Exploring the Echoes of Social Changes: Case Study of Language Infantilism

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Abstract

Infantilization is increasingly becoming one of the major trends in contemporary society. A remarkable feature of social trends is that they could influence changes of language. The changes driven by growing infantilism of speakers are identified in this paper. The aim of this work was to further extend current knowledge of extra linguistic reasons that affect linguistic behavior. A preliminary attempt to trace the areas of language where changes have been taking place is presented in order to illustrate the growing tendency towards language infantilism. The present analysis provides a possible explanation for the growing tendency to use linguistic strategies more typical of younger generations in adult speech. Thus, the paper synthesizes the results from several primary literature papers and produces an argument about language infantilism and its correlation with the social trends. Overall, this research is initiated to invite the discussion in the field of recent changes in the linguistic habits of society.

Keywords: infantilization, language infantilism, language change, contemporary society, adaptation

1. Introduction

It is commonly accepted that there is a strong connection between society and language. Their reciprocal influence is obvious. Recent studies have developed just another evidence that the languages we speak 'profoundly shape the way we think, the way we see the world, the way we live our lives' (Boroditsky, 2011). And indeed it is difficult to imagine that, being our cognitive and informative tool, language is not involved into the life of a society. Or, conversely, language evolutionary developments can be sped up or retarded by social trends. However, the impact of social factors is not so obvious and straightforward. Likewise, social causality should not be seen in every language change.

With these limitations in mind we will look at the linguistic changes which have recently been noted in contemporary spoken languages and socio-cultural factors that have been influencing the changes. For practical reasons, we focus on the spoken forms of Russian and English not to be prevented from excluding some cutting-edge innovations in contemporary spoken languages including "current" changes in English that are defined in Mair and Leech (2006) as "those developments for which there has been a major diachronic dynamic since the beginning of the 20th century".

As it has been noted by Arutyunova (1998) spoken language is very close to social consciousness (collective unconscious). Based on this assumption, we will try to shed some light on the reasons - (especially socially motivated, i.e. language-external) - why these changes are taking place. Understanding the link between linguistic changes and social trends will offer some important insights into universal linguistic consciousness and provide us with an exciting opportunity to advance our knowledge of its contemporary social priorities. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to explore the echoes of social changes in language. The specific objective of this study is to look at the reflection of a particular social trend in the language, namely the infantilization, which has recently been receiving a lot of attention. Although a considerable amount of literature has been published on infantilization, there has been no detailed investigation of its manifestation in language.

In this article we do not deal with the form of infantilization in its primary meaning understood as the "the act of infantilising, the act of prolonging an infantile state in a person by treating them as an infant" (Online Collins Dictionary). Rather, we deal with infantilization, also called juvenilization, as a form of a new socio-cultural phenomenon experienced by contemporary societies and defined as "rejuvenation of behavioral models" (Manokin 2012, 77). It is also seen as the main socio-psychological trend for the new generation (Sandomirsky 2011). Throughout this paper term "infantilism" will refer to a condition of language characterized by linguistic patterns in an adult that are typical of children or teenagers.

Our data were derived from several discourse types, namely academic discourse (official published research),

media discourse (articles on the topic, forum discussions, etc.) and "expert" discourse (views of some expert scholars published in their Internet blogs). Comments of "naïve" subjects were analyzed as well with the aim to get practical application of native "unsophisticated" speakers' opinions.

In a first step, it is necessary to briefly review some general assumptions about the issue of infantilization in the fields of social and language studies. Secondly, the analytical overview points out to the changing use of some particular linguistic patterns in contemporary speech. It also demonstrates their correlations with the certain properties of infantilism. In the subsequent part we seek possible explanations for the results in order to give an outlook on whether it is infantilization of society that causes linguistic infantilism.

