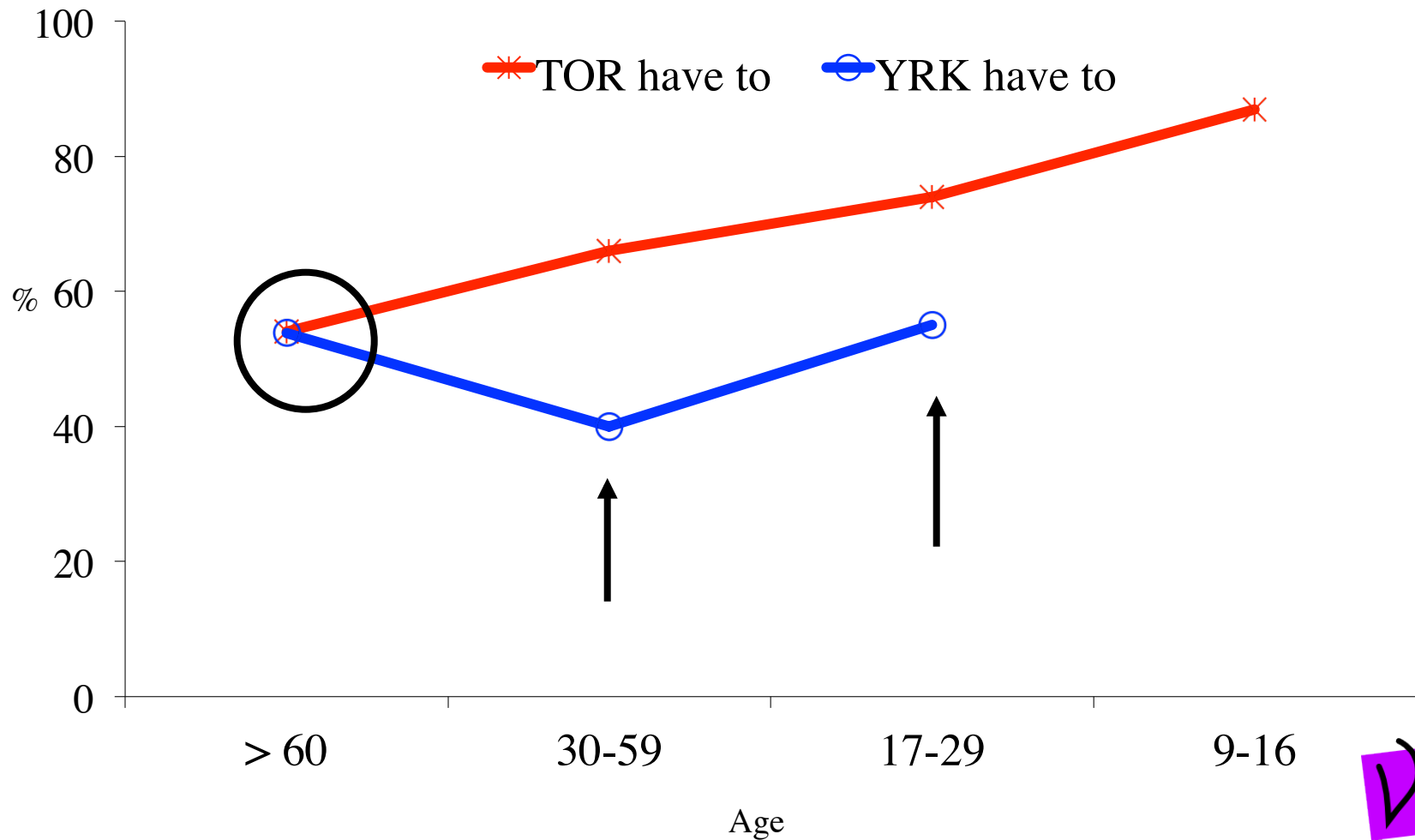
- ❖ I said, “You *have to* come up.” I said, “you ju-- I said, “you’re not gonna- you *must* come up.” And uhm- mm- the person on the phone, I said, “I *‘ve gotta* go.”



