

A Quantitative Study of the Lateral Variable (l) in the dialect of Patras

Dimitris Papazachariou

University of Patras

In this paper I point out the appearance of dialect levelling phenomena *within* a subgroup of a speech community, and discuss the implications of this finding for the study of linguistic change. In the first part of the paper four different variants of the lateral variable (l) are identified through the use of methods of instrumental phonetics. In the second part the distribution of these variants within three different generation groups is shown. Finally, the distinctive differences in the use of the variants by different ages and genders are discussed, and a hypothesis about the explanation of these differences is put forward.

Keywords: Greek dialects, dialect contact, instrumental phonetics, lateral variable, levelling, gender

1 Introduction

This paper studies patterns of linguistic variation and change in the speech of three different age groups from Patras. More specifically, I will be concerned with a characteristic phonological variable of Patras' dialect, i.e. the lateral variable (l).

The research has been held in Patras, where dialect contact has taken place throughout the 20th century. Patras is the third biggest city of Greece, one of the biggest ports of Greece, and the most important port connecting Greece with Western Europe. In addition to this, Patras was one of the first industrial cities of Greece, with major industries flourishing since the early 20th century. The economic growth of the city attracted labor workers from the surrounding area throughout the 20th century. Apart from this continuous flow of population, Patras has hosted two big waves of newcomers; one wave of immigrants from Turkey after the 1922 Minor Asia War, and another one of migrants from the Ionian islands in 1953, following a destructive earthquake that destroyed an entire island (Kefalonia) and caused huge damage in many others. Although there was continuous population flow during the previous century, the population increased dramatically after the 1950s. In particular, during the 1940s Patras held around 40.000 inhabitants, but in less than a decade the number of the population was at

least tripled. Presently Patras holds more than 170.000 inhabitants. However, during the last two or three decades, the economic situation of the city has changed. Many industries have closed down, and today Patras is among the cities with the highest rates of unemployment.

2 Data collection

This study is held within a variationist framework and it is based on a corpus of recorded casual conversations, collected as part of the project *Dialect Contact and Mechanisms of Language Change: the case of Patras' dialect* (Karatheodori grant no. 103, B 135, funded by the Research Committee of the University of Patras).

The fieldwork followed ethnographic methods of data collection. More specifically, the recordings were conducted by six trained members of the local community of Patras, who used their existing social ties within the community in order to approach and record their informants. Casual conversations were recorded in self-selected dyads, for approximately 45 minutes. The fieldworkers followed the participant observation method, and avoided energetic participation whenever the communicative conditions allowed it. Nevertheless, their interaction was natural, according to their actual and already established social ties with their speakers.

This particular study is based on the recordings of 48 native speakers, sampling the local community along three different age groups, gender, and broadly defined educational level. Table 1 below shows the design of the sample. In the next section further discussion on the sample design follows.

Younger (17 – 30)				Middle (40 – 55)				Older (65 – 80)			
Standard Education		Advanced Education		Standard Education		Advanced Education		Standard Education		Advanced Education	
M(ale)	F(emale)	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Table 1: Design of the fieldwork sample

2.1 Sample design

2.1.1 Age

The speakers have been grouped in three different age groups, each of them being one generation older than the previous age group. Apart from the obvious generation scale, these three generations are related to different dialect contact conditions. In particular, the older generation (i.e. from 65 to 80 years old people)

is the first generation after the establishment of immigrants from Asia Minor, after the Asia Minor War. The middle generation was borne after the vast increase of the Patras' population during fifties. Finally, the younger generation is brought up during Patras' economic recession, a fact that has reduced the prestigious status of the local identity.

2.1.2 Gender

The term relates to the social orientation of the male-female distinction as opposed to the biological difference, which is pertinent for the term "sex". However, in this study, as well as in most of the studies influenced by L. Milroy's later work (Milroy 1992, Milroy & Milroy 1993, Milroy et al 1994a, 1004b, Watt & Milroy 1999) each of the genders is considered homogenous and unified, without further distinctions and subdivisions.