2. Literature Review

Infantilization has been studied sporadically in different fields, including medicine, psychology, biology, and anthropology, social and cultural studies. But research has tended to focus on different aspects of this phenomenon. While in marketing and advertising this concept is seen as "the portrayal of grown women acting and looking childish through attire, demeanor, possessions, and/or posture" (Goffman 1979:5), in medicine it is defined as "the act of treating older people like children. It includes such behavior as scolding incontinent patients, addressing the elderly in casual or familiar terms, and dressing them in childish attire (Schmit Kayser-Jones 1990). The generalization of published research on this issue is quite problematic. Without going too far into detail, in this paper we would like to proceed from works in the fields of sociology, psychology and cultural studies which are in the immediate vicinity of our research interest. A recent review of the literature on this subject found that:

Being young today is no longer a transitory stage, but rather a choice of life, well established and brutally promoted by the media system. While the classic paradigms of adulthood and maturation could interpret such infantile behavior as a symptom of deviance, such behavior has become a model to follow, an ideal of fun and being carefree, present in a wide variety of contexts of society. (Bernardini, 2014:39).

Bernardini defines infantilization as "an encouraged regression" and discusses historical-generational motivations and economic factors that drive this trend. The prefigurative society and patronizing culture are also seen as a moving cause for progressive postponing of traditional stages of the life cycle, to which the social sciences still refer. (for details see Mead1970, Sandomirsky 2010). In his notes Sandomirsky hypothesizes the forthcoming emergence of "mass – consciousness" which in turn will result in a cognitive bias. He identifies the rise of irrationalization of thinking and reasoning; lack of clear understanding; vague perception; placing faith in myths and superstitions; and accepting much on faith. This assumption is topical for our research as cognition is closely connected with language. Some indicators of childishness observed in contemporary societies that could also cast a light upon our research question are suggested in Bernardini's (2014:48-52) analysis. In figure 1 they are summarized and given on their antithetical compensations, which are typical of a standard conception of maturity.

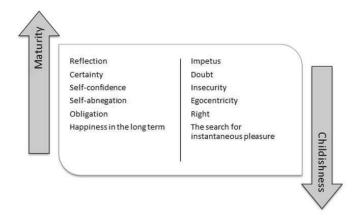


Figure 1. Indicators of Childishness vs Indicators of Maturity

Taking together these indicators could give us a clue to understanding the linguistic habits of contemporary society. Unfortunately, for years, this phenomenon was surprisingly neglected in the field of language studies and previous research findings into linguistic infantilism have been inconsistent and odd. The works by Kazanskaya (1997, 1998) offers probably the most comprehensive empirical analysis of childish patterns in adult speech. They were performed in the field of psychology and analyzed motivational speech mistakes in adulthood. Her theory owes much to Ushakova (1979, 1998), Piaget (1981) and Kohut (1992). Ushakova dichotomizes speech intentions into primary (excretion of intentional state) and secondary (communicative) ones. However, the proportion of these intentions in each speech act could vary. In this paradigm the degree of speech infantilization (or according to Kohut (1992) "primitivisation") is understood as the increased proportion of primary intentions in speech. These utterances have impaired communicativeness and merely reflect speaker's internal state. Communicativeness or clear understanding of how the utterance will be recognized by the hearer characterizes correct speech. Accordingly, if self-expression gains an advantage over the necessity to be understood the speech could be interpreted as infantile and anomalous. This is in line with Vygotsky's (1986) concept of egocentric speech.

Kazanskaya (1998) presents the typology of speech patterns that make the impression of childish utterances. Psychologically these utterances could be interpreted as vague or incongruous. Linguistically it could be exhibited in the grammatical or stylistic bias (wrong syntax or choice of words), sometimes new words are invented. Being not intentionally stylistically designed such coinage in adulthood is seen as erroneous. According to Kazanskaya these utterances could be the evidence of unstable personality identity or could indicate momentary reactive infantilization. Transience of infantilization is proved by episodic appearance of such mistakes in adult speech and their increase in cases of emotional reflections (Ushakova 1998).

