

牛津社会语言学丛书

# Investigating Variation

The Effects of Social Organization  
and Social Setting

## 语言变体调查：

社会组织与社会环境的影响

Nancy C. Dorian 著

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## 出版说明

社会语言学是研究语言与社会多方面关系的学科,它从社会科学的不同角度,诸如社会学、人类学、民族学、心理学、地理学和历史学等去考察语言。自 20 世纪 60 年代发端以来,社会语言学已经逐渐发展成为语言学研究中的一门重要学科,引发众多学者的关注和探究。

“牛津社会语言学丛书”由国际社会语言学研究的两位领军人物——英国卡迪夫大学语言与交际研究中心的教授 Nicolas Coupland 和 Adam Jaworski(现在中国香港大学英语学院任教)——担任主编。丛书自 2004 年由牛津大学出版社陆续出版以来,推出了一系列社会语言学研究的专著,可以说是汇集了这一学科研究的最新成果,代表了当今国际社会语言学研究的最高水平。

我们从中精选出九种,引进出版。所选的这些专著内容广泛,又较贴近我国学者研究的需求,涵盖了当今社会语言学的许多重要课题,如语言变体与语言变化、语言权力与文化认同、语言多元化与语言边缘化、语言与族裔、语言与立场(界位)、语言与新媒体、语用学与礼貌、语言与法律以及社会语言学视角下的话语研究等等。其中既有理论研究,又有方法创新;既有框架分析建构,又有实地考察报告;既体现本学科的前沿和纵深,又展现跨学科的交叉和互补。

相信丛书的引进出版能为从事社会语言学研究的读者带来新的启示,进一步推动我国语言学 research 的发展。

For the Gaelic speakers of Embo, welcoming and generous beyond telling to the linguist who turned up in their midst in 1963, and most especially to my faithful telephone partners and visitors of 1993 and after, without whom it would have been impossible to bring this study to completion: Babbie, Jessie Wulina, Kenna, Bella Bheag, Jessie, Jenny, Wilma, and Isabel.

## Acknowledgments

More than forty years after I first began to investigate the Gaelic spoken by the East Sutherland fisherfolk and their descendants, I consider it now, fully as much as I did then, an incomparable privilege to have been deeply engaged with the people who spoke this variety of Gaelic and their family circles. The four books to which that engagement has given rise are strong testimony to the almost inexhaustible interest of working with the people in question, but their unfailing generosity deserves its own testimony. "Highland hospitality" is legendary, and in these communities it went far beyond the usual sphere to emerge also in the kindness shown in making an inquisitive linguist's work as personally rewarding as it was professionally fruitful. Humanly and professionally, the years of my association with the people of the former East Sutherland fishing communities have been rich to a degree that words do not easily express. All of these kind people have my lasting gratitude, but in truth the debt is one that can never be repaid.

There is a sense in which every East Sutherlander with whom I ever had a conversation about local conditions or events or practices contributed to the present book. The most immediate contributions, however, are those of the individuals at every level of Gaelic proficiency who provided the linguistic material discussed in this study and displayed (in the case of the active speakers) in its tables. I enter them here according to village of origin.

Of Brora: Mrs. Bella Coul; Miss Jean Dempster; Mrs. Catherine McDonough; Mrs. Dorothy MacRae MacKay; Mrs. Jessie MacLennan; Mr. Donald MacLeod; Mrs. Sarah MacRae and Mr. John MacRae; Miss Bella MacRae; Mr. William MacRae; Miss Bella Jean Sutherland.

Of Golspie: Mr. Hugh MacDonald; Mrs. Margaret MacKay; Miss Jean MacRae; Mrs. Betty Sutherland and Mr. Sinclair Sutherland; Mrs. Elizabeth Sutherland and Mr. Alexander Sutherland.