2.1.3 Education

Although social class identity plays a very crucial role within a variationist framework, there are studies, such as Amsterdam's study of (a) (Brouwer & Van Hout 1992), indicating that the parameter "education" – which is highly interrelated with social class – is more objective than social class, especially in relation to the definition of social class for females. In this study, a broad distinction is followed, with each age group and each gender further divided into two subgroups, i.e. standard and advanced educational level for each age. It is worth mentioning that all age groups do not have the same standard and advanced educational level. In particular, the standard educational level for the older generation is primary education; however, the standard educational level for the middle-aged generation is the first three grades of secondary education, while for the younger generation the standard education covers the six grades of secondary education.

3 Articulatory and acoustic correlates of lateral variants

One of the most typical and well recognized features of the dialect of Patras is a post-alveolar lateral variant that appears only before high front vowel /i/, in words like: [ʎimni] {lake}, or [ʎimani] {port}. Apart from this particular phonological environment that determines the appearance of the dialectal variant, there are no further linguistic parameters related to its realization. In an earlier phonological study of the lateral variable of Patras (Papazachariou 2004) held on data from the recorded speech of four young women, apart from the standard alveolar variant, two – instead of one – local variants have been identified, i.e. an apical post-

alveolar variant [l], and a laminal post-alveolar [ɭ] variant of (l). The apical post-alveolar variant [ɭ] is produced with the tip of the tongue touching the central area behind the alveolar ridge and the body of the tongue in an upright position. The laminal post-alveolar variant [ɭ] is produced with the blade of the tongue touching heavily the area between the alveolar ridge and the palatal, and the body of the tongue in an upright position. In addition to the articulatory description, the definition of the three lateral variants was supported by formant analysis that took into consideration the first three formants of the variants, and was confirmed by the comments and attitudes of the native speakers of the dialect relating to the two different local variants. In particular, in the young women's speech, the mean values of the alveolar formants were: F1: 460 Hz, F2: 1430 Hz, and F3: 2650 Hz. The mean values of the apical post-alveolar formants were: F1: 501,5 Hz, F2: 1855,8 Hz, and F3: 2691,5 Hz. Respectively, the mean values of the laminal post-alveolar formants were: F1: 521,4 Hz, F2: 1892 Hz, and F3: 3025,8 Hz. Further statistical analysis (ANOVA test, in combination with Scheffe test) showed a significant difference between the standard and the laminal post-alveolar variant as to the values of their second and third formant. The standard and the apical post-alveolar variant were also differentiated as to the values of the second formant. Furthermore, the same statistical tests showed significant statistical differentiation between the third formant of the apical post-alveolar and the laminal post-alveolar variant (for the analytical presentation of the acoustic description of the variants and the results of statistical analysis see Papazachariou 2004).

The formants' values, however, are determined not only by the position of the articulators in the mouth, but also by further objective and physiological parameters, such as the size of the head – and consequently the size of the oral cavity and the articulators – and the filtering quality of the tissue of the mouth. The result of the co-influence of all these parameters is the production of the “same” sound with different formant values by different speakers, a fact that has been pointed out by a significant number of researchers (Docherty & Foulkes 1999, Holmes 1986, Labov 1986, 1994, Pisoni 1997). As Docherty and Foulkes point out, “...there is no inscrutable algorithm for transforming the mathematical differences between speakers, which can therefore render the interpretation of formant measures extremely difficult” (1999: 53). Under these conditions it is not surprising that the statistically significant distinction between the (l) variants produced by a group of young females was lost in this particular study, as the speakers belong to different physiological categories, and their number has been multiplied.

Although the validity of formant analysis decreases with the increase of the number of speakers, other acoustic indications can also identify the different variants of (l). Figure 1 below shows a typical waveform and spectrogram of the word [verɔ'linɔ], produced with an alveolar variant of (l).