Apparent time — TOR



Deontic *have to* in TOR and YRK

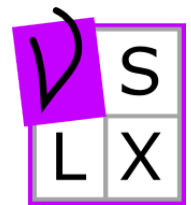
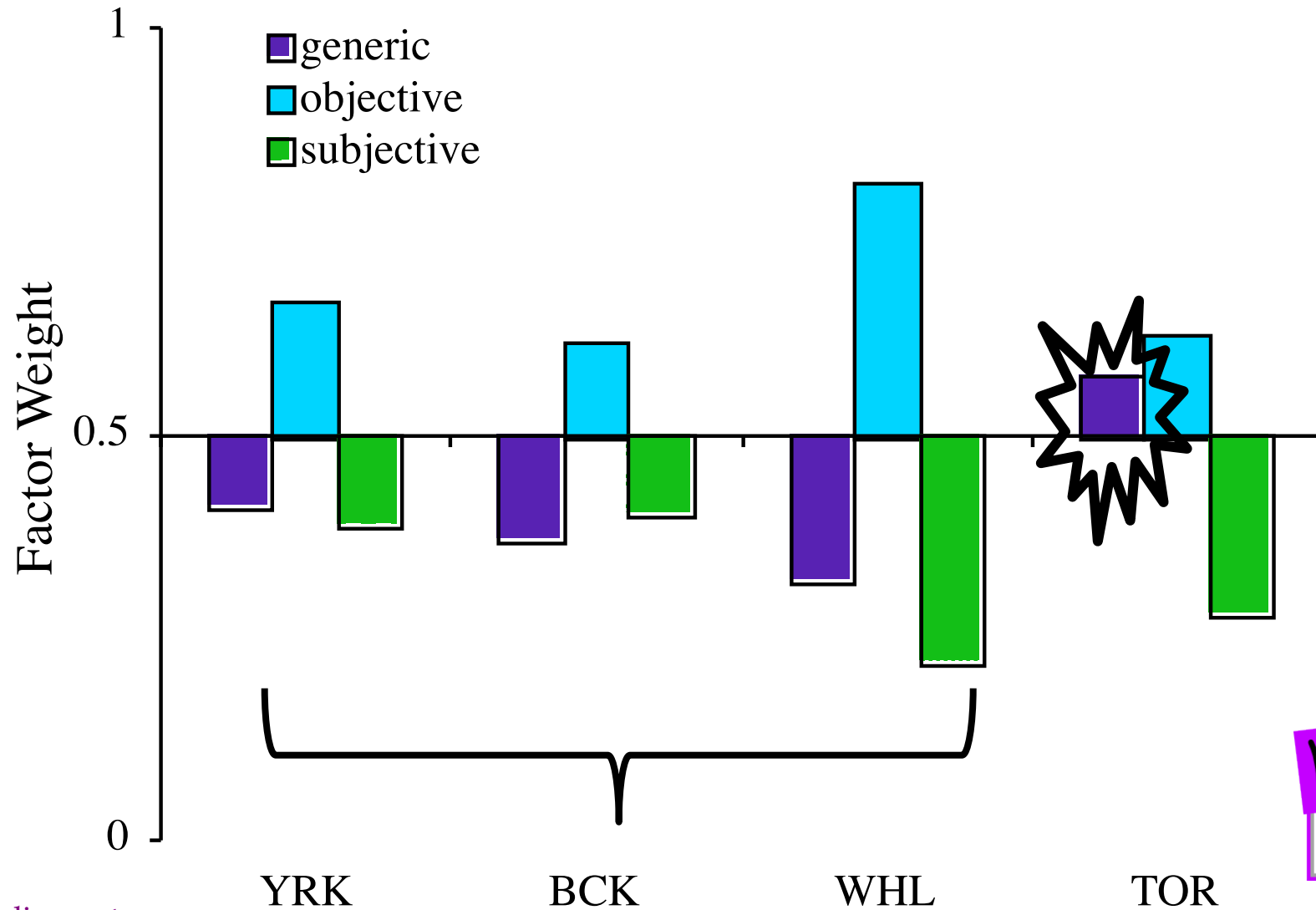