Among other properties of childish speech (baby talk) simplified words, diminutives and hypocoristic (affective) vocabulary are mentioned (Shapiro 2009, Ferguson 1975). Surprisingly enough in 1975 Ferguson noted that adults "in our society mention baby talk apologetically and feel embarrassed citing its examples" By comparison with that observation, in 2010 the Sydney Morning Herald cited Anna Wierzbicka who said "we already use more diminutives than other countries as a means of expressing national solidarity, which, I gather, is a step in the wrong linguistic direction" (cited in Selinger-Morris 2010). There are some other linguistic experts who have made attempts to ponder over the infantilization phenomenon in contemporary language. One observation can be found in Balistreri's 'The Evasion English Dictionary' (2003). Her ideas are in line with the concept of prefigurative society. She argues that currently linguistic habits - along with much else -- are passed up from children to parents, rather than the other way around. Another linguistic expert who has noted similar trends in language is Michael Shapiro, Professor Emeritus of Slavic and Semiotic Studies at Brown University In his famous blog "Language Lore", Shapiro mentions the recessive infantilization of language. He considers how some childish speech patterns that used to be purely puerile are retained into adulthood. He claims that we observe a "cultural tropism toward a state of permanent infantilism" (Shapiro 2009).

Overall, these studies highlight the need for better understanding the trend of infantilization. The geography of research could indicate that we are dealing with a cross linguistic phenomenon. There seems to be some evidence to suggest that driven by growing infantilism of speakers language is changing and it can change dramatically if enough users alter the way they speak it.

3. Results

Several recent studies on ongoing changes in English and Russian have focused on grammatical changes in both languages (Aarts et al., 2010, Mair and Leech 2006, Leech et al. 2009, Jatzkevich 2010, Bowie et al. 2013, Aarts et al., 2014). Several authors have considered phonological trends (Bogdanova and Pal'shina 2010, Crystal 2010, Cheng 2005, Wolk 2012). However the best way to trace the connections between changes in language and infantilization of society is to succinctly analyze and synthesize the data on lexical changes as "the array of new words reflect the trends, inventions and attitudes seen in contemporary society" (Crystal 2010). In his interesting analysis of contemporary Russian Krongauz (2007) argues that "if accidentally many native speakers instinctively and concurrently start using the same word that means that collective linguistic consciousness needs its meaning to reflect one or another historical period" (Krongauz 2007:27). This is in line with the evidence from Greenfield (2013). She found that frequency with what some words appear in language could depict the society better than any psychologist. Hence, it could be conceivably hypothesized that the presence of infantilization trend could be traced throughout language. This proposition is to some extend based on the assumption that certain features of infantilization could agree with the reasons of why contemporary speakers employ one or another linguistic device.

To illustrate the growing tendency towards language infantilism the areas of vocabulary where changes have been

taking place were revealed and the reasons underlying those changes were identified. The vocabulary areas most commonly associated with linguistic infantilism are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Vocabulary and Functions Scholars and Practitioners most Associate with Linguistic Infatilism.

Vocabulary Area	Functions
Affective Vocabulary	looking defenseless; avoiding adult issues; demonstrating emotions
Vague Language and Hedges	connecting with peers; avoiding responsibility; hiding lack of knowledge or confidence
LVOCANUIARY INNOVATIONS	hiding the fear of being embarrassed among others; hiding an innate inability to speak with confidence; being playful

As it was mentioned in Shapiro (2009) the proportion of affective vocabulary increased. He gives the following example:

The current preference for the Lallwörter (nursery words) "mom," "dad," and "kid" instead of their grownup counterparts "mother," "father." and "child" is clearly an example of this phenomenon [ifantilization]. (Shapiro 2009)

This is in agreement with the evidence from the research on Russian mass-media (Chernyak 2012). It is claimed that contemporary speech is pierced with personal emotions. The emphasis shifts from what is being said to how it is being said. This observation correlates with the concepts of domineering primary speech intentions and egocentric speech. Great share of emotional vocabulary is presented by diminutive and intensifying devices. Commenting on the reasons for increased use of diminutives in English and Russian, Buryakovskay (2004) argues that besides creating friendly atmosphere the use of diminutives could be driven by the subconscious desire to look defenseless. It also allows avoiding adult issues in the relationship or hiding anger. As for the intensifiers or boosters that are defined as words that emphasize another word or phrase, their overwhelming dominance was reflected in the research by Stenstrom (2002). It is also concluded that the adults use intensifiers almost twice as frequently as the teenagers.