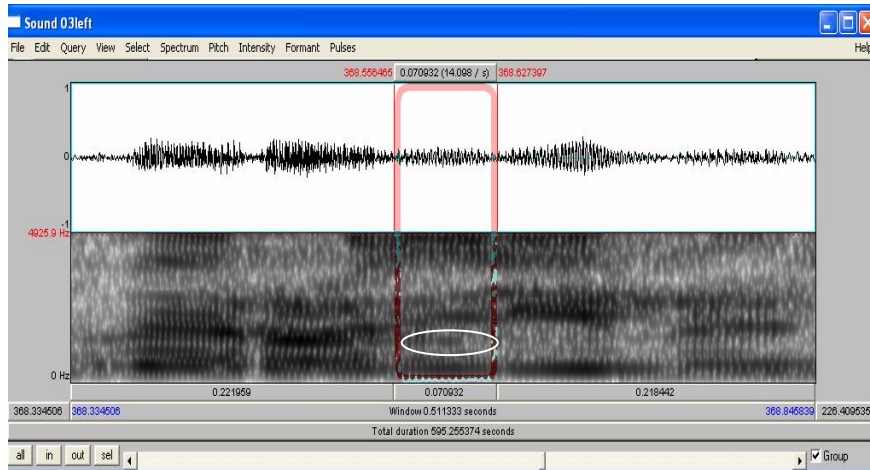


Figure 1: Waveform and spectrogram of the word [verɔ'linɔ]

The spectrogram of the alveolar variant appears within the red rectangular of Figure 1. A very typical acoustic characteristic of the alveolar variant is the loss of the second formant at the end of its realization, a result of co-articulation, i.e. the movements of the articulators before the end of a sound in order to be at the right position to articulate correctly the next sound. As shown in the figures to follow, both of the post-alveolar variants produce their second formant throughout the duration of the sound, without the emergence of co-articulation.

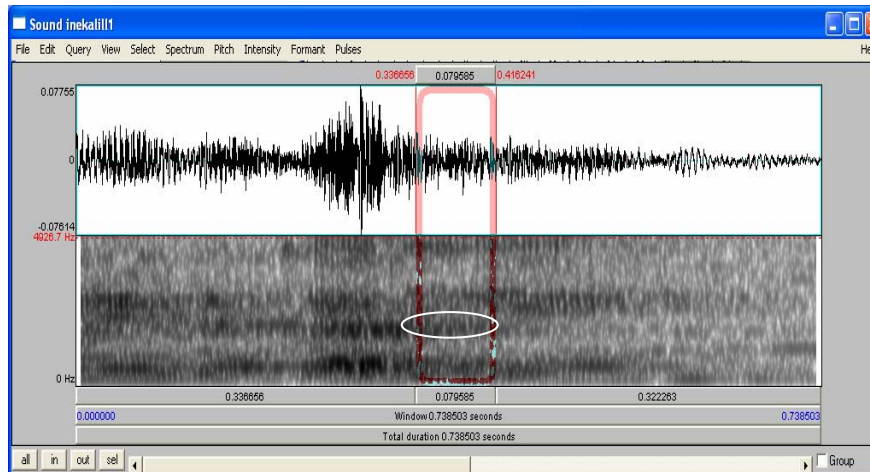


Figure 2: Waveform and spectrogram of the phrase [ine ke'ʎi]

As we can see at the spectrogram of the apical post-alveolar lateral variant, the second formant is produced throughout the duration of the sound, by contrast to the alveolar lateral variant in Figure 1.

In Figure 3 below, we not only see the second formant throughout the duration of the sound, but at the same time we can see – in the red circle – the typical spectrogram of a plosive. This feature is a result of the extended contact of the tongue with the alveolar ridge and its sudden withdrawal at the end of the sound. This acoustic feature correlates with the laminal post-alveolar variant and differentiates it from the apical post-alveolar one.