Have to in Toronto

	> 60			30-59			17-29			9-16		
Corrected Mean	.70			.78			.86			.92		
Overall %	63.4			73.3			83.4			89.9		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Type of Subject												
Generic	.51	69	73	.70	86	136	.52	86	248	.54	93	110
Objective	.79	90	21	.51	76	49	.63	92	117	.64	95	100
Subjective	.29	41	34	.24	57	105	.33	74	123	.22	75	56
Range	50			46			30			42		
Sex												
Female	[.54]	77	69	.59	80	166	.59	89	348	[.59]	93	152
Male	[.45]	48	62	.39	64	126	.31	71	146	[.39]	86	115
Range				20			28					
Education												
Post Secondary	.76	88	56	.57	79	238	[.51]	85	424	—		
Secondary	.30	45	75	.22	50	54	[.39]	74	70			
Range	46			35								
total N	131			292			494			267		



Have to by type of subject —UK vs. TOR



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UK vs. CDA

York:

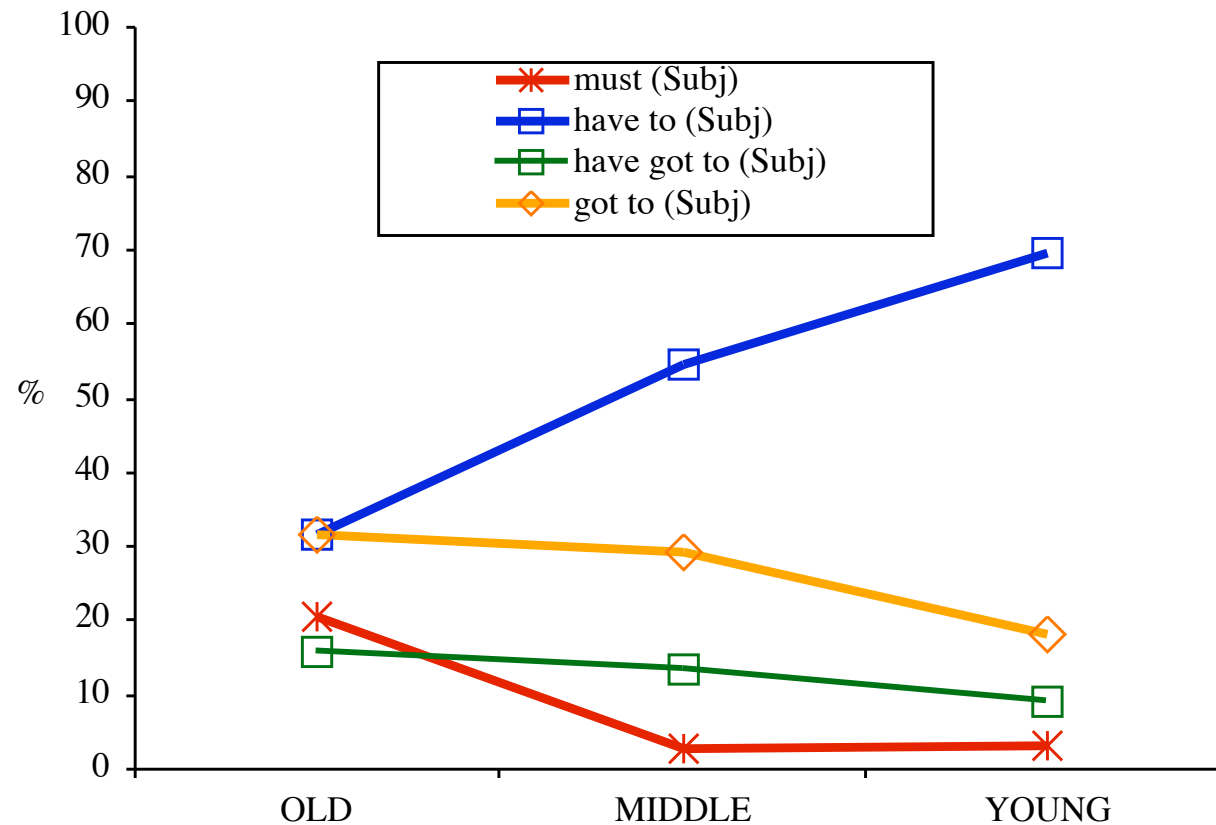
- ❖ ... you' *ve got to* be amazingly talented ... to win (YRK/h/H)

