

When the music changes, you change too: Gender and language change in Cajun English

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I think Cajun music and zydeco is coming alive, you know. Years ago Cajun music was an insult, especially around here. Nobody wanted to cut a Cajun album. It was mostly string bands and country western music like Roland used to play. Roland always told me, he said, “move with the times,” he said, “when the music changes, you change too.” That’s how he always made money.

—Young Cajun Man, Eunice, Louisiana, 1997

ABSTRACT

The role of gender in language change, as discussed in Eckert (1989a) and Labov (1990), forms the context for an exploration of the role of gender in the development of Cajun English. Neither Principle I, Ia, or II predicts the role of gender in Cajun English, which leads us to question the generalizability of the principles to the specific sociolinguistic setting of this study—a closed cultural enclave. The study of four sociolinguistic variables and three generations of speakers reveals two patterns of language change: a curvilinear or v-shaped age pattern and a linear age pattern. These patterns relate in a complex way to changes from above and below the level of consciousness. We support Eckert’s call for a finer specification of the social categories but suggest alternatives to the ethnographic method. Using a variety of sources of information on the social life and sociohistory of three generations, we find an intimate association between the sociohistory of this Cajun community and the linguistic behavior of each generation.

The bilingual Cajun community is in the process of shifting from French to English while also experiencing a cultural renaissance in which Cajun identity is positively promoted. In this article we review previously reported results on Cajun English (Dubois & Horvath, 1998a, 1998b) in order to examine the role of age and gender more thoroughly. The data are taken from Dubois’s ongoing study of the Cajun speech community. We found intricate patterns of linguistic variation for three generations of bilingual Cajun men and women for a number of sociolinguistic variables. The evidence we present challenges Labov’s principles con-

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cerning the role of men and women in language change. In order to understand the different behavior of men and women over the nearly 100-year time span, we look for sources in the social life of the community and in the sociohistorical changes that have taken place over these years.

The interpretation of the role of sex in sociolinguistic variation is an important issue for researchers studying language change in progress. Although many have contributed to the discussion,¹ we have chosen to focus on Eckert (1989a) and Labov (1990). We accept Eckert's position that the interpretation of patterns of sociolinguistic variation requires a detailed knowledge of the social structure of the speech community, but we argue that urban survey methodology need not be compromised in the pursuit of a deeper understanding of the social correlates of change. We show that, without a sample containing the full range of speakers in the Cajun community, we would not have been able to understand the various roles of men and women over the last century. We first examine the substantive and methodological issues currently involved in the debates around the role of gender in language change, then present the evidence from Cajun English to be interpreted, and finally discuss the sociohistorical forces in the Cajun community that foster change.

Class, gender, and language change

When sociolinguists first approached the study of language variation and change, the role of social class occupied a central place, and many thought it was the primary social correlate of language change. In fact, Labov (1966) used the words "above" and "below" to link two aspects of language change: awareness and social class. When a sound change is above the level of awareness, speakers in the upper classes use the variant more frequently, and when a sound change is below the level of awareness, speakers from the lower classes use the variant more often. The one exception to the dominance of social class involved lower middle class women. In situations of change from above, these women use a sociolinguistic variant more often than the speakers who occupy the social class position above them. In his New York City study, Labov's interpretation was that these women were hypercorrecting because they were linguistically insecure. Gender came to play a larger role, however, as the relationship between social class and gender came to be better understood (e.g., Kroch, 1978) and gender was even found to outweigh social class in some studies (e.g., Horvath, 1985; Milroy, 1992). Over time the linguistic differences between males and females have been interpreted as sex markers. Sociolinguistic researchers have been of the opinion that women are more sensitive than men to the social evaluation of speech and use more of the positively evaluated variants and less of the negatively evaluated variants than do men.

Eckert's (1989b) study of a small group of adolescents in Detroit clarified the nature of the interdependence of gender and social category. She found that for some variables the girls in her study made greater use of sociolinguistic variation to signal social category membership than did the boys. Eckert showed that gen-

der played a role in language change but in a more complex way than the simple opposition of male and female would suggest. She also suggested that not all linguistic variables behaved alike with respect to gender. Eckert's criticisms of the interpretive use of sex as a social category in urban survey research continues to be of particular significance.

Labov (1990) proposed the following empirical generalizations about the role of gender in language change after a comprehensive examination of the evidence:

Principle I. For stable sociolinguistic variables, men use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than women.

Principle Ia. In change from above, women favor the incoming prestige form more than men.

Principle II. In change from below, women are most often the innovators.

Labov's review revealed strong empirical support for Principles I and Ia but some indication that Principle II may not always hold. Although it is only a minor tendency, men do at times lead in linguistic change. He concluded that gender accounts for much of the variation found in sociolinguistic studies, and that women have a particularly important role to play in language change, whether in change from above or below. Labov has continued to grapple with the question of why it is predominantly women who favor prestige forms and who are innovators in change from below, and in more recent work (Labov, 1998), he has brought social class back into the equation. However, "above" and "below" now refer only to awareness, since all change begins in the interior classes (i.e., upper working and lower middle classes). It is women in these social class positions who lead in all language change. Changes from above are led by working class women who are conformists; changes from below are led by working class women who are non-conformists.

Sociolinguistic versus ethnographic methods

Since the 1960s, urban language surveys have designed samples of speakers using the social categories of age, sex, social class, and ethnicity in order to ensure that the sample includes all types of relevant people in a speech community. The real problem comes in using these same categories in the interpretation of results. Such demographic abstractions require further specification in the sociocultural context of particular speech communities, and many see the need of an ethnographic approach (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Since it is agreed that much of the motivation for linguistic change lies in the social sphere, this issue is of utmost importance.

Eckert's ethnographic approach provides a good contrast to the urban dialect survey. Like most sociolinguists she chose a locale (Detroit) to study, but unlike most sociolinguists she focused on a particular institutional setting (a high school) within that locale. The institution is linked to a particular stage in the life cycle: teenagers in their role as students (Eckert, 1989b). Using participant observation, she established by external criteria that two social groups, the Jocks and the

Burnouts, were the relevant social categories for these speakers and then correlated variable linguistic behavior with the groups. Each group consisted of both boys and girls; Jocks espoused middle class values and Burnouts working class values.²

Eckert convincingly demonstrates that age and sex are more than simple matters of biology: they are socially constructed as “stage in the life cycle” and “gender,” and they have different manifestations in different places at different times (see Eckert, 1997, for a discussion of age as a social variable). Eckert believes these variables need to be carefully described in each new speech community that is investigated, and she argues for a sociolinguistics that gives as much importance to empirical investigations of social categories as is given to those of linguistic categories. Furthermore, she and other ethnographers believe that social investigation must precede any linguistic correlational study, since the correlations need to be made with social groups that are relevant to a particular speech community.

In summary, Eckert is critical of urban dialectology on the following points: (1) the failure to examine carefully the relationship between sex and social class; (2) the interpretation of the biological opposition of male and female as a social opposition between men and women without searching for other explanations for observed linguistic behavior; and (3) the failure to examine carefully within-group variation for males or females.

Eckert's criticisms must be taken seriously. If sociolinguists have failed to examine interactions between social categories or failed to look for within-group variation, these failures are clearly unsatisfactory, but they reflect a flaw in the user, not in the method (see Sankoff, 1989). Of fundamental importance, however, is the fact that the urban survey method does not explicitly formulate procedures for investigating the social aspects of language change. The ethnographic approach that Eckert uses stands as our most noteworthy example of a sociolinguistic investigation that focuses on the social as much as the linguistic categories. Most would agree that her landmark study gives us a much more satisfactory understanding of how variation actually works at the level of small groups, and many researchers have been attracted to the approach because it shows in fine detail the mechanisms of language change.