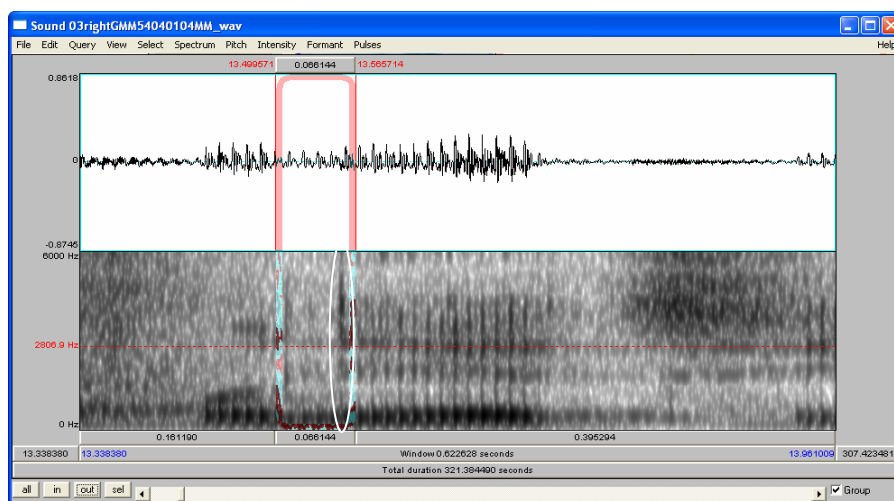


Figure 3: Waveform and spectrogram of the phrase [pɔ̃li 'etsi]

Finally, with the increase of the number of informants and the data, new interesting information came to light, i.e. the existence of a fourth variant that is used almost exclusively by men. This particular variant can be described as a “fat” [l], being produced with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar and the body of the tongue in a much lower position than the other lateral variants. This variant is very close to a retroflex due to the low position of the body of the tongue; however, the tongue is not shaped with the full curve of a lateral retroflex. According to Figure 4 below, a characteristic feature of this variant’s spectrogram is the loudness of the simple waves that appear between the third and the fourth formant.

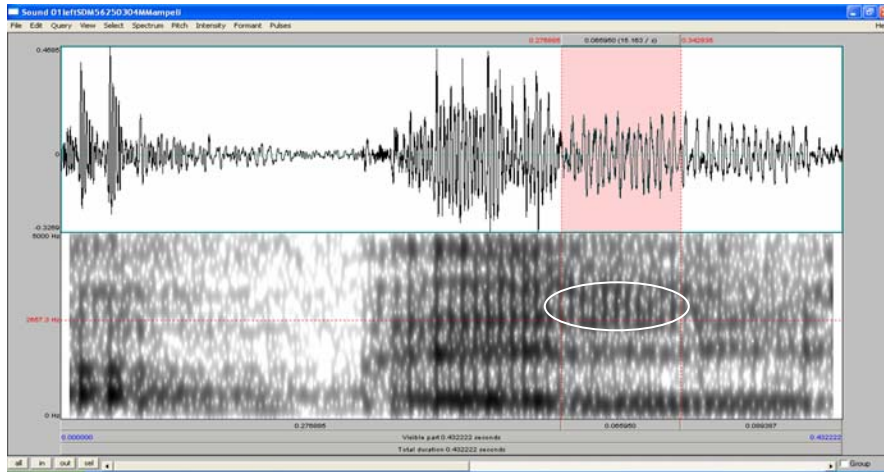


Figure 4: Waveform and spectrogram of the word [a'beɪ]

4 Distribution of the (l) variants across different generations

4.1 Older generation

Table 2 shows the realizations – actual numbers and percentages – of the (l) variants within the older generation.

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Standard Edu		Advanced Edu		Standard Edu		Advanced Edu	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Alveolar	143	59.1	47	94.0	63	64.3	23	74.2
Apical Post-Alveolar	28	11.6	3	6.0	33	33.7	4	12.9
Laminal Post-Alveolar	67	27.7			2	2.0	4	12.9
Retroflex	4	1.7						

Table 2: Realizations of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the older generation.