Another tremendously growing lexical group is vague language vocabulary (e.g. general extenders; placeholders; fillers; approximators, etc.) and hedges (cautious language). The evidence to this could be found in Palacios Martínez's (2011) research. He analyzed the data on general extenders in British teenagers discourse and concluded that those linguistic devices contrary to his initial hypothesis are generally more common in adults than in teenage language, and that their use seems to have increased in recent times. Some other comprehensive studies include Channell 1994, Green 2013, Cutting 2007, Adamovich 2011, Bogdanova 2011. It is stated, for instance, that fillers represent about 50 per cent in some samples of Russian contemporary speech. According to Drave (2000) the major function of vague language is to maintain and enhance the ongoing relationship. The list of reasons for employing vague language devices was provided on the bases of comments of "unsophisticated" speakers extracted from Urban Dictionary. Among them are the following:

you can't find the right word for it at the time; you don't want to make decisions; you don't want to give direct answers; you don't want to hurt another's feelings; you have feelings for two opposing answers; you don't want to give precise information, details; you are unsure; you are not interested (http://www.urbandictionary.com/)

Much of the vague vocabulary is used as the markers of social cohesion or hesitation fillers rather than in their primary meaning. One of the most vivid examples both in English and Russian is the word "like" (for details see Ballisteri 2003, Bogdanova et al 2010).

(1) English

like

(2) Russian

типа

'like'

Russian linguists assume that intentional or accidental coinage and "new connotations of old words" are trends typical both for a speaking manner of individuals and for contemporary speech in general (Os'mak 2011). This is in line with the illustrative findings by Korobkina (2013). In her research she demonstrates the growing tendency towards syncretic thinking. Rowse suggests that "everyone seems to be playing the game either by innovating or passing on what others invent" (Rowse 2011: 35). These observations again refer to Kazanskaya's typology. According to Trofimova (2008), accommodation to constant changes in life is the driving force of this tendency. The theoretical context for this was developed by the works of Bachtin and Huizinga who provided the concepts of "homo ludens" (Huizinga 1944) and "laughing culture" (Bachtin 1990). If this happens intentionally, this type of accommodation allows grown-ups to stop being grown up. Thus, they let their guard down, and are no longer afraid of being embarrassed among others.

Alongside with vocabulary innovations the general simplification in the choice of words and their presentation is observed. (Bernandini 2014, Leech2006, Bogdanova et al. 2010, Chernyak 2012). For instance, both in Russian and in

English there is an increase in the use of phonetically eroded words, e.g.

(3) English

wanna

(4) Russian

сёння

'today'

This suggests the reflection of an actual change in community preferences, and supports the argument for a growing tendency towards the language infantilism in contemporary society.

The general paradigm of attitudes has also been changing. Word frequencies are changing in the direction demonstrating the growing importance of individualistic values (Greenfield 2013). It is seen as an adaptation to urban environments prioritizing choice, personal possessions, and child-centered socialization in order to foster the development of psychological mindedness and the unique self, thus, once again pointing to growing egocentricity.

In Russian the markers of accuracy and reliability of the utterance have vanished from everyday language practice. It is another signal of growing uncertainty and reluctance to take responsibility that has already been current for some time. The above findings support the idea of Stuart Vail (2001) who suggests that society's inability to be accountable for anything is reflected in how we speak.