But the trend towards the ethnographic approach is not without some theoretical and methodological limitations, which have been addressed by Labov (1990). His primary concern is that the sociological approach allows for cross-community studies: for example, age and gender are comparable across speech communities, whereas locally specified social groups like Jocks and Burnouts are not. We would add to this the lack of time depth and social depth in ethnographic work. To leave out these characteristics is to undermine the original goal of the study of language change in progress. The ethnographic approach requires intensive study of small groups, but without social depth in the research design (e.g., a range of ages and social classes), there is no way of knowing how these small groups fit in with the rest of the speech community. Without time depth, it is impossible to investigate what should be the focus of investigation—the origin and spread of a linguistic change through a speech community.

The ethnographic approach represents an important adjunct rather than a replacement for the urban survey. But it is also true that urban survey methods need to be supplemented by social analysis. What we need, then, are alternatives that do not give up the benefits of large scale studies, but that give us a closer picture of the social intricacies of the community.

The development of Cajun

The study of the development of Cajun English over the last three generations has enabled us to address both the substantive and methodological issues involved in the ethnographic or sociological approaches to the study of language change. In response to the call for a finer specification of the social categories of sex and age in this community, we use a variety of sources of information on the social life and sociohistory of the three generations. The first source is a sociological survey completed before the design of the speaker sample; this survey has been central to the interpretation of the results (Dubois, 1995; Dubois, Gautreaux, Melançon, & Veler, 1995; Dubois & Melançon, 1997). Answers to an extensive questionnaire yielded a picture of the social organization of the Cajun community: for example, the role of women and men in the domestic and public spheres, the structure of social networks, the range of occupations, the level of education, the most significant age divisions, language profiles, and so on. The social categories used in the analysis were constructed using this background knowledge about the community. The age divisions, for instance, were a direct result of the findings of the questionnaire. It is for this reason that we designated as the "younger generation" a group of people between 20 and 39 years of age. A second source of information on the Cajun communities is the research done by other social scientists, all of which give life to the disembodied social forces that have had an effect on the linguistic behavior of the Cajun people. A third and very powerful source of information about the people comes from the interviews themselves and from observation of the community during the data collection process. In fact, the interview questionnaire itself was designed to reveal the speaker's life history. All of these resources are used to examine the role of gender in language change.

THE PATTERNS OF LINGUISTIC CHANGE IN THE CAJUN COMMUNITY

Cajun English is a dialect of English that is spoken primarily by French/English bilingual Cajuns living in rural areas of Louisiana. The set of linguistic variables that mark Cajun English originated in the accented English of the older generation; these variables have become sociolinguistic variables which have a social meaning. That is, accented English or the Cajun way of speaking has become socially charged for speakers of the younger generation, who use the Cajun features not as a result of interference from French but as sociolinguistic markers of Cajun identity. Over the three generations in our study,³ language shift from French to English has been taking place, so that for the younger generation the only linguistic way to signal Cajunness is in English.

The substantial and rapid linguistic changes that have occurred in the Cajun population are intimately associated with their recent history. A sense of these changes is revealed in how the notion of Cajunness has changed over the generations. In response to our questions about Cajun identity and what it means, the older generation claim that being Cajun means accepting the rules of behavior of the French-speaking population, speaking the language, and participating in its traditions, such as its music. The middle-aged generation signal their ambiguous relationship by identifying themselves as Cajun–American. For the younger generation, although the ability of one’s parents to speak French is relevant, only cultural heritage is required to be considered Cajun, and speaking Cajun French is a minor, optional component of Cajunness.

These changing attitudes towards Cajunness reflect a series of economic and social changes imposed by the politically dominant English-speaking people of Louisiana, which had the effect of eroding the relatively stable networks that constituted Cajun communities. The middle-aged Cajuns began to assimilate linguistically and culturally into the southern English community. English replaced French at home because this generation perceived French to be a severe handicap to economic and social advancement. In more recent times, there has been a cultural renaissance, and the young Cajuns are once again expressing a pride in their Cajunness.

Cajun English variables and age

Figure 1 displays the age patterns that we have found for all of the Cajun variables reported on so far (Dubois & Horvath 1998a, 1998b). For some of the phonological variables we found what would be expected: namely, some sounds attributable to interference from French gradually decrease over the generations. This is the pattern found for the unaspirated variant of (p,t,k), and we have found it for (h) deletion in stressed positions as well (not shown on the graph). There is a steady decrease in the occurrence of these variants over apparent time, so that the Cajun variables are used more frequently by the older generation, less frequently by the middle-aged generation, and least of all by the younger generation.

Several of the linguistic variables have this expected linear pattern. One of the major findings was a curvilinear or v-shaped age pattern. Heavy nasalization, the monophthongization of (ay), and the substitution of dental stops for (th,dh) move in a direction unlike (p,t,k). The older generation use more of these Cajun variants than the others, and the middle-aged generation dramatically decrease their use. However, the younger generation increase the use of these variants so that their frequency almost equals or even exceeds the proportion found in the speech of the older generation. We have called this process “recycling”; however, not all speakers in the younger generation recycle.

The variable effect of gender on Cajun English

Gender has a very strong, though variable, effect on the frequency of the use of some Cajun English variants at different points in the process of change. Let us consider the aspirated voiceless stops (p,t,k), which in Cajun English are variably

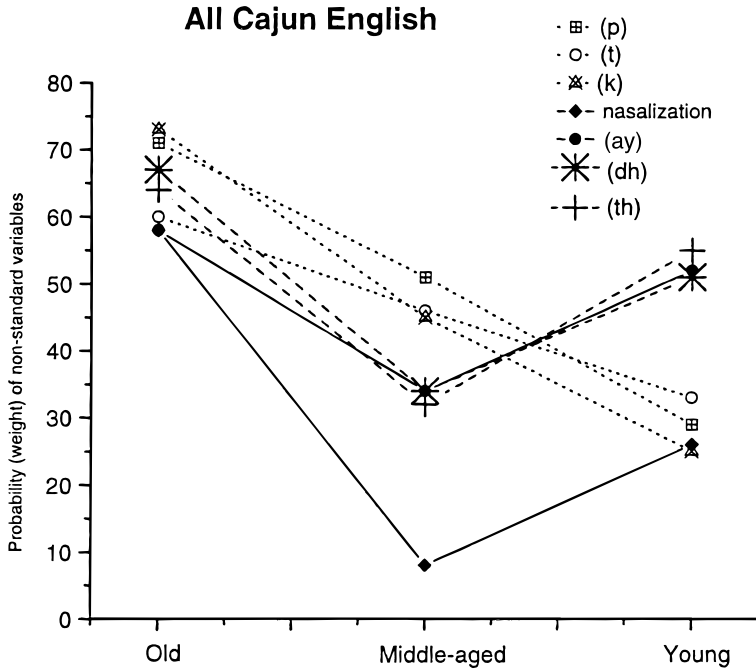


FIGURE 1. Probability of Cajun English variables among the three age groups.

unaspirated. Figure 2 leaves no doubt that it is the men who favor the unaspirated stops. The older generation shows very little gender distinction for (p,t,k), but the influence of gender is significant in both the middle-aged and younger generations. Middle-aged men use the unaspirated stops about as frequently as the older generation; young men, however, show signs of following the usual English pattern by aspirating just over half the stops. Middle-aged women vary according to the language spoken in the home when they were growing up: the women raised in French use unaspirated stops about one-third of the time; the women raised in English and the young women have the English allophonic pattern.