Table 2 shows a number of interesting patterns. First of all, older males and females with an advanced level of education for their age prefer the standard form of the variable (94% and 74.2% respectively), with men using almost exclusively

the standard alveolar variant. Interestingly, males and females with the basic educational level are not differentiated in the use of the alveolar form (59.1% and 64.3% respectively), but in the production of different local variants. In particular, the older standard-educated males prefer the laminal post-alveolar variant instead of the apical one (27.7% Vs 11.6%), in opposition to the older standard-educated females who prefer the apical post-alveolar form instead of the laminal one (33.7% Vs 2% respectively). Finally, older standard-educated male speakers produced very few non-local, non-standard retroflex variants (only 1.7%).

4.2 Middle generation

Table 3 below shows the distribution of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the middle generation.

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Standard Edu		Advanced Edu		Standard Edu		Advanced Edu	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Alveolar	18	22.8	95	88.8	20	38.5	24	31.6
Apical Post-Alveolar	29	36.7	7	6.5	24	46.2	42	55.3
Laminal Post-Alveolar	24	30.4	5	4.7	8	15.4	10	13.2
Retroflex	8	10.1						

Table 3: Realizations of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the middle generation.

The linguistic behavior of the middle generation, as shown in table 3, presents some very interesting patterns of language change. Although the realization of the (l) variant by the group of middle-aged and advanced-educated males is similar to the linguistic behavior of the older males with the same level of education (88.8% and 94% use of the standard form respectively), females with the same education level – and consequently similar social group status – present a clearly distinct pattern, i.e. a reduction of the standard form (31.6% instead of 74.2% of the previous generation) and a great increase of the production of the apical post-alveolar variant (55.3% instead of 12.9% of older females). Furthermore, the linguistic difference – correlated with the educational level – that appeared within the older female group, has disappeared within the middle-aged female group, as middle-aged females with a standard education level produce similar percentages of the alveolar (38.5% and 31.6%), apical post-alveolar (46.2% and 55.3%) and laminal post-alveolar variants (15.4% and 13.2%) to those produced by middle-aged females with an advanced education level. Furthermore, middle-aged females prefer the use of the apical post-alveolar local variant instead of the apical one,

similarly to their mothers. Middle-aged standard-educated males, on the other hand, show an increase of variability, increasing the percentages of the non-standard variants, especially the percentages of the apical post-alveolar variant (36.7% from 11.6% of the older generation), and the retroflex variant (10.1% from 1.7% produced by the older males). Actually, the increase of the use of the retroflex variant and its use only by males is a quite interesting phenomenon, as will be shown later in the discussion.

4.3 Young generation

Table 4 shows the realizations of the (l) variants within the young generation.

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Standard Edu		Advanced Edu		Standard Edu		Advanced Edu	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Alveolar	34	47.9	21	56.8	51	79.7	41	77.4
Apical Post-Alveolar	29	40.8	14	37.8	6	9.4	8	15.1
Laminal Post-Alveolar	3	4.2			7	10.9	4	7.5
Retroflex	5	7.0	2	5.4				

Table 4 Realizations of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the young generation.

Table 4 presents further linguistic change patterns within the young generation. The table shows no important difference between different educational levels. In particular, neither males nor females present intra-differentiation according to their educational level, and consequently to their social grouping. By contrast, males and females present quite distinct patterns. In particular, young males of both educational backgrounds use the retroflex variant, yet in small percentages (7.0% and 5.4% respectively). In addition, young males present a major reduction of the use of the laminal post-alveolar variant (from 30.4% in the speech of standard-educated middle-aged males to 4.2% in the speech of standard-educated young males!). Furthermore, it seems that young males adopt the linguistic behavior of the middle-aged females, selecting mainly the apical post-alveolar form. Interestingly, young females change their linguistic options dramatically in comparison to the linguistic behavior of the previous female generation. Regardless their educational background, they reduce greatly the use of their characteristic local variant (46.2% and 55.3% in the speech of middle-aged females, 9.4% and 15.1% in the speech of young females respectively), increasing at the same time the use of the standard alveolar form.