Of Embo: Mr. Dan Banks; Mr. James Cumming; Mrs. Nana Cumming; Mr. Donald Hugh Cumming; Mrs. Sophia Davey; Mrs. Isabel Ross Finch; Mrs. Christina Fraser and Mr. John Fraser; Mrs. Jessie MacKay Fraser and Mr. Thomas Fraser; Mr. Thomas Fraser; Mrs. Jessie MacKay Frew; Mrs. Bella Grant; Mrs. Isobel Sutherland Hadden; Mrs. Nana MacPhail Johnston; Mr. Alexander MacKay; Mr. Andrew MacKay; Mrs. Bella MacKay; Mrs. Betsy MacKay and Mr. Harold MacKay; Mr. David MacKay; Mr. Donald MacKay; Mr. James MacKay; Mrs. Jenny Cumming MacKay; Mrs. Lena MacKay and Mr. Kenneth MacKay; Mr. Lindsay MacKay; Mr. Thomas MacKay "Brown"; Mr. Thomas MacKay; Mrs. Jessie Fraser Ratell; Mrs. Bella Ross Roach; Mr. Alex Ross; Mrs. Barbara Ross; Mrs. Bella Ross; Mr. Donald Ross; Miss Jessie Ross; Mrs. Jessie Ann Ross and Mr. Donald Ross; Miss Margaret Ross; Mr. Paul Ross; Mr. Peter Ross; Miss Wilma Ross; Mr. Donald Sutherland; Mrs. Margaret Taylor, Mrs. Georgie Watt; Mrs. Isabel Joan Fraser Wilton.

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Finally a word of appreciation for East Sutherland fisherfolk Gaelic itself. Peripherally aberrant it may be, but to anyone who comes to it without preconceived ideas of what Scottish Gaelic should sound like, it is a lovely dialect, graced by its long, Scandinavian-sounding vowels; people passing my office and hearing it on recordings occasionally asked if it were a variety of Swedish. Those of us who speak only this variety of Gaelic easily recognize the folk wisdom of the proverb: *'S geal leis an fhitheach an isean fhein*, "White to the raven is its own chick."

## Phonetic/Phonological Values of Symbols Appearing in the Text

The vowels /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /u/, /o/, /ɔ/ have their standard phonetic values; the same vowel symbols with /:/ are the equivalents with phonemic length. All are “pure” vowels without on- or off-glides.

The vowels printed as /a/ and /a:/ represent phonetic [α] and [α:]. The vowel printed as /ə/ represents [ə], [ʌ], or a backed [ɪ], and the vowel printed as /ɔ:/ represents high, back, unrounded [u:]. All vowels have phonemically nasal counterparts.

Diphthongs are essentially combinations of the above, but [i] and [u] can act as off-glides that contrast with two-vowel sequences occupying a full two morae, such as [pi.əu] ‘food’ versus [pi.α.u] ‘feed’.

The consonants printed as /č/ and /ǰ/ represent the affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ]. The consonant /r/ represents an abbreviated (one- or two-tap) trill initially, single-flap medially, and an abbreviated (and occasionally voiceless) trill finally. The consonant printed as /ɭ/ represents a velarized lateral. Except in compounding, only the consonant /n/ can appear with phonemic length.

The labial, dental, and velar stops and the affricate appear aspirated, unaspirated, or voiced, but the three possibilities appear contrastively only in word-initial position, where the voiced series occurs morphophonemically in response to a triggering element that is often absent from the surface structure. The contrast between the aspirated and unaspirated series of voiceless stops and affricate is neutralized in medial position (see the diminutive of /k<sup>h</sup>ath/ below, in which the originally aspirated final stop loses its aspiration when the suffix is added). Word-finally only the voiceless aspirated and voiced stops and affricate appear.



Initial contrasts

/k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> / ‘cat’	[k <sup>h</sup> αt <sup>h</sup> ]
/kat <sup>h</sup> / ‘swelling’ (gerund)	[kαt <sup>h</sup> ]
/(ə) gat <sup>h</sup> / ‘the cat’	[(ə) gαt <sup>h</sup> ]

Final contrasts

/k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> / ‘cat’	[k <sup>h</sup> αt <sup>h</sup> ]
/ad/ ‘hat’	[αd]

Medial contrasts

/k <sup>h</sup> atan/ ‘kitten’ = ‘cat’ + masculine diminutive suffix /-an/	[k <sup>h</sup> αtαn]
/adag/ ‘small hat’ = ‘hat’ + feminine diminutive suffix /-ag/	[αdαg]

The first syllable of disyllabic or polysyllabic words is normally stressed, for example, /'mɔɾiçɛn/ ‘fisherfolk’. The exceptions, apart from a very few English loanwords of longstanding and many recent English loanwords, are adjectives or verbs with prefixes that are still at least somewhat productive, for example, the adjectival prefix /mi-/ ‘un-, non-’, the verbal prefix /a-/ ‘re-’.

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