Turning now to the results for the heavy nasalization displayed in Figure 3, for which we have the percentage of the overall number of nasalized vowels in the dataset as our indicator, we find once again a very strong gender pattern. Just as for (p,t,k), the older generation shows no gender distinction in their use of heavy nasalization. There is also no gender effect for the middle-aged generation. However, there is a very strong effect in the younger generation, where men produce close to 98% of the nasalizations.

The monophthong variant for (ay) shows a very interesting pattern for the intersection of age and gender (Figure 4). For the older generation, there is no gender component to the variation, and monophthongs are used frequently. Once again, there is no gender pattern in the middle-aged speakers, who decrease their

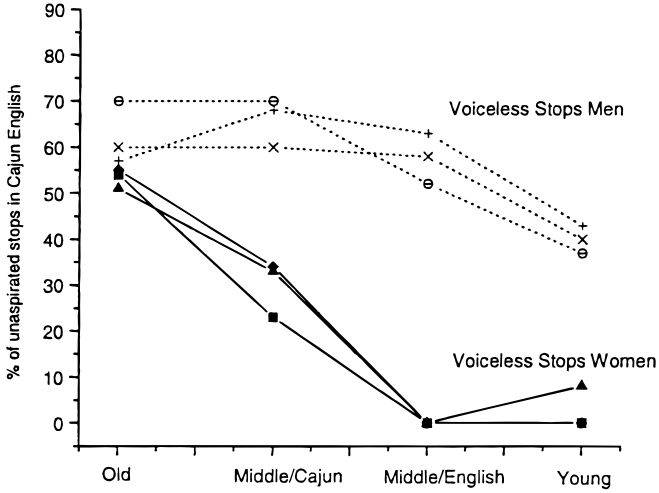


FIGURE 2. Percentage of Cajun variants among the three age groups by gender: Unaspirated stops (p,t,k).

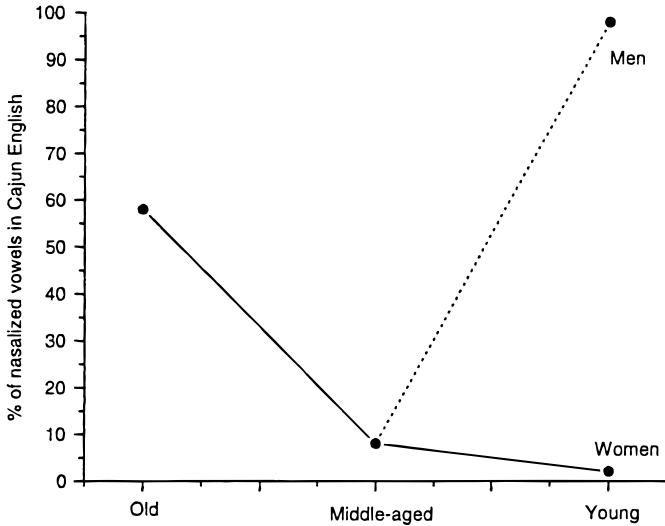


FIGURE 3. Percentage of Cajun variants among the three age groups by gender: Nasalization.

use of the monophthongs. Young men use the monophthongs as frequently as their grandparents' generation, while young women are close to Southern English.⁴

In the case of the interdental fricatives, Figures 5 and 6 clearly indicate where the gender differences lie with respect to age. For this variable, the openness of a

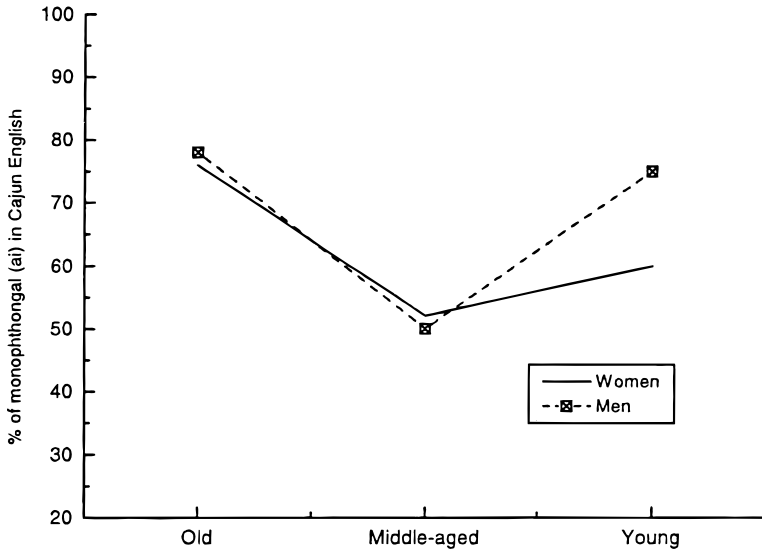


FIGURE 4. Percentage of Cajun variants among the three age groups by gender: Monophthongal (ay).

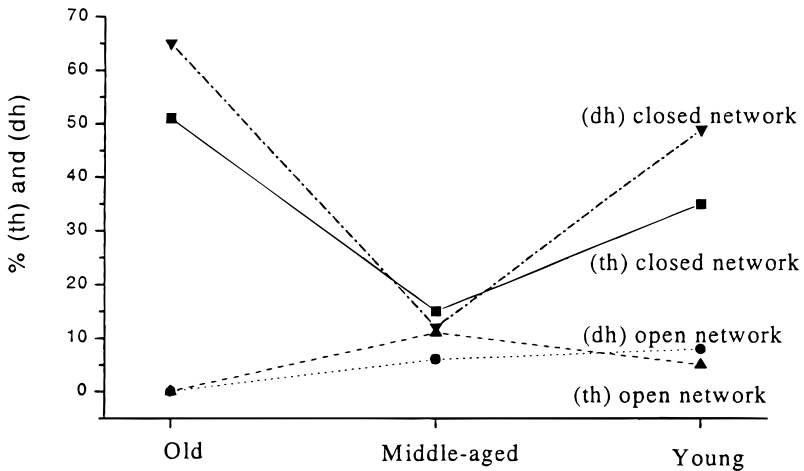


FIGURE 5. Percentage of Cajun variants among the three age groups: Dental stops among women.

speaker’s social network becomes significant. In Dubois and Horvath (1998a), we addressed the different usage of (th) and (dh); we concentrate here on the overall pattern of age and gender. The pattern for the older and middle-aged generations with regard to gender is very similar. Men and women in the older

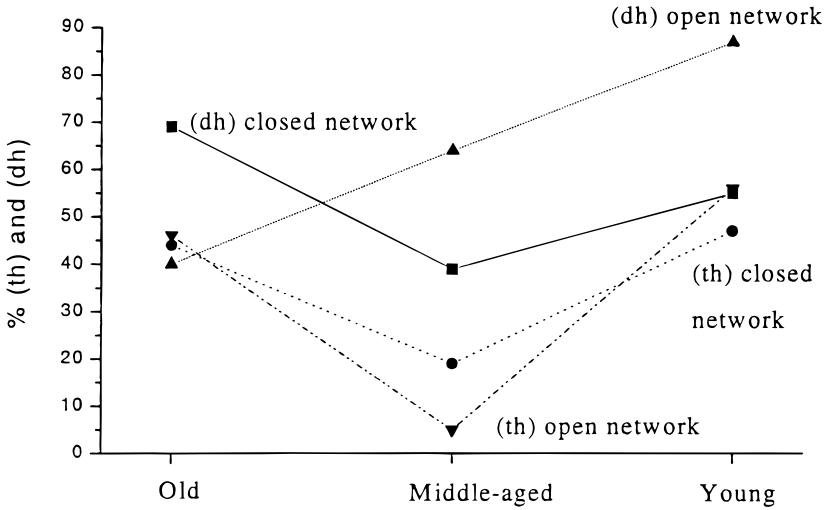


FIGURE 6. Percentage of Cajun variants among the three age groups: Dental stops among men.