Toronto:

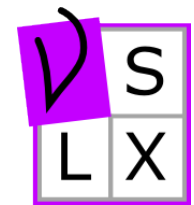
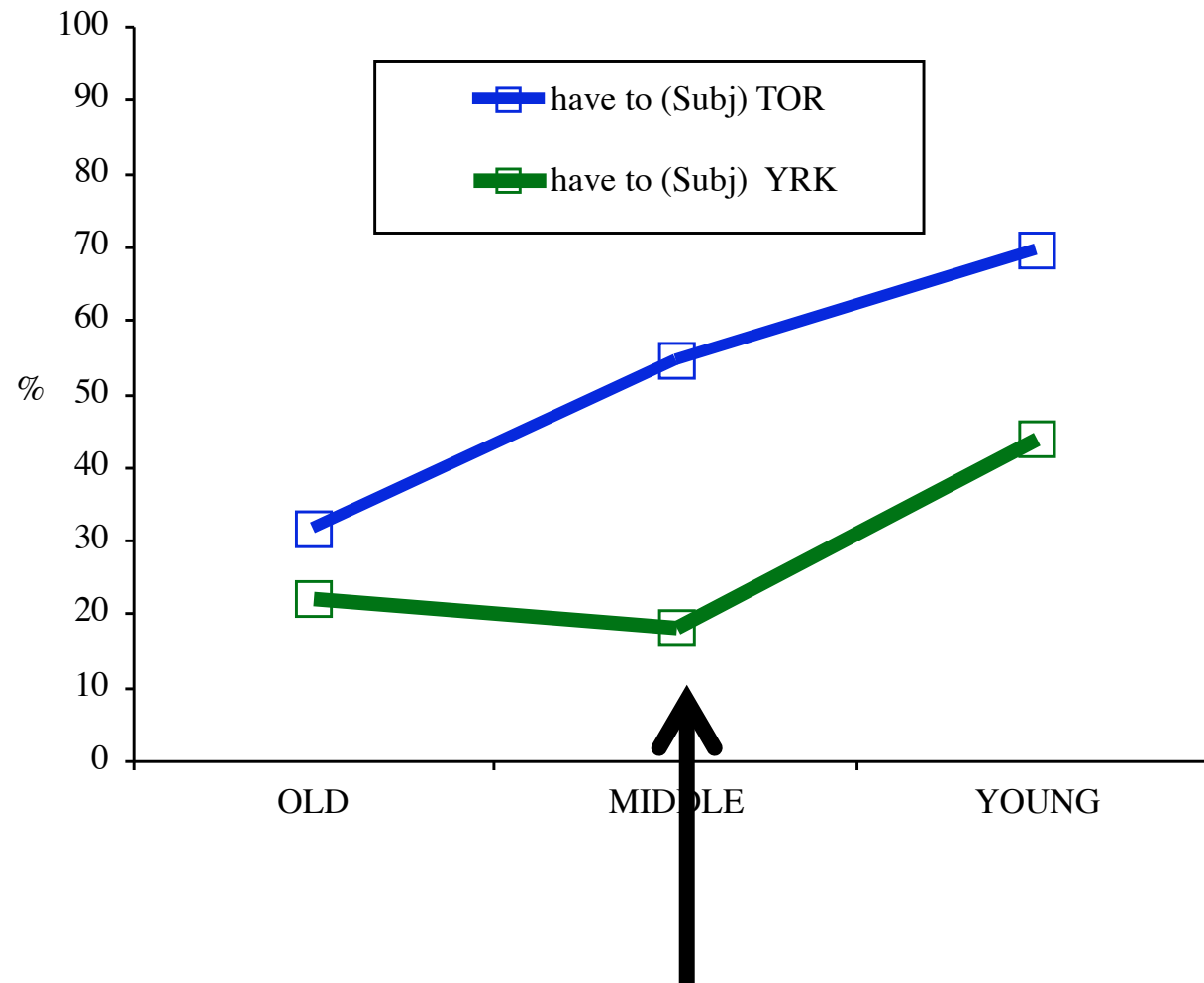
- ❖ ... you *have to* be very aggressive... to win (TOR/I/%)