The comparison of the linguistic behavior of the last three generations of native speakers reveals different – and very interesting – patterns of language variation and change, calling for further discussion and explanation. In the last section of this paper I propose a tentative hypothesis arguing that the seemingly unrelated linguistic behavior of the three different generations can be interpreted in view of the particular dialect contact situation of Patras during the 20th century (see also Britain 2002, Siegel 1997, Trudgill 1986, Foulkes & Docherty 1999, Watt 2002).

5 Discussion

5.1 Supra-local variant

The existence of a retroflex variant was quite unexpected, as this particular variant is considered a typical variant of the North, stereotypical of the dialect of Thessaloniki. Nevertheless, this particular form is a typical characteristic of the linguistic system of the Asia Minor immigrants. The fact that the percentage of this variant was very small in the speech of the older generation (only 1.7% in the speech of standard-educated older males) indicates that this feature is quite new, and it appeared for the first time in the older generation's linguistic system. Knowing that the retroflex lateral is a typical characteristic of the Asia Minor immigrants' speech, it is quite safe to assume that this feature has been incorporated within the linguistic system of Patras, due to dialect contact processes, i.e. dialect levelling, which in this case is realized with the adoption of a characteristic feature of the hosted linguistic system (i.e. the immigrants' Greek) as another variant together with the local realizations of the particular linguistic unit (Trudgill 1986, Papazachariou 1998). The most interesting thing, however, is the adoption of this feature only by males. Although the percentages of its use are small (1.7% in the speech of standard-educated older males, 10.1% in the speech of standard-educated middle-aged males, and 7.0% and 5.4% in the speech of young males with standard and advanced education respectively), it is obvious that the use of the retroflex variant is expanding, as in the younger generation it is used by both the educated groups, by contrast to the previous generations, where it was used only by the standard-educated males. This expansion, along with the exclusive use of the retroflex variant by males, seems to be a clear expression of the male identity within the speech community of Patras. Although there was no appearance of this retroflex variant within the female recordings, I personally heard a young female from Patras using the retroflex variant when she was mimicking a "macho" male type of speech. This ethnographic piece of information supports the hypothesis that the retroflex variant has reallocated its sociolinguistic reference, expressing a clear male identity within the speech community of Patras.

5.2 Local variants

The pattern of the variation in the speech of the older generation through the realization of (l) can be interpreted as a result of stable variation. In particular, people with a higher social status – a social feature highly correlated with an advanced educational background – produce mainly the standard alveolar variant, regardless of gender. By contrast, standard-educated males produce a high percentage of the laminal post-alveolar variant (27.7%, as opposed to 2.0% produced by the standard educated females), and standard-educated females produce a high percentage of the apical post-alveolar variant (33.7%, as opposed to 11.6% produced by the standard-educated females). This stereotypical use of the three variants (i.e. the standard and the two local ones) can be interpreted as a result of stable variation.

Surprisingly, middle-aged males and females differentiated their linguistic behavior dramatically, following, however, different patterns and different strategies. In particular, middle-aged females abandoned the social class division that characterized the production of (l) in the speech of the older generation (38.5% of [l], 46.2% of [ɫ], and 15.4% of [ɭ]) in the speech of standard-educated females, compared to 31.6% of [l], 55.3% of [ɫ] and 13.2% of [ɭ] in the speech of advanced-educated females). Moreover, they produce the stereotypical low social status female local variant in a higher percentage than even the standard variant (46.2% and 55.3% of [ɫ], respectively, instead of 38.5% and 31.6% of [l]). On the other hand, social class differentiation is still expressed through the production of (l) within the males' speech, as members of the high social class status produce similar percentages of the lateral variants to older males of the same social group (88.8% of [l], 6.5% of [ɫ] and 4.7% of [ɭ]), and males with a standard educational background produce lateral variants in absolutely different percentages to the high social status middle-aged males, as well as to the standard-educated older males, increasing the use of all the non-standard variants, and decreasing enormously the use of the standard ones (22.8% of [l], 36.7% of [ɫ], 30.4% of [ɭ], and 10.1% of [ɭ]).