generation all have a high rate of dental stops; both men and women in the middle-aged group drop this feature, although women do so more than do men. In the younger age group, both men and women with closed social networks follow the v-shaped age pattern. The most striking gender difference in the use of (th) and (dh) is found in the open network, where men and women behave in completely opposite ways. Men follow the v-shaped age pattern of those speakers with closed networks; they push the dental variant of (dh) even further than the older generation. Women who participate in open networks (i.e., women who marry men from outside the community, have a career, or work outside the parish) reject the use of the Cajun variants of (th) and (dh). This is true even for the oldest women, indicating that this change began quite early for this group of women and that the use of dental stops may have been among the most highly stigmatized Cajun variables. We return to a discussion of the effect of closed and open networks at the end of the article.⁵

In sum, our results show the following gender patterns strongly conditioned by age. For the older generation, only (th,dh) shows any gender differentiation and then only for women and men with open networks. No gender distinction was found in most of the Cajun English features. For the middle-aged generation, men continue to use unaspirated (p,t,k); women raised in French begin to drop the Cajun variant, while women raised in English completely drop it. Men and women behave alike in dramatically dropping nasalization and monophthongal (ay). Social network continues to affect the (th,dh) variable, but overall men and women drop the Cajun variant (except for (dh) for men in open networks). For the younger generation, men decrease their use of unaspirated (p,t,k); all women use the English allophonic pattern. Men recycle nasalization and monophthongal (ay).

Women and men in closed networks and men in open networks recycle the dental stop for (dh), with the men in open networks leading; women with open networks do not participate in this change. In the next section we examine these results from the perspective of Labov's (1990) principles of language change and gender.

LABOV'S PRINCIPLES OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

In this section we attempt to apply the principles of language change to our findings. It would take more than the findings we have to disconfirm Labov's principles, but we do have sufficient evidence to raise questions about the generality of the principles of language change, especially with regard to whether they can be extended to all of the sociolinguistic situations in which language change occurs. The principles primarily are concerned with predicting the role of gender in language change, but they also incorporate a tripartite typology of language change: stable sociolinguistic variables, change from above, and change from below. We must deal with both aspects of the principles. All of the Cajun variables except for (p,t,k) would appear to fall within the scope of Principles I and Ia because they look like well-known English sociolinguistic variables. However, we argue that the Cajun variables are linguistic innovations, not adoptions from the surrounding English-speaking community, and that they are therefore potentially changes from below. However, the issue of whether the changes are from above or below becomes irrelevant for the relationship between language change and gender since none of the principles, including Principle II, predicts how gender correlates with language change in the Cajun community. Our evidence leads us to examine the defining social and linguistic characteristics of changes from above and below and to suggest that the crucial difference between Principles I, Ia, and II is whether the change in question is a linguistic innovation or the spread of an older change (i.e., whether the change originates within a speech community or comes from outside of the community). A third possibility—that there is a tension between external norms and internal norms, especially in the kind of sociolinguistic setting we have in French Louisiana—becomes clear when we look at the seemingly idiosyncratic behavior of (p,t,k). As we argue in the next section, our data leads us to a model of intergenerational change that has children as active promoters rather than passive recipients in the change process.

Principle I

According to Principle I, men use a higher frequency of stable sociolinguistic variables than do women. If we limited our study to the younger generation, our findings would seem to be a good example of the operation of these principles. Women use the standard dialect (in our case, the Louisiana variety of Southern English), and men use nonstandard variables more frequently than do women. However, when we examine the details of the process over the three generations, we uncover a more complex story.

The differences between the middle-aged and younger generations, with some exceptions, show what looks like a strikingly gendered pattern, where the young

women continue to use the more prestigious linguistic variants introduced by the middle-aged speakers and the young men return to the stigmatized variables used by the older speakers in our sample. However, gender is not actually involved in the changes between the middle-aged and the young; the women simply do not participate in the change. They persist with the changes introduced in the previous generation and show no evidence of moving in the direction of the young men.⁶ What we have is a change by men in the direction of the former stigmatized and stereotyped Cajun variants; we have called this recycling (Dubois & Horvath, 1998a, 1998b). Young men recycle, but women give no evidence of following them.

The question then arises as to whether these Cajun linguistic variables meet the defining criteria for Principle I in any case. Are they examples of stable sociolinguistic variables, as they appear to be? It is true that gender is not a critical part of the language changes—other than the fact that it is gendered in the sense that men and women behave in different ways linguistically. But men are not leading women, or vice versa. First of all, we have to establish that the Cajun variants are part of the set of stable sociolinguistic variables that the principle refers to. But unfortunately this is not a well-defined set and certainly not a universal one. For English, it refers vaguely to linguistic variables that are found in many dialects and that have been in evidence for many years—in some cases for centuries. Such features include the various substitutions for (th,dh), lack of marking of the 3rd person present tense, final (t,d) deletion, *t*-glottalization, *h*-deletion, and so on. (Wells, 1982, provides a good list of potentially stable sociolinguistic variables in English, and Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998, give many in their diagnostic set for American English.) Stable sociolinguistic variables are usually associated with the working class and the less educated, are stigmatized, and are often subject to correction in school.

Does this mean that whenever we find [t,d] substitutions for (th,dh) they are automatically to be regarded as members of the set of stable sociolinguistic variables? Or are they, like vowel shifts, open to being reinvented, to being genuine innovations? We have found the source of the Cajun variants within the community: the young men recycle changes innovated by the older speakers and perhaps by the generation preceding them as part of accented English. The [t,d] substitutions for (th,dh), for instance, are not part of Louisiana Southern English. A set of variables cannot be prejudged to be stable sociolinguistic variables because they happen to be stable in the English language as a whole or even in a surrounding dialect; it must be demonstrated that they have not entered the dialect under investigation in some other way (e.g., through language contact), and that their similarity to the set of English stable sociolinguistic variables is not merely superficial. The fact that the same variants keep getting reinvented is a matter for a phonological theory (Bailey, 1973; Borowsky & Horvath, 1997).

If the Cajun variants are not stable sociolinguistic variables, then Principle I does not apply to the Cajun English speech community. Our patterns show that the Cajun community is characterized by new and vigorous change; this is particularly true for men. The overall linguistic behavior of the middle-aged generation is dramatically different from that of the older generation, and the young are

dramatically different from the middle-aged. This suggests that they might be better accounted for by Principle II, which deals with new and vigorous change. But first of all, let us consider whether the changes in the women's language are well described by Principle Ia.

Principle Ia

Principle Ia states that women lead in changes from above. Although there is evidence of change from above for the middle-aged, given the almost complete adoption of Louisiana Southern English features, again we find no gender factor at work. Both middle-aged men and women behave alike with respect to these variables, and there is no gendered leadership role that we were able to determine. Young women are not following the young men's lead in recycling the Cajun variants, maintaining instead the standard introduced by the middle-aged speakers. Principle Ia, then, applies neither to the middle-aged men and women nor to the young men—but for different reasons. For the middle-aged, we do not find women in the lead. For the young men, the recycled changes do not have the characteristics for change from above; in particular, they are not the adoption of an external norm.

The variables associated with Principle Ia, like those for Principle I, are said to be well-known in English, but examples of these variables are not as easily found in the literature as stable sociolinguistic variables, unless they are the prestige alternates to the stable sociolinguistic variables of Principle I. In fact, Labov's (1966) study of postvocalic /r/ in New York City still stands as almost the only change from above described at length that is not an alternative to a stable sociolinguistic variable.⁷

It is not even clear that incoming changes from above should really be considered language changes at all—even Labov (1990:213) called them “alterations in the social distribution.” By comparison to his introduction of the concept in Labov (1966), Labov (1990) extended change from above to include being subject to hypercorrection, being used more frequently in formal styles, and having most effect on groups with high linguistic insecurity. Two other criteria are of special interest to us here: first, changes from above are adoptions of a norm external to the speech community, and second, they are under the vigilant stewardship of the publicly recognized dominant group.