Subjective obligation over time - TOR



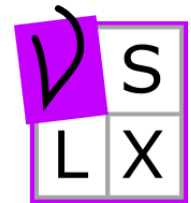
Subjective obligation - TOR & YRK



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Observations

- ❖ There are similar, but contrasting patterns across British and Canadian dialects
 - ❖ In Canada, *have to* is used for generic and objective meaning (externally imposed obligation)
 - ❖ In the UK, *have to* is used in objective meanings only (not generics).
- ❖ Variants of deontic modality have sociolinguistic value
 - ❖ Females favour *have to*; males favour *got to*
- ❖ *Have to* is increasing



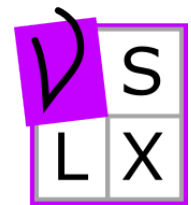
Cross-variety contrasts?

- ❖ How is this change manifested across Canadian dialects?



Ontario Dialects

- ❖ Toronto English Corpus
 - ❖ Mainstream, urban, innovative
- ❖ Into the hinterland for conservative dialects
 - ❖ Ontario towns, *Belleville, Lakefield, Burnt River*



Questions

- ❖ Will the outlying communities, outside the urban centre, pattern more like:
 - ❖ The UK?
 - ✦ Founder Effect
 - ✦ Conservative area
 - ❖ Local deviations?



Transmission vs. Diffusion

Labov, 2007

Transmission:

- ✦ Parent-to-child
- ✦ Maintenance of complex language structures

Diffusion:

- ✦ Adult-to-adult
- ✦ Imperfect replication of abstract features of language structure

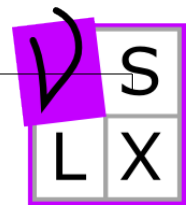
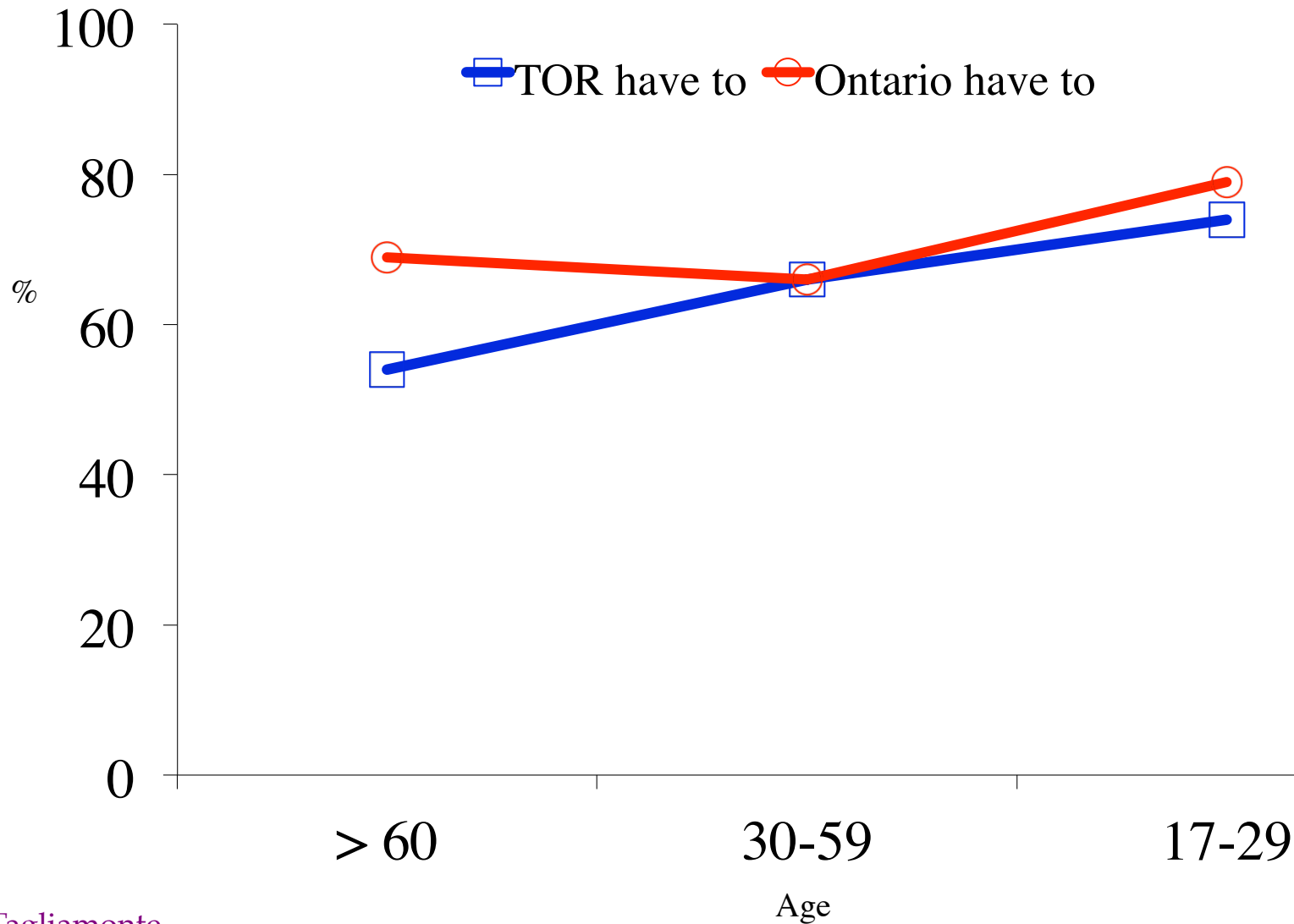