I argue that the different linguistic behavior of the two genders should be interpreted as the reflection of major differences in the social practice of males and females. In particular, it seems that high social status women have stopped expressing their social status identity through their linguistic repertoire; on the contrary, they adopt the use of the stereotypical local female lateral variant, and produce it in high percentages, similarly to standard educated females. I suggest that this absence of linguistic differences between the different social groups of middle-aged females should be regarded as a dialect levelling phenomenon within the female group, considering the population movements described in the beginning of this paper and the consequent dialect contact phenomena that they have triggered. In particular, it was mentioned above that during the fifties, over

the course of a decade, the population of Patras was tripled due to population movements from the Ionian Islands, as well as from the rural areas surrounding Patras. It seems logical to assume that this dramatic increase of population in Patras, as well as the conversion of the natives of Patras to a numerical minority within their own community has generated further changes to the development and expression of the 'threatened' native and local identity. Within this framework, I would propose that the loss of linguistic differences – i.e. dialect levelling – within the female group underlines their common identity. In addition, the increase of the use of the apical post-alveolar variant can be interpreted as reallocation of its sociolinguistic function within the female group, expressing now the local identity of the whole group.

The males' linguistic behavior is not unified like that of the females. I have already shown above that social distinction is still expressed within the middle-aged males group through the production of the standard alveolar variant. Moreover, middle-aged males produce high percentages of both local variants. I argue that this linguistic variation and change – as compared to the linguistic behavior of the older standard-educated males – has been triggered by the same social parameters that characterize the linguistic behavior of the middle-aged females, i.e. the dramatic increase of the population of Patras through immigration during the 1950'. However, more analytical and detailed study is required, taking into account the actual social parameters that characterize every-day life and communities of practice, in order to formulate a plausible hypothesis explaining the male linguistic diversity within the middle generation.

Finally, the linguistic behavior of the younger generation presents further different patterns. In particular, younger males are no longer differentiated in terms of educational level, and consequently social status. Furthermore, they have reduced the use of the laminal post-alveolar variant (4.2% and 0.0% use by standard and advanced-educated younger males respectively) sharply and massively, shifting towards the standard alveolar variant. Nevertheless, the use of the apical post-alveolar variant is still high, showing similarities to the linguistic behavior of the previous female generation. There are numerous variationist studies (Labov 1990 and Champers 1995, among others) arguing that the younger generation adopts the linguistic patterns of their mothers, and through this process, the female innovations spread to the next generations. However, earlier research (Papazachariou 1998) has shown that the adolescents' and the young people's use of particular variants was significantly correlated with the social parameters that characterized their everyday life and their communities of practice. Although it is not unrealistic to hypothesize that younger males have recognized the expression of the local identity by the middle-aged female speakers through the use of the apical post-alveolar variant, and have adopted it in their speech. Further and more detailed study is necessary, taking into consideration all the different social parameters that characterize their communities of practice, in order to provide a plausible hypothesis about the younger males' choices of lateral variants.