All of the Cajun variables—with the possible exception of (p,t,k)—meet these criteria. The changes were likely to be at a high level of social consciousness, if not for the older generation then certainly for the middle-aged generation. The most dramatic changes toward the standard take place in the latter generation, which also has the highest level of linguistic insecurity. The adoption of the external norm would have been reinforced through correction at school, which acts as the interface between the dominant group and the Cajun community. But what of the young men? The changes they promote still meet these criteria, but with two exceptions. What was formerly stigmatized becomes prestigious, and the changes are not adoptions of an exonorm under the vigilant stewardship of a publicly recognized dominant group.

Social evaluation is an elusive characteristic, as Trudgill's (1972) early attempt to deal with it as overt and covert prestige showed. If we look at the two periods of change (from older to middle-aged and from middle-aged to younger), the direction of change has always been toward the prestige variant, even though in the first instance the change is toward standard English and in the second it is toward the Cajun variants. The middle-aged speakers follow the prestige forms as a reaction to the heavy stigmatization of the Cajun variables, but this negative evaluation of the speech of the older generation came initially from outside of the Cajun speech community. The return of the young men to some of their grandparents' speech patterns is also motivated by prestige, but it is motivated by dynamics within the Cajun community, albeit in a context where the external community has come to regard Cajuns with some tolerance, if not affection.

The difficulty with using the notion of evaluation as a criterion for Principle Ia is that it needs to account explicitly for the fact that what is stigmatized or prestigious can change over time, and that there can be a discrepancy between internal and external community evaluation, resulting in a battle between the two, with one being dominant and then the other, often depending on fluctuations in the historical circumstances of the speech community. The middle-aged speakers accepted the external evaluation of their English and changed in the direction of the exonorm. But today Cajuns have a high regard for those young men who maintain not only Cajun French itself, but also the Cajun way of speaking English. Those people who reject exonormic standards are today admired for "keeping the torch lit" (Dubois & Horvath, 1998b; Dubois & Melançon, 1997).

Principle II

According to Principle II, women are most often the innovators in change from below. This kind of language change is below the level of consciousness and is believed to be the type of language change in progress that most closely reflects what Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) saw as a living example of historical language change. It is evidence that what has happened in the past is happening today. Labov described change from below as the "basic form of linguistic change that operates within the system" (1990:215). We propose that all of the Cajun features we have described began as changes from below the level of consciousness in the accented speech of the old generation. Except for (p,t,k), the variables moved quickly through the speech community so that each generation presents a different picture of the dialect; the variables do not show the gradual generational movement that models of language change in apparent time have led us to expect. Neither do these changes show a clear gender dimension. With some exceptions, there is no gender differentiation for men and women until we reach the younger generation.

If these are changes from below, what happens with the middle-aged speakers? How is it they become aware of the stigmatized nature of these new innovations in Cajun English? A plausible explanation comes from an unlikely source: namely, the stable sociolinguistic variables in English. The agents of language shift in this community were primarily government institutions, and the schools

would have had the most direct impact on the learning of English. This outside community, and most likely the school teachers, would immediately recognize—just as linguists might—the Cajun features as the usual stable sociolinguistic variables they would expect to find in such a community, and doubtless they did a good job of making the middle-aged generation aware of the stigma associated with this way of speaking. The middle-aged speakers therefore adopted not only the standard forms, but also the social evaluation of the Cajun variants. Young men in the recycling process cannot be said to be participating in the kind of language change associated with stable sociolinguistic variables because they do not adopt the predictable variants of such variables from Louisiana Southern English. Instead, they recycle the changes introduced within the Cajun community during their grandparents' generation.

The one Cajun variable the outside agents of change would not have recognized, since it is so far below the level of awareness for English speakers, is the failure to aspirate (p,t,k). Perhaps because of this, (p,t,k) remains for us to observe its workings. The variable (p,t,k) stands alone among the Cajun variables in that it has always been, as far as we can ascertain, below the level of consciousness and has never been subject to internal or external evaluation. There is also a more gradual movement across the ages. A close examination of the changes that have taken place in connection with this variable sheds light on the processes of language change in the Cajun community.

But even for (p,t,k), the differences in the linguistic behavior of the men and women are not predicted by Principle II. Beginning with the older generation, we find about two-thirds of the stops not aspirated and no gender pattern. But for the other two generations, there is a gender difference. For the middle-aged women, the primary language of the home becomes an important factor. Middle-aged women raised in French begin to aspirate these stops, although they still do not aspirate about one-third of the tokens. Middle-aged women raised in English and young women have the English allophonic pattern. There is, however, almost no change between the older speakers and the middle-aged men raised in either French or English. The young men gradually begin a trend but still do not follow the English allophonic pattern for almost half of the tokens. Are women in the lead, with men following quite an unusual distance behind? If so, this might be an example of change from above except that it does not satisfy a major defining characteristic of such changes—of being above the level of awareness. On the other hand, if men are leading, we have the origins of a basic linguistic change. In this case, Principle II does not predict the correct gender relationship for a change from below the level of consciousness.

Origination and the principles of language change

There appears to be no way of explaining the Cajun English changes using the principles of language change proposed by Labov (1990). Either the criteria are not met, or the wrong gender effect is predicted. For the development of Cajun English the critical characteristic turns out to be not whether a change is from above or below, but where it originates. In the type of change exemplified by

Principles I and Ia, a feature originates outside of the speech community and spreads to other communities. The first speakers to use the spreading feature are adopters, not innovators. In this process, the adopters move linguistically away from community norms towards an incoming norm, whether it is stigmatized or not.

In the second type of change, a linguistic innovation originates in a given speech community. It is not the direct result of the social process of the spread of innovation from one speech community to another. It is this kind of linguistic innovation that is most helpful in illuminating the basic processes of linguistic change. Let us now consider if we have any evidence of this second type of linguistic change. The older generation learned English imperfectly and thus spoke English with an accent. The accent is the origination of language change in the Cajun community but is highly likely to be ephemeral unless the changes pass on to succeeding generations. As we have seen here, it may be unlikely to be passed on to the next generation in this kind of sociolinguistic setting. Especially for those speakers whose primary language is English, the incorporation of the Cajun features must create a basic change in the phonological structure of their dialect of English. The standard English variants of the Cajun variables that we have studied were adopted from the surrounding dialects of English, including the (p,t,k) variable by the women. But the Cajun variants of the variables are innovations; they did not spread from the surrounding dialect of English. For the (p,t,k) variable, all middle-aged men, along with the women raised in French, continue the simplification of the complex allophonic pattern of the aspiration of voiceless stops in English started by their parents. Although the trend for the young men is towards the adoption of the standard variant of this variable, they still show a very high rate of nonaspiration and a significantly different pattern from the women. We see here a fleeting example of basic language change; it is already showing a trend toward the standard English pattern. Perhaps we are only privy to occasional glimpses of the workings of language change in progress. What we have captured here is a moment in the history of a language when a sociolinguistic process shows us how new language change originates within a speech community.

The two types of language change, adoption and innovation, are the basis for the fundamental distinction between Principles I/Ia and II. Principle I/Ia concerns language spread, a fundamentally social phenomenon with a linguistic dimension. Principle II concerns language innovation, the origination of new language patterns, which is a fundamentally linguistic process with a social dimension. The use of the terms “above” and “below” masks this important distinction. We have yet to account for how such substantial changes have taken place between the generations. Let us now turn to a consideration of how children participate in language change.