Variation - ONT

- ❖ The average farmer can't make a living farming. He *has to* have an outside job.
- ❖ And you *have to* realize back then, a dollar a day was a lot of money. (rJ/M/58)
- ❖ I *'ve gotta* be honest with you, I detested it!
- ❖ You *'ve got to* come out of your shell at some point. You just *gotta* start talking to someone.”



Toronto and Ontario



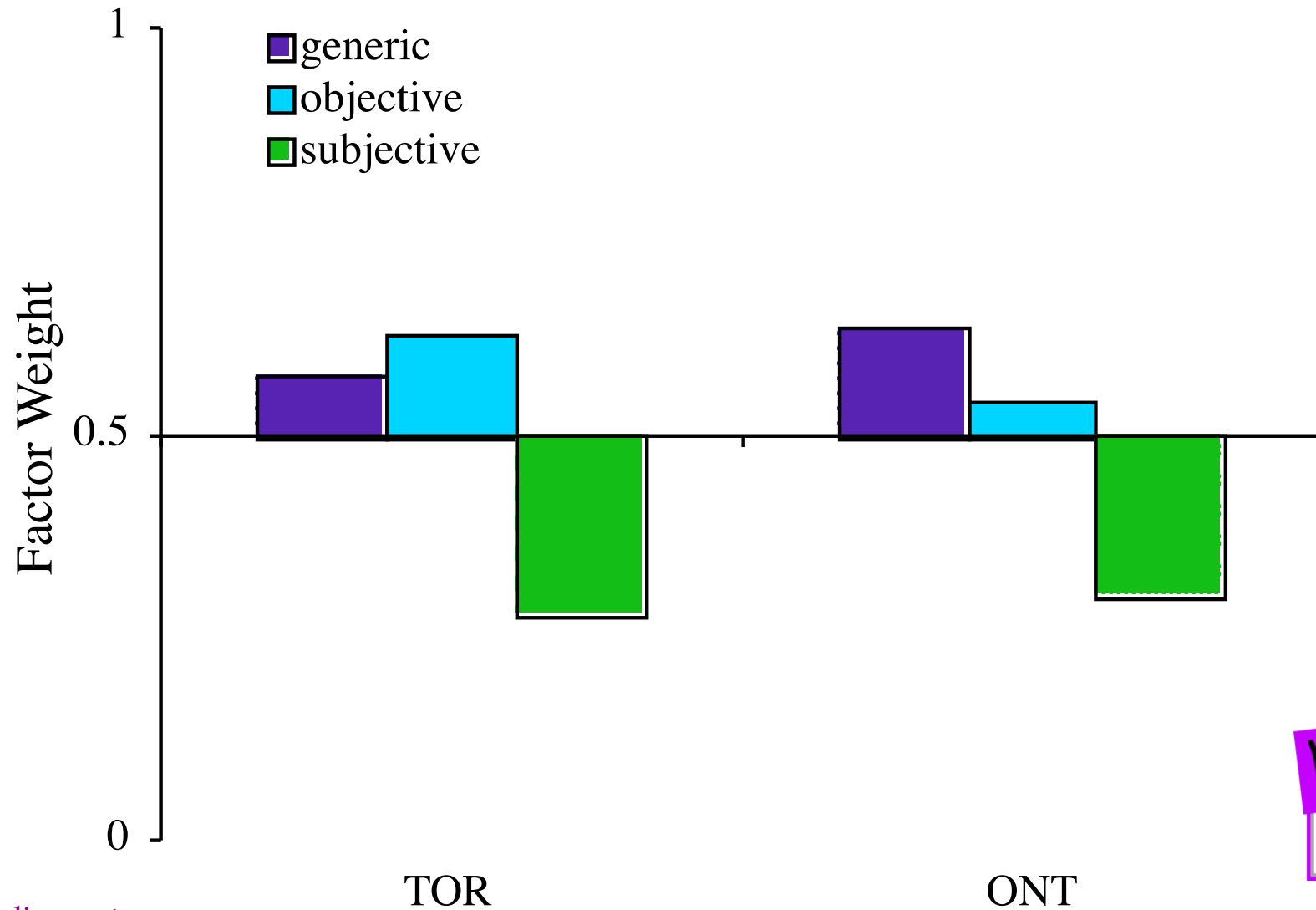
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Have to in Ontario Towns

