

WE ARE ALL HETEROSPEAKERS

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Linguistic phenomena are manifestations of social
interaction among individuals.
(Baudouin de Courtenay 1910 [Stankiewicz 1972:139])

The individuals interact within more than one speech community (Zabrocki 1963: 5-37; Zabrocki1970). When a sound change occurs in one speech community, the individual(s) may transmit it to another speech community. However, the change operates in a different way in the source speech community and in the borrowing community. In the source community the change is a *phonetic* process and it is lexically abrupt while in the borrowing speech community it is a *substitution* process* and it is lexically gradual. The distinction between phonetic process and substitution processes was introduced by Zabrocki ([1961], cf. Labov's [2007] dichotomy transmission : diffusion).

The substitution process does not simply spread from word to word. First, the substitution affects those lexical items that are used by the speakers of both communities. When the new pronunciation has been established in a number of lexical items, the speakers of the borrowing speech community may apply a rule like: Change *a* to *b*. Thus the change may finally affect all the lexical items in the borrowing speech community. This rule borrowing explains frequent occurrence of hypercorrect forms.

The question now arises if it is possible to distinguish between the source speech community and the borrowing speech community if all the lexical items in the borrowing speech community have been affected by the change. Here the investigation of proper names gives the answer to the question, namely, in the source speech community all proper names, both etymologically transparent and etymologically non-transparent, will be affected while in the borrowing speech community the etymologically non-transparent proper names will not undergo the change.

The analysis of English (Awedyk 1992) and Dutch data (Awedyk and Hamans 1993, 1997) demonstrated that Zabrocki's (1961) distinction between phonetic processes and substitution processes may throw a new light on the developments in English and Dutch dialects. (316)

*NOTE.

Milroy uses the term *substitution* in a different sense. For him the change from Old English long "a" to Middle English long "o" (OE 'stan 'stone' → ME *sto(e)*) "... was one of substitution rather than change *sensu stricto*" (Milroy 1992:91).

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