The role of gender in the intergenerational spread of language change

The following intergenerational patterns in Cajun English appear to have an impact on models of language acquisition. First, there is no gender differentiation

among the middle-aged speakers for all variables except (p,t,k); the variables are suddenly dropped by all. Second, there is significant differentiation within the same family. That is, the middle-aged daughters drop unaspirated (p,t,k), while their middle-aged brothers maintain the feature. Finally, young men adopt Cajun English variants, although neither their fathers nor their mothers use the features.

Language acquisition models that depict a child in a single environment (the family home), learning language from a single caregiver (usually the mother), give an unrealistic portrait of the sources of linguistic input to quite young children and cannot explain the processes that lead to this divergent behavior.⁸ If the model of sociolinguistic acquisition is to reflect the fact that language change is a social rather than an individual phenomenon, then we need to envision the child as a member of many sociolinguistic groups from a very early age. Whereas it may be true that the first child of the family has limited social relations within the nuclear family, as soon as there are two children another sociolinguistic subgroup forms within the family, one between the children themselves. Children can also be members of many sociolinguistic groups, beginning as early as the first years of their lives (e.g., childcare groups, where children may spend more time interacting with members of diverse social groups than they do with their mothers). As the children grow up, the number of sociolinguistic groups they operate in can become quite extensive.

Even more important is the fact that children are not passive recipients of sociolinguistic variability; they may well be active agents of change, which they introduce into the family unit. Older siblings introduce younger siblings to linguistic changes they have acquired in their interactions within other sociolinguistic groups outside the family home. The clearest evidence of the active role of children in language change is available in studies of language shift. It is often reported in the literature that the oldest child in the family is bilingual, while the younger children speak only the second language, even if their mother does not speak it. This language shift process was repeatedly mentioned by Cajuns in the interviews. We think it is not farfetched to suggest that children may have a linguistic effect on their parents. So it may be that, under certain circumstances and for particular sociolinguistic variables, women are early adopters and children are the true innovators of linguistic change.

SOCIOHISTORICAL FORCES AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

A consequence of the mother–child model of the transmission of language change is that it puts the major burden of cultural transmission on women. When we find change patterns that challenge the model, we are left with no other explanation. Two alternative explanations for variation in the linguistic behavior of men and women, according to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), are the difference and dominance theories. The difference theory proposes that women and men belong to two cultures (e.g., Tannen 1990), but sociolinguists generally see differences to be reflections of gender markers. The dominance perspective sees different access to power as the central explanation for the different behavior of men and

women. Men have a number of ways to indicate their relationship to the power structure; women must use language as symbolic capital, which they do by adherence to conventional forms of the language.

In order to understand why Cajun men and women have changed their ways of speaking over the past three generations, we have to understand that the speech community we are dealing with is a subordinated cultural enclave, which for several generations has been forced to change in the direction of the dominant culture. Massive language changes have taken place alongside massive social changes, and the language change is an almost direct reflection of the sociohistory of this community. Language has played a central role in the relations between the Cajun enclave and the numerically and politically dominant English-speaking population in southwest Louisiana. We now turn to review our results in a way that explicitly accounts for the relationship between the important changes in Cajun society over the time span under investigation and the linguistic changes in the community. Various accounts of this history, as well as the sociological questionnaire, allow us to reconstruct the social conditions that promoted the linguistic changes we have observed over the three generations of speakers in our database (Ancelet, 1988; Brasseaux, 1987, 1992; Dormon, 1983; Dubois & Melançon, 1997; Waddell, 1993). We draw on information from social scientists, as well as our own social survey and discussions with the speakers in the sample, to try to understand the different roles played by men and women over the three generations.

The older generation

For hundreds of years, Cajuns were monolingual French speakers who lived in rural settlements where they were either the dominant group or the only group. It was some of our oldest speakers (the majority born before 1930) who first experienced the pressure to change their language, at least to the extent of learning English. In the 1930s, outside government agencies began to impinge on the Cajun community; educational agencies had a tremendous impact, especially when the state government mandated English as the language of education in 1929. These outside agencies belonged to the "alien majority, and Cajuns who tried to benefit from them had to accept the rules of the majority" (Waddell 1993:241). These first users of English were judged most harshly on their French and their English abilities. Men and women alike learned English as a second language, but most would have had little use for it. The majority of these speakers are French-dominant, and some of the oldest ones are functionally monolingual in French. All of them use a high rate of all of the Cajun English features, and there is no gender differentiation. We therefore assume that any social meanings attached to language variation would be realized in French.⁹ The variety of Cajun English of these speakers is the result of interference from Cajun French and has little directly to do with the usual understanding of language change in progress except for two crucial facts. They, along with the generation earlier than theirs, began the process of the creation of Cajun English, and their ways of speaking provided the source for future change. The actual linguistic forms they use are relevant to what happens in the succeeding generations.

The middle-aged generation

After World War II, industrialization and urbanization brought many fundamental changes in southern Louisiana. With the exception of some isolated parishes, where the Cajuns could switch to occupations that took advantage of their skills and local knowledge (e.g., running supply boats to oil rigs), the forces of industrialization destroyed the economic order on which Cajun ethnic identity was built and produced a massive structural upheaval resulting in “the collapse, within a single generation, of a remarkably vibrant [native] francophone nation” (Waddell, 1993:235).

Industrialization and the consequent process of language shift were in full swing with the middle-aged speakers in the sample (aged 40–59, with the majority born just before or during World War II). These speakers were educated in English and reacted most vigorously to the denigration of both Cajun French and the Cajun way of speaking English. Information from the questionnaire clearly shows the changing attitudes toward being Cajun (Dubois & Melançon, 1997), and the sociolinguistic interviews also provide many clues to support the notion that both middle-aged men and women moved away from a Cajun identity.

It is this generation who began to use English extensively in the home in raising their children and whose English most resembled that spoken in the surrounding English-speaking communities. When they were young, even the speakers who were raised bilingually started to speak English at home with their siblings. They were aware quite early of the stigma attached to both French and Cajun English. The dropping of many of the Cajun English features was an attempt to attenuate the stigma of being Cajun for themselves and especially for their children. There were many pressures on this age group to change in the direction of the dominant group. The strong economic pressure of industrialization, where getting a better job meant speaking English, and the damaging effect of schooling on language attitudes and bilingualism help to explain why we find no gender distinction between middle-aged men and women but instead a rather uniform adoption of an external norm for speaking English.

There is one variable, however, that needs to be explained. Why do men maintain the Cajun variant of (p,t,k), while women drop it? We know that girls stayed at school longer than the boys, who were needed to contribute to the family income. We can only speculate that the girls raised in English had the standard allophonic pattern because one of the major effects of staying at school longer was that English was learned better. Knowing the language better because of increased time and opportunity to use English in formal settings might have influenced the use of features that, like nonaspiration of (p,t,k), run counter to the English allophonic pattern.

The younger generation

The late 1960s mark the beginning of the so-called Cajun Renaissance;¹⁰ in 1968 a series of laws were passed that were meant to encourage the use of French. The state of Louisiana was declared officially bilingual, French instruction in high schools was mandatory, there was to be television in French, and the state was to

foster international relations with other francophone nations. Waddell noted in 1978 that in less than a decade the “Frenchness” of Louisiana “has become a marketable commodity” (Waddell, 1993:250). The questionnaire also showed clearly that Cajun culture had acquired a definite cachet. However, by this period French was no longer considered necessary either for economic reasons or for symbolizing Cajunness (Dubois & Melançon, 1997:86).