Corrected mean		.68
Overall proportion		66.8
	Factor Weight	%
<i>Nature of the authority</i>		
Generic	.63	78
Objective	.54	69
Subjective	.30	48
<i>Range</i>	33	
<i>Sex</i>		
Female	[.55]	72
Male	[.42]	58
<i>Age</i>		
<29	[.64]	74
30-59	[.48]	66
>60	[.49]	67
<i>Education</i>		
Post Secondary	[.50]	66
Secondary	[.50]	67



have to by type of subject — TOR vs. ONT



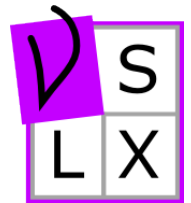
Observations

- ❖ *Have to* has the same patterns of use across all locations in Ontario
- ❖ The details of the constraints are preserved
- ❖ **Transmission**
- ❖ The encroachment of *have to* on the Canadian deontic modality system has been a long-term change, slowly evolving as generational change does, since the onset of Canadian English.
 - ❖ Tagliamonte & Denis, 2014



Summary

- ❖ Deontic modality is marked by *have to* the majority of the time in the dialect data from the UK, US and CDA
- ❖ Separate developments in the UK and CDA have synchronized in the last 50 years
- ❖ **BUT** ... there are distinct semantic differences between the UK and Canada



Why?

- ❖ The reconfiguration of forms used for subjective may reflect social change
- ❖ Changes at critical juncture points:
 - ✦ just after the Civil War in the US
 - ✦ just after World War II in the UK
- ❖ *Must* encoded a particular type of authority
 - ✦ Strong, imperative, authoritative, pragmatic
- ❖ May have led to the recent rise of *need to* for mitigated authority
 - ✦ Nokkonen 2006



- ❖ Only when we have the good fortune to seize ... a syntactic change *as it is occurring* will we be able to give a good solution to the transition problem, and provide a sound basis for other arguments about the evaluation and actuation of change
 - ❖ Labov 1972: 323



Takeaway

- ❖ Deontic modality offers an ideal window on the nature of heterogeneous systems across world Englishes
- ❖ Maximal dimensions of contrast
- ❖ Importance of situating data in space *and* time
 - ❖ When was the data collected?
 - ❖ At what point in the trajectory of change?
- ❖ Further insights into the nature of the probabilistic grammar



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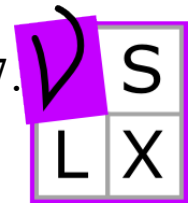
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