On the other hand, young females show a clear preference towards the standard alveolar variant, regardless of educational background (79.7% and 77.4% use of the standard variant by the standard and advanced-educated young females respectively), reducing enormously the use of the apical post-alveolar variant (9.4% and 15.1% production of the apical post-alveolar variant by the standard and advanced-educated young females respectively). The preference for the standard variant can be explained as a result of the changes in the economic situation of Patras over the last two decades. Most of its industries have closed down, and the unemployment percentage is among the highest in Greece. In this particular context the local identity is not as prestigious as it used to be in the past. Therefore, I would assume that for the young females who try to construct and negotiate their own social identity, a non-prestigious local identity is not their target, even among the local young generation. Under these circumstances, a reduction of the local variants and a parallel shift to the standard one seems comprehensible.

Summarizing the above observations and hypotheses in relation to the role of gender, age, and social class in variation and change, as well as to dialect levelling, I suggest that under stable variation social status distinctions can play an important role differentiating sub-groups of the community, as is the case with the older generation of this study. However, under dialect contact conditions, the “Us” Vs “Them” distinction usually differentiates groups of different origin, i.e. the locals from the migrants. Surprisingly, in our study this unified sense of local identity was not expressed linguistically by all the locals, but only by the female group, indicating the existence of major differences in the social practice of the two genders. Further evidence supporting this argument is provided by the use of the retroflex variant in male speech only. Numerous variationist studies describe the females as the “innovators” of linguistic variation and change. Yet, the appearance and development of a pure male variant in this study shows that men can be innovators as well.

A final comment here concerns the dialect levelling mechanism. Dialect levelling (i.e. one of the linguistic mechanisms of language change under dialect contact conditions, which is responsible for the loss of the differences between the linguistic systems in contact), is usually realized as a reduction of socially and geographically marked features of the dialects in contact. The present study, however, reveals the existence of another, not so frequent type of dialect levelling, i.e. the adoption of a marked feature by the group initially lacking it. In this case, the old markedness is lost, being replaced by a new one. Another mechanism of linguistic change, i.e. reallocation, is realized, as a new sociolinguistic reference is allocated to the particular variant. That was the case with the adoption of the Asia Minor retroflex variant by the local males, which became a purely male feature through a process of reallocation. Similarly, the loss of variant differences within the middle-aged females turned the apical post-alveolar variant into a marker of the local identity within the same group.

My purpose in this paper was to provide an account of linguistic variation and change as they are realized in the production of the lateral variable (l) in the dialect of Patras. Contrary to mainstream variationist approaches, which interpret linguistic change in terms of parameters such as age, gender, and social class in isolation, I have proposed an account that takes into consideration the changing dynamics of a specific speech community under specific communal conditions.

6 References

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Περίληψη

Στο παρόν άρθρο μελετώ φαινόμενα γλωσσικής εξομοίωσης, όπως αυτά εμφανίζονται μέσα σε μία υπο-ομάδα της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, και συζητώ τις θεωρητικές προεκτάσεις αυτής της διαπίστωσης στην κατανόηση των μηχανισμών της γλωσσικής αλλαγής. Στο πρώτο μέρος του άρθρου παρουσιάζω τέσσερις διαφορετικές πραγματώσεις της πλευρικής μεταβλητής (l) στην πατρινή διάλεκτο, όπως αυτές ορίζονται με εργαλεία και μεθόδους της εργαστηριακής φωνητικής. Στο δεύτερο μέρος παρουσιάζω τη διακύμανση εμφάνισης αυτών των πραγματώσεων ως προς α) την ηλικία, β) το φύλο και γ) τη μόρφωση των πληροφορητών. Τέλος, προτείνω μία υπόθεση ερμηνείας των διαφορετικών χρήσεων των πλευρικών πραγματώσεων, η οποία βασίζεται στο διαφορετική στάση που υιοθέτησαν γυναίκες και άντρες ως προς α) το μεγάλο μεταναστευτικό κύμα τη δεκαετία του πενήντα, το οποίο μετέβαλε εντελώς τη δημογραφική σύνθεση της Πάτρας, και β) τη μείωση της οικονομικής ευρωστίας της πόλης, και κατ' επέκταση την έκπτωση της αίγλης της τοπικής ταυτότητας.