Our youngest speakers (born at the beginning of the 1970s) are most influenced by the Cajun Renaissance, are proud to be Cajuns, and are able to profit most from the increasing status accorded Cajun ancestry as well as from the important economic benefits of the rapidly expanding tourist industry (Dubois & Melançon, 1997). However, if identity is to be signaled by language, then it is left to English to accomplish this task because most younger speakers interact with outsiders as well as with their friends and immediate family members in English. They use French only with some of the older members of their extended family. The public display of Cajun culture to outsiders—part of the tourist industry—reinforces the use of English as a carrier of Cajun identity.

The gender differentiation in the use of Cajun English features (except for the dental stops) in the younger generation can be attributed to the fact that the Cajun Renaissance has largely affected the sphere of traditional male activities, such as boating, fishing and hunting, and the display of Cajun culture associated with tourism (e.g., only men participate in the traditional “courir du Mardi Gras” or take tourists on trips up the bayou). Even Cajun cuisine is displayed publicly as part of the male domain. As one Cajun woman commented: “Women in Cajun culture cook food for sustenance. When it was a special occasion with many people coming, my father cooked. Men tend to cook here for special events or for large gatherings” (for a fuller discussion of these issues, see Dubois & Horvath, 1998b). More Cajun men than women are involved in Cajun advocacy organizations or report listening to Cajun radio programs.

Music is traditionally an essential part of the Cajun male culture, although it is now dominated by young men. One of our speakers described the role of music and in doing so also showed us the traditional roles of men and women. According to her, men upon returning from working in the fields all day would either start to play cards or play music while women would cook, serve, tidy up, and be there to look after everyone’s needs before the dancing started. Changes with respect to music are happening on two fronts. Traditional Cajun music is coming back into favor, replacing the country-western style that the middle-aged generation prefers, and some women are beginning to play music. One woman we interviewed explained how strange it would have been to consider playing a musical instrument when she was a girl. One young woman in the sample started to play music after she was 30 years old, having been encouraged to do so by somebody outside of the family. Another young woman spoke of following in her father’s footsteps, who used to play in the neighborhood during the weekends when they were children.

The symbols of traditional Cajun identity that are left to women are those associated with the family domain, including the raising of children and the pursuit of homecrafts. The shift from French to English, which largely took place

within the middle-aged generation, means that young women no longer have any responsibility for passing on French to the children. Their roles as Cajun torchbearers have been taken over by young men. Young women have not moved to recycle the Cajun English features because they have fewer reasons than do young men to associate themselves linguistically with the current understanding of Cajun identity, which is largely masculine.

The effect of network on the younger generation

It would be misleading to say that young women never use Cajun English features. Some of them participate in the recycling of the dental stop substitution for (th,dh). For this variable, we had to take account of the type of social network (Milroy, 1980) that speakers participated in because it had an important effect. Young women in open networks do not recycle this feature, while women in closed networks and men in both open and closed networks do. Indeed, men in open networks recycle even more than men in closed networks.

The notion of network is strongly conditioned by the effects of scale and place. Being a member of an open or closed network is quite different if you live in New Orleans (a large industrial center), Lafayette (a mid-sized urban community), Eunice (a small urban community), or Iota (a tiny rural and traditional community close to Eunice). Since one of the defining characteristics of open networks is interaction with non-Cajuns, one difference lies in how close these outsiders are to a speaker's network. Whether a speaker is part of a closed or open network, the number of opportunities for interacting with non-members of the network and being influenced by them increases dramatically in a place like New Orleans. In a town like Iota, a person would have to leave the community to find people she does not know or does not regularly interact with. She may have traveled to New Orleans only twice in her lifetime, and the activities that she would attend outside of her community would take place in nearby Eunice. In St. Landry parish, the site of our study, 60% of the speakers are members of closed networks.

We do not wish to imply that the notion of network loses its methodological importance in non-urban settings, but only that the linguistic effect of closed and open networks is intimately related to the type of community under study. Women with open networks in St. Landry parish cannot be compared to women participating in the same type of networks in New Orleans. The interrelationship of the effect of network and gender may not be generalizable across speech communities of different scale.

In the Cajun community, women in closed networks spend most of their time at home; the majority do not work outside the house, and those who do emphasize that they only work for pin money. These women are in complete charge of the house, the children, and relationships with the extended family, and they are responsible for the socially acceptable behavior of the children in different settings such as in school, with friends, during cultural activities, and so on. They pride themselves on their cooking, gardening, and handicrafts as well as on their knowledge of herbal remedies.

Women in open networks adopt values other than the core traditional ones within the Cajun community (see Gal, 1979, for a similar situation in Austria). Having an open network means having a job other than taking care of your children, traveling and working outside of the community, and having extensive social relations with non-family members, and it could well mean marrying outside of the Cajun community (perhaps someone not even from southern Louisiana) or living outside of the parish for a period of time.

Open and closed networks for women are more distinctive than they are for men. An open or closed network for a man is largely a matter of whether he works in town, whereas for women it is a matter of whether they work outside the home at all. An open network for young women increases interactions with outsiders, which may lead to assimilation into the non-Cajun population. This is not the case for young men, who can maintain their newly fashionable Cajunness in both kinds of networks since both types of networks share in the social benefits of the Cajun Renaissance. Therefore, it is no surprise that young men with open and closed networks adopt the same linguistic behavior. Deeply immersed with the Cajun traditional network, only women with closed networks behave like these men.

What explanation is there for the fact that men with open networks use the (dh) so much more than do men with closed networks? The men with open networks in our study tend to have a lower socio-professional index (i.e., they are unskilled laborers), whereas we found no association between socio-professional index and membership in closed networks. It is the unskilled laborers with open networks who have part-time jobs in the tourist industry (playing music, guiding tours of the bayous, etc.). The chances are greater that Cajun English features figure prominently in the speech of those who gain financially from the display of Cajunness (see Schilling-Estes, 1999, for similar observations concerning the poker-playing group of men in Ocracoke).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There is a great advantage in being able to examine the Cajun English changes in light of Labov's (1990) principles, perhaps all the more because our findings do not confirm them. What our examination points to are the potential differences in the sociolinguistic settings of language change. Much of the sociolinguistic literature deals with language changes in large cities with populations that have expanded rapidly since World War II through migrations of people from the surrounding communities as well as from other language communities. In our case, the sociolinguistic situation is one of a stable closed community in the process of language shift—a dominated cultural enclave. The barrios of Los Angeles and New York City, as well as the migrant enclaves in Sydney, are examples of many such communities throughout the world; the term *ethnolect* is beginning to be used to refer to the ways in which ethnic identity is linguistically maintained in an adopted language.¹¹ Holmes (1997c), reporting on Maori English among well-educated middle class speakers living in Wellington, found that the middle-aged

TABLE 1. *Language change pattern 1: The v-shaped age pattern (all the Cajun variables except (p,t,k))*

Generation	Gender	Norm	Change Process	Historical Event
Older	Men and Women	No norm	Origination	English as language of education is mandated
Middle-aged	Men and Women	Exonorm	Adoption	Industrialization
Younger	Men	Endonorm	Recycling	Cajun Renaissance
Younger	Women	Exonorm	Persistence	Cajun Renaissance

Note: The shaded portion is associated with gender differences.

speakers use the Maori features more than do the young, and she suggested that the features may function as identity markers.