Overall, the review presented in this section indicates that changes are taking place at every level of language: vocabulary, grammar and phonology. The correlation between the causes of certain changes and the indicators of childishness mentioned in the first part of the research was shown. Taken together, these results suggest that there are some obvious and vivid driving forces of contemporary changes in language, namely growing tendencies to avoid unequal and face threatening modes of interaction; to assert in-group membership and show solidarity; to be held unaccountable; and to express ipseity. The next part, therefore, moves on to discuss the prerequisites affecting development of language infantilism.

4. Discussion

The most obvious finding to emerge from the analysis is that there has been a drift towards linguistic devices that tend to minimize risks in interaction. Some of them demonstrate speech patterns typical for childish speech. Language infantilism, as any other phenomenon, could be examined from different perspectives. If our results are to be of real value, we should try to generalize beyond our data and find deeper explanations for the regularities observed. Can we find a deeper explanation for the "impoverishment of language culture" (Karasik 2010:144)? It seems reasonable that there are some deeper and more complex reasons behind the tendency of reducing the diverse linguistic system in the consciousness of contemporary speakers and their reversion to the colloquial communication acquired in childhood.

Shapiro (2009) hypothesized that speaking like a child into adulthood could be reckoned an "apotropaic linguistic adaptation, of a piece with other behavioral strategies calculated to forestall conflict". Conflict avoidance linguistic motivations can be both defensive and protective (Trappes-Lomax 2007). Several reports have shown that self-defence and self-protection in the biological sense of 'behaviour that tends to protect an animal by minimizing its exposure to hazard' (Allaby 1999) are the grounds for speakers and writers to use certain linguistic strategies. A possible explanation for the growing need to use such strategies could be found in the excessive pressure of aggressive environments (social as well as informational). This aggression is escalating fear, though sometimes subconscious, in an individual. Good evidence is found in Fox (2004) who states that nowadays we can observe symptoms of a wide and worrying trend:

Our findings indicated that young people are increasingly affected by the culture of fear, and the risk aversion and obsession with safety that have become defining features of contemporary society. This trend is described by one sociologist as a 'cultural climate of pervasive anxiety. (Fox 2004:256)

To increase their chance of "survival" individuals could resort to the help of infantile behavior (linguistic included). According to Lorenz, infantile behavior protects an individual from aggression and triggers natural mechanism of inhibition in the aggressor. (Lorenz 2002). This proposition goes in line with sociological findings demonstrating greater flexibility of infantilized perception in extreme situations (Taisaev 2013).

Indeed, contrary to popular opinion, our infantile language behavior could assist in our adaptation to changing environments. The present findings are also in agreement with the ideas of Vygotsky, who suggests that egocentric speech in addition to its function of a simple accompaniment of childish speech could easily become a tool of thinking; i.e.it helps to apprehend and solve the problem. Besides, the results are consistent with the data obtained in (Clement

1994, Jucker et al. 2003, Piantadosia et al.2012). These studies have been able to demonstrate that employment of some speech patterns mentioned in the previous part of the paper increase our problem-solving ability and allow for greater communicative efficiency.

However, much further work is required to establish the viability of the trend examined in this paper. Hopefully, this review will direct linguists to those parts of the language core which are undergoing potentially far-reaching change and invite them in the larger conversation of the topic in a broad academic context.

5. Conclusion

Returning to the hypothesis posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that the trend of infantilization observed by sociologists and psychologists has found its reflection in the languages of contemporary society. In general the results of this study indicate that the meaning and motivation of language change in its social aspect can be traced and explained. Being limited to English and Russian, this study lacks unambiguous evidence from other languages and, thus, does not allow generalizing on the large-scale spread or shrinkage of linguistic usage in recent modern society. It would be interesting to follow the development of the language infantilism and assess its long-term vital capacity. Clearly much more research is required to work out what the exact signs of language infantilism are. And more clear-cut evidence is needed to understand the fine line between language infantilization and other linguistic trends, namely democratization, colloquialization and deverbalization.

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