Our results indicate that the changes are better conceived of as coming from outside or inside the speech community. No doubt these notions were part of the original meanings of above and below, but our study has focused on their importance. A significant difference between Principle I and its corollary, on the one hand, and Principle II, on the other, seems to be the difference between language spread and language innovation. Principles I and Ia concern language spread, and most cases represent the tug-of-war between standard and nonstandard variables. Even (r) in New York City is part of this tug-of-war as *r*-lessness loses its prestige and is replaced by the more prestigious variant from outside (i.e., the American English standard). What makes (r) unlike the typical stable sociolinguistic variable is that, in many other varieties of standard English, *r*-lessness has prestige. By contrast, a dental realization of (th/dh) is almost universally stigmatized in English. Principle I is like a lull in the tug-of-war game; for some reason the process has halted. Principle Ia captures the game becoming active once again. Principle II concerns linguistic innovation; it concerns language change that begins within a speech community.

It is very important to understand the phonological processes involved in language change, especially the potential for similar changes to recur. We need to be able to distinguish the origination of a linguistic change in a specific place from the spread of a linguistic feature over the landscape; the fact that the same linguistic feature is repeatedly reinvented means that it can potentially be drawn into an already existing evaluation system.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the patterns of change that we have found in the case of Cajun English. We identify four change processes—origination, adoption, recycling, and persistence—to describe the variation in our data more accurately than is possible using the two categories “change from above” and “change from below.” However, the two patterns we found remain related to Labov’s basic insight concerning level of consciousness and change. Even though we have proposed that all language change begins below the level of consciousness, in the accented English of the older generation and the generation or so preceding them, most of the linguistic innovations are quickly drawn into the negative evaluation

TABLE 2. *Language change pattern 2: The linear age pattern (the (p,t,k) variable)*

Generation	Gender	Norm	Change Process	Historical Event
Older	Men and Women	No norm	Origination	English as language of education is mandated
Middle-aged	Women (raised in French)	Exonorm	Adoption (variable)	Industrialization
Middle-aged	Women (raised in English)	Exonorm	Adoption	
Middle-aged	Men	Endonorm	Persistence	
Younger	Men	Exonorm	Adoption (variable)	Cajun Renaissance
Younger	Women	Exonorm	Persistence	

Note: The shaded portion is associated with gender differences.

system of the surrounding English speaking community; the middle-aged speakers adopt not only the features of southern English but the evaluation system as well. This gives us the first pattern. The second pattern results when the changes remain below the level of consciousness.

As we can see, the roles of men and women are complex, as Eckert would have predicted. At some points in the change process there is no gender difference, whereas at others men and women move in different directions. For some changes, the type of network that men and women are involved in is significant, but this is not so for others. The notion leading a change is problematic because not every instance of movement can be interpreted in terms of one gender leading the other. We would not be prepared to say that recycling is always associated with men. Indeed, as we have seen, there is evidence of women in closed networks recycling the (dh) variable. Rather, the particular situation in the Cajun community and the specific nature of the cultural renaissance that is taking place makes recycling more likely for men than for women.

Our investigation of the linguistic changes taking place in the Cajun community drew us into the discussion of gender effects in sociolinguistic variation. One of the goals of the investigation was to demonstrate that large-scale studies using the urban dialect methods developed since Labov (1966) can become more sensitive to Eckert's call for a deeper understanding of the social categories that we work with. It is precisely because we have the three age groups and a number of changes over a relatively short period of time that we can observe the complex interplay of social and linguistic factors. Our study of the social and historical changes over a time span demonstrated how the language changes were intimately tied to the changing sociohistorical contexts that define the social and economic roles of Cajun men and women. At crucial points in presenting our argument we have had to speculate where an ethnographic study would have supplied us with valuable insight. For instance, we have proposed that staying on longer at school, with its potential for formal language learning and use, might account for why women but not men adopt the (p,t,k) allophonic pattern of En-

glish. More importantly, we proposed that children are active agents of language change within families. Ethnographic studies of these two situations would provide some evidence for or against those speculations. In our opinion, the urban survey method and the ethnographic method are complementary rather than in opposition.

In the design of our study we used the two categories of sex and age, but in the interpretation of the patterns of variation we did not limit ourselves to their biological meanings. At some points in historical time, social network is important for interpreting the gender effect on linguistic patterns, and at other historical times, neither network nor gender is significant in the process of ongoing language change. Age as a measure of an individual's chronological development is not what is important in our data, but it is fundamentally important to identify the generations within the speech community affected by important historical events. The effects of gender are strongly conditioned by generation, and the generations are strongly conditioned by sociohistorical contexts.

NOTES

1. There are a number of other researchers (see, especially, Chambers, 1992; Holmes, 1997a, 1997b; Kiesling, 1998; Milroy, 1980, 1992; Milroy, Milroy, Hartley, & Walshaw, 1994) who have contributed to the discussion of the relationship between language change and gender. Almost everyone would agree that we are concerned with socially constructed gender rather than biological sex, but see Chambers (1995) for a discussion of some characteristics of differences in language correlated with biological sex.
2. Eckert did not use social class, but she did claim that the Jocks held middle class values, and that the Burnouts held working class values.
3. For a full discussion of the project, see Dubois and Melançon (1997). The current subsample includes 28 speakers in St. Landry Parish in Eunice, Basil, Mamou, and other surrounding towns. The speakers are almost equally divided by sex (13 females, 15 males) and age (9 young, 10 middle-aged, 9 old).
4. The southern English pattern for monophthongization is phonologically conditioned. It occurs in voiced and final environments (see Thomas, 1997). In Cajun English, this conditioning pattern does not exist within the older and middle-aged generations, but it is clearly present in the younger generation (Dubois & Horvath, 1998b). Since in studies of Southern English we have no report of gender differentiation in the rate of monophthongization, and since this variable behaves like heavy nasalization and dental stops, we infer that the young Cajun women are using the rate associated with Southern speech, and that the young Cajun men are recycling (ay). This needs to be confirmed in studies of Louisiana Southern English.
5. The type of social network that characterizes the speakers' interactions with other people inside and outside of the community shows that 60% of the speakers are members of close-knit networks (i.e., the speakers as well as their spouses have always lived and worked in town, they take part in leisure activities in town, and all of their friends live in town); 40% have more open social networks (i.e., they work outside the parish or have a spouse [and his/her family] who is not from the parish or perhaps not even from southern Louisiana). In St. Landry, there is a stronger tendency for young women to be members of open networks than for young men.
6. We have no evidence to indicate that men participate in these changes in order to move away from women (i.e., as a marker of gender difference). Instead, these variables are markers of Cajun identity, which is primarily male-oriented.
7. Labov also cites two cases of vowel change: the reversal of the Parisian change shift (Lennig, 1978) and Milroy and Milroy's (1985) study of the raising of /e/ in Ireland. He mentions dialect and language shift, but these do not really fall within the type of language change described by the principles.
8. Kerswill (1996) and Roberts (1997) addressed this issue in much greater detail.
9. Recent linguistic results in Cajun French confirm the significance of gender in a majority of traditional Cajun phonetic features: raising vowels, nasalized vowels, palatalization of (t) (petchi/petit [little]), and spirantization of (ʒ) (manʒe/manhe [eat]). Older women use them more than older

men, and they show a lesser number of linguistic changes triggered by a restrictive use of Cajun French. See Dubois (1999).

10. The Cajun Renaissance has many facets. Some features were imposed from outside the core Cajun community, both by business and professional elites within the community and by others who saw the potential for economic development not only for doing business with francophone nations but also because of the benefits to the tourism industry. But the revival of Cajun music and other traditions are attributable to the core community (Dubois & Melançon, 1997:85).

11. Lippi-Green (1997:175) noted that the study of English spoken by multi-generational ethnic communities has been neglected and underdeveloped by researchers, who more often work on the attrition of the first language than on the linguistic development of the new dominant language. She suggested that the essential questions, which have been put aside for a long time by linguists, must be: "How and why is it that speakers come to accept external norms or values to their own detriment? How and why do they resist this